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PRICE 2 CENTS.

THE WORK OF TWO SOCIALISTS.

A Record That Shows What Even Two Fearless Representatives of Labor Can Do.

Carey and MacCartney Put Massachusetts Politicians on Record and Force the Picketing Bill Through the House—No Socialists in the Senate, So It Passes There.

BOSTON, June 6.—When Carey's strike picketing bill came up on Wednesday, May 28, for passage to a third reading, the Committee on Labor, which had reported favorably, with the exception of three House members and one Senator dissenting, allowed it to go to vote without debate. A rising vote showed 32 for and 38 against. Carey made the point of no quorum and after a quorum had been verified, a second rising vote showed 45 for and 71 against. A roll call was then had and resulted in 70 for the bill and 75 against. Before the vote was announced the Clerk notified the speaker, who then requested that his name be called. The Speaker then called his vote against the bill, tying the vote and thus defeating the bill.

There was applause from the enemies of the bill, and Carey gave notice that he would move reconsideration on the afternoon. This was the first time the Speaker had voted during the session, or, in fact, for two years, and as he acted promptly, there is no disputing where he stands on labor measures. Indeed, there never has been any question as to that matter, so far as the Socialists were concerned. The Speaker's action has constituted the principal political gossip of the past two weeks and the capitalist papers are still discussing the probable effect of the Speaker's action, especially if he were to reconsider the bill.

The Speaker Explains.

That the Speaker's vote had carried consternation into the ranks of the Republicans, and of his friends in particular, was made manifest on the following day, when Carey's motion to reconsider the bill was not taken. The Speaker had introduced an amendment to the bill, providing that nothing in the act should be construed to permit the violation of any statute law, city ordinance, or town by-law. This amendment gave the Speaker a chance to favor reconsideration, and, incidentally to make a speech that would "square" him with the middle-classes. The debate on reconsideration had run along for some time when the Speaker called Newton of Everett to the chair and took the floor. The explanation was rather an indefinite sort of thing, and practically left the Speaker on the same side he had already occupied. He favored reconsideration because he believed that Bingham's amendment put a different light on the bill, which he believed was not in the form it ought to pass. He believed the bill would, if enacted, make it possible for persons to block the street in front of a man's place of business, and he did not believe that a black line around any person is a safe or wise way of conducting any business. If the amendment was not adopted, he would vote against the bill again if such action became necessary.

Debate on the Bill.

The debate on the bill when reconsideration was taken was a long and interesting one, consuming almost the entire morning. Dana of Newton said the question was a legal one purely and until it was shown that it was illegal to issue injunctions when violence was committed, the bill should not pass. Schofield of Ipswich cited a dissenting member of the Massachusetts Supreme Court as saying that peaceful communication should not be interfered with.

But the interesting part of the debate was the discussion between Carey and MacCartney and Newton of Everett, the Republican leader in the House. Carey had spoken at some length, giving the principal reasons for the bill's passage. He showed that anyone could walk in front of any factory and speak to whom he chose and not be enjoined; but when workmen go out on strike, if the strikers speak to anyone and acquaint him with the conditions existing in the factory they were treated as if they had violated a criminal law. What was right yesterday had become a criminal offense today. If there is no statute against peaceful communication, why should the right be denied? When a judge issues an injunction forbidding workmen to speak to each other he becomes a law unto himself, assumes a legislative function and usurps power. We do not ask to violate any law, but

GAINS IN OREGON.

Large Increase in Vote Cast for Socialist Party.

Incomplete Returns Indicate That Vote of 1900 is at Least Doubled—Portland Alone Nearly Equals Vote of the State in That Year.

The gubernatorial election in Oregon shows a great increase in the Socialist vote in that state. The "People's Press," the Socialist Party organ in Oregon, gives the following report: "Up to time of going to press we have received complete returns from no single county in the state, so we cannot give any satisfactory returns; but enough is already in to show very satisfactory gains in all parts of the state. The precincts thus far heard from indicate a gain of from two to five hundred per cent. over the vote in 1900.

Senate Does Its Work.

On Monday the strike picketing bill came up in the Senate and passed to a third reading, after a short debate, by a vote of 13 to 12. Berry of Suffolk presented the chief opposition to the bill, and Blist of Hampden made the principal speech in its favor. On Thursday the bill was defeated on the question of passing to be engrossed (the final stage) by a vote of 16 to 11, and the expected had happened.

Another Councilman.

Comrade W. J. Croke, Glass Worker, Reported Elected in Marion, Ind. The Cleveland "Citizen" reports that W. J. Croke has been elected on the ticket of the Socialist Party to the City Council of Marion, Ind., and that our vote in that place was 54, a gain of 350 since last election.

The Dog and the Woman.

LONG BRANCH, N. J., May 18.—Mr. and Mrs. H. P. Kingsland, who are occupying the Lockwood cottage at Elberon, are mourning over the loss of their pet fox terrier, which died on Thursday last of asthma. The dog's body was sent to a funeral director, who embalmed it, and procured a handsome casket, with silver handles, that cost over \$55. The body will be buried temporarily to-morrow on the Kingsland property at Elberon. It is the intention to take the dog to New York later for permanent interment.

Socialism in Cuba.

The "Missouri Socialist" of St. Louis says: "Comrade H. J. Stegewart of this city, has recently formed a communist club from Mr. P. Nickel of La Gloria, Cuba, stating that a Socialist club with twenty members had been recently formed in the American colony at that place, and were at work collecting funds for the erection of a club house."

Entering Wedge in Idaho.

RIGBY, Ida.—School election was held in this district on May 26. The Socialist Party won out. For the three-year term, Fred Peterson had 22 votes against 17 for the Republican, 10 for the Democrat, and 7 scattering; for the one-year term, Wm. Adams had 19, with 10 for the Democrat, 9 for an independent, and 15 scattering. The Socialists are pledged to a liberal school policy. This is the entering wedge in Idaho.

The Reaverly Twins.

PITTSBURGH, Penn., May 22.—Senator Hanna is acting as mediator between the blast furnace operators of the Mahoning and Shenandoah Valleys and the furnace workmen, so as to avoid a strike June 15. THE SENATOR IS THE OWNER OF SEVERAL BLAST FURNACES and his interest in coal, iron, and transportation will be hard hit, as well as his reputed magnanimity toward labor. SENATOR HANNA AND SAMUEL GOMPERS HAVE JOINED FORCES TO KEEP THE MEN AT WORK. It is reported that the operators will offer as a compromise an advance of wages rather than give an eight-hour day.—New York Times.

Mark Hanna, friend of Labor, who owns several blast furnaces and exploits the furnace workmen, joins forces with Samuel Gompers, labor leader, to keep the wage-slaves at work piling up more profits for Hanna. As friends of Labor, Mark and Sam are heavenly twins.

STATE CONVENTION.

In Accordance with Referendum Vote, It Will Be Held in New York City on July 4.

Henry L. Slobodin took the chair at the last meeting of the New York State Committee, held in the Labor Lyceum on June 3. The Secretary submitted the vote received in the state referendum regarding time and place of the coming State Convention. July 4 was voted the best date for the convention. The vote for place was as follows: Albany, 90; Buffalo, 53; New York, 153; Rochester, 12; Syracuse, 74. The convention will accordingly be held in the Labor Lyceum in New York City on Friday, July 4.

Further News from the Denver Conventions.

Text of Socialist Resolution—Western Labor Union Changes Its Name, Adopts Aggressive Measures, and Rejects Overtures of A. F. of L. "Whereas, The time has come for undivided, independent working-class political action; be it

Resolved, That the representatives of the Western Labor Union, in convention assembled, do hereby declare in favor of International Socialism and adopt the platform of the Socialist Party of America in its entirety as the political platform and program of said organization.

Resolved, That we earnestly appeal to all members of the Western Labor Union, and to the working class in general, to be governed by the provisions of this resolution.

Such were the terms of the resolutions adopted by the Western Labor Union in convention at Denver on Tuesday, June 3.

Primarys in New York County.

Primarys of the Social Democratic Party of New York County, to elect delegates to the County, Congressional, Senatorial, and Assembly District Conventions, will be held on Saturday, June 21, from 7 p. m. to 9:30 p. m., at the following places:

- BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN.
Second A. D., at 184 William street, office of the "New Yorker Volkszeitung."
Third A. D., at 120 Varick street, residence of Comrade Lowstrand.
Fourth A. D., at the club rooms of the Socialist Literary Society, 241 E. Broadway.
Fifth A. D., at 249 W. Eleventh street, residence of Comrade Mayes.
Sixth A. D., at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street.
Seventh A. D., 339 W. Eleventh street, residence of Comrade Lemon.
Eighth A. D., at 118 Division street, residence of Comrade Lane.
Ninth A. D., at 508 W. Twenty-sixth street, residence of Comrade Weekley.
Tenth A. D., at 170 E. Fourth street, residence of Comrade Riegel.
Eleventh A. D., at 436 W. Thirty-eighth street, Meyer's Hall.
Twelfth A. D., at Great Central Palace, 90-96 Clinton street.
Thirteenth A. D., at the West Side Labor Lyceum, 342 W. Forty-second street.
Fourteenth A. D., 238 E. Tenth street.
Fifteenth A. D., at 408 W. Fifth street.
Sixteenth A. D., at 817 E. Fifth street, residence of Comrade Panzer.
Seventeenth A. D., at 550 W. Fifth street.
Eighteenth A. D., at 421 First avenue, hall.
Nineteenth A. D., at 125 Amsterdam avenue, hall.
Twentieth A. D., at 300 E. Twenty-sixth street, hall.
Twenty-first A. D., at 944 Columbus avenue, stationery store.
Twenty-second A. D., at 216 E. Forty-first street, hall.
Twenty-third A. D., at Beckman's Hall, N. E. corner of One Hundred and Forty-second street and Eighth avenue.
Twenty-fourth A. D., at 215 E. Fifty-ninth street, club room of the Socialist Educational League.
Twenty-fifth A. D., at 136 E. Twenty-fourth street, printing store.
Twenty-sixth A. D., at 115 W. One Hundred and Twelfth street, residence of Comrade J. Hillquit.
Twenty-seventh A. D., at 1708 Lexington avenue, office of Dr. Rubinow.
Twenty-eighth A. D., at 121 E. One Hundred and Twelfth street, office of Dr. Ingemann.

