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NEW YORK, MAY 27, 1905.

VOL. XV.-NO. 9.

THE CHILDREN WHO GO TO SCHOOL WITHOUT BREAKFAST. Probably Three Million of Them in This Great and

Glorious Republic.

While City, State, and Nation Spend Hundreds of Millions Yearly on Army, Navy, Militia, Police, and Prisons, They Tolerate Conditions Which Inevitably Produce Criminals and Degenerates-One of the Monster Evils That the So-

cial Democratic Party Proposes to Destroy. From an article by John Spargo on "The Underfed Children in Our Public Schools" in a recent number of the "Independent" we take the fol-lowing extracts, and commend them to the serious attention of all men with

with milk on it rather than medicine

The head of the Bables' Hospital.

feeding through poverty and improp

auses of the great majority of chil-

dren's ailments treated. Sometimes

underfeeding and improper feeding ar

tea and bread. Such a case will often

be regarded as one of improper feed-

ing through ignorance, when, in fact,

it is one of underfeeding due to pover

ty. A classification of the cases en-

tered in the Babies' Hospital for a

solute underfeeding, five to improper

feeding, and only three in which thes

causes did not appear as primary fac

The Presbyterian Hospital reports of

majority of its patients suffering from

under-nutrition. The Superintendent,

Of the 1,359 cases of pulmonary tuberen

losis visited by our district nurses we are convinced that one-third of that number

are suffering from insufficient and improp

one-sixth of the number suffered from ma

rasmus and one-ninth with rachitis. Both

these diseases are essentially due to under

At one large dispensary where they

treated more than 4,000 children las

year, I was told that quite 50 per cent.

of all the cases were due, wholly or in large part, to underfeeding or improp-er feeding. Taking only the absolute-

ly underfed, the Registrar told me that 33 1-3 per cent. would be a censerva-tive estimate. Fifty per cent. under-

fed was the estimate of the Superin

pensaries. Not less emphatic is the testimony of these principals and teachers in the schools who have given

the problem their attention. I have

heard teachers tell of children faintin

from exhaustion and hunger. In many

more cases I have been told of back-

ward, deficient, drowsy children, whose condition is directly traceable

to underfeeding. The average citizen who is inclined to doubt the wisdom

and perhaps also the need of providing

schools, would be surprised to know

the extent to which the teachers, out

of their generally too slender incomes provide suffering children with food

and sometimes with shoes and cloth-

Investigation in the schools is a diffi

cult task. Even where the teachers are observing, sympathetic and tactful

the natural sense of the shame of pov-

the gift of tact. . . . Where careful, private inquiry has been made

by the teachers the results have been alarming. I have before me the let-

ter of the principal of a school giving

in two classes, one of boys, the other

of girls. When I visited the school

"quite a number of underfed children.

the principal told me that there were

says that one-tenth of the children in

the boys' class subsequent inquiry

showed there were two boys very

teacher in the same school said that quite 50 per cent, of her class are un-

derfed. In another school I was told by the principal of children fainting in

school from lack of food. Of one thousand pupils I was told "at least one hundred are badly underfed; care-

ful inquiry would probably show that the number was much larger." This,

by the way, is one of the schools in

which a good deal of personal charity in the shape of food and clothing is

given by the teachers. In another school of some fourteen hundred chil-

dren the principal, a most human

man, assured me that there were "not

han, assured me has there were "not five cases in the whole school" of ne-cessitous children. He undertook to have his teachers personally and pri-vately inquire of every child in order that he might show how "absurd" the

estimate of 10 per cent. underfed chil-dren was. Of nine hundred and nine children whose cases were reported by

the teachers, one hundred and four had had no breakfast that day, while fifty-four children had had insufficient

and were hungry. In most cases they had had only bread and tea. Thus, the result shows 17 per cent, of the

Why They Are "Defective."

Principals and teachers have told me of children giving out, fainting from

of children giving out, fainting from hunger, and when they were given wholesome and nourishing food, which they ate ravenously, being nauscated because they were not used to it. In one school, where there is a special

class of backward, defective children

class of backward, deserted control provision has been made for feeding them. A fund has been created by the teacher, to which the children contribute their pennies, the balance be-

the teacher, to which the children con-tribute their pennies, the balance be-ing made up by the teacher and the principal. Every day at 10 o'cleek the children get a cup of hot milk each, and three times a week they get the products of the Girls' Cooking Class.

erty in the child is hard to over And not all teachers are blessed with

food for the children in our

tendent of another of the large

Miss Maxwell, says:

nutritlen.

er feeding through ignorance as

hearts in their bosoms and particularly to all workingmen:

Bread Should Come First. | bowl of sorp or a good dish of eatmen

"After Bread, Education is the Great Necessity." So runs the inscription upon one of the most famous public numents of Paris. That education is a social necessity is no longer seriously questioned. But the other idea of the French motto, that education must come after bread-that it is alike foolish and cruel to attempt to educate a hungry child-is often lost sight of. In the early days of the public agitation for free and compulsory education it was not infrequently urged that be fore the state should undertake to compel a child to attend its schools and receive its instruction it ought to provide for the adequate feeding of the child. That argument, happily, did not prevent the establishment and development of public education, but now that the latter institution has been firmly rooted in the soil of our social system, there is an increasing belief in the inherent wisdom and justice of the claim that the state has no moral right to attempt to educate an unfed child.

Apart from the question of moral right is the unwisdom of such a poli-All practical educators agree that the money and effort spent in the en denver to instruct hungry or underfed children are largely wasted. Few, if any, will disagree with Superintendent W. H. Maxwell of the New York Public Schools, when he says: "Education, whether physical or mental, i seriously retarded, if not practically impossible, when the body is improp-erly or imperfectly nourished." That erly or imperfectly nourished." mental under-development commonly attends physical under-development is a physiological fact too firmly estab-lished and too obvious for argument.

America Far Behind.

Our national complacency has re ceived a severe shock, or a series of shocks, in the form of the revelation of a growing and menacing poverty prob a growing and menacing poverty prob-lem of vast dimensions. The terrible, z-mister, challenging phrase, "ten mill-ions in poverty," alarms us. Some phases of the poverty problem we have studied and familiarized ourselves with, but its relation to our future citizenry. the children upon whom we lavish so much money and effort for their education, we have neglected. In this respect we are far behind officer nations, notably France. England and Ger-

Mr. Robert Hunter's estimate that in New York City alone some sixty to seventy thousand school children suffer from underfeeding has caused some-thing of a sensation. While no serious attempt has been made to dispute that estimate, or the data upon which it is based, there is a wide divergence of opinion, naturally in the absence of comprehensive and carefully collected facts. On Mr. Hunter's side are some of the most prominent and experienced officials of the great charitable sociederstated the extent of the evil, and In her letter written to me later s many of the most experienced memorial the girls' class were reported as under-men of large practice among the poor. the girls' class were reported as under-fel and one-fifth in the boys' class. In Others there are, of course, gard it as a wild guess, unwarranted by facts. But they do not offer any evidence in rebuttal of Mr. Hunter' statements. They give only a bare

Not a Local Evil.

It is not a question of sixty or seventy thousand underfed school children in New York, but of nearly three million children in the United States underfed, and suffering in cor sequence from under-development phy sically and mentally. Boston, Phila delphia, Cleveland, Chicago, Jerse; City, these and scores of other citie

are equally, in proportion to their size, confronted by this grave problem. Statistical data upon the question of underfeeding are scarcely obtainable, as no systematic inquiry has ever yet been made in the public scho any American city. During the past two months I have personally visited many of the largest public visited many of the largest punc-schools and gathered the experiences of the teachers and principals: I have gone over several of the schools, noting the individual children, learning their servations and inquiries by investiga tions at the homes of the children, made by trained investigators. In addition to these observations in the schools I have the testimony of physilarge practice amongst th poor, heads of large hospitals and dispensaries visiting nurses and others, whose collected testimony is based upon personal observations of many ands of cases every year.

Some Expert Evidence.

Miss I. S. Bainbridge, head of the Woman's Branch of the New York Missionary and Tract Society, says: The general experience of our thirty or lorty workers is that two-thirds of the ren in the tenement families are not ence of our trained nurses that their ser vices are asked for children who need a | prod

teacher begin to make progress with these defectives. She assured me that careful study and inquiry had led to clusion that there was gener ally, if not always, under-nourishment and consequent physical under-devel-opment to account for the mental un-der-development of the children. Experiments in Boston have shown sim-

Aside from the question of underceding, though often inseparable from , is the broader question of haproper feeding. This often is a result of the ignorance of the parents. . . . But there is a phase of the evil of improper feeding which I have found generally prevalent. Many of the mothers of the children go out to work in order to supplement the wages of their unsbands. In many of these cases the money, generally from three to five ents, with which to buy lunch. There s not the absolute lack of income associated with destitution, but an industrial condition which prevents the mother giving her attention to the poor to buy milk may give her child

Judicious expenditure upon

What Is To Be Done? That the evils of underfeeding and improper feeding due to the destruc-tion of the best features of home life by our industrial conditions are terri-ble in their magnitude and far-reaching influences is certain. Something

this is a problem which exists in every industrial and commercial center of the nation. While my recent investigations have been co While my recent persons New York, yet I have heard from teachers and others of similar condi-tions prevailing in other cities, notably, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago and Roston, Philadelphia, Chicago and Cleveland. Child labor investigations in Pennsylvania have shown that it s the underfed, undeveloped and backward child who is most often taken from school and sent to the factory or the mine. Thus the work of physical deterioration and ruin begun child leaves its cradle, ave, often it leaves the womb of the mother, is completed.

This Concerns YOU! What Will YOU Do?

Workingmen; this concerns YOU. You and your children are the ones who suffer-suffer unjustly, horribly. You, and you alone, can put an end

who suffer-suffer unjustly, horribly, You, and you alone, can but all the this suffering—to this slow starvation of the little ones.

We are tired of appealing to the mercies of the rich. It does no good. They are busy with their yachts and automobiles. They will now and them throw us a crumb of charity—and tell their hired slave-drivers to make it up in bigger profits next year out of OUR hides. They will not quit exploiting us. They will not GET OFF OUR BACKS. If anything is, to be done ,if this infamy is to be abolished, if even any partial immediate to be had, it is WE-we the sufferers, we the producers, we the majority of the voters-who must make the change.

This article is not addressed to all of you in a mixed and irresp crowd. It is addressed to EACH of you. How about XOU? Do YOU approve of this starvation of the children? Do YOU consent to it? Or do YOU wish it stopped? If so, what will YOU do?

cial Democratic Party stands with the greatest educators and the greatest sociologists of the day in declaring that it is the DUTY and the INTEREST of society to provide the largest possible opportunity for the free and full development of ALL the children into healthy, intelligent, and moral citizens. It is folly to expect a hungry child to grow up into a manly man or a womanly woman. We are now going about it the surest way to produce a generation of constitutional loafers, dullards, defectives, and produce a generation of constitutional loaders, that is the terminals. The Social Democratic Party says: Let us stop it! Let us have men and women with red blood in their veins and brains in their heads! Do you think these children go hungry because their parents are lazy? Well, even if it were so, the children are not to blame. Nor would that save us—ALL of us—from the evil and the shame of letting them go hungry and develop into two-legged beasts instead of decent fellow citizens.

But IT IS NOT TRUE. Whoever says it is a liar—or, at best, an ignoramus, who has not studied the question, and has no business to talk

The fathers and mothers of these hungry children are workingmen and working women. They work when they can—WHEN THE CAPITALISTS WILL LET THEM. They work for the capitalists profit, under this mis-WILL LET THEM. They work for the capitalists profit, under this imperable system, and AT THE CAPITALISTS TERMS. The capitalists cut wages down. Then the mothers must leave the home and go into the shop. The capitalists cut wages down again. Then the older children must leave school and go into the shop. And father and mother and child together case not earn enough, in tens of thousands of cases, to maintain the family. They live in a wretched, dark, stifling, unwholesome firetrap of a tenement and THE LANDLORD GETS RICH OUT OF THEIR POVERTY and the case of their capitalists. rent—a quarter or a third of their earnings—MUST be paid, or out they go.

So the little children go uncared-for and trudge off to school without break-

Well, the Social Democratic Party says this must stop. It says that IF THIS CITY CAN AFFORD TO SPEND FOURTEEN MILLION DOLL-ARS A YEAR ON POLICE AND JAILS AND JUDGES, IT CAN AFFORD TO SEE THAT THE SCHOOLCHILDREN GET BREAKFAST.

And you, reader, can help this movement if you will. Your one vot under the Arm and Torch will be as big as Morgan's under the Bird of under the Arm and Torch will be as big as Morgan's under the Bird of Prey or Belmont's under the Black Star. Your word to your neighborwill count. Your dime or dollar to the Socialist campaign fund will count. Your joining the party organization will count. All will count toward PUTTING AN END TO THE REIGN OF HUNGER AND FEAR.

*Don't forget—over ninety thousand evictions a year in this rich city—twice as many as there are in landlord-ridden Ireland.

SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUALITY.