Borough of Bronx.

- Thirty-fourth A. D., at 380 Willis avenue, cigar store.
Thirty-fifth A. D., at 3309 Third avenue, club-house.
Annexed Districts, at Helde's Hotel, Tenth street and White Plains avenue, Williamsburgh.

By order of the General Committee of the Social Democratic Party of New York County.

—Uncle Sam and the Beef Trust have played one inning. The Trust does not appear to have been hit very hard. It will take heavier hitting than that so far indulged in to knock out the Trust, which is strong on "team work."—Typographical Journal.

THE REAL POINT AT ISSUE.

The one virtue of the New York "Sun" is its frankness. One always knows where the "Sun" will stand in any conflict between Labor and Capital. The "Sun" is consistently and vigorously against Socialism, against trade unionism, and for capitalism, three hundred and sixty-five days in the year.

The "Sun" often lies. But even its lies have a savor of honesty—they are such brutally thorough capitalistic lies. And the "Sun" never equivocates. It is often untruthful in matters of fact; but in matters of opinion it is never hypocritical.

Therefore the "Sun" is a good paper to read in time of strike.

Commenting on the coal miners' strike, the "Sun" says: "To secure an understanding of the situation in the anthracite coal region it is necessary to grasp the fact that the fight now on is the same fight of which the strike of 1900 was only the preliminary skirmish."

Resolved, That we recommend the adoption of the principles of the Socialist Party platform, as outlined in the President's report; and be it further

Resolved, That the tenth annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners do declare for a policy of independent political action, and does advise and recommend the adoption of the platform of the Socialist Party of America by the local unions of the Federation in conjunction with a vigorous policy of education along the lines of political economy.

Resolved, That the tenth annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners do declare for a policy of independent political action, and does advise and recommend the adoption of the platform of the Socialist Party of America by the local unions of the Federation in conjunction with a vigorous policy of education along the lines of political economy.

BOYCOTT BUTLER.

New York Unions Join to Fight Grocery King.

Delegates of Forty Organizations Meet to Help Grocery Clerks in Struggle with Butler—"Journal" Refuses to Take Out Slave-Drivers' Advertisement—The Clerks' Demands.

Last Sunday evening at Brevoort Hall, Fifty-fourth street near Third Avenue, was held a conference of delegates from trade unions to take measures to help the Retail Clerks' Union in its fight with James Butler, the Grocery King. Delegates were present from the Bluestone Cutters, Typographical Union No. 6, Plumbers and Gas Fitters, Marble Polishers, Roofers, Tile Layers, Steam Fitters, Horse-Shoers, Photo-Engravers, Stereotypers, Cigar Makers' Union Nos. 13 and 257, Tar Felt and Waterproof Workers, Elevator Constructors, Metal Casters, Firemen's Union No. 56, Copper-smiths, Book-Binders, Grinders, Cutters, House Smiths, Brass Workers, Pipe Callers and Tappers, Amalgamated Carpenters, International Association of Machinists, Plasterers, Boiler Workers, Salanander Association of Pipe Felters, Electrical Workers, Tin and Sheet Iron Workers, Brownstone Cutters, Progressive Pavers, Terra Cotta Workers, Marble Cutters, Amalgamated Painters, Wood Carvers, Clothing Cutters, Cloth Spongers, Saddlery No. 41, and Compact Labor Club.

Butler Boycotted. A committee appointed at the request of the Retail Clerks to visit Butler and try to induce him to grant the Union's demands—six o'clock closing and recognition of the Union—reported that Butler had replied to them, in the most contemptuous manner, that he would never accede to the demands of the Clerks and their allies until it was proven to him that they could hurt his business.

It was thereupon decided to put a boycott on the Butler stores and to call on every workman in the city and vicinity to refrain from buying of Butler until the demands of the Clerks are granted in full. The matter will be communicated to the state convention of the Allied Printing Trades and that organization requested to endorse the boycott.

Delegate Weisler, of the Clothing Cutters, in the name of his organization, handed \$25 to the Treasurer to start the boycott fund, and most of the other delegates followed with donations of from \$2 to \$25 each.

"Journal" Defies Unions. Another committee, which had been sent to the management of the New York "Journal" to ask that paper not to publish Butler's advertisement, reported that they were told that the

COUNTY CONVENTION.

A convention of the Social Democratic Party of the County of New York to elect delegates to the State Convention of the Social Democratic Party of the State of New York, and to nominate candidates for the general election, will be held on Saturday, June 28, 7 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, in the city and county of New York.

By order of the General Committee of the Social Democratic Party of New York.

KINGS COUNTY.

Assembly District branches of the Social Democratic Party in Kings County are hereby called to meet, according to instructions of the State Secretary, on Saturday, June 21, in primaries to elect delegates to a county convention. These delegates will meet in convention in the Borough of Brooklyn to choose delegates to our State Convention on July 4 in New York City. Secretaries of branches are instructed to make arrangements and send out notices to comrades.

WARREN ATKINSON, Organizer.

The Worker.

AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY (Known in New York State as the Social Democratic Party).

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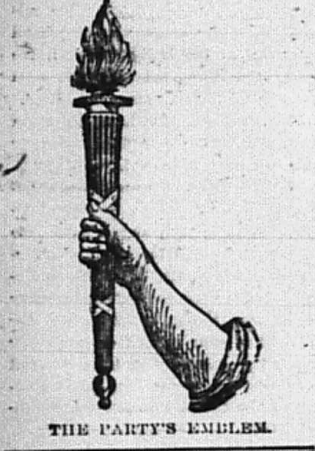
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Table with 2 columns: Year and Socialist Vote in the United States. Rows include 1888, 1890, 1892, 1894, 1896, 1898, 1900, 1902.

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THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

THE AMERICAN LABOR UNION.

The news that comes from Denver of the decision of the Western Federation of Miners and the Western Labor Union—or American Labor Union, as it is now to be known—is interesting upon more sides than one.

We cannot fail to be pleased in the highest degree with the unequalled endorsement of the Socialist Party by these powerful organizations—coming, as it does, without solicitation, simply as the result of the experience and thought of the Western workers themselves.

It is evident that the American Labor Union is now definitely at war with the American Federation of Labor, and that an aggressive fight will be carried on, at least within the present territory of the American Labor Union, until one side or the other acknowledges defeat.

We could have wished that the question of the relations of the A. L. U. and the A. F. of L. had come to a different issue at the Denver convention. We regret every division in the trade union movement, as tending to weaken the working class in its battle with the capitalists.

Such was our wish and hope. But we must now recognize the actual situation of fact. We know that the organizations forming the American Labor Union had good cause of complaint against the Federation, and perhaps we must admit that they were best qualified to judge of the case and decide it. Moreover, we know that the A. L. U. represents a bona fide labor

movement—the bona fide labor movement, in fact, of the Rocky Mountain region. As such we recognize it and waste no further time in regretting its separation from the Eastern unions. Its spirit and its principles are also ours, and since it cannot co-operate with us directly in advancing those principles within the A. F. of L., we wish it all power in advancing them in the West, in setting an inspiring example to the less progressive bodies of the East. Here we shall fight on, striving to bring our organizations up to the standard set at Denver, in the hope that not many years will elapse before all obstacles to union will be removed.

From such reports as are now accessible we infer that it is not the intention of the A. L. U. to invade the Eastern field, although such an outcome has been confidently predicted by the capitalist press in the West.

Certainly it is to be hoped that no such attempt will be made. The complaint of the A. L. U. has been that while they were the genuine de facto organization of the region, the A. F. of L. persisted in sending its agents into the field, whose efforts resulted only in discord and demoralization. We do not think that our Western friends will make the mistake of adopting that same policy against the Federation, for it would assuredly result, not in the regeneration of the Eastern movement, but in the arousing of all slumbering prejudices and factional animosities and in untold embarrassment to those Eastern unions which are now rapidly advancing toward the admirable position the A. L. U. has reached.

Even against the desires of the A. L. U., however, there is a danger that some such troubles will arise—as in the case of the Brewery Workers.

This union—one of the most intelligently aggressive and one of the strongest in the land—has been treated, as we think, with extreme injustice by the A. F. of L., with which it is affiliated. In its struggles with the boss brewers in the present year it has received little help and has suffered great hindrance from the actions of the Federation. And now the trouble seems to have come to a climax. The Western locals of the Brewery Workers are affiliated with the American Labor Union. These locals have always been true to their national union and the A. L. U. has been equally true to them. Now the Executive Council of the Federation has notified the national union that it must either compel these Western locals to withdraw from the A. L. U. or must itself be expelled from the Federation.

And the A. L. U.—actuated by generous enthusiasm and fraternity, but still, as it seems to us, not correctly judging of all the facts in the case—has invited the Brewery Workers to accept the latter alternative, to leave the A. F. of L. and adhere as a body to the Western movement.

What the decision of the Brewery Workers will be, we do not attempt to predict. We do venture to give this advice to them: Stay in the Federation; if necessary, allow your Western locals amicably to sever their connection with the national union—assured that the separation will not be for long; maintain with them relations as friendly as now exist—and that is easily done if you really desire to do it; and, as a national body, carry your appeal to the floor of the New Orleans Convention next fall—and, in the meantime, to the floor of every union in which you can plead your cause—to get justice there and to do your part in clearing and strengthening the whole body of organized labor.

We suppose that the position we have taken will be unsatisfactory to very many of our comrades. We fear that it will seem a cool and ungrateful attitude to the Western workers. We regret this. We should be glad to speak in a different tone. But, in accordance with our established policy toward the trade unions, we can take no other position. We appeal to our comrades everywhere to consider the matter most carefully. And to the comrades of the American Labor Union especially we extend the assurance of sympathy and support which can be restrained or limited only by what seems to be demanded of us by our allegiance to the Socialist movement as a whole.

STILL, A RECORD OF FAILURE.

In the June number of the "Federationist," President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor and Andrew Furness and Thomas F. Tracy of the Legislative Committee (the lobbying committee) of that organization give an exhaustive review of the Chinese Exclusion question as it has been treated in the present session of Congress.

The report is a story of complete and ignominious failure. Twenty-four pages of the "Federationist" are taken up with a recital of the strenuous efforts by which the Lobbying Committee succeeded in accomplishing nothing at all. The Chinese Exclusion Law in its present form—full of loopholes as it is, and far more lax than the act which has just expired—would unquestionably have been passed even though not a representative of the Federation had been on the ground.

Everything which the lobbyists asked for—and surely they asked it most humbly and respectfully—in the way of making the law strict, definite, and effective, was coolly and firmly refused.

It is worthy of note that Senator Hanna—aspirant to the Presidency, alleged "friend of Labor," and recognized friend of Samuel Gompers—was foremost in opposing the provisions which the Federation asked for. President Gompers seems to have learned nothing by the experience, but perhaps the rank and file of the trade unions will learn.

In summing up the defeat, President Gompers editorially remarks: "Taking the entire law as it now stands, it presents one of the most conspicuous pieces of bungling or vicious legislation, or both, ever enacted by Congress. It is a menace not only to the workers of the United States but to our Republic and to our civilization, and unless rectified by timely legislation at this session of Congress, the entire responsibility for the injury to our people will rest upon the heads of the managers of the legislation in Congress—a responsibility which the workers and the people generally of our country will not fail to appreciate, and repay in every lawful and honorable way within the power of American manhood and American citizenship."

What President Gompers means by the closing phrases we do not know. But we do know that not a little of the responsibility will rest upon him and upon those high in the councils of the Federation, who oppose every aggressive step in the labor movement, who hold to the begging policy which has so long been proven fruitless of good and productive only of demoralization and discouragement, and who still cultivate the friendship of the very politicians who have repeatedly wronged and defied and insulted the working class of the land.

Commenting on President Gompers' annual report to the Scranton Convention last December, we said: "The portion of the President's report which dealt with the attempts to get favorable legislation through the lobbying method was, on the whole, one long record of failure.

The Eight-Hour Bill was passed without objection in the House and strangled in a Senate Committee—a very common trick. Common as the trick is, often as it has been played on labor bills, President Gompers expressed a sort of mild and innocent surprise at it.

And we proceeded to cite from the report the similar failures in the matter of the Prison Labor Bill, the Anti-Injunction Bill, and others.

It seems certain that at the coming convention in New Orleans the officers of the Federation will have an equally dismal report to make. One other thing is certain: That, while these officers will probably have no suggestions to make, while they will come there prepared to pursue their "dignified" policy of conservative begging, there will be a far larger delegation at New Orleans than there was at Scranton opposed to that policy and resolved upon aggressive action.

With Samuel Gompers as a man—with his honesty or his dishonesty, his wisdom or his folly, his dignity or his puerility—we have nothing to do. We have to do with Gompersism—which is but another name for pompous timidity, resolute inaction, and foredoomed defeat. We are opposed to Gompersism and we "see its finish."

According to the statistics of the United States Commissioner of Labor there have been 22,716 strikes in the United States during the years 1881 to 1900, involving 117,509 establishments and over 6,105,000 employees; and there were 1,005 lockouts in addition. And yet Socialists are criticized for dwelling on the class struggle! Perhaps these 22,716 strikes and lockouts are another proof that "the interests of Labor and Capital are identical!"

That government trust investigations are a continuous performance of farce and fake is a matter of common knowledge. Our imperial government is usually rendered helpless by the simple refusal of witnesses to answer. If the government is really looking for a method of extracting information and wants a way which is effective, and having been approved by the Republican party, must conform to the highest standards of "law and order," why not try the water cure on the witnesses?

The New York "Commercial," among other distinctly capitalist papers, pays the Socialist members of the Massachusetts Legislature the compliment of a virulent attack on the score of their splendid fight for the bill assuring workmen the right peacefully to picket strikes and lockout shops. This is as it should be. Carey and Mac-Cartney may be proud of their enemies.

You want some "immediate relief," something now, do you? And you think Socialism is not "practical," that it is too far off? Read in another column of Organizer Spring's work at Dexter, New York. The bosses did not fear their employees until they were threatened with an enthusiastic Socialist movement. At the first sign of this danger to their profit-rate, they "crawled" and retreated the men whose wages they had reduced for or

gaining a union. Is not that practical? If you can scare the bosses like that at the very start, how easy it will be to whip them to a standstill, if you only keep at it!

NOT BY VOTES ALONE. The position of those avowed Socialists who want the movement to work for step-at-a-time reforms and adopt the tactics of conciliation, compromise, and opportunism, is almost invariably the result of an impatient desire for a great and immediate increase in the Socialist vote. The advocacy of such tactics also implies a lack of knowledge of the Socialist movement or a failure to understand its basic principles, but it is the hope of catching more votes for Socialism that is always advanced to justify their adoption. Passing over the fact that the adoption of such tactics has always resulted in disorganization and retrogression instead of increase, it is clear that votes for Socialism are not, in themselves alone, sufficient. Behind the vote must be an understanding, a responsibility, and a material class interest.

The fallacy that votes for Socialism gained by concessions to popular prejudice or ignorance can be worth the sacrifice, is given definite and concise expression in the statement of a correspondent that: "The art of securing government may be reduced to the art of securing a majority of votes at the polls."

The working class casts a majority of votes for the Republican or Democratic parties, but the working class does not thus secure control of government, because the working class voters are not in a party of their own class, are not conscious of their own class interests, and do not know what is good for them or how to get it. Likewise, if the Socialist Party could get a majority of votes by the sacrifice or compromise of principle it would not be able to put real Socialist legislation into effect, because it would not have the determined support of a class-conscious working class behind it, and would cease to be a Socialist party except in name. If its electors were attracted to it more by the desire for reform than the desire for revolution, it would have to stop short at reform; and in ceasing to be strictly a working class party it would become a prey to capitalist corruption. The acts of governments are determined by the class from which they draw their power, and therefore only a working class party could carry out a working class program. In other words, we cannot make Socialists out of voters without their knowing it, and such voters could not be relied upon for support if we could.

The statement that "the art of securing government is the art of securing a majority of votes" applies, in one sense, to the capitalist Republican and Democratic parties—for, once given the vote of the duped working class, the power controlling these parties is the wealth and economic power of Capital. As long as the working class can be hoodwinked into voting for them, the old parties, which accept the system of private ownership of the means of production and are therefore logically forced to defend the interests of the capitalists, will secure control of government for the capitalist class, because they are the servants and political instruments of its economic power; but the power behind a party which is to obtain control of government for the working class must be the consciousness in that class of its own interests.

In another sense, the statement that "the art of securing government is the art of securing a majority of votes" does not apply even in regard to the capitalist parties—for whenever the platforms of the old parties pledge them to legislation in favor of the working class such legislation is either not enacted or not enforced and thus the majority of voters do not secure the kind of government which they voted for. So, we see again that it is economic power and a consciousness of their own interests, together with the majority of votes given them by the workers, which gives control of government to the capitalist class—the majority in their favor is not a mere majority of votes, but also a majority of dollars and a majority of class-consciousness, for the capitalists are more class-conscious than the workers—and that only a majority of votes backed by class-consciousness will give control of government to the working class.

It is true enough that the majority of those whose votes are needed to win the victory for Socialism can never be thoroughly educated in economics and scientific Socialism, but, at least, the fact of the class struggle and its lesson can certainly be made plain to all. Also, it is quite probable that Socialist victory will come as the result of a widespread condition of unemployment consequent upon over-production. Someone has well said: "Wise men are instructed by reason; men of less understanding, by experience; the most ignorant, by necessity." The necessity of Socialism will be plain to the most stupid when it is impossible to get a job, and in such an industrial crisis class antagonisms will be so emphasized and the class struggle become

so obvious a fact that instinct and immediate material interest will draw the class lines sharply and force the working class to act unilaterally for its own interests. In such a crisis, if the Socialist movement has kept uncompromising, the rest of the working class will swing in line by a sort of instinctive class-consciousness; military writers tell us that if one-third of an army is daring and aggressive the rest will follow its lead, and it is to be supposed that the same psychology would apply in a political revolution. In such a crisis the statement that "the art of securing government is the art of securing a majority of votes" would be true.