Capitalism has destroyed individual-

ity and reduced the people to a dead Capitalism has reduced the masses

of the people to the dead level of poverty. It has reduced them to the dead

It has reduced them to the dead level of inability to avail themselves of the higher things of life.

that dead level. Socialism will give the whole human

things of life. All Socialists are intense individualists, as you will discover if you mingle

with them. I am an individualist I want an opportunity to develop

my individuality. I know that Socialism will give me the time and the means and the op-portunity to develop my individuality. And I also know that Socialism will give to every other man, woman and child the time and the means and the opportunity to develop his or her in-dividuality.

Capitaliam stifles individuality. Socialism will develop it. Capitalism reduces men to the dead evel of equal ignorance, flatness, dull

ness and uninterestingness.
Socialism will develop varied and cintillating individuality and original

o mingle with men.
Socialism means a fair deal for everybody.

Socialism means that all men shall have an equal opportunity to develop themselves. Each will naturally de-velop himself in accordance with his special bent. And all will acquire wide culture and enlightenment. But their special development will make them far more varied and unlike than they are now. They are very much at the same stage of lack of develop-

Capitalism, by forcing men to spend Capitalism, by forcing men to apear their entire lives in earning a hare ex-istence, prevents the development of their individuality. Their individuality is slumbering. Socialism will awaken it. There was a time when a certain measure of individuality was a com-

No, Socialism will not destroy indi-viduality and reduce the people to a dead level. then attainable was open to all. It was the intention of the founders of the government that this should al-The statement in the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal means that they are all entitled to an equal opportunity ed that document could not forer industrial changes which were to cause that purpose to miscarry.

When wealth was somewhat evenly distributed, when the tools of pro-duction were simple, and the domain of idle land was ample, all men had approximately equal chances to achieve success in any line of endeavor. But since that time all has changed.

The wealth of the nation has con entrated into the hands of a few. We have developed into a nation of masters and slaves

The masses of the people live hand-to-mouth existence. They no longer have even financial

nighest individuality and originality

And on account of their poverty an heir long hours of labor, they are pre vented from developing individual along higher lines as well. I financial condition is such that it is impossible for them to reach out into the higher realms of investigation, of culture, and of thought, where

nay be cultivated and displayed. Socialism will give everybody est opportunities for self-improvent Socialism will take the children of the factories, stores and mines put them in school, where they lay a foundation on which to be individuality and originality.

Socialism will also cut down to ours required to provide the and comforts of life to such a extent that even the adult citizen will have more than half his time to

Every man has some inciplent indiciduality and originality.

Socialism will remove the bar Socialism will throw wide op-doors of ambition and high ea-ment. Socialism will make ex

MARCH OF THE UNEMPLOYED

England to See Duplicate of Coxey Army.

Following Ejection of Boot Workers' Union Delegation from Parliament Hall a General Demonstration of the Unemployed Is Now Under Way.

LONDON, May 17 .- A great nationemployed Bill now before Parliament is being organized by James Kela Hardie (Socialist member of Parlia ment and a well-known labor leader includes the march of several th unemployed men from the leading fac tory centers of the country to London on the lines of the "Coxey Army."

The date of the demonstration, which will take place in Hyde Park, has not been definitely settled, but it will be either June 10 or June 17. Men from Leicester, Glasgow, Newcastle, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham Leeds and other points will pour int London on the days immediately pre ceding the day set for the Hyde Park demonstration. Most of the men will march to London by road, but other will come here by train. A thousand men at Leicester, who had arranged to start for London on May 21, have participate in the general march.

The men will be advised to throw the responsibility for the maintenance of their wives and children during the pilgrimage upon the authorities, and their children will be directed to demand food in the schools.

There is no intention to send depu tations to Parliament, "where they probably would meet the fate of Grib ble (the leader of the delegation from the army bootmakers from Northampwho was thrown out of the speaker's gallery of the House of Commons on May 12 after attempting to address the House), but to concentrate such a nass of unemployed men in London that Parliament will actually see the necessity for legislation. In the meanwhile meetings will be held in Hyde Park, and all the inher tead-ces will make effective. Should the government previously acquiesce in the employed Bill, the demonstration will still take place, but it will be held in

congratulation instead of criticism of the government.-Associated Press The unemployed problem has become even more serious in Great Britain uring the past winter and spring than in the United States, and the Social Democratic Federation, the Indepen dent Labor Party, and other labor or ganizations have been making a vigorous agitation, demanding legislation to provide for public works to give employment to the masses whom cap-

The bill now before Parliament, to which reference is made in the foredispatch, is far from being satisfactory one. But even this small measure of relief, it is believed, will not be conceded by the capitalist pol-iticians in Parliament unless strong popular pressure is brought to bear upon them.

italism has thrown into idleness an

The reference to Gribble requires a little explanation. Dan Gribble is a member of the Social Democratic Federation and an officer of the Boot Workers' Union. The army bootmak-ers, employees of the government, are on strike as a result of the governmen having absolutely ignored their repeat ed protests against the granting of contracts to firms paying wages much below the union scale and maintaining real sweatshop conditions—such action union sent a delegation headed by Comrade Gribble to lay its protest be ore Parliament, but Parliament had no time to listen to workingmen' grievances, being busy with capitalist bery. The incident will undoubt edly react in favor of Socialism at the

The Social Democratic Federation and other progressive bodies actively assisted the boot workers' agitation. Party and of the Miners' Union.

A ONE-SIDED AFFAIR.

The annual report of the United States Rubber Company for the year ending March 31, 1905, shows net pro-fits of \$5,182,117, against net profits of \$2,642,877 for the year ending March 31, 1904, a cool doubling of the capi talists' profits. We have not heard that the rubber workers' wages have beer doubled, or even that they have got a 10 per cent. increase. "Prosperity" is a pretty one-sided affair.

stand on his merits instead of hi It will be a glorious thing to live

the Socialist commonwealth. Socialism will give men greater in dividuality than has ever yet existed

in this w The old stark aparchistic, hostile

tyrannical individuality which capital ism promotes is simply enmity toward

Socialism will develop the true individuality.

The true individuality is the wide culture and special development of the individual, not in opposition to, but in harmony with, the equal rights of others.

others.
This individuality is as much higher in quality than the old capitalistic individuality as the senith is higher than the equator.—John M. Work, in "What's Se and What Isn't."

AN OPEN LETTER. THE "VICTORY"

Portland C. L. U. Speaks for Chicago Strikers.

Central Labor Organization's Addresses to the Public and to the President Are Suppressed by All but One of the Local Newspapers.

PORTLAND, Me., May 20.—The Central Labor Union at its last meet-ing unanimously directed that the following statement to the public should be sent to all the local papers:

TO THE PUBLIC.

Owing to the persistent misstatements Owing to the persistent misstatements which are made concerning the teamsters attike of Chicago, this Central Labor Union feels abliged to lay before the public the true condition and causes.

The trouble arcse wholly with the Euployers' Association of tailors.

This Employers' Association broke their agreement with the union, refusing to abide by their contract to submit questions to arbitration, and finally locked out the

to arbitration, and finally locked out the Garment Workers' Union.

Garment Workers' Union.

All the strikes which have followed, including the teamsters' strike, have been strikes to secure arbitration and the fulfilling of contracts.

To understand the sympathetic strike of the teamsters a glance at the cause will be sufficient.

After years of struggle the Garment Workers' Union has abolished 90 per cent, of the disense-breeding sweatshops of Chicago and has supped out child labor in the same shops by prohibiting the admission to the union of children under 16 years of age.

The union shop thus closed the doors to The union shop thus closed the doors to child labor. The union has also raised wages \$5 a week and reduced the hours from 54 to the present 48. It has also abolished the gretem of unjust fines. It has been especially beneficial to women workers, both in bettering the sanitary conditions of the shops, doubling their wages from \$7 and \$8 to \$15, and reducing the hours from 60 and 70 to 54 per week. The attempt of the Employers' Associa-

ceeds, will leave the garment workers both union and non-union, without protec tion sgainst the sweatshop and the former

tion to shoush the union shop, if it suc

miserable conditions.

The Garment Workers' Union has been locked out and refused arbitration since November, 1994.

Knowing the conditions and supported by the Chicago Federation of Labor, the

transsters came out on a mosthetic arrive.

Links—bless conditions the sympathetic sprike becomes not only functioned, but in one of the mobiest acts that marks the progress of the working class in the evo of mankind

This strike has a deeper signification, and its participants are struggling in a greater cause than the charge of troops on San Juan hill. The C. L. U. also adopted the follow

ing address to President Roosevelt and ordered it sent to him and also given out for publication: TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

Resolved that the Central Labor Union of Portland, Maine, hereby fully endorses the protest of the Chicago Federation of Labor to the President of the United States against sending United States troops to Chleago.

We believe that the history of the laborate the laborate in the labo

forces, national and state, have been use past to break strikes, rather that ce. Examples are shown it

in the past to break strikes, rather that o quell violence. Examples are shown in the use of the United States army at the Pullman strike and of the state_militia in Colorado.

We believe that the federated unions of Chleago had just grounds to fear the boasts of the Manufacturers' Association that they would secure the United States troops as their tools.

We decreate violence and we equally condemn the attempts of the manufacturers to provoke violence. We condemn the employment of thugs, renegade negroes, and degenerate whites as deputies. We condemn the action of strike-breaker Frank Curry in marching a couple of hundred strike-breakers around the city for no other apparent purpose than to anger union men. The negroes were led from a barn hack to the same bear.

The unions seek arbitration and not violence. We heartily commend the following words in the protest which as follows: "If the laboring men are wrong, the decision of an arbitrator without cannon or

ing words in the protest which summarise the whole matter of the strike as follows. "If the laboring men are wrong, the decision of an arbitrator without cannon or club will command the obedience of every toller affected.

"Even if we are right and the arbitrator decides against us, still we will how to decides against the decision.

"Int we are not serfs to cringe at the mention of troops."

It is worthy of remark that only on of the Portland papers—the "Argus"-had the courage and honesty to pul

THE FARMERS' FUTURE

A Straw That Shows Which Way the Wind Is Blowing - Capitalism and Wage-Slavery in Agriculture as Well as in Other Industry. According to a special from Colum

bus, confirmed by local parties inter ested, the Miller Farms Company of Canton has been incorporated with \$60,000 capitalization, by the following Canton men: Harvey H. Miller Charles C. Bow, M. E. Miller, M. W Miller, C. E. Miller, An incorporator of the new company

said Monday_that it is the intentic to unite certain farms and carry on general farming business and stock mising. As to the farms included the incorporator said nothing would be given out until after the organization of the company, which will take place within a short time. It is understood that the farm of Harvey Miller, located along the Louisville road, east of Canton, will pass under the control of the new incorporators.—Canton, O., Even-ing Repository, May 15. This little item is of more than local

American agriculture—concentration of ownership and centralization of con-trol, parallel to that which has already come about in transportation, manufacture and mining, and the re-duction of a large proportion of the formerly independent farmers to the condition of wage-workers for capitalist corporations.

IN FALL RIVER.

Friend - of - Labor Douglas Decides for the Bosses.

Arbitration Proves a Snare, as The Worker Predicted Governor Dooms Textile Workers to Toll on at Reduced Wages, After Fooling Them Four Months with Delusive Hopes.

BOSTON, May 18.—The textile workers of New England now have anoth object lesson to show them what the phrase "friend of inbor" really means. It will be remembered that Douglas the shoe manufacturer, was elected Governor on the Democratic ticket last November on the strength of being a rest "friend of labor."

It will also be remembered that in July the 25,000 textile mill operatives of Fall River went on strike against a 12½ per cent. reduction of wages, having submitted to a 10 per cent. cut only eight months before; that they stayed out, exhibiting great courage and unanimity, till January; that then Governor Douglas and some other emi ent "friends of labor" did the conciliation act and induced them back to work at the reduced wages leaving it to the Governor to consult with the employers and fix the margin of profit at which 5 per cent, out of the should be restored; and, finally, that the ending of this strike was sig nalized by a corresponding reduction of wages in almost every other textile

nill in New England.

Well, Governor Douglas has at last made up his mind. He gave his decision yesterday to the effect that the company must first get 6 per cent, annual dividends on its (watered) stock and 5 per cent. a year additional for "depreciation" and that, until and unless these conditions are fulfilled, the workers are no. to get the partial restoration of their wages.

Thus the hopes of the textile workers for a restoration vanish—for some of them were guileless enough to

ope. Such is Douglas' friendship for the

otes.
Such is Compers' boasted victory at

It may be added that the busin columns of the newspapers during the last few weeks have been full of accounts of the prosperous condition pre-valling in the textile industry in New England. And well they may be, so far as the mill owners' prosperity is

Also it may be added that in its issne of Jan. 29. The Worker reported the ending of the strike under this same head—"The 'Victory' in Fall River"-and predicted that Governor Douglas' arbitration would not prove favorable to the strikers. Even if he had decided in their favor on the ques tion as submitted, they would still be working for wages 17 per cent. lower than those of Nov. 1, 1903; as it is their wages are about 22 per cent than they then were. mediation and conciliation! cheers for Belmont, Ellot, Douglas now in order.

JAPANESE LABORERS IN HAWAII STRIKE.

An Encouraging Symptom of the Growth of the Labor Movement Among Asiatio Workers on Lines Similar to Those of the Western World.

HONOLULU, May 21.-All the 2,300 spanese laborers on the sugar plantations of the island of Maul are now on strike and are showing a violent mood. The steamer Kinau left Hono-Guard Company F and forty armed Honolulu policemen to the scene of the trouble The strike started a week ago on

the Walluku plantation. The Japar ese made a list of demands. them being the discharge of the head overseer. All the demands were re jected. On Friday the strike spread the Pioneer plantation.