But, in the meantime, if votes should be secured by compromise of the revolutionary spirit the muddled element brought in by these tactics would gain the ascendancy and disorganization, confusion, and impotence would be the result. One compromise leads to another, and if revolutionary principles were compromised to gain the votes of the prejudiced and the timid, still further compromises would have to be made to keep those votes.

Socialists desire to effect the social revolution peacefully at the ballot-box and the object of our propaganda is to get votes for Socialism, but votes are only means to an end and the votes must be for a definite principle and a definite means of putting that principle into effect, not merely for a vague desire for Socialism. The vote must be an expression of a class interest which is ready to support it to the end.

The "step-at-a-time" policy, the "get something now" tactics, the desire to capture the premature because uncompromising support of the trade unions at any risk, the policy of catering to the prejudices and judgments of mind fostered by capitalist education and environment, in short all the tactics of conciliation and compromise known as opportunism, seek quick results by methods which would be fatal to the movement. And, moreover, these tactics do not gain more votes and do not arouse enthusiasm. It takes a big thing to make a man vote for a party which has no chance of immediate victory—and that big thing is the revolutionary principle of clear-cut Socialism.

We can "get something now" just as soon as the fiercest of the vote for real, revolutionary Socialism alarms the capitalist class into concessions through fear of the growing discontent, and the only "steps towards Socialism" are the election of revolutionary Socialists and the partial "public ownership" which capitalist government may inaugurate as a concession to the revolutionary spirit; and the only way to get the trade union vote is by the steady and sound education of the rank and file.

Let it be remembered that Socialist propaganda is the work of steadily educating the working class to a knowledge of its own interests and arousing in it the revolutionary spirit; and that if votes are got thus they are worth while and otherwise not; and that the vote must be for a principle and a class interest, not for the name of a vague desire; and that we shall conquer by the understanding behind the votes, not by votes alone.

THE CLERKS AND THE "JOURNAL."

When we have criticized the New York "Journal" and other papers of the same stripe, questioning the sincerity of their "friendship" for labor, we have often been accused of intolerance and jealousy.

We have pointed out that the "Journal" is a capitalist paper, a business enterprise, run for the private profit or advantage of the owner; that, in the nature of this, such a paper could not give sincere support to the labor movement; that it would be unreasonable to expect of the owner of the "Journal" or any similar paper that he should sacrifice his business interest for the love of the workers or of humanity in general; that such papers would naturally cultivate the friendship of the workers in order to increase their circulation, but that they would be careful not to endanger their advertising income by too vigorous support of the unions.

All this has been set down, as we say to intolerance and jealousy on our part. Well, here you are. This is a sneer "Journal," to which trade unions have been sending letters of thanks whenever it published a simple matter of news for them, has flatly refused to sacrifice a single dollar of its advertising patronage when asked to help the oppressed grocery clerks. Were we right?

Don't blame the "Journal." Instead, help build up a daily press of your own. "Truth and Freedom," a Socialist magazine published in Fitchburg, Mass., contains an article entitled "Fallacies in Relation to Socialism," and signed Andrew Davidson, which is a word for word plagiarism of the article in The Worker of December 15, 1901, entitled "The Essential Point in Socialist Propaganda."

Our Esteemed Contemporaries (and OTHERS)

The Miners' Magazine. The Western workmen are not yet prepared to follow Mr. Gompers into Mark Hanna's wigwag to be scalped with the knife of capitalist arbitration and become the toy of Republican politicians. We would like to know from Mr. Gompers if he proposes no other remedy for the solution of the labor question than Civic Federation arbitration.

If this is his remedy—and we have no information to the contrary—we say to Mr. Gompers, with all due respect to him as a man and an officer of the American Federation of Labor, that he is untrue to every wage earner in the United States, unworthy of recognition, for the interests of no labor organization is secure when submitted to a board of arbitration, a majority of whom are his bitter enemies, even though Mr. Gompers be its vice-president.

The laboring people have no interest in common with Mark Hanna and Grover Cleveland, nor will the western people be deceived by such methods as Mr. Gompers proposes. The Western Federation of Miners and the Western Labor Union are ready to join forces with any labor organization that offers a remedy, but they don't propose to be led like sheep into a slaughter pen to await the butcher's knife without a struggle.

The Public. That there is less comfort than confidence in the prosperity which now prevails is evident from the signs. Colored census figures may indicate a flourishing condition for workingmen, but obtrusive facts grimly refer these rose-colored statistics. One instance is typical. The Johnstown "Democrat," which advertised recently in a trade paper for a printer, ordered the advertisement out, saying: "Overwhelmed with replies. Your medium is too good. We're out about \$200 in stamps notifying applicants that the place is filled."

If multiplying experiences of this kind were not enough to convince reasonable persons, the cry that some labor organizations are making about the "dead line" which large employers have established—refusing to hire men who are over 45 years of age—should do it. In one Chicago labor union the influence over this found expression in a bitterly satirical proposal to shoot every man of that age who is dependent upon his labor for a living. Such "dead line" could be maintained if opportunities for employment were really abundant; none would have been set up if the employers did not find workers in excess of demand. This makes prosperity, of course, for some persons. No one doubts the prosperity of the trusts. These exploiters say they are prosperous, and all the indications confirm them. But what is prosperity for the trusts may be adversity poison to everybody else.

The Miners' Magazine. Six weeks ago the Beef Trust raised the price of beef beyond the reach of many people, which caused the politicians and statesmen to shake their heads in despair to find a remedy that would bring the trust to time. After a complete failure on the part of those gentlemen, the labor organizations of the East found a remedy without resorting to legislation. They met in their halls and adopted a dignified and intelligent (?) resolution which made the Beef Trust shake from hoof to horns. They resolved not to eat meat for a period of one month; if at the end of that time the Beef Trust did not come to time they would boycott the Beef Trust for another month, which would surely send the trust into submission.

At first glance it appears incredible to think that a party of workmen in a labor union possess no more intelligence than to deprive themselves of the necessities of life. Just why those unions place a boycott on the Beef Trust for raising the price of beef is hard to understand, for not many of them who work for \$2 per day are in much danger of an attack of the gout from eating porterhouse steaks. After the trade unions boycott the Beef Trust out of existence, we are anxious to know what they will do with the other trusts which are equally harmful.

The reason why capitalists have obtained complete control of the government is that capitalists are thoroughly class-conscious. Capitalists work and vote as ONE BODY for the measures that benefit the capitalist class. They work and vote as one body against all measures for the protection of the laboring class. The capitalist of all countries thoroughly recognize the fact that the people of all countries are divided into two classes—the workers, who produce ALL the wealth of the nations and who compose more than 90 per cent. of the population, and the capitalist parasites, who "toil not, neither do they spin," who produce nothing but poverty and distress and, though composing less than 10 per cent. of the population of earth, yet own 85 per cent. of all the wealth. When workers will vote as a class for their interests, just as the capitalists do, they will control the government much more easily than capital does and certainly with more benefit to humanity. "Workmen of all nations, UNITE."

CONTRASTS. Hundreds of thousands of pounds of bread and meat lie rotting unable to find a market, where tens of thousands of human beings are starving to death, unable to obtain work; human blood flows in streams, in order to gain markets for woollen cloths and velvets in far distant parts of the world, while the people who labor to produce these woollens and velvets wear cotton and cotton prints.—Dr. W. Veresaeu.

The Democrats are looking for an issue on which they can win. Whether it is right or not is a matter of minor consideration.—Erie People

THE QUAY CHAIR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BY HORACE TRAUBEL.

No good thing ought to be lost. I am glad the University of Pennsylvania is to provide for Quayism. Quayism is Pennsylvania in short and long, Quayism is the history and idealism of Pennsylvania writ large and small. Quayism has often been questioned, but Quayism has been as often endorsed as questioned. Therefore vive Quayism. It awards the gates of the commonwealth.

You are incredulous. But the University is not incredulous. The University will give Quayism a chair. And if a suggestion from me could count for anything in university circles, I would like to cast my weight for Quay himself as the original occupant of the chair. Let Quay initiate the line of illustrious instructors.

Quay would set there in the shadow of learning and dispense Jovialite the decrees of his august estate. The young idea could then learn how to shoot. Quayism would clear the atmosphere of moral fobbe. Quayism would show the youngster that he had no call to sit at the feet of the humanities to imbibe wisdom. Quayism would describe the circle of moral infinities and keep all youth outside on its perilous margins. Quayism would manure and massage the ancient virgins—so that the virgin consciousness of the modern boy might leave the shades of the university equipped at the start for the dubious rank and file—especially the rank-of-the-political hierarchies.

What use has Quayism for the virtues? Abolish the virtues. The virtues are not practical. They are never quoted in markets. They do not march parades or quicken the lobby. They shrink the caucus and ignore the bribe. Pennsylvania has slept its life to a moral mist. Pennsylvania refuses to make moral distinctions. It refers all its doubts to Quayism. Quayism is the final vagary. Politics can fall no lower. But Quayism is not Quay. Quayism is what Quay is not. In our moral lethargy, it is proper that we should celebrate ourselves. Therefore the new chair. Therefore the University throws its aegis about Quayism. It would be sacrilege for a great institution of learning to ignore or discredit the most serious political philosophy of its commonwealth.

Now you can get your boys started right. Now you can send them to Penn without fear that their impressionable brains will be rattled and added with the outgrown sentiment-

Current Literature

All books and pamphlets mentioned in this column may be obtained through the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York.

The "Comrade" has enlisted the services of another cartoonist, Ryan Walker, some of whose work is excellent, though it does not all come up to the mark. "Uncle Lew the Head that Wears a Crown" and "The Sower" are his two contributions to the June number—the first referring to the coronation of King Edward, the other to the unavailing persecution of Tolstoy. May we suggest, to him and to other artists in this respect—that a good cartoon needs little or no lettering, that a label on every figure and object detracts from the effect instead of strengthening it. F. Dahme illustrates an amusing bit of satirical verse by Upton Sinclair.

"The Battle of the Librarians," telling of a fierce conflict between Charles Squy of the Social Party and Andrew Arakly, Leading Gentleman of the Old Homestead Company, J. H. Morier has a telling cartoon showing the roles of legislator, judge, and soldier. Charley Lindley, General Secretary of the Socialist Party of Sweden, contributes a brief account of the movement in that country. Leader Ladoff tells "How I Escaped from Russia," and Caroline Pemberton, "How I Became a Socialist." The closing sentences of the last named article merit to be quoted: "I started out one day to find the Socialist Party of Philadelphia. It was hard work finding it. But I found it at last and saw that it was made up of people—real people—working people—and since that day I have learned more of Socialism from them than I ever could have learned from books." We may add that it is due in no small degree to Miss Pemberton's work that the Socialist Party of Philadelphia is no longer hard to find.

"Cannibalism" is an admirable bit in W. A. Corey's well known humorous style; we could not, however, find he had not dropped the humorous form in the closing paragraphs. Owen R. Lovejoy, taking young Rockefeller's "American Beauty" Sunday-school talk as a text, writes suggestively on "The Survival of the Fittest."

The Collectivist Society has published in pamphlet form W. J. Ghent's article in the "Independent" of April 3, entitled "The Next Step: A Benevolent Feudalism." Mr. Ghent's article, which has attracted much attention, is a very skillfully drawn picture of social conditions as they exist to-day, dignified as a prophecy of the future. From a note appended to the article we are amused to see that another man claims to have worked out the idea first. As a matter of fact, apart from an unwarranted pessimism, there is absolutely nothing in Mr. Ghent's article which has not been stated over and over again in the Socialist press. To Socialists the conditions described are a matter of commonplace knowledge, yet when a prominent magazine publishes an article skillfully presenting this knowledge, diluted with an invertebrate pessimism, the author is proclaimed a most wonderfully original and clever person.

He has laboring cattle-men, women, and children to till the land, to smelt the iron, to weave the cloth, he has foremen and superintendents to rule the toilers; he has learned men to do his thinking. The capitalist's own work runs into the sewer exclusively.—Lafargue.

inities of religions. Now your sons will get at once down to the spade and the hoe. Now they will take life at first hand. And, with Quay himself there, from the master himself. Think what it may mean for them to get their debut from the master himself. For the master may not speak words. He may simply refer your sons over his shoulder to his own career. He will teach by autobiography. The boys will realize that they are in the presence of a world maker. They will feel the heat of the fire and work at the sweat and wipe off learning's brow the avail of Quay's toll. And you will go about your business reassured. For you will know that your boys are not to come from the altars of culture incapable of making livings for themselves. You will know that they will come instructed and energized to pull the popular leg at the first fall.

I have often wondered what universities were good for. Now I see what they may be made good for. Now I see that a university may be as practical as a faro. Now I see that a university may be as practical as a bribe.

Quayism has its crowning triumph. All chairs will defer to this chair. All wisdom will unseat to this toilet. Dead learning will live again. Greek and Latin will crawl before this strat. All ethical lectureships will refer their problems to this latest born adjunct of culture. Quayism will wear the crown jewels. Quayism will establish a literature. The old text books will be forewarned. A new code will unfurl its standards. All past coats of arms will be sponged. A fresh interpretation will be given the ancient symbols. Two hands big enough to grab the whole earth. That will bring apology up to date. That will finish democracy. That will curial all moral prerogative at one roundup.

The University stands with the pioneers. Quayism will give the final touch to culture. Graduates have come from the university half done. We never knew exactly what was misad. But we knew the compound was not complete. Now the last is found. Now imperfect becomes perfect. Quayism relieves education of all its perils. With culture quayed scholarship will no longer suffer its historic poverty. Scholarship will depart upon its mission schooled for all the exigencies of intrigue and success. The grave moral seniors retire. The pirate freshmen know that to make culture spell spoil is to have learned the final lesson.

PLAIN DUTY. BY J. E. Nash. A foolish young preacher proclaimed His duty, PLAIN DUTY to tell. Some facts which he took from a Socialist book. About our industrial hell. His whole congregation were workmen. With poverty sorely oppressed. Except, if you will, the fine gent on the hill. Who paid more than all of the rest.

How strange for he never attended. He managed the men at the mill; The shrewd superintendent, with fewish resentment. Who cut the men's wages at growing. It helped to keep divided the growing. How skillful it made him appear; So he asked, and he got, 'twas as easy as not. A raise of ten thousand a year.

Now this is the preacher's announce ment. "Wage workers have rights to secure; I claim they are slaves, from their birth to their graves. And will preach on the cause and the means."

He packed the old church to the pulpit. Quoted largely with men from the mill; Two thousand and ten of those hard working men. And likewise the man from the hill. The pastor asked God for His blessing. On that which he purposed to say; A chapter was read, and his text he it said.

Wage preachers skip over to-day. His labor he created, he told them. By labor; but please away. Through legal devices and trusted prices. By profits and rents that they pay. And false is our system of wages; The surplus from labor retained. Though legal the dealing, 'tis morally stealing. And well was the system explained. He said that the hard toiling workmen.

Were slaves to a parasitic class; Who gave them less heed, in their trouble and need. Then they gave to a mule or an ass. I'll finish my sermon this evening. As God shall direct me, said he, And I'll point out the way, you may hasten the day. That will set all humanity free. Before it was evening this notice. Came in from the man on the hill; My payment suspended, unless you have ended. All questions concerning the mill. That evening he preached about man's sins. Where men after death may reside. If on earth they repeat and through life are content. With wages the Lord shall provide. Therefore like other wise preachers. He started the paymaster's will. With salary doled, and never more troubled. The system or man on the hill.

BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP.

By Edmond Kelly.

(Note.—Mr. Edmond Kelly is the author of "Justice and Collectivism" and late Professor of Economics and Municipal Government at Columbia University.)

In an article on "Government Ownership and Class Rule" in The Worker of April 6 it is argued that government ownership under capitalist government will be of no benefit to the working class; that its indiscriminate advocacy is now a distinct hindrance to Socialist propaganda.

If this contention means that Socialists must not be content with pushing measures favoring government ownership, but perhaps at the same time organize for the purpose of securing control of the government, all Socialists are likely to agree.

If, however, it means that the Socialists must control the government before efforts are made to secure government ownership, the contention is worth careful examination; for, if well founded, it would prevent Socialists from favoring any movement in the direction of government ownership until Socialists were themselves in control of the government.

This contention is a part of a general question of policy of immediate importance to all those interested in practical Socialism, and constitutes the great stumbling block in the way of concerted Socialist action to-day in France.

When parliamentary government was threatened in its very existence by the divers opinions held regarding the Dreyfus case, and the inability of any ministry to secure a sufficiently permanent majority to transact the business of the country, M. Waldeck-Rousseau was dragged from retirement which he had embraced because he seemed to be the only man in France capable of uniting a sufficient number of elements in the Chamber to weather the hurricane that was blowing from every side of the compass at that critical juncture.

Obviously, at that time there was only one issue upon which the parliamentary factions could unite: There must be either a majority found in favor of Dreyfus, or one found against Dreyfus. Waldeck-Rousseau found a majority consisting of the entire Left, including the Socialists pure and simple, in favor of a fair trial; and he constituted a cabinet in which all the factions of the extreme left were represented, including the Socialists themselves in the person of M. Millerand.

For the first time in the history of France it became possible for the Socialist to exercise some influence upon legislation through representation in the ministry. The presence, however, of Millerand in the Waldeck-Rousseau Cabinet immediately determined a division in the ranks of the Socialists, an important part of them maintaining that Socialists should not compromise with a capitalist government, but must remain in opposition until they were strong enough to elect a homogeneous Socialist ministry, capable of carrying through the entire Socialist program.

The argument presented by this faction of the Socialist Party in France, known as Guesdists, is very similar to the contention made in the article referred to, and as such is entitled to our most careful consideration; the issue it raises may be stated thus: Shall Socialists co-operate with those citizens who have not imagination enough to understand—or, perhaps, sincerity enough to admit—the righteousness of the Socialist cause, but who, nevertheless, are sufficiently impressed in favor of municipal ownership to vote for it, venture to point out in support of the affirmative the following argument:

Assuming that the policy of the Socialist should be to secure control of the government, he can only do this in one way: By bringing to any one election a majority of voters to the polls. The art of securing government may be reduced to the art of causing a majority of votes to be cast at the polls. What, at the present moment, are the difficulties in the way of securing such a result, whether at a city, state, or a national election?

I take it that the greatest obstacle to this is ignorance. Not one cultivated man out of a hundred has yet taken the trouble to study Socialism; the general notion about Socialism is that it is a crazy expression of discontent, vaguely connected with anarchy and assassination. This creates an emotional opposition to Socialism. The few who reason on the subject of Socialism are opposed to it because they believe that Socialism is not practical; some believe that it is by the organization of trade unions alone that the working-man can fight the capitalist; others, who have studied Herbert Spencer, believe that there are scientific and philosophical reasons against Socialism. To the ignorant there is no lesson so potent as actual experience. It has been found quite useless to tell New York citizens that the city of Manchester manufactures gas at one-half the price that is charged by private companies in New York. They won't believe it; or they will endeavor to explain it away on some such theory as that of a lower rate of wages prevailing in England. The only way to satisfy the New York citizen that the city of New York, can manufacture gas cheaper than private companies for the city to do it. The only way to satisfy the New York citizen that the city can run trams cheaper than private companies is for New York to do it. When the New York citizen finds that the city can manufacture gas and run trams cheaper than private companies, he may then be induced to undertake the task of distributing coal, milk, ice, and other necessities. When the New York citizen discovers that the city can do this cheaper than private companies, the citizen will then be prepared to take the next step looking towards an extension of municipal functions.