The plantation immediately began paying off the striking Japanese, who then commenced to stone the mill and resisted all efforts of the mounted police to drive them away.

The Maul militin, which was called

out, restored order temporarily. Every-thing was peaceful late Saturday when the island steamer Claudine left, but soon after the steamer's departure clash between Japanese and plantation policemen occurred, in which shooting took place. A general out-break followed, ending in the imprisonment of the whites and the militia in

the Court House.
Wireless messages were sent to Honolulu asking for aid. The Secretary of the Japanese Consul accompanied the force on the steamer Kinau. He will try to pacify the strikers.

The entire remaining police force of Honolulu is on duty at the police stations tought, although there are ne signs of trouble on this island.—Associated Press dispatch.

Later dispatches make it appear probable that the strike has been brok en by military intimidation. But the fact remains that the Japanese lab ers, whom the capitalists have here tofore counted upon as a docile force to be used against the white wo have begun to show the same dissatisfaction and the same disposition t depend upon their own forces rath than on the good will of the boss

that is characteristic of the labo-movement in Europe and America.

The reports of violence by the strik ers are, of course, to be discounted greatly, in view of the control of news agencies by the capitalists.

S. D. P. CITY CONVENTION.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

Formal Beginning of a Strenuous Campaign.

Delegates Will Gather in New York Turn Hall Next Tuesday to Choose Candidates and Make Preparations for a Strong Fight for Socialism.

The city convention of the Social Democratic Party of New York will be called to order at ten o'clock in the forenoon, Tuesday, May 30-Memorial Day-in the New York Turn Hall, on the southeast corner of Lexington avenue and Eighty-fifth street. The holiday is chosen for this purpose because most of the delegates are workingmen who cannot get off at any other time without losing a day's wages, which they can ill afford.

The convention will undoubtedly be

an interesting one and it is expected that there will be many visitors in the calleries to watch the proceedings. Every district in the greater city will be represented and an absolutely full ticket will be put in the field.

lowever the delegates may decide on the many questions of detail that will come before them, this much can be confidently affirmed in advance that the platform will be an unqualified declaration for working-class Socialism and that there will be no hint of compromise or fusion of any sort.

This convention will formally open

the Social Democratic municipal cam-paign of 1995. The party organiza-tion is in good condition—better, in many respects, than ever before-and there is every reason to expect that the campaign will be the most effective that our party has ever made in the metropolis.

THE PARTY NAME CASE. The Democratic plaintiffs in the

party name case against the Social Democratic Party of New York, havperiocratic Party or New York, nav-ing been worsted in the Supreme Court-inst fall and then in the Appellate Division as reported the recommendation of the have now taken as appeal to the high-est authority, the Court of Appeals at Albany. It is hoped that the case will be completed with little delay so that we shall definitely know, within a few weeks, whether or not we are to go on under the party name which we have used in five successive elections.

decision of the Court of Appeals will be final. Later.—As we go to press we are in-formed that the hearing on this case will be held in Albany next Tuesday.

AMERICAN AID FOR RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

Secretary Loopoloff and Treasure Ingerman of the Russian Social De cratic Society of New York acknowledge the receipt of the following tributions for the assistance of revolutionary movement in Russia:

revolutionary movement in Russia:

Previously reported, \$2,001.78; W. S. &
D. B. F., Br. 36, Rochester, \$15. Br. 193,
Lotzeville, N. Y., \$9; Local Butte, Montsocialist Party, \$4; Ninth Ward and South
work, Branches, Local Philadelphia, \$10;
Arbeiter, Liederiner, Long Island City,
Arbeiter, Liederiner, Long Island City,
Arbeiter, Liederiner, Long Island, City,
Arbeiter, Liederiner, Local Philadelphia, \$10;
Arbeiter, Liederiner, Manuardt, \$10.85;
Local Hagniam, Wash, Manuardt, \$10.85;
Local Hagniam, Wash, Manuardt, \$10.85;
Local Hagniam, Wash,
Macha, \$4,30; John J. Cappelen, Vic.,
Local I5, Glass Bottle Blowers' Union, Milwaukee, colls, \$12; Bronx Friends of Russian Freedom, per J. N. Bassin, \$40; Local
Sag Harbor, L. L., Socialist Farty, per Wm.
Fostag, \$1.59; total to May 22, \$3,025,15.
Contributions should be sent and

Contributions should be sent and drafts and orders made payable to J. oloff, Secretary, 121 E. One Hundred and Twelfth street. New York. The recently organized Russian Social Democratic Society of Milwaukee will give a ball Saturday evening, May

Eighth streets, the proceeds of which will go to the Social Democratic Party in Russia. All Milwaukee com-rades are invited to attend. OPEN-AIR MEETINGS

IN NEW YORK CITY Open-dir meetings have been arranged by Local New York to be held at the places named on the nights designated below. The assembly district organisations are reques-cied to take notice of their meetings and see to it that they have the platform out on time and that sufficient literaure is distrib-

SATURDAY, May 27. ist A. D.—S. W. corner of One Hum Twenty-fifth street and Seventh J. C. Frost and L. D. Mayer. MONDAY, May 29.

9th A. D.—N. W. corner of Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue. Thos. J. Lewis and Jos Spero. 18th A. D.—N. W. corner of Twenty-fourth street and First avenue. J. C. Frost and John Mullin. os Spero.

A. D.—N. W. corner of Twentyistrect and First avenue. J. C.
and John Mullin.

WEDNESDAY, May 31 34th A. D.—One Hundred and Twenty, seventh attreet and Third avenue. J. C. Frost and Thos. J. Lewis.

7th A. D.—N. W. corner of Sixteenth street and Eighth avenue. L. D. Mayes and I. Phillips.

THURSDAY, June 1.

6th A. D.—N. W. corner of Fourth street and Second avenue. Fred. Paulitsch and J. C. Frest. FRIDAY, June 2.

I. Lewis.

28th A. D.—Algernon Lee and Jos. Spero.

30th A. D.—N. E. corner of Eighty-sixth
street and Third avenue. L. D. Mayes and
J. C. Frost. SATURDAY, June 3.

Are you altured by peace and velyet ease? The choice is yours to seek them, should

knees.
-- Elea Barker, in Munsey's

14th A. D.-S. E. corner of Tenth street and Second avenue. J. C. Chase and Thos.

31st A. D.—N. W. corner of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street and Seventh avenue. I. Phillips and J. C. Chase.

34th A. D.—One Hundred and Forty-seventh street and Willis avenue. L. D. Mayes and J. C. Frost. THE CHOICE.

They tempt me not while these my brother u

The Worker. ROAD OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY in New York State as the Social ratio Party.)

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The Worker goes to press on Wednessourcespondents sending news should their communications in time to reach their communications in the proposable and the property of the proper should be added to the Board of Directors. Socialist entire Publishing Association, 181 nm street, New York.

York, N. Y., Post Office on April 6.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE. locialist Party (the Social Democrati of New York) has passed through it werns election. Its growing powe atted in its speedy victory for all by the great increase of its vot as in these figures.

he state of New York, on account of a provisions of the election laws, the lat Party is officially recognized under laws of Borial Democratic Party, and abless is the Arm and Torch.



New York City convention will be called to order at 10 next Tuesday morning, in th New York Turn Hall, at Eighty-fifth street and Lexington avenue, ought to be a rousing Socialist demonstration finating body. It goe without saying that the sessions will entirely public, and it would be well that as many of the comrade in Greater New York as can conven lently do so should give the sanction of their presence to this formal open ing of the municipal campaign.

If ever there was an example of un ated and unpardonable inso e, it is the attitude of the Armour ere the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce. But the "dignity of the Senate" will stand for it. A kingman could not be so shameless if he would; but if a trade-union representative should take such an atti-tude of cool and independent defiance before such an investigating commitlee as the Meat Trust's spokesmen e taken, what a showl it would pro e from all the good patriots! But the Senate knows its business. The ours are gentlemen; their bank acte prove it; and "between gentlemen" much may be forgiven.

President Roosevelt seems to have e back on his brave threat to buy steel and other supplies for the Panama railway and canal in Europe, where they are sold cheaper than in this country where they are manufactured. Meanwhile the other question arises, whether the mechanics and laloved in the construction bork are to get the conditions as to Burs and wages prevailing on government work in the United States or are to prevail. The chances are that sistration will not be so comant to the labor unions as it has Egen to the Steel Trust.

We are very glad to be informed by gton dispatches that, ld Paul Morton leave the Cabinet. the Santa Fé is willing to take him back. True, we do not see any special need for the assurance; no one could didy assign a reason why the railway should not take him back; he has certainly represented capitalist interenough to satisfy the st exacting. But saybow, we are eleft he is going to get his job back; Macbilet against so eminent a man would be quite intolerable.

Our Municipal Civil Service Board, with its hundred and fifty inkwellst \$5 a day, is thoroughly repve of enpitalist non-partizan-We can't very well get enthusie over that sort of "reform," when e see Republicans and Democrats g so heartly that \$15 a week tant pay for men who do the real work of cleaning the streets and ing it a cute political trick for party to pass a bill raising their that figure with the assuronce that the other would veto it.

cialist Party does not ask the ns to so into polities. It recogthat the unions cannot do that at ceasing to be efficient of even

half-way efficient unions. What it does ask-or, rather, what it does de mand-is that the unions shall serve as a school of economies and politics for the members, a lyceum or free forum, taking up the discussion of political and economic questions, not on a basis of personality nor even of partizanship, but of principle, and invit ing representatives of every party to expound their ideas, in order that the union members, as workingmen, may consider which they ought, as workingmen, to support.

ANOTHER HOMESTEAD?

The employers' associations of Chicago, in collusion with the city, state, and national administrations, seem to be determined on precipitating another labor war on the Homestead plan and perhaps on a still larger scale in their effort to break the power of the labor organizations and re-establish sweatshop conditions where they have been partially eliminated by the influ ence of the unions.

The newspaper reports of violence the strike are, we may be sure, gross ly exaggerated and distorted. That is the rule in every labor conflict. The capitalists control the great newspa pers and the Associated Press and they see to it that news is colored and discolored in their interest. But even on the face of the reports

it appears that the organized employers have deliberately gone about to provoke violence, to outrage every sentiment of the working class and incite some degree of disorder, in order to get a pretext for calling out the state militia and even the federal army and thoroughly intimidating the work ing people. All history, of the labor movement in America and of all other relations of dominant and subject classes the world over teaches us that there is no length of duplicity and violence to which the ruling class will not go to compass its ends, to disorganize the resistance of the workers and keep them at its mercy.

To the strikers we say as we have already said, as the Chicago "Socialist" very emphatically says in its last week's issue: Refrain from violence keep your feelings under control; en dure injustice and insult now rather than give your enemies any excuse for bringing military force into the field; remember that there is still an election day coming and that you can take that military force into your own hands by intelligent action at the

But at the same time we say to all

others: Beware of the lies of the capitalist press; beware of the tricks of the capitalist politicians; remember that the government of Chicago, of Illinois, of the United States, is in the hands of the capitalist class; remem ber that they make the rules of the shop as well as the laws on the statute books; hold them and their system responsible for any harm that may come from their aggression on your brother workers (and sister workers too) in Chicago; and raise your voices here in New York, in Boston, in Philadelphia, in Denver, in San Francisco, everywhere, through the press through public meetings, through every means that you have at your command on behalf of those workingmen, against the reign of blood which the capitalists seem resolved to bring

We Socialists-and workingmen in general, for that matter—want a peaceful and orderly solution of the labor question. We will have it if we can If not the blame will be on the side of the upper class, as It has always

A BAD MISTAKE. The action of the national conven-

tion of the Amalgamated Association poning for a year consideration of proposition to organize the colored steel workers in the South is a very regrettable mistake. It puts an argument- and a perfectly just one-into the mouth of every enemy of trade unionism and gives the lie to the strongest claims of the unions. If the Amalgamated Association expects to command the moral sympathy (without which it cannot get the practical assistance) of the other organizations of labor, it must stand on a higher moral level than that of a close corporation for the exclusive benefit of its own members; it must recognize the equal rights of other wage-work ers on similar conditions-which im plies the right of those others to join the union and share equally in its benefits. An organization of working men which does not try to get in all the workers in the trade and protect all alike does not deserve the name of a trade union; it is an attempted labor trust and will, in the long run, be re garded and treated as such.

Even on the narrowest basis of selfinterest, this deliberate ignoring of th negro is foolish. We all remembe that at the time of the last his stee strike in Pennsylvania negroes were brought from the South to act as scabs, and that this had much to do with the III success of the strike. What was done then can be done again, and ssuredly will be done whenever the eapitalists see their profit in doing it. We may curse the scab all we like, but that will do no good. Stealing is wrong; everybody admits that; but if you shut certain men out of the so-ciety of honest men, they are sure to States. We do not expect it. Yet it

become thieves; and those who shut them out will be to blame for it. Scabbing is wrong; most non-union workingmen admit that: but if you exclude certain workingmen from the unions, they are sure to become scabs; and those who excluded them will ave themselves to blame.

Many of the unions have already earned this, at least so far as the exclusion of negroes is concerned. It is pity that so important a body as the Steel Workers should be so long boggling over the lesson. Let us in justice call attention to the fact that President Shaffer, whom we have often had good reason to blame in other matters, was on the right side this

NOTE, COMMENT AND ANSWER

The National Association of Manufacturers in session at Atlanta raises its voice against the proposition that the government regulate railway freight rates Of course Even the smallest interference with capitalist rascalities is offensive to Mr. Parry and his crowd. Much more emphat ically does this bunch declare itself against the Eight-Hour Bill, the Anti-Injunction Bill, and all other labor legislation and against the principle of the union shop—that is, against the two methods by which alone the wageworkers under capitalism can defend themselves at least against the worst aggressions of the most unscrupulous capitalists. "After us, the deluge!" is the motto of the National Association of Manufacturers—and they have not the sense to take warning by the fate of the royal family that followed that maxim.

Speaking of Parry's organization, let us remind all our readers that Parry has repeatedly been challenged by various organizations of the Socialist Party to neet a Social Democratic representa tive in fair and square joint debate and try to prove his points against the labor movement, industrial and political. He has never dared to accept ner even to reply. The challenge is still open. If Mr. Parry or any cham pion appointed by his organization will The Worker of his willings to debate, we will guarantee him th biggest hall in New York and will assure him that the hall will be filled and that he will get such a thoroug exposure and refutation as will teach m caution for all the rest of his life How about it, Mr. Parry?

passage from our editorial remarks of May 6—

Comrade Berger, as editor of the "Wahr Comrade Berger, as editor of the "Wahr-helt," with the knowledge and approval of the local, advises the readers of his paper to vote for one of the bourgeois candidates for an unipopriant judicial position, not because this candidate is an especially good one, but because his opponent is an esp

and this from the same article-

We hold that they have needlessly, wan tonly, sensclessly, fruitlessly violated a generally understood rule of Socialist pol-icy which, as a general rule, is an exceedley which, as a general rule, is an exc lugly good rule and which should be vio-lated in special cases only on very careful consideration, only for very good reason, only in critical moments and for very important and fairly sure results

and then asks:

Can you conceive of any "spec when, or any "very good reason" why, socialist publication should endorse a cap tallst candidate; and what "very importat and fairly sure results" can be expecte the election of a bourgeois politician We can conceive of such circum stances as would justify and even com pel coalition of the Socialist Party with some non-socialist party, tempor Arily and for a definite purpose. We likely to occur, at least in the near future; and we know and have emphatically declared that such justify ing circumstances did not exist in th Milwaukee case. But let us sugges a possible case which would justify

such coalition.

Suppose one of the two non-socialist parties to be directly committed, in ase of its winning at the polls, to the case of its winning at the pois, to the disfranchisement of the wage-workers by a high property qualification for voting. Suppose the other to declare frankly against this proposition and that we had fairly good reason to be-Here in its sincerity on this particula namely, because of the fact that such disfranchisement would injure that second party nearly if not quite a much as it would injure us. Suppose the balance of power, so far as we could judge it, to be such that the for ner of these two parties was pretty sure to win if its opponents were d vided at the polls.

None of these three supposed circum stances is improbable. The combina

tion of the three is not impossible.

We would have this choice before is: Either to maintain our absolute independence, allow the first-mmed party to win and to carry out a dis ement which would put an end either submit or else have to resort to some non-political method of action; or, on the other hand, to bow to the force of circumstances, make a tem porary alliance with the second-named party for the definite purpose of defeating the reactionary attempt, and sever that alliance as soon as the pur-pose was attained, as soon as indepen-dent political action again became pos-

We believe that in such a case, i such a case should arise, it would probably be necessary for us to choose the latter course. But, in order that the greatest good might be reaped an least harm suffered, it would be ssential that such action should not be taken precipitately nor by one local organization alone, but after full dis-cussion and with the approval of the party as a whole. inlist principles do not absolutel

Socialist principles do not absolutely and unqualifiedly forbid coalition, any more than common sense absolutely and unqualifiedly forbids a man to have his legs cut off. Only "in a spe-cial case, only on very careful consid-eration, only for very good reason, only at a critical moment and for a service process." only at a critical moment and for very important and fairly sure resul-should a man consent to the amput tion of his legs; but cases do ari where to forbid such amputation

Is not inconceivable. If it should arise. it is important that we have such an intelligent discipline in our organizaheory and active experience, not or sive acceptance of phrases an formulas—as will enable us to pass through the period of coalition and

ome out ready for instant and vigor-ous independent action once more. In admitting the possibility of such see (which we have here discuss not at all depart from Socialist ortho-doxy, measured by any standard of authority that may be named. Neither Marx nor Engels nor Bebel nor Kaut-Ferri nor any international congreof special coalitions in special cases

Finally, just by indicating the sort of circumstances under which, in our opinion, coalition or fusion or endorse have shown how thoroughly unjust led it was in the Milwaukee case.

Some of our contemporaries seem think that when they have spelled the word scientific "skyentific," they have completely disposed of any and all ar-guments that may be advanced in the confess, we don't see either the logic or the humor of this method. The appeal to ignorance is as old as the hills but it never yet served a good purpose more out of place than in a Socialist paper. Let us have little less of such cheap wit and a lit tle more of unadorned and undistorted fact and candid argument.

"In declining to place any obstacle in the f employment of very little girls in es the legislature of Pennsylvania up manfully for the fullest measure stands up manfully for the futures measure of industrial progress. Sociologists long ago discovered that the younger the operative the less it costs, in proportion to his avail-ble working strength, to keep his body and soul together. That is to say, children and soul together. That is to say, children are the cheapest help in the world. This is a wise provision of nature, and good for many middons of national wealth, provided all legislatures are as discerning and as brave as the legislature of Pennsylvania. The above was the brutal editorial expression of a metropolitan journal that is devoted to the interests of the legislated and privileged barons of the Keystone

The brain of the man from whose pen lowed such a stream of verbal villainy is flowed such a stream of verbal villainty is as hearties and as frigid as the leeberg of the polar north. His conscience has been calloused by the dollars of his masters, and his mentality is as debauched as the shattered virginity of a leper of the brothel.

Miners' Magazine.

How do you like it, you workingmen, this respectable Republican-Demo-cratic sociology that treats your little girls as nothing more than material for profits for capitalists? If you lon't like it, why not vote against it?

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT.

Last Week Shows Loss on Individual List Balanced by Increase of Bundle Girculation.

The following table shows in detail e circulation of The Worker for the hast two weeks:

Week ending May 13. May 20 Single subscriptions13,074

Outside bundles Samples or at retail 1,744 2,046

15,490 15,970 Gain By a clerical error last week we made the number of individual sub-scribers and the total circulation appear 1,000 greater than they actually ere. The error is corrected this w

SOCIALISM IN DEMOCRATIC

AND IN SEMI-FEUDAL COUNTSIES. Gustav Muller, a well-known member of e Swisa Socialist Party, and their great authority on military questions, has recent-by been given an important appointment to the Swiss army. That is, as our German comrades remark, a state of affairs which would be quite inconceivable in Germany, where membership in the party would cer-tainly entail immediate dismissal of any offleer from the army, There can be no doubt that examples of this nature show us very clearly exactly how Tar bourgools democ-ney, where it has not gone back on itself (more, perhaps, where it cannot go back on the principles once firmly established by Itself), marks an advance on countries which have never really got free from the swaddling-clothes of that curious mixture of fendal aristocracy and the military au-tocracy of the eighteenth century, such as Prussia or Austias in the democratic coun-try cantialism is still rampant, and social try capitalism is still rampant, and social reform has probably almost as many if not more efficient obstracles in its way, but in the feudal absolutist state we have besides the difficulty of carrying social reform the additional obstacles that are put in the way of propagating our ideas; and while opposition of that sort acts as a spur to our movement in some ways, it tends in other ways to check the process of clearing up our views, and also to obscure the class war by the fight against the government. As to the first, there can be little doubt, for instance, that the Indian movement. ry capitalism is still rampant, and social for instance, that the Italian movement owes a great deal of its theoretical clea tions prevailing in Italy, to teach the full-est Marxism and thus to develop the theory of Marxism; and, moreover, quite apart from what positive additions such people may make to the theoretical or practical enlightenment of the movement, the fact that leading lights of the bourgeoid world, authorities on militarism, etc., are found acknowledging our theories and openly adacknowledging our theories and openly ad recating them, does tend to increase the self-confidence of a young movement though it would undoubtedly be a source of

HASTER!

Every man is his brother's bane.

Where sloth brings honor and labor
Of fellowship yet shall the earth be
Hasten we, hasten the happy morn.

Life is hopeless in park and slum, Where sloth brings honor and labor as All shall be well in the days to come. Hasten we, hasten the happy mora! .—C. W. Recke

—Kansas is about due to make discovery that John D. Rockefe isn't a state, but a national problem Jos. Wanhops.

AN ELEMENTARY COURSE IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

XIX.—Rules of Socialist Policy: Fourth, the International Character of the Movement and the Reason for It.

contract slaves, not as organizable

wage-workers; but even here, it should

be regarded as a temporary policy only

with the necessity, to bring them into the ranks of the international labor

movement. In all but these extrem

cases, the policy of exclusion is a mis

taken policy for the working class and

countries is growing up, as evidence

cal, and still more imperatively

one country, the new order

country alone. Even if this emancing

ition period, with the capitalist med

tions imposed by the militant working

disadvantage as compared with thos in which capitalism had still a com

to be desired that the Socialist move

tries at about the same rate in propo

conomic development that makes the

Socialist movement. Yet, the two do

ity, for other conditions also tend here

to hasten and there to retard the prog

ress of Socialism; thus we know that

Socialism is more advanced in Ger-

many than in the United States, al

though the latter country is more ad-

vanced economically. To a certain ex-tent the rapidity and the order of our

march is under our own control; and

there it is strong is under an obliga

tion to lend aid to the weaker division

in other lands. In brief, Socialism is international in its origin, in its pur-

poses, in the obstacles it will have to

pass through, and so it must be inter-

national in its spirit, in its policy, and

But in practical application what

loes this mean? What must we in

live up to this rule of internationalism?

It means, in the first place of all, that we must absolutely banish nation-

al and racial prejudices and antip

tion. We are all quite human; we

have been reared under a system that

breeds such prejudices and they are

we see their stupidity and harmful-

should fight strongly against them,

persistent effort to root them out. No

man is to be blamed, for instance, for

having imbibed 'antisemitic preju-dice in the day. fore he knew bet-

ter; but any man .s to be blamed if he brings that prejudice into the So-

cialist Party with him, and any expres-

the same with any other national, ra-

It means that our party ought to be

exact and hearty in the performance

of its obligations to the international

the best of its ability to the party in

other countries in time of need. The

relations of the party in this country

to the movement in Europe, in Canada

in Inpan, and elsewhere ought, indeed, to be much closer than they ever yet

It means that in our public activity

we ought to lose no opportunity to combat jingoism in all its forms and

to cultivate among all the workers a

feeling of world-wide brotherhood, not

by word alone, but also by example.
To illustrate: e sometimes find

among the comrades a nervous fear of offending "patriotic" prejudices, an all-absorbing desire to "American"

an extent that they are unwilling to

have German or Jewish or other for-

eign-born speakers appear on the party

pletform and rather let an oppor

tunity for propaganda slip by than have it used by any but a native Amer-

ican, lest someone might say that we are a party of foreigners; this is not a

happen sometimes and once is once too often. Our policy ought to be just

on thing in our party, but it does

have been.

sion of it in the party ought

promptly and severely rebuked:

why we should make a

all the more reason why we

ranks of our organiza

ne and the crises it will have to

to that extent the party in countrie

opportunity seized, to do away

and every effort should

IThis is one of a series of articles, be mpt toward a systematic and correct a yet popular statement of the fundamental principles of scientific Socialism for the assistance of those who really wish to tudy (not merely to read something easy) and who have too little time to undertake arger and more complete treatises. Thos have pertinent questions suggested these articles are invited to write to the Editor of The Worker, and are assured that an earnest attempt will be made to answer

XIX.—Rules of Socialist Policy. 4 INTERNATIONALISM.

One characteristic which sharply

distinguishes the Socialist Party from

all others is its avowed internation

ism. To be sure, the various political tendencies of the propertied classes are also international, in a sense; that is, on the whole, the parties of the great capitalist class in different coun-tries, under similar conditions, follow much the same policies, and so do the parties of the small capitalist class, of the farming class, and s forth. But none of these parties avows anything more than a object or openly co-operates with th coresponding parties in other lands for the general good of the class so represented the world over. The gen-eral similarity of capitalist conditions in all countries naturally produces reperal similarity in capitalist politi cal policies; but frank and direct co operation is prevented both by the narrowly and short-sightedly selfish character of any competitive and also by the necessity of maintain-ing national prejudices and antago-nisms as a means of keeping the working class divided and weak. The cap Italists of America have really a son what different interest from those of England or of Germany, since they are competing to sell their commodities in the same world-market and are using their several governments as business agencies for that purpose; this cor flict is more obvious, nearer to the in dividual capitalist, than is their gener al agreement of interest in the main tenance of capitalism; and, as we have before remarked, it is much more difheult for the essentially individualistic capitalists to act upon large views of class interest (to say nothing of moral ideals) than it is for the essentially social-minded workingmen. Patriotism noreover, in its actually prevailing form of hatred or contempt for the feeple of other countries, is a valuable asset for the possessing class; so long as the working people of a country can be kept yelling for the flag, brag ging about their own supposed super ierity, and venting all their discontenin abuse of or conflicts with the work-ing people of other nations, so long their rulers and exploiters at home are pretty safe; the latter lose no oppor tunity to cultivate such feelings among the masses of the people, though they are themselves free enough from such prejudices to be perfectly willing to swell their profits by importing aller laborers, by taking advantage of tar abroad by cheating their own governments, and even sometimes by selling rms to governments at war with their own; in this, as in many other mat ters, "It makes all the difference in the world whose ox is gored."