It is useless to ignore the lack of imagination of our fellow parishioners.

They not only lack imagination, but they lack the faculty of their senses; to-day, as 1900 years ago, may it still be said "eyes have they and see not; ears have they and hear not!" If we wait until a majority of citizens are converted to the entire Socialist program, we shall have to wait—like the Roman peasant—until the Tiber runs dry.

Fortunately, there are many men of ability who are preaching the economy of municipal ownership. These men have not yet grasped the whole Socialist program, and probably never will, but they are at present willing, not only to vote themselves for municipal ownership, but to induce others to do so. If to this vote of all the workmen could be added, it is not unreasonable to suppose that a majority could soon be secured, in most of the large cities of the Union, in favor of municipal ownership. This once achieved, a distinct progress would have been gained towards the securing of national ownership, and thus slowly the ignorance that doesn't believe in the economy of government ownership and that constitutes the most formidable obstacle to Socialism, would be gradually removed.

It is perfectly true that so long as government is in the hands of the capitalist class, so long the realization of the whole Socialist program will be adjourned; but the question before us is not how would LIKE best to realize Socialism, but how we CAN best realize it. Obviously, we would all be most satisfied were we to be able to secure a majority in favor of Socialism at once, and at once carry out the whole Socialist program. But there are two convincing reasons why we should not be able to do this: The first is the argument drawn from history; the other is the argument drawn from existing facts.

The argument drawn from history may be briefly stated as follows: No radical, social or political change was ever effected in a short time; the more sudden a revolution, the greater the reaction from it; the slower the revolution, the less the reaction from it. The slower, therefore, the change, the more permanent is it likely to be. This is the lesson of history.

When we turn now to the existing facts we find that the ignorance that prevails on the subject of Socialism is so colossal that we cannot hope to dispel it, except by the slow persuasion which comes from the experience of actual results.

But there is another reason for preferring the slow method: The running of a business is not an easy business to learn; the manufacture of gas can only be managed by experts; all business has its own special difficulties to overcome. The very distribution of coal requires knowledge of detail which is possessed only by those who have been long engaged in its business; the same may be said of the distribution of ice, milk, and all other necessities. The great argument in favor of a municipality undertaking this class of business is that it ought to be able to do it more cheaply than a number of competing individuals. Just as it is easier for the national post office to distribute letters from door by door, so will it be cheaper for a city to distribute milk, coal, and all other necessities, door by door. But if the Socialists, having got control of the government, were to undertake immediately the business of manufacturing all the commodities which we need for our use and comfort, and the distribution of these commodities amongst all the citizens, with due regard to economy and fairness of distribution, without having previously educated a sufficient corps of officials to do this difficult task, is it not clear that their first efforts would result in confusion so bewildering that discredit would be thrown upon Socialism itself? Where, as in the contrary, a city or state were to assume, gradually, the management of gas one year, the management of trams the next year, the distribution of milk the next, the distribution of ice the next, and so on, is it not obvious that what a city could not undertake without the greatest danger at a single effort, it could undertake without danger by degrees?

There is, of course, a great deal more to be said on this subject. There is reason for believing that the transition from the fierce jealousy and hatred of individualism to the generosity and disinterestedness that should mark the Socialist regime is one that will require slow changes of temperament spreading over the lapse of considerable time; but it would take too long to develop the scientific arguments in favor of this contention. I shall therefore close this brief memorandum with the expression of regret that when the Central Labor Union of Toledo received a communication from the so-called Non-Partisan Federation, upon the board of which may be noted such names as those of Samuel M. Jones, Frank Parsons, John R. Commons, H. D. Lloyd, and others, the co-operation of the Union was refused by unanimous vote. Would it not have been possible vigorously to stand by the principles of the Union without refusing the co-operation of the men who, however little they may understand the real aim of the working-man, are nevertheless, with such light as they have, moving generally in the right direction?

—C. F. Hudson, of Jamaica Plain, Mass., writes: "Please continue my subscription to The Worker for one year. It is the real thing and pleases me because it calls things by their name. There is only one brand of Socialism and we get that, unadulterated, through The Worker. When we get the Daily I will have no excuse for reading a capitalist paper."

—Socialism would not break up the home of the workingman, but it might cause the millionaire to get along with a few less servants in his house.—Erie People.

REPLY TO MR. KELLY.

The arguments advanced by Mr. Kelly as a believer in Socialism, in favor of municipal ownership under capitalist administration, have all received previous attention in The Worker, and the present treatment of the question will therefore be brief. Mr. Kelly's contribution, being a particularly good presentation of the opposite view, is published that the two positions may be fairly compared and the correct position for Socialists thus seen.

For a more complete treatment of the question the reader is referred to an article entitled "The Essential Point in Socialist Propaganda," in The Worker of December 15, 1901; an article on "Socialism and Public Ownership," in The Worker of May 1, 1902; and an editorial, "The Socialist View of Municipal or Government Ownership," in The Worker of May 18.

Millerand, whose case is cited by Mr. Kelly as another phase of the same question of co-operation with capitalist forces, is universally condemned by the Socialist press and the Socialist parties of all countries. And even Jaures, his one time supporter, has now stated that a Socialist cannot consistently become a minister in a capitalist cabinet. The exigencies of the Dreyfus case and the supposed necessity of saving the republic were the only reasons advanced to justify his position, and these are no longer valid.

Our position is this: Municipal ownership under a capitalist administration will not appreciably benefit the working class; and, conceding that the previous establishment of municipal ownership might be of some small advantage to a Socialist administration and a step in the transition to Socialism, the fact remains that the Socialist movement would lose its essential character and ultimate aim in advocating municipal ownership under capitalist government, and that the spread of discontent and the pressure of an uncompromising, revolutionary Socialist movement will drive the capitalist political parties to establish municipal ownership sooner and more surely than any other form of agitation could.

It is this latter point that Mr. Kelly misses. The trusts are a step in the transition to Socialism, but Socialists would not for that reason spend their time in advocating the organization of trusts—the capitalists will attend to that themselves. And as mere municipal ownership, in itself, will not benefit the workers, it is a fatal mistake for believers in Socialism to advocate it independent of a change to working class government.

The fundamental error in the position taken by Mr. Kelly is the idea that the only reason for opposing a beneficial increase in the Socialist vote—is centered in his statement that: "The art of securing government may be reduced to the art of causing a majority of votes to be cast at the polls." On this point, see editorial under the heading "Not by Votes Alone."

Mr. Kelly believes that we should "co-operate with those citizens who have not imagination enough to understand—or, perhaps, sincerity enough to admit—the righteousness of the Socialist cause." This does not require much comment. The question is one of material interests and those who have not the sincerity to admit the correctness of our position are those whose material interests are opposed to it, although their material interests may lead them to favor municipal ownership in order to reduce taxation, etc. Socialism will not come primarily because it is "righteous," but because the material interests and necessities of the producing class demand it and because economic evolution will force it.

Mr. Kelly lays great stress on the "economy" of municipal ownership, but the working class would not get the benefit of this economy—it would go to the property-owning class in the hands of the capitalist. The working class does not pay the taxes except in the same sense that they pay the profits and dividends of the capitalist, for if reduction of taxation reduces the cost of living, a reduction in the cost of living is always followed by a reduction in wages, because the standard cost of living determines the wages of the workers, wages being forced down to this point by the competition for jobs. So the people who "endeavor to explain away" the economy of municipal ownership are those who, in some such theory as a lower rate of wages prevailing, are right after all. The trusts effect great economies, but the savings made by these economies go to the owners of the trusts. Likewise the savings made by the economy of municipal ownership would mostly go, indirectly, to the capitalist class in control of the government.

We are not quite so dependent on the ignorance of the people as Mr. Kelly is. The increase of the national Socialist vote from 2,000 in 1883 to 130,000 in 1900 would seem to show that there are learning at quite a good rate. And two and a quarter million Socialist votes in Germany shows that the economic and political education and organization of the working class is anything but a hopeless task. And it must not be forgotten that a great industrial crisis from overproduction, throwing thousands of men into the army of the unemployed, is likely to swell the Socialist ranks enormously. Such a crisis would bring more to our ranks than would the success of municipal ownership in any city in the nation. If the statement be true that "Not one cultivated man in a hundred has yet taken the trouble to study Socialism," it does not worry us in the least. For most of the men who have the time and money to become "cultivated" belong to the class whose material interests would cause them to oppose Socialism anyway. We do not think many workingmen, "having studied Herbert Spencer, believe that there are scientific and philosophical reasons against Socialism." The class which has time and education to study Herbert Spencer is the capitalist class, which we have to fight. Educated men who care more for the study of Herbert Spencer than the pursuit of wealth and whose intellect and idealism would lead them into the Socialist

movement would, of course, be a great and welcome aid, but the mass of Socialists must come from the workers, whose class interests the Socialist movement represents. Mr. Kelly says: "To the ignorant there is no lesson so potent as actual experience." But if municipal ownership is not Socialism where will the "lesson of actual experience" come in? And if municipal ownership is Socialism how will those whose ignorance makes them opposed to Socialism be converted to it?

Mr. Kelly says: "No radical social or political change was ever effected in a short time." How about the Declaration of Independence and the freeing of the chattel slaves by the Emancipation Proclamation? However, the point is that social changes are effected by a long process of economic development (for instance, the trusts as the economic evolution towards Socialism) and this social change is then recognized and its logical conclusions carried out and institutions adjusted to it by political change which may be sudden and revolutionary.

It is true that we cannot at once carry out the whole Socialist program, but the steps towards carrying it out consist in the gradual conquest of the powers of government. Wherever the Socialist Party is put in power it will carry out as much of the Socialist program as its power enables it to, and when the Socialist Party has captured the national government there is no reason why it cannot at once proceed to carry out the whole Socialist program.

As to the ability of a Socialist administration to immediately undertake the administration of industry, it may be pointed out that the real work of management is done for the capitalists by hired managers. These same men, if necessary, could be hired, at least temporarily, by a Socialist administration. Also, it must be remembered that much of the work of management necessary under the competitive system, such as getting trade, beating rivals, business strategy, etc., would disappear under Socialism. But there is no reason to doubt that workingmen who are able to organize and successfully maintain immense trade unions, in the face of all opposition from capitalists, government, and press, could also organize and manage industrial affairs.

Mr. Kelly says: "There is reason for believing that the transition from the fierce jealousy and hatred of individualism to the generosity and disinterestedness that should mark the Socialist regime is one that will require slow changes of temperament spreading over the lapse of considerable time." This is aside from the question under consideration, but it may be remarked in passing that, although generosity and disinterestedness will no doubt mark the Socialist regime and be most natural under it, they are not prerequisites to its establishment, but will follow naturally after the removal of the economic causes of jealousy and hatred. Human nature changes quickly in response to education and right environment. Let the child of a coarse and ignorant parents be adopted and educated by a refined, kindly, and intelligent couple, and if the child itself does not develop into a refined, kindly, and intelligent being, at least the children of that child will, if reared under the same circumstances. Considering this, it is doubtful if the change wrought in the race by the better environment of Socialism, will require a very considerable lapse of time to show itself.

As to Mr. Kelly's regret that the Central Labor Union of Toledo refused to co-operate with Samuel M. Jones, Frank Parsons, John R. Commons, H. D. Lloyd, and other "men who, however little they may understand the real aim of the workingman, are, nevertheless, with such light as they have, moving generally in its direction"—the question is not as to the sincerity of these men, but as to the intelligence and the correctness or incorrectness of their position. Sincerity does not render an illogical and mistaken position any less dangerous and harmful.

To come back to the subject of discussion, Mr. Kelly is correct in saying that our position "would prevent Socialists from favoring any movement in the direction of government ownership until Socialists were themselves in control of government." The Socialist position is that it is a matter of indifference to the working class, and that it is more likely to come as a concession to a revolutionary spirit in the working class than in any other way. We are opposed to the indiscriminate advocacy of mere municipal ownership. It is by those who avow themselves Socialists because it leads to confusion, compromise, and the weakening of the revolutionary spirit, and delays the growth of class-consciousness, by its failure to recognize the class divisions and antagonisms.

COURTENAY LEMON.

THE SOCIAL VOLCANO.

By Daniel K. Young.

We call them fools, those people of St. Pierre. Who sat in peace while Pelee groaned in pain, And heeded not those warnings shrieked in vain, But said, "For us there is no cause for fear, The ground is firm and our estates are here." Till in an instant that most hellish rain Of fire and death had wiped them off the plain And naught was left but desolation here. But what of them, who heedless of the groans Of poverty and human sufferings, Their fellow men continue to enslave, With jeer and taunt at men's despairing moans? Oh, plutocrats and emperors and kings, Take heed from Pelee's desolating wave.

Mosquito Bites

By PETER E. BURROWES

Persons whose call in this world it is to reform the wicked have always deplored that moral perversity of the criminal mind by which it becomes ungrateful with the fellow that "squeaked" on the criminal than with the victim of his crime. President Roosevelt is just developing that very tendency which has brought forth so many lamentable prison sermons and made the righteous weep for so many ages. The President is crying, "Who squeaked on Arnold—the torturer of the Philippines?" If he were not something very much less than a moralist, he would be asking, "Who dares to conceal these unmanly crimes under the guise of patriotism?"

If there is anything else outside the cat family as like to a cat as a kitten that something else is ultimately a public opinion. You may kill your cat eight times, and as everybody knows, it comes up the ninth time, snuggling with a new lease of life, requesting your signature. The press, the school, the pulpit, the landlord, the grocer, the policeman, the army, the general world at large, have united in killing off pro-striker public opinion. Yet, marvellous to relate, the capitalist conspirators both in Chicago and Pennsylvania are to-day up against a stronger pro-striker public opinion than they ever faced during all their previous wringing against labor. So far they have succeeded in stifling off each little group of workers resisting on behalf of human liberty and life and the least exhortations above named have buried the strike opinion. But lo, here it is, the ninth time. We begin to understand now why Hanna takes an interest in arbitration.

The president of the War College, R. L. Captain-Frank E. Chadwick, has delivered what is called a scholarly, and what was at least in one respect, an appreciative address on the inevitable character of our future wars. He said that, as wars in the past have generally been of a commercial character, so are they sure to be in the future. Of course this view takes the glory-hallelujah gift off the warrior's gingerbread, and makes of such magnificent patriotic bombshells as Spooner and Grosvenor mere commercial drummers and fifers, mere commercial pig-stickers. Alas! Now if Chadwick would go a step farther and tell us that commerce is itself only a war upon the world's labor for the appropriation of workmen's products by the parasite class in possession of the armies of the nations, his hearers would have had a true diagnosis of war. But you cannot expect to learn too much at a kindergarten-like the War College.

There is a man out Chicago way who writes for the New York "Times," a tory paper of this city, and this correspondent of a good tory paper frequently distinguishes between workmen, or poor people, and citizens. The last case of this peculiar new Americanism is in his report of the blocking up of Halsted street during the teamsters' strike by a street car, which, he says, was full of "citizens" who appeared to favor the "workmen" on strike. This untheorizing of poorer people I also recall in a former report of some "citizens" who saw certain persons carrying away an old house for firewood. People in want of firewood are not.

The press of Great Britain has its share of snob reporters; but there is nothing in all Snobland can match the perpetual sneer at London's poverty and London's poor which appears in the columns of our big New York dailies. The newspaper readers of London are still too democratic for the impudent, cheap, cynical stuff that goes for daily description in a New York dailies. How coarse, how vulgar, how ragged, how ignorant, how ignorant, how noisy, the "people of the East End of London" appear to the little Yankee snob reporter you can see for yourself by reading the reports of the Mafeking and peace jubiliations of poor London.

Well, the Boer war is over, and it is well over; and it will be better over if some of our Socialist comrades will learn in future not to slip over on mixed questions of this sort. We are friends of all attainable rightly based liberty, but not therefore blind advocates of every new brigandage which takes to the mountains in that sacred name. What connection is there between a war upon the principles of capitalism and a sentimental enthusiasm for the gloomy despotic Boer? I never mistook him for a champion of liberty; and I am glad to have escaped the company of his numerous and varied political friends here in the United States.

The question of who is boss in the United States is evidently not an open question in the minds of that great railroad president who has played such a conspicuous part in the organizing of the present railroad war upon trade unions known to us as "the miners' strike." He says, with reference to the New York Board of Trade's appeal to President Roosevelt to step in and do something, "I do not believe and do not believe that I will call your attention to take these resolutions seriously." And then he intimates who is king by showing "the mischief of creating in the minds of the strikers the idea that there is a new way by which the operators (owners) can be forced to grant demands WHICH THEY ARE NOT DISPOSED TO GRANT AND WILL NOT GRANT." Now who is king? Show me any language of unreason and disposition to match that; and as applied to the head of a state, show me any language of rebellion and defiance to match it. But it comes from the capitalists, and our

government has been so long bossed from that quarter that even Roosevelt is not strenuous enough to mind it. I wonder could we grow an Andrew Jackson to-day?

If that Captain, or Colonel, MacDonald, who was accused of cruelty, oppression, immorality, and a little merriness by one of his soldiers, can carry his bluff through of prosecuting and punishing his accuser, he will undoubtedly be regarded by the military as a friend of their order and a rehabilitator of their Americanism and their honor. To frighten off at this stage of our expansion the honest, simple, Christian soldier, brought up in our Sunday schools, from telling the truth about things that sort, which count for nothing among patriots, is very essential to the maintenance of a good old-fashioned blind soldiering which does nothing but obey.

Bishop Thorburn's wretched showing before the Philippine committee the other day ought to be a warning to ecclesiastics to avoid exposing how little they know about God's dignities. Although he volunteered the statement that "God put us into the Philippines," he got badly rattled on a few hypothetical questions. The Bishop proved that his God is a Republican politician who will do nothing detrimental to the interests of the party. That God is a Methodist and a Republican is naturally enough the Bishops' creed. He used to be a Democrat and belonged to other denominations before Lincoln's time.

All the hands in Germany are practicing "Hail Columbia" and "Yankee Doodle." The Boer war is finished and the Kaiser's commercial expansion in that continent is therefore temporarily impeded. In one day the German press has passed from hatred to good fellowship with us and with the English. Prince Henry means that there is business to be done. There is no objection to civility, of course; none to good-fellowship; none to learning our tunes and to flattering us. The only objection is to the rapidity and grossness of these changes as ordered from the circles of our masters. Insincerity, humbug, and lying are expected from a dime auctioneer; but the common people have not yet so fully realized the degeneracy of public life under capitalism as to hop about with kaisers and other mountebanks with the parasite class in possession of the armies of the nations, his hearers would have had a true diagnosis of war. But you cannot expect to learn too much at a kindergarten-like the War College.