The internationalism of the Socialis ovement is not a mere matter o noble sentiment; a noble senfiment i is, one of the greatest in the history of human thought; but it has a sound material basis, as any sentiment mus have in order to be really effective interests of the working class are truly international, and so internation

alism is an essential part of its policy The immediate interests of the work ing people of different countries in the main and in the long run, iden tical. We have pointed out in a prethe competition of capitalists and the competition of wage-workers—that the dangerous competitor for the capitalist is the other capitalist who is getting well while the danger petitor for the wage-worker is the other wage-worker who is not getting ers in Italy and Hungary is a positive handlcap upon the workingmen in America, and a general increase of wages or a general reduction of hours over there would almost inevitably re act favorably on the labor market here and vice versa. This has been true to a greater or less extent from the very beginning of the capitalist period but it becomes more emphatically and generally true in proportion as the mi gration of workingmen and the expor tation of goods from one country to an es commoner, bringing th other becomes commoner, bringing the workers of different countries more dimediate interests, then, the point of view held by the trade unions in common with the Sochilist Party, pruden as well as sentiment dictate the workers of each country sho conduct their movement as to help and not hurt the workers of other co tries. The first impulse of America workingmen, in face of the competition of immigrants accustomed to lower standard of living, was to me try for themselves and leave the work ingmen of the rest of the wor their fate; but, aside from the diffi of getting such laws enacted and en forced, there remains the more seriou difficulty that, if the capitalists fin derably dearer at home than d, they naturally tend to in their surplus abroad, to employ the aper foreign labor in its own b s proportionately reducing the dend for labor here; the only way t eet this (on a national basis)
pose a protective tariff on imp sode; but the protective system, in use gives the home expitalists, espe-nily the larger eacs, a monopoly ad-asing and enables them to exploit the labor more intensely; so that, in

people whom we are addressing are so narrow and self-conceited, that is just a reason for our making the greater effort to educate them; there may arise occasions (as when the politicians are stirring up a special fever of jin golsm) when we ought even to go out of our way to defy this prejudice, to make a public and emphatic demon stration against it—as for instance, ou the long run, this nationalist policy works round to the advantage of the capitalists, giving but slight and tem-Russian and our Japanese comrades have done against the present war. We cannot make a man a good Socialist without making him what the bourprary benefit to the workers, and do porary beneat to the workers, and do-ing them positive harm in so far as it narrows their view and cheats them with delusive hopes. We believe that there are cases where exclusion is temcrois politicians consider a bad patriot and one man who understands and heartily accepts the large idea of the international solidarity of labor is porarily a wise or necessary policy—for instance, the case of such workers as the Chinese, who are not only accustom ed to a low standard of living, but who mal adherents who do not realize grandeur of our aim. have as yet no labor movement of their own, who are as yet practically be youd the reach of our propaganda, and who, if they come at all, will come as

Current # # Literature

THE HISTORY OF THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY. By Ida M. Tarbell. McClure Phillips & Co. Two vols, 406 and 400 pp., with illustrations, appendices, and index. Price, \$5.

The most valuable materials for the

indeed, it is gradually giving way. On the other hand, it is encouraging to note that a closer connection among the labor organizations of different history of the Middle Ages have been found, not in the records of the Empire and the Papacy, which were i theory the supreme rulers of Europe during that period, but in the by the more frequent international cated and obscure annals of fendal conventions, the mutual recognition of duchies, decadent village communities. membership cards, and the sending of rising gilds of merchants and artizans mancial aid from one country to anand city corporations founded upo other in time of great strikes or lockthem: these theoretically subordinate outs. There is still much to be learned on this line, but it is being learned. really vital forces of that day, their influence per The ultimate interests of the work vaded and transformed the imperia ing class in all lands are still more and papal institutions, and out of their apparently anarchic struggles grey completely and more obviously identihe great monarchies which closed the united action. The victory and emaneval period and ushered in modern history. Just so, when the history cipation of labor cannot be thorough of the present age comes to be writ-ten, the most valuable materials will ly and securely effected in any one not be found in the records of governtion of labor were to be accomplished ments in war and peace, but in those of business corporations and organiza-tions of labor; for, in the same way a short and decisive struggle, in any be safe while the governments of other these embody the really vital social forces of the present day, their influ-ence pervades the institutions of govcountries remained in the hands of the capitalist class; it would have to fight ent and directs its policy, and out for its life, just as the bourgeols reof their struggles and coalitions are public of France had to fight for its life growing up organizations which threat igainst the surrounding monarchic and en (or promise) to defy and, if need be, feudal governments a little more than overthrow all political institutions.

The parallel must not be pushed too century ago. But in all probability far, of course. Modern capitalism is as process and the leading nation if different from feudalism as the American Republic is from the Holy Roman others be too far behind, will have still ther difficulties to meet; in that trans-Empire, and this radical difference be tween the relations of benefice and fealty which, spite of theories of civil of industry, on the whole, still prevail ng, but hampered by various restricand canon law, actually governed feudal society, and the relation of conmen, the country leading the way would be under a certain economic tract which, spite of theories ural rights and popular sovereignty, actually governs modern industrial so-ciety must never be lost sight of. The paratively free hand. It is therefore parallel consists only in that the vital forces in each period are embodied, not in the obvious and theoretically supreme institutions, of which supernent should advance in different countion to their economic development To be sure, this is likely to be the case ficail historians write, but in instituions apparently subordinate and the to a great degree whether we wish it or not, just because it is chiefly the retically private.

It will be a long time before the detailed history of the present age can be adequately written, as the history of the Middle Ages has been within the last century. It will not be done satisfactorily, we may predict, till the institutions shall have passed away. Yet, so much more self-conscious are we than our ancestors of five or six centuries ago, a true beginning has already been made. Within the last few years several writers have devoted origin and development, examining the sature, and defining the actual powers of certain of the great corporation which are the modern homologues o the great fiefs of medieval Europe. It is not surprising that the best study of this sort which has yet been made s devoted to the most powerful of these corporations, the Standard Oil Company.

Miss Tarbell's work bear the marks of conscientious study. She has ran-sacked the reports of numerous Con-gressional and legislative investigagressional and legislative inve ous law suits that have dragged them selves through court after court and have generally led to no, conclusion, the files of newspapers and magazine for more than thirty years past con-taining contemporary statements of pinion, as well as great collections of pamphlets, letters, contracts, and documents of all sorts bearing on the subject. What is more, she has collated the information brought out its important points with remarkable effect, making a nar rative which commands the interest of Within the limits which she observes she has done a monumental well which later students must use may supplement, but need not dupli

Within the limits which she ob serves, we say. It was necessary, of course that she observe some limits Two phases of the subject which are of especial interest to us as Socialists we may note. She has nothing what ever to say about the relations of the Standard Oil system to its employees or the effects of its growth and power in the general struggle between Labor and Capital; her interest is in its relations to competitors and to the mass of the people as consumers. Here, then, is a field which some other investigator may work the more easily by the help of what Miss Tarbell has done and which would yield valuable results. Again, she barely suggests the Importance of the Standard Off Company as a nucleus of the whole trust system, the ramifications of Standard Oil influence in the control of other industries through the invest ment of its own capital and that of its magnates in the stocks and bonds of other corporations of diverse sorts. Something has been done on this side by other writers—by John Moody, for instance, with cold figures and diagrams and by Thomas W. Lawson in manner as interesting as the melodramas and as little calculated to inspire trust or to give a clear knowledge of the facts as the news articles of the "yellow" dallies. It ought to be worked out fully and

the contrary, to exhibit the interna-tional character of our movement on every possible occasion, no matter at what risk of giving offense; if the Miss Turbell's first chapter gives lively account of "The Birth of an In-dustry"—the discovery about 1855 of

the usefulness of petroleum for light-ing and other industrial purposes, the sudden opening of the oil fields in northwestern Pennsylvania, beginning about 1859, and the rapid development of the industry down to the advent of the South Improvement Company with its system of commanding rebates on railway charges, in 1872. The second chapter opens with a vivid personal characterization of the organizer of this "black assault " John D Rocke-"Low-voiced, soft-footed, humble, knowing every point in every man's business"—we cannot keep Uriah Heep out of our thoughts: Right here let us make a general

comment on Miss Tarbell's work. She has prefixed to the book two mottoes -young Rockefeller's famous or infamous "American Beauty rose" meta-phor and Emerson's epigram, "An institution is the lengthened shadow of The latter, like most epi grams, is as false as it is striking. The Heliepistic era was not the shadow of

Alexander nor the Roman Empire the shadow of Cæsar, Alexander and

Caesar were men selected and thrown to the front by the circumstances of their times. History has taught us no lesson if we still believe that, had Alexander been killed in his youth by that balky horse of his, Grecian civilization would have remained within its old boundaries instead of conquering the East, or that, had Julius died of whooping cough in infancy, the Gauls would have remained free from Roman control and the Roman Senate have remained a governing force in the Republic. Neither can we believe that, had Rockefeller enlisted in '61 and patriotically got killed instead of staying at home to make profits by dealing in army supplies, the history of the oli business would have been materially different. The fact is this: There exvould have been isted certain conditions in the production and marketing of oil and the con-trol of transportation facilities which made possible the building up of an effective monopoly by certain the opportunities were obvious and there were many willing to take advantage of them-plenty e of them—plenty of cold-keen-sighted, persistent money-savers, borrowers, usurers sure-thing speculators and drivers of feller; if he had been exceptional in this character, he would not have found the accomplices and dupes who served his purposes so well; the opportunity existed and, out of many men willing and more or less capable of seizing it, this one was enabled, by some excess of unscrupulous ability and by location, possessions, and per-sonal connections, "to get the start and bear the palm alone" in a and bear the palm alone" in a race that others would have run and some have taken the prize had he not been there. Of the two mottoes, young Rockefeller's is as much truer as it is more repugnant to human feel ing. On the whole, however, this does not matter much with Miss Tarbell's book. She tells the story without much philosophizing, good or bad; she gives us facts, we may draw our own The story begins with a small coali-

tion of refiners, headed by Rockefeller, in alliance with certain railway interests. Rebates on transportation charges enable the Standard to undersell competitors and grow by absorbing them; conversely, its growth enables it to compel the giving of rebates, The "producers"—that is, oil-well capitalists, as distinguished from refinery capitalists—must compete to sell their product, but find no effective competition of buyers. They rise in righteous wrath and smite the first combine of the sort-the South Improvement Company-in 1877; they refuse to sell crude oil to its members, restrict their own product, make a newspaper campaign, threaten violence, get the charter revoked, get the railway men's promise to stop giving rebates, and so kill the "monster."

But the monster comes to life again

in a few months under the name of the National Refiners' Association and

approaches them with propositions for

"harmonious co-operation," forcibly reminiscent of the nursery jingle about the Spider and the Fly. The producers are still indignant and refuse to enter the "conspiracy"—but soon wake to the realization that the conspiracy is getting along without their approval, that several of their own men have deserted, and that the rebate system is in full force again. They find the price of crude oil fall-ing, order a month's shutdown to keep it up, and use vigilante methods to enforce their lawless law on each other; they form a combine to market their product-a monopoly to fight a monopoly. Again they fail; capitalists prove constitutionally incapable of keeping faith; he who does so "cuts off his nose to spite his face." A treaty and the Refiners' Association it had been formed to fight and is broken by the refiners within five weeks. With the ending of this "Unholy Alliance" the Producers' Union goes out of existence and its members rush to make terms with the refiners. Five months later the Refiners' Association also goes out of existence; it has served its purpose; the weaker members have seen further weakened by the fight but the Standard has been strengthen-ed and is devoting its 30 per cent. aunual profits, not to payment of dividends-it is big enough to live without dividends a while-but to the building of barrel factories, buying of tankcars, acquisition of terminal facilities devices to reduce waste. The second act leaves the Standard stronger relato producers than ever before. Two "anaconda monepolics" have been smashed, and only the smashers have suffered. The producers have shown themselves unable to keen agreement for their own good and the Stan lard and the railways have shown them-

The next period is one of aggran lize ery field-largely by the advan age of chates which this largest shipper can insist upon, partly by the economy of large and well equipped plants. S veral of the largest competitors are "Lt in on the ground floor" and other plants are leased. A Central Associaion is formed, with Rockefethr at I s head-actually a stalking horse for the Standard; it will not insist on hilling off competitors; it will let them a

selves abundantly able to commit pre

jury in the most effective manner

(Continued on page 3.)

The Social Democratic Party of New York City, in convention assem-bled, declares its belief in and adherence to the principles of International Socialism as set forth in the national platform of our party.

As a branch of the Socialist Party our purpose is the abolition of the pres ent capitalist system and the substitu-tion therefor of industrial democracy -the ownership and operation by the people collectively of all the means of production and distribution.

To accomplish this purpose the pow-ers of government-legislative, judi-cial and executive-must be conquered through political action by the workers. The Social Democratic Party is composed of workingmen who real this truth. It is therefore the party of the workingmen, pledged to their interests and to theirs alone. This party is the only one which rec-ognizes the irreconcilable conflict be-tween the interests of the capitalists and the laborers. It purposes to abolish this conflict by Socialism.

Socialism means the destruction of wage slavery—the slavery of the mar who labors to the master who employs the end of graft and corruption; the abolition of poverty and the decrease of crime. It means that the one who labors shall be entitled to the full value of his product; that production shall be for use and not for profit; that life shall be valued, liberty attained, and happiness made possible.

Although Socialism cannot brought about by the victory of the So cial Democratic Party in one city, yet much may be done during the transition stage to alleviate the pangs of poverty. Therefore as the party of the workingmen we pledge ourselves to the following immediate measures

of temporary relief:
- 1. Municipal ownership and opera tion of street railways, gas and electric lighting power and heating plants, telephones, and such other necessities as are used to tax the public for pri-

vate profit-such operation to be ly for the purpose of decreasing the cost to the consumer, increasing the efficiency of the service and bettering dition of the employees.

private contract to be subject to the following conditions: (a) a work day of not more than

prevailing in organized trades. (c) safe and healthful conditions of

the city and the abolition wherever ossible of the contract system.

4. The extension of public works to

5. The building by the municipality

house legislation and of laws against adulteration of food and medicin 7. Improvement and enlargement of the public schools so that all children may be properly educated; food clothing and medical attendance to b supplied free whenever necessary; the

We warn the workers against my nicipal ownership under capitalistic parties. The income from public utilities would then go to pay interest on bonds and to decrease taxation. The workers would still be exploited, whether under private ownership tweedledum or public ownership twe edee. The capitalist class wo trol, not the working class; and th capitalist class would reap the main oenefit, not the working class. Under the capitalistic parties municipal ownership would be a sop thrown to workingmen to keep them quiet; under the Social Democratic Party municipal ownership would be a step toward

Municipal ownership at its best is only a palliative measure, designed to better the condition of a portion of the working class. We accept it as such proclaiming that as the party of the workingmen we are in favor of whatever will better our condition, provid-ed that at no time shall our future be sacrificed for a mere temporary ad

problems that confront us can be final ly solved in only one way, by going to the root of the matter and removing the cause of trouble-the capitalistic system; and substituting therefor a socialistic system—the ownership and operation by the people collectively of ALL the means of production and dis tribution-the Co-operative Commo

AS TO THE PLATFORM.

AS TO THE PLATFORM.

To the Editor of The Worker:—A platform is only one of many political documents. It has a recognized purpose—to state clearly, briefly and intelligibly the opinion or stand of the party on current issues. The draft of our proposed municipal platform presented in The Worker of today is neither clear, brief nor intelligible. It is an incoherent, ill-arranged, purpose-less essay, saying what it means not, and less essay, raying what it means not, and meaning to say things that have no busi-

ness in a platform.

The first paragraph speaks of the "principles of international socialism in the mational platform." Now, whatever may be the merits of Comrade Herron's master be the merits of Comrade Herron's master-piece, and none appreciate it more highly than i, it is certainly no statement of prin-ciples. The reference in the draft is mis-placed. The second paragraph is a long repetition of the Socialist decalogue "in a tongue not understanded by the people"— a hodge pedge of technicalities utterly mean-teries to nine men out of ten. It is unproper enough, in heaven's name let us have it in plain United States, that the three text books of political economy. This paragraph closes with a humorous error concerning the issue. When we Socialists can make the real issue, the issue of Capital vs. Labor, our fight will be won; but until then no say-so of ours will change the fact that the issue is between factions of the capitalist class. The next paragraph misses the mark again, as an expose of Republican Democratic politics, by failing to bring in the group struggle within the capitalist clars as the foundation for the division of their political interest, it de

The fourth paragraph is the keynote of the platform, and needs expansion and elaboration. It is presented, like the second, in a language that means all the world by these already Socialists, and nothing to

Tyone cise.

The municipal program appears to have been made up on the spur of the moment, and its draft never even read. It opens with a discussion of government by commission, drifts most unreasonably through charter revision into municipal relief, which belongs elsewhere in a plank of its In. From here it jumps to the franchise In. From here it jumps to the franchise Jestion, referring franchises not to the specified and unrelated welfares of life and health. After which this municipal program reviews the misdementors of the United States Supreme Court, matter pertinent to the prologue, but sadly out of place here, separating the cognate planks that precede and follow it.

Thanks to the Evening Ice Wagon, municipalism is the issue this year. The plank giving our stand on the subject is the shortest and least conspicuous of the lot. The question this fall must be "Wherein does Socialism differ from municipal Socialism" and our platform ought to charter revision into municipal relief

2. All work done for the city by

eight hours;
(b) payment of the rate of wages

3. Increase of direct employment by

relieve the unemployed.

at cost. 6 Strict enforcement of tenemer

pening of the public school buildings to the people for use as meeting places.

cialism

falls in the same category. All these are plain statements of fact, not rabid and mandlin appeals to workingmen on theoretical grounds they cannot understand, to fight for theoretical ideals they do not accept. And finally let me say that except in the hands of a master, adjectives are a sugge. Force, is made not by addition.

cept in the hands of a master, adjectives are a snare. Force is made not by adding adjectives, but by leaving them cut. The whole platform is a mass of unnecessary adjectives, everyone of which helps to make the whole what it is, weak, tearful and foolish. For us to stand on such a decument as this would be a calamity.—Fraternally.

F. WILTON JAMES. ernally. F. WILTON JAMES. New York, May 30.

USE THE LOCAL PRESS.

To the Editor of the Worker:-The er closed clippings from the Harlem "Report are properly nursed. There are three papers in Harlem. Announcemen of the lectures at the Harlem Socialist Club every Sunday and Wednesday even terest have been forwarded to these papers since the opening of the club, and with published regularly free of charge. The publisher of one paper has voluntarily donated a year's subscription to the reading room of the club, another has urged us to make our reading notices as long as poalmost the whole of a leaflet explaining Socialism, which happened to get into the envelope containing the notice of the week ly lectures.

Whe season is now here for outdoor not tation throughout the country. In routius speakers through the states it is well to pers, announcing the speaker, and a type written synopsis of the speaker's talk, pre-pared by him and to be delivered to the Most of these peners will be glad to get and print the copy thus prepared and so, even if the audience is not large at the evening meeting, the sallent points of the speech will reach the larger andlen through the local paper and the agitation be made so much more effective. This plan has been tried successfully in Connecticu Chase is making use of the same plan in New York state. Fraternally your EDWARD PERKINS CLARKE.

New York, May 21,

"A QUESTION OF METHOD." To the Falltor of The Worker -- I read with interest Comrade Ghent's letter in regard to personalities in party debates, agreed with it, and so I was somewha surprised at the indignant tone of Comrade Slobodin's reply. I join in the matter with "Wherein dees Socialism differ from municipal Socialism?" and our platform ought to
answer that. It does not. Our plank on
municipal ownership and municipal contracting should be something more than an
insignificant space filler sandwiched between the courts and the schools. It should
be more closely knift to the franchise and
municipal housing planks, from which it
is secarated by irrelevant matter before
and behind. The education plank should
in my mind close with the words "desire
them" instead of "need it."

The ensuing promunicamento on municiThe ensuing promunicamento on municithe results promunicamento on municithe results promunicamento on municidulged** in Socialist Party discussions; and behind. The education plank should in my mind close with the words "desire them" instead of "need it."

The ensuing pronunclamento on municipal order of the control of

selves to rebuke him. If at this min there is talk of a schiam in the party, it is because a number of those whose right and duty it was to discuss and help to decide the point of party policy at issue could not do so without denouncing Comrade Berger, sneering at him and even hinting at treachery and corruption, something which they knew they could not peope, and which they had no idea of attempting to prove. In this they wronged Comrade Berger, and wronged the party; and every right-minded member of the party owes it to sneek up in the matter. party owes it to speak up in the ma for if the thing continues unrebuked, party will certainly go to wreck in the end UPTON SINCLAIR.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

Continued from page 2.

Princeton, N. J., May 17.

their own refineries and buy stock in the Standard if they will give leases to the Association and make it their sole agent for buying crude oil and selling refined and fixing the amount of production and negotiating for transporta-tion. By this scheme the Standard and refiners who come under its wing are to realize increased profits, for which sellers of crude oil and consumers of refined are to foot the bills, and the railways are to be so overawed by this one giant shipper that there shall be no danger of their extending favors to "wildcat speculators" who might dream of invading this golden field.

Meanwhile a complicated rate scheme has been arranged between the railtake away the local advantages of refineries in the oil region, where the Standard is weak, while preserving the local advantages of those in Cleve-land, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, and New York—where it is strong. Under these conditions one refinery after another sells or leases to the Standard in 1874. Those that show fight get all the trouble they are looking for—the Standard undersells them, not for a few days, but for months together they find it impossible to get crude oil just when they need it to fill orders; cars cannot be had in time to deliver their refined oil according to contract They have to give up; the more valuothers go into bankruptcy. By 1879 there are only two refineries left in the

wasteful and immoral institution.
In 1876 begins another revolt of producers and independent refiners (such as are left), even with some railway backing. They appeal to Congress for an Interstate Commerce Law, and don't get it. They try to construct a pipe line from the oil field to Baltimore: the scheme fails. Now the Empire Transportation Company comes to the front, in alliance with the Pennsylvania. It begins to buy refineries. Rockefeller on the one hand and Gould and Vanderbilt on the other protest against such treachery. Protests not availing, they fight. The Standard stops shipping over the Pennsylvania. diverting its former share to the Erle and the Central. The Empire retaliates by running its own refineries at full force and inducing the independents to ship over the Pennsylvania. The Erie and Central tempt the independents with cut rates, and many take the bait. At the same time the Satudard begins underselling in every market that the Empire and the independents enter. The latter had counted on a high selling price established by the Standard and cannot stand competition at prices that still give the Standard a profit. The fight ends in October, 1877, when we Empire goes out of existence. By the end of the year the Standard owns every pipe tine running out of the oil field. The Pennsylvania comes back into the railway pool and the Baltimore & Ohio also joins. A feature of the new agreement is, not only that the Standard gets a rebate from all charges for oil it ships, but that it gets a draw-back for every barrel the railways carry at higher rates for other com-The third attack has only

The portion of the book that we have thus summarized, to give some idea of the march of the narrative, is but about a quarter of the whole. The story develops on similar lines—ever recurring and ever falling attempts of 'producers" or independent refiners to cope with the Standard in competi-tion; the development of a gigantic system of espionage and bribery in ss: numerous civil sults most of which are compromised to the great advantage of the Standard and the rest fought in the courts till the plaintiffs' means and patience are worn out: two prosecutions for conspiracy, one in Ohio in 1878, involving Rockefeller himself, and never brought to an issue, the other at Buffalo in 1885, resulting in fines of \$250 on two of his associates (by the way, Miss Tarbell shows that this famous affair "blowing up a rival refinery" has been wildly exaggerated, though a black enough case remains after all corrections); the quiet activity of the Standard in state and national politics. Democratic as well as Republican: the anti-trust suits brought by two Attor-neys-General of Ohio. Watson in 1830 and Monnett in 1807, resulting in a purely fictitious dissolution of the old Standard Oil Trust in 1892 and the reorganization of the whole system on a wonderfully big and perfect plan under a New Jersey charter in 1899; and the last great fight of the indepen-dents, from the founding of the Producers' Protective Association in 1887 down to the merging of its agent cor-porations into the Pure Oil Company in 1900-that is the formation of counter-combine or secondary trust-with the conclusion that "independence is possible, but competition is not reis possible, but competition is not re-stored. In a chapter on "The Price of Oil," Miss Tarbell thoroughly re-futes the theory that the Standard has made oil cheap, showing that the fall

of prices has by no means kept pace with the reduction of cost. In another on "The Legitimate Greatness of the Company" she brings out very clearly ole advantages of centralize and organized industry over small com-petitive industry.

petitive industry.

We may be permitted to quote at length from our author's statement of the present exorbitant power of the tompany and its central and dominant position in American industry. She says (pp. 264 to 269):

The amount of common stock of the Standard Oil Company which has been in-seed, in January, 1904, when the last report

was made, was \$97,448,900. Its market value at that date was \$643,162,090. How it is divided is of course a matter of private concern. The number of stockholders in 1800 was about 3,500, according to Mr. Archbold's testimony to the Interstate Commerce Commission, but over one-half directors and probably nearly one-third wa owned by Mr. Rockefeller himself. . .

operating, never since the days of the

South Improvement Company has Mr. Rockefeller held privileges so in harmony with his ambition. By it he can do kinds of mining, manufacturing, and trad dise by land and water in any manner; buy sell, lease, and improve lands; build houses structures, vessels, cars, wharves, docks and plers; lay and operate pipe lines; erec into and carry out contracts of every kin and grant licenses under patent rights; pur chase or otherwise acquire, hold, sell, assign bonds or other evidences of indebtedness o cornerations, and exercise all the privilege stocks so held: carry on its business an have offices and agencies therefor in all mortgage, and convey real estate and per sonal property. . . . It will be seet that this really amounts to a special char ter allowing the holder not only to do all that is specified, but to create whateve other power it desires, except banking.