A high and unusual compliment has been paid to Generals Corbin, Young, and Wood in the invitation to come to the military manoeuvres in the Fatherland as the personal guests of his Majesty, Kaiser William, and he to pay all the expenses! Such a compliment has been paid by his Majesty to no other three gentlemen on earth. Now what more do you want? Now won't you do business with us? A Boer boy could put a little more polish on than these potentates.

GOMPERS WAS TOO TIRED.

There is considerable dissatisfaction in many parts of the country with the disinclination of the several executive officers of the American Federation to exert themselves in helping strikers to gain their demands.

George Ramsey, chairman of the strike committee of the striking carriage workers of Cincinnati, in the official Journal of the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union of North America, says: "President Gompers of the A. F. of L. while in Cincinnati was visited by a committee of the locked-out carriage and wagon workers and requested to wait on the manufacturers in conjunction with the committee and see if they could bring about a settlement of the differences existing."

"Gompers said he was sorry for the carriage workers, that his heart beat for them, and that he sympathized with them. And when the committee told him that it was not sympathy they were after but assistance from him as the head of the A. F. of L. and the carrying out of the duties of his office and try to settle the lock-out and strike that had been endorsed by the A. F. of L. he said he did not have, and was tired, and that he would, as deputy Frank Bist in his place, state the committee declined to accept."

"Samuel, this is a very bad state of affairs for the A. F. of L. to have a representative who is too tired to fulfill the duties of his office. But it was no more than we expected of him, as it was in keeping with the action of Secretary F. Morrison, when he was in Cincinnati investigating the same affair. Now, Sam, you little know that the men you refused to help in their hour of need are the men who stood by you and the cigarmakers when the K. of L. through Powderly and the ex-board, were fighting you. Now, it seems that you have fallen into the same rut as Powderly. It seems that you have forgotten the men that compose the A. F. of L. and assume to be greater than the organization, in refusing to do the duties of your office."

"In tending to the representatives of capital and ignoring the representatives of labor I will call your attention to the fate of Powderly and suggest it may be yours if you don't change your ways."

A NEW LEAFLET.

What Do You Think of the Beef Trust? 10 copies 5 cents. 50 copies 15 cents. 100 copies 25 cents. 1,000 copies \$2.00. Postpaid, cash with order. SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO., 184 William St., New York.

FOR THE DAILY.

Report of Progress in Gathering Funds.

Important Report of Organization Committee—Considered by Board of Management and to be Presented at Next General Meeting.

The Board of Management of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association met on Monday evening and received the report of the Organization Committee, which was exhaustively discussed and will be presented to the next general meeting of the Association on Monday evening, July 7. This report is of the utmost importance and there should be a full attendance to consider it.

Amounts Pledged.

Following is a statement of amounts pledged for the Socialist Daily Fund up to June 9:

Previously acknowledged	\$5,833.00
Louis Michael, City	1.00
L. B. Palewsky, City	1.00
H. Goldberg, City	25.00
Frances J. Malloy, Brooklyn	5.00
Arb. K. u. S. Kasse, Br. 17, East New York	25.00
Mr. and Mrs. Max S. Hayes, Cleveland, O.	25.00
Edward Cole, Dwyer, N. H.	3.00
P. A. Levene, City	50.00
223 A. D. City	10.00
W. E. Ottner, City	5.00
Fred. Ebberts, City	2.00
Total	\$5,983.00

Cash Receipts.

The following amounts have been received on pledges and donations:

PAID ON PLEDGES.	
Lena Rabinowitz, City	\$ 2.00
Louis Michael, City	50
S. Zechnowitz, City	10.00
F. J. Malloy, Brooklyn	1.00
Chas. R. Bach, Rochester	10.00
L. D. Abbott, City	5.00
A. Schenberger, City	1.00
J. A. Goldstein, City	2.00
A. S. Lindenmeyer, Hoboken	1.00
E. Neppel, City	5.00
P. Bauer, City	1.00
M. M. Bartholomew, City	1.00
E. M. Clark, City	10.00
E. M. M. City	5.00
Miss J. Dubman, City	4.00
Jos. A. Dunne, City	2.00
A. Willam, City	3.00
Mr. and Mrs. Geo. D. Herron	200.00
Joshua Epstein	2.00

CASH CONTRIBUTIONS.

Tom Heide, Williamsbridge . . . 80
Chas. Moser, Williamsbridge . . . 1.00
John F. Clark, City . . . 5.00
Peter E. Burrowes, Brooklyn . . . 1.00
Total for week: On pledges, \$265.50; contributions, \$7.80; \$273.30
Previously acknowledged, \$3,388.68
Total cash . . . \$3,661.98
Comrades who have made pledges are requested to notify Comrade Butscher at once of any change in address, as it will save considerable time and expense.

District Organization.

The district managers are as follows:
4th A. D.—Dr. J. Halpern, 250 East Broadway.
6th and 10th.—Henry L. Slobodin, 60 Second avenue.
11th.—Geo. Brown, 423 West Thirty-eighth street.
12th.—Wm. Halpern, 402 Grand street.
13th.—Hugo Pick, 326 W. Thirty-eighth street.
15th and 17th.—Wm. Meyer, 408 W. Fifth street.
18th and 20th.—J. N. Wood, 321 E. Sixteenth street.
19th.—M. L. Klaubner, 132 W. Sixty-sixth street.
21st.—E. M. Martin, 887 Columbus avenue.
22d.—A. Mayell, 220 E. Fifty-second street.
23d.—E. F. Clark, 501 W. One Hundred and Sixty-fourth street.
24th.—Siskind Goldfarb, 311 E. Fifty-fourth street.
Yorkville Agitation District.—H. C. Bowerman, 510 E. Eighty-first street.
34th and 35th.—A. Halpern, 670 E. One Hundred and Seventy-first street.
Newark and Vicinity.—D. Rubinow, 65 Sherman avenue, Newark.
Hudson County, N. J.—For Jersey City, F. Kraft; for North Hudson County, Ferd. Ufert.

Notice to Contributors.

Pledges should be drawn and checks and money orders made payable to the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association. All communications should be addressed to the newly elected Agent of the Association, Wm. Butscher, Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, New York.

The Worker will contain, each week, a list of contributions received up to Monday preceding the date of issue. If any contribution sent is not promptly acknowledged the sender should at once inform Comrade Butscher, that the matter may be investigated and set right.

Those who have made pledges should remember to send in the monthly installments promptly, saving the trouble and expense of notifying them. Let each one feel his personal responsibility for the work we have undertaken and his power to hasten the coming of the Socialist Daily.

SWEDISH WORKERS MEET.

On Saturday evening, June 14, there will be held in Teutonia Assembly Rooms, Third avenue and Sixteenth street, a mass meeting of Swedish workmen to consider the question: Can we Swedish workers in this country do anything to help our struggling brothers in Sweden to gain universal suffrage?

BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.

OHIO CONVENTION.

Extends Fraternal Greetings to Striking Miners—Convention Both Spirited and Harmonious.

In Columbus, Ohio, on Decoration Day, the Socialist Party held its Ohio convention. Forty-nine delegates were present, representing 539 party members. Secretary Critchlow's report showed twenty-nine locals in existence, with 822 members.

A full state ticket was nominated, as reported last week, headed by Max S. Hayes for Secretary of State.

Fred. G. Strickland of Yellow Springs was elected state organizer; Dayton was chosen as headquarters, and C. G. Strickland as state secretary, with M. J. Hynek, Thos. Fisher, Edw. Gardner, Frank Trus, and Geo. Webber as Local Quorum. The Secretary will receive a salary of \$15 a week.

The following resolution, introduced by Delegate Keogh of Toledo, was adopted with ringing shouts of approval: "We, the Socialists of Ohio, in convention assembled, send greetings to our fellow wage-earners the striking coal miners of Pennsylvania, and hereby pledge our moral and financial support in so far as we are able to assist them, and earnestly hope they will carry their struggle to successful termination. We would call their attention to the fact that organized capital can be finally defeated by organized labor only at the ballot-box, and urge upon them the necessity of voting as they strike and elect members of the working class instead of representatives of those whose interests are opposed to them."

On this resolution the Cleveland "Citizen" comments thus: "We have heard of no other political party that has taken a stand on this question and do not expect to. The action taken at Columbus proves once more that the Socialist Party is not a 'friend of labor,' and does not deal in meaningless phrases and cheap gush, but it is THE labor party of Ohio." The convention was a spirited and yet a harmonious one. Most of those present actively took sides in all the discussions. One of the most earnest discussions was upon the adoption of the resolution introduced by C. R. Martin for national centralization in party affairs as opposed to state autonomy. On this question the old and experienced comrades, led by Martin and Hayes, were in favor of the resolution, while the newer comrades led by Strickland, were against its adoption. On a narrow margin the opposition succeeded in having the resolution tabled.

The draft of party constitution, as printed in The Worker of May 11, was taken up, seriatim, altered, and corrected, and after earnest thought and careful deliberation the convention finally drafted a constitution which will be submitted to the membership for ratification or rejection. It provides, among other things, for a uniform system of dues of twenty-five cents per member per month, five cents of which goes to the National Committee, five cents to the State Committee, and the balance to be retained by the locals.

WORK IN PENNSYLVANIA.