Company are enormous. For five years the

dividends have been averaging about \$45.

00),000 a year. . . . Of course this is not all that the corporation makes in a year. It allows an annual average of 5.77 per cent. for deficit, and it carries always an ample reserve fund. When we remen ber that probably one-third of this imof John D. Rockefeller, that probably nine make up the "Standard Oil Yamily," and that it must every year be invested, the more serious public matter than it was in 1872, when it stamped itself as willing to oil region and those belong to the Standard. At the same time the shipness-a much more serious concern than in the years when it openly made warfare of pers are put out of business; Mr Rockefeller considers the middleman by any means it could invent all will had he hardthood to enter it. For consider what must be done with the greater par of this \$45,000,000. It must be invested. is plenty of reserve for all of its ventures It must go into other industries. Natural They will be gas, and we have the Stand ord Oil crowd steadily acquiring the gas inroads, for on transportation all industrie depend, and, besides, railroads are one of the great consumers of oil products and must be kept in line as buyers. And we great railways of the country, the New Hartford, Chicago, Milwankee & St. Pani Union Pacific, Northern Pacific, Delaware Missouri, Kansas & Texas, Boston & Maine and other lesser roads. They will go into copper, and we have the Amalgan scheme. They will go into steel, and w have Mr. Rockefeller's enormous holding in the Steel Trust. They will go int banking, and we have the National City Bank and its affied institutions in New York City and Boston, as well as a long chal running over the country. No one who has ings will be acquired on a rising market Buy cheap and sell high is a rule of bus and enough banks you can always manag for the original owner. . . . You can banks. The result is that the tion in the world. And every year its pos

> in wiping up the property most essential to This incomplete but impressive ketch of the economic supremacy of the Standard is supplemented by the following presentation (pp. 287 to 290) of the social and moral effect of its

methods and their success: his ends, justify him by declaring, "It's business." That is, "it's business" has come to be a legitimate excuse for hard lealing, sly tricks, special privileges. It is on enough thing to bear men arguing that the ordinary laws of morality do not apply in business. Now, if the Stand ard Oil Company were the only concern in the country guilty of the practises which have given it monopolistic power, this story never would have been written. Were I alone in those methods, public scorn would long ago have made short work of the Standard Oll Company. But it is simply employs with so much acumen, persisten of business men, from corner grocers up to bankers. If exposed, they are excused on the ground that it is business. If the point is pushed, frequently the defender of the practise falls back on the Christian doctrine of charity and points out that we are erring mortals and must allow for each other's weaknesses!—an excuse which, if carried to its legitimate conclusion, would

eave our business men weeping on one an other's shoulders over human frailty, while One of the most depressing features of the ethical side of the matter is that instead of such methods arousing contempt they are more or less openly admired. And this is logical. Canonize "business on and men who make a success like that of the Standard Oil Trust become national heroes: The history of its organization is case to one who would like to fee! that it is possible to be a commercial people and yet a race of gentlemen. Of course such practises exclude men but it the codes from the ranks of gentlemen, joining such practises would exclude men from the sperting world or attlictio field. There is no gaming table in the world where loaded dies are tolorated, no athletic field where men-ment not start fair. Yet Mr. Rockefeller has systematically played with loaded dice, and it is doubtful if there has ever been



The Evolution of Man

with a competitor and started fair. Bust manlike qualities. It is fit only for trick

The effects on the very men who fight

these methods on the ground that they are ethically wrong are deplorable. Brought into competition with the trust, badgered. anything is fair when the Standard is th opponent. The bitterness against the Standard Oil Company is many parts of Pennsylvania and Ohio is such that a verdict om the jury on the merits of the evidence curred a few years ago in the Bradford field. An oil producer was discovered stealing oil from the National Transit Company He had tapped the main line and for at least two years had run a small but steady tank. Finally the thleving pipe was discovered and the owner of it, after acknowledge ing his guilt, was brought to trial. The jury gave a verdict of Not guilty! They cemed to feel that, though the guilt wa acknowledged, there probably was a Stand ard trick concealed somewhere. Anyway, it was the Standard Oil Company and it frequently heard men, whose own business conducted with scrupulous fairness would never condemn a man who stob from the Standard. Of course such a state of feeling undermines the whole moral na ture of a community. The truth is, blackmail and every other business vicis the natural result of the peculiar bus ness practises of the Standard. If busines is to be treated as warfare and not as peaceful pursuit, as they have persisted it treating it, they cannot expect the mer they are fighting to the down and die with-out a struggle. . . They must not expect to monopolize hard dealings, if they

And what, after so masterly a mar shaling of the facts, has Miss Tarbel to propose by way of remedy? The

book, p. 292) sums up the whole of her advice:

And what are we going to do about it? for it is our business. We, the people of the United States, and nobody else, must cure whatever is wrong in the industria situation, tyipfied by this narrative of the growth of the Standard Oil Company. That our first task is to secure free and equal transportation privileges by rail, pipe, and waterway is evident. It is not an easy matter. It is one which may require operations which will seem severe; but the wholtons which will seem severe; but the whole system of discrimination has been nothing but violence, and those who have profited by it cannot corgolain if the curing of the erils they have wrought bring hardship in turn on them. At all events, until the trans-portation question is settled, and settled right, the monopolistic trust will be with us, a leech on our pockets, a barrier to our free efforts.

As for the ethical side, there is no cure but in an increasing scorn of unfair play-an increasing sense that a thing won by breaking the rules of the game is not worth the winning. When the business man who fights to secure special privileges, to crowd fair competitive methods, receives the same ammary disdainful ostracism by his fer rules, receives, we shall have gone a lonway toward making commerce a fit pursui

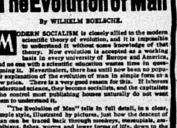
We cannot but exclaim: "Oh. hame and impotent conclusion?" For lame and impotent it is, even considering only the phase of the question to which fines herself-the relation of the Stand ard to actual or intending competitors: wethods and their success:

Very often people who admit the facts, still more so, if we take into account the phase briefly hinted in the first of the three extracts we have made: and most of all, if we consider, what she has entirely disregarded, its influence in the struggle between Labor and

Capital. We are shown that the economy o concentrated industry alone is enough to give the Standard enormous advan tage and that it has now reached the point where it is to a considerable extent independent of those rallway re bates that so greatly helped it in earli er years and, finally, that its leading members are now actual part-owners on a large scale in the railways as well as in a score of other large industries and then we are advised to put a stor to discrimination in transpocharges! Twenty years ago that wa a reasonable proposition; today it is ridiculously inadequate. To call it "locking the stable after the horse is

And again, in the second of the pas sages we have quoted, we are given a powerful illustration of the suprem acy of economic forces and condition over ethical ideals; and then we are told to hope that the evil will be cured by an ethical revival! When Miss Tarbell cited the ostracism that falls upon a doctor or lawyer who is un professional, or an athlete who is un sportsmanlike, she might have reme bered that just these professional and sportsmen's moral codes are likewise going down under the all-pervading in-duence of capitalism. Bocketelle going down under the ail-pervading in-fluence of capitalism. Rockefeller's insquitous business methods are paral-ieled, not only by the practises of other large and small capitalists in the busi-ness world, but by the unprofessional methods in the legal and medical call-ings which are actually gaints ground. methods in the legal and medical call-ings which are actually gaining ground to-day and by the commercialization of the diamond, the gridiren, and the ring, which old-fashioned athletes bit-terly but vainly lament. The old ethic of "fair play," with its methors of "fair and let lim"

mottoes of "Live and let live" and the like, is on its last lega. It is dying a natural death. Miss Tarbell's own



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narrative amply demonstrates its in ability to solve the problems of modern giant industry. Shocking as is the record of Rockefeller and his associates, it is less contemptible than the of the independents, who again and again show themselves just as faith-less and just as lawless and just as

selfish and who are miserably waver

ing and incompetent besides.

To return to a criticism we have al ready made, Miss Tarbell shows, in her conclusions, the characteristic weakness of the historian of a specia institution; she considers John Rockefeller and the Standard Od Com pany as exceptional in quality as well as degree, treats them as abnorma when in fact they are typical. The Standard is not an ulcer on the body politic. Young John D. was nearer right: It is "the bright consummat flower" of an economic system, a his foric period. Only, according to our view, it is the blossom, not of a rose bush, but of the deadly upas tree Rockefeller would have the other buds nipped that this one poisonous blossom may bloom the better; Miss Turbel and other critics of the petty bourgeoi school would have the buds protecte that all might bloom. We would have the ax laid at the root of the whol poisonous growth.

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You love liberty. Who can doubt your love of liberty? You who control the finances of the world. You who have all the goods of the earth ticketed in your private names. You love liberty. You will live for liberty. Sure. Live for liberty. You will die for liberty. What's that? Die for liberty. erty? Let us see. If any man doubts your love of liberty he may find out the truth by asking you whether you love liberty. And of course you will tell him the truth. And he will go away satisfied. Maybe. Am I satisfied? Hardly. I push the inquiry back a little towards the roots of life. You love liberty. What has your love of liberty done for you? Done for the race? It has given you a big private fortune. It has given the race the alternative poverty. Liberty, y kind of liberty, has left you to do you please. To rob as you please. To legislate yourself privileges as you please. To get on top anyway you may as you please. To be happy yourself as you please at a cost of misery to other people as you please. To rate property above people as you please. Liberty, your kind of liberty, has done that for you. It has guaranteed your es. It has made piracy rectable. It has put thievery the laws. It has made you believe that your will is a just will whatever your will may override in the process of its fulfilment. Your liberty, your kind of liberty, has sanctified the jall and the poorhouse. Has piled up riches and crushed down souls. Has said that an income is worth while but that love is not worth while. Has filled the cities with fearful contrasts of the overripe rich and the underripe poor. Has divided our esthetics between

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JACK LONDON AND BOURGEOIS SOCIETY.

eresting reading: So Jack London has been giving clety and the newspapers something more to clamor about. Dear, dear! This time it is not the author's antipathy to a dress-suit, hitherto his most heinous offense, that has stirred up the social hornet's nest It is something almost as serious in hour-geois eyes, however. It is Socialism. Jack London has been lecturing on Socialism at Stockton and at San Jos and even within the sacred precincts of the State University itself.

The first ripple, and it was only a ripple, was caused by the San José lecture when Mr. London not only called spades spades, but explained that they were meant to dig dirt with. Now, some of the spades which he called were instruments of social and capitalistic manufacture. Socie which has persistently attempted lze California's one literary genius has as persistently failed to se Honization is a part of the whol duty of genius, society smiled a strained cornerwise smile and said: "It's his bobby, you know. Just a little ex-treme, of course; but he is young and ignoramuses. Your fatuous self-suffiso original, you kn The Sen Wolf?"

Society didn't say: "Have you rend The People of the Abyss?" the one Socialistic book that Jack London has Socialistic book that Jack London has written. Because society itself has not rend it, or it would understand its pet lion better than it does. In some respects "The People of the Abyss" is the greatest thing among the several great things that Jack London has done. It tells a tale of heroism and brotherly love—of a man's tenderness for his suffering brethren and his courage in sharing the loathsome conditions of their lives that he might know of a truth how the other half lives. In short, it is a personal record of Jack London's life in the East End of London, where he In the East End of London, where he sank himself and his identity for a season in the year 1902, living, laboring, starving, tramping the streets by night and day, one of the pitiful horde of London's poor. After that experience writer of vivid Klondike tales

shed off "The People of the Abyss" om a pen afinme. This did not in-rest Society. Fiction is Jack London's bread and Fiction is Jack London's breat and boned herring; Socialism is his relig-ion. This has not come home to the society which brews pink teas for him until recently. And now Society is not pleased with Jack London.

Following close upon the San José disturbance Jack London was invited to lecture at Berkeley. "Talk about anything you like, anything you like," lent Wheeler, ber chind Jack London sat fifty of the culty; before him sat 2,000 students. Talk about anything you like," had aid the President, and there in the saered shadow of the aged man's white red shadow of the aged man's white socialism is not a pose (as it had hithlocks Jack London tossed back his yellow mane and talked Revolution. For item with the spell-bound students belind him. Then, as per schedule, the flee Club began to sing, but nobody acticed it. Two of the faculty were as their feet both screaming at Jack class.

Socialism is not a pose (as it had hitherto hoped) has censed to respect him. It may even cease to beg his autograph. The riddle is; How much will Jack London care?

Read "The People of the Alyes" and you'll find the answer to the ridsite of the property of the second of the second

London at once; the students were cheering and the President gave up the opeless attempt to quell the disturbbooks in Berkeley passed from the bookstores and libraries of the town etween the portals of the university Garbled accounts of "anarchistic principles" found their way into the pers and Society and the powers t e were very much annoved at Jack London. As the culprit didn't seem to Society scolded the Presidentwhich was unfair. Then all things being ready Jack London went north on his yacht. And society decided to forgive and forget its young lion who rould doubtles Socialist cobwebs from his brains.

"But Jack London put in at Stock-on between moments of writing a new novel and gave a little talk on Socialism. And now perhaps Society will brew no more pink teas for the Californian author; for in that little talk Jack London called Society over fed. plush-bound Society, names—such

names! One of his fiery charges was: blinds v that is surely, surely coming, and which will as surely wipe you and your slik-lined, puffed-up leisure off the face of the map. You are para-

sites on the back of labor sites on the back of labor."

A few other well-chosen and graphic remarks followed. There was a terrific uproar. The "drones" and the "parasites" and the "ignoramuses" cried aloud in their wrath. They arose on their 25 cent seats ("for the benefit of the Socialist cause") and hurled epithets at the lecturer.

Do you know what will be the re-

sult of your revolution?" aire sugar king shouted.

"It is not MY revolution." London broke in. "It is YOURS! Yes, yours and your kind's. YOU are the cause

"Anarchy! Civil war! Death and crime! These will be the results of that revolution you are prophesying. National upheaval—" the millionaire began again

"I know it." said London what are you going to do about 1t? How are you going to stop it?"

Now, a young man who takes the Now, a young man who takes the ills of the poor and the oppression of the laborer as seriously as all that is a dangerous person to have at pink teas. He might impress his outlandish view of human equality and human rights and onrushing destiny on the rights and oursaining destiny on the sons and daughters of the wealthy families he visits! and how terrible it would be for Society should those sons and daughters act on such revolutionand daughters act on such revolution-ary principles, helping to ease the poor man's burden instead of buying auto-mobiles and Paris frocks. And so So-ciety, finding out that Jack London's Socialism is not a pose (as it had hith-erto hoped) has censed to respect him. It may even cease to beg his auto-fresh.

PARTY NEWS.

local with thirteen members ha been organized by Guy Miller at Dun-can, I. T., and a charter granted by the national office. robably be commenced the first week

Robert Saltiel, National German Or ganizer, will conclude his work the last of May and will then return home By reason of inability of some mem-bers of the National Executive Com-mittee to attend the next meeting on July 13, the date set, it has been changed to July 20.

The monthly Official Bulletin for

April has been sent to all State Sec retaries by post instead of express, as formerly, on account of the Chicago teamsters' strike.

Local Grand Rapids, Minn., offer for general vote the following propos ed amendment to the national consti tution of the party:

Article 1 .- No state or territory shall b resented on the National Committee ex cept after issuance of its charter, nor re tain said charter without compliance with Article 12. Section 6, of this Constitution Provided (60) sixty days from establish ment of this amendment be allowed state or territorial organizations not in harmon with said amendment to comply therewith

THE MILWAUKEE AFFAIR.

Towner's motion to remove Victor I Berger from the National Executive Committee because of his attitude in the Milwaukee judicial election has been carried. Gibbs' motion to table it, pending the investigation already ordered, was defeated by a vote of 2: to 17, with 8 not voting. The vote on Towner's motion stood:

Yes Barnette of Arlyona Lower of As ansas, Richardson of California, White of Idaho, Kelley of Indiana, Work of Iowa of Kansas, Towner of Kentucky Fox of Maine, McHugh of Montana, Ray of Nebraska, O'Neil of New Hampshire, Spar Trantmann of Obio, Ringler of Pennsylvania, Floyd of Rhode Island, Gilbert of Utab, Burgess and Smith of Washington Hastings of Wyoming .- Total, 24.

No-Andres of Alabama, Flories of Col ann, Jacobs of Iowa, Gibbs of Massa chusetts, Lamb of Michigan, Holman of Minnesots, Hochn of Missouri, Kearns and Headley of New Jersey, Hillquit of New York, Lampman of North Dakota, Rang of Oregon, Lovett of South Dakota, Farme of Texas. Thompson of Wisconsin - Total. 17.

lister of Kansas, Putnam of Louisland Pench of Minnesota, Rehrens of Missour Maschke of Oklahoma, Arvidson of Ver mont. Zimmerman of West Virginia. Ber

The Hillquit-Hanford-Spargo mo tion was also carried. It reads:

Socialist lines without compromise or fus-ion is the most vital principle of our move-ment. It offers the most effective means for the dissemination of the theories of Se mediate aim—the conquest of all the powers of government by the working class nembers and sympathizers the realization of the insurmountable barriers that seps rate our party from all political parties of

the propertied classes. It is, therefore, the sense of the Nations

1. That all organizations of the Socialis state and local elections wherever and whenever possible and nominate candidate for all offices to be filled at such elections 2. Should a state or local organization for any reason be deprived of the right or find itself unable to make nominations of candidates in any election, it is the duty of all true Socialists to abstain from pa ticipation in such election.

3. Under no circumstances should any her of the Socialist Party vote for enderse or support a candidate of any other political party.

The vote on this stood 39 to 2, with 9 abstaining. White and Jacobs voted in the negative; Woodside, McAllister Peach, Behrens, Maschke, Gilbert, Ar vidson, Thompson, and Berger did not vote. Thompson wished to be recorded as voting for the preamble and first section and against the remain

The resolutions of Crestline, O., pr posing a referendum, have been fur-ther seconded by Locals Tulare, Cal.,

Millyille, Pa., and Biloxi, Miss National Committeens records a protest against the resolutions from Local Minneapolis on the Milwaukee situation, reported in The Worker last week, alleging that they ere "railroaded" through by a pro-

Massachusetts The Lynn Socialist Club will hold

discussions every Sunday in May at 12 m. sharp in W. C. T. U. Hall, Oxford and Washington streets. The subject this Sunday is: Resolved, That Socialism is the only solution of the temperance question.

BOSTON

At last week's meeting of the Bosto Central Committee George Roewer Jr., was elected Organizer in place of J. P. Weigle, resigned on account of leaving the city. The financial sec-retary reported that the money for the leaving the city. The mancial secretary reported that the money for the state debt was slowly but surely coming in, close to \$50 having already been collected. The indications are that a large amount will soon be forthcoming from various clubs. All clubs are marged to pay their share now. Comrade Cutting was elected to take charge of the meetings on the Boston Common. The Legal City Committee has been organised with Ira Worcester as chairman. It is desired that all the members of this committee is an open letter in reply to charges made by W. E. Trautmann of Cincinnation by this committee in order to make the work go smoothly. The organizer it is preparing to visit all the clubs in Boston with the pocket wallets and other literature for distribution. Com rade Clau reports that as a result of calling on the readers of the party press in Ward 22 be was able to pressent the names of fifteen applicants for party membership. Other comrades should follow this line of work, in fact East Boston has been doing so for months past. East Boston siarted open-air meetings some time age and it is reported that the first meeting encouraged the compared to the more time of the mother literature for distribution. Com radee should follow this line of work, in fact East Boston has been doing so for months past. East Boston siarted open-air meetings some time age and it is reported that the first meeting encouraged the compared to the money of the money of the money of the compared to the money of the compared to the money of the compared to the money of the compared to the money of th

Flemish comrades was a success every way. The Flemish branch has an attendance of at least thirty at its meetings and most of the time one may count as high as sixty. Several accessful Sunday meetings have been eld on the Common by Comrades Hall, O'Leary, Gallagher, Cutting and the organizer. Open-air meetings will

in June.
It should have been reported before that the first performance of the Bos-ton Socialist Dramatic Club on May Day was highly successful in every re-spect. The members of this club are spect. The members of this club are planning to give many entertainments in the fall and all members of the party who are interested in this work should join.

. New Jersey.

The state convention will be held in Lyceum-Hell, 301 Plane street, near Market street, Newark, on Tuesday, May 30, at 9 a. m. At the last meeting of the State

Committee a letter was read from Comrade Hartmayer of Camden explaining the action of Camden County id accepted an appointment on the School Board from a so-called nen-par-tizan official, but resigned on request of the local. Comrade Hartmayer requested the State Committee to state definitely their position on this mat-ter; after i 'long' discussion it was voted to lay the communication on the table because of its lacking the offi-cial seal of Local Camden. The com-mittee ruled that Local Camden acted rightly in the case; but that in places like Passaic County, where the candi-dates go on the ballot without party designation, simply as individuals, members may exercise their right of citizenship and vote for such candidates. Attendance of delegates was good and all counties reported growth and activity, especially in the southern part of the state. Request for information how to organize received from Julioustown. Comrade Webster reports organizing branches in Rosen-

Pennsylvania.

hayn and Carmel

Sunday, May 23, at 8 p. m., John Spargo will give his third lecture for the Philadelphia Socialist School at 445 N. Fifth street, the subject being: Poverty and Its Relief. Three mor lectures are to be given, on Mor evenings, June 5, 12, and 19. Admit sion, 10 cents.

Wisconsin.

After assisting in the municipal ampaigns in the southeastern part of the state, which came during the early part of the year and required consid erable organizing work, State Organ-izer Thompson began a tour of the state. This tour is still in progress. During the last ten days he has been brough four or five new countles that have not been organized before and ded in organizing good locals in three of them. New locals have been organized at Ladysmith, Phillips, Bay-field, and Cornucopia, with a promise of a local at Edgar and Auburndale. Another Finnish local has recently been organized at Superior, so that the organization of two others begun. Besides this propaganda meetings have been held at nearly all of the istervening points across the state whe there were locals and have increased the beginning of the year twenty-on locals in all have been organized with an aggregate membership of 267. And this during the months that immed

ately followed two hard campaigns. The "Social Democratic Herald" of last week says: "At the time of going to press Comrade Victor L. Berger Heson a sick bed at his home in Milwau-kee, the nature of his trouble being omewhat in doubt. The physician somewhat in doubt. The physicians believe that he ruptured an internal blood, yessel, and have been afraid of blood poisoning. We hope to give a more favorable account of him next

.... Here and There.

Since the first of the month M. W. Wilkins has organized eight locals in

A call has been issued to all locals n Maryland to vote on the question of

bolding a nominating convention in Baltimore, July 4. W. J. Bell of Tyler, Tex., has been

W. J. Bell of Tyler, 122, has been elected State Secretary pro tem. The first meeting of the Oklahoma Territorial Committee was held May 6 and 7. Resolutions were adopted favorable to uniting with Indian Terri-About thirty-five dates have been arranged for Guy Miller. Four hundred and ninety-nine members in good standing, fifty-four locals, and five nembers-at-large are reported.

Local St. Louis has rejected an ap-dication of "General" L. C. Fry for olication of "General" L. C. Fry for admission to the party on the ground of his past record as a disruptionist in the Socialist and trade-union move-

Dan White of Massachusetts will speak at the corner of Middle street and . Pairfield. axenue. Bridgeport, Conn. Saturday evening. May 27. In case of rain the lecture will be held ndoors, at Socialist Headquarters, 176

The Central Branch of Seattle Vash., has issued a leastet in the mat ter of the charges brought against Hermon E. Titus, formerly of that city and now editor of the Toledo "Se-

220. Dates will be assigned da the Henry L. Moreau of Port Chester has been elected a member of the State Committee for Westchester County.

William W. Arland of Corning has

been elected to the State Committee from Steuben County. In preparation for his two months

tour, State Secretary Chase has sen out a circular letter to all known So cialists in unorganized places asking them to aid in arranging meetings. The result has been very encouraging as quite a number have promised to make arrangements. No definite time locals are yet to be heard from regarding unorganized places in their vicinity; but it will undoubtedly be early in June. Many locals have b negligent in replying to communications regarding this tour and such a have not yet stated what they can d to help should do so immediately. To carry on effective agitation, the State Secretary must have the hearty and prompt co-operation of the locals.

New York City.

The General Committee next Saturday, May 27, at 8 p. m., a 206 E. Eighty-sixth street. Delegates

are urged to be there on time.

At the meeting of the City Executive on May 15 a representative of Comrade Fieldman offered his service as speaker and the organizer was in structed to communicate with a view to engaging him. Request of 16th A. D. to borrow book case in organ-izer's office until it is wanted was granted. It was decided to put the various leaflets in the printer's the day after the city convention so that the names of our candidates may appear thereon At the last meeting of the City Ex

ecutive, on May 22, Comrade Wolf was

temporarily seated as delegate from Yorkville. No delegates were present from the First, Second, West Side and Bronx Agitation Districts. Other dis tricts reported as follows: Yorkville will take 10,000 municipal platforms: will try to get the members of the W S. & D. B. and the Arbeiter Ring to work; will take five banners; the 26th A. D. made \$50 on their recent affair Bohemians and Hungarians wish plat form translated into their languages Harlem, good open-air meeting in 34tt A. D.: notified by police that no meet ings can be held on One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street and Seventh ave nue and have appointed a committee on the matter. Murray Hill, 24th still unrepresented; plenle a success. Or ganizer reported that the Literature Committee had a meeting at which Comrade Hanford presented his leaflet which is already in the hands of the printed, and that Comrade leaflet on municipal ownership will also be ready soon. The articles for the booklet are almost all ready. Wil probably be able to have Wilkins at ention on June 12, but has me ments so as not to interrupt his lect a comrade to greet delegates t the city convention, to have a banne and to decorate the hall. Organize was instructed to print 100,000 of tlan ford's leaflet and 100,000 copies of municipal platform and have platform translated into German, Bohemian Hungarian and Yiddish. The recon mendation of the Bronx to print is leafiet on the ten-hour decision was no concurred in, as arrangements have plready been made to print such a large amount of other

ing of the City Executive will be held next week on account of convention. The New York County delegates the city convention are reques be at the hall at 10 a. m. Arrang ments have been made to serve a god lunch to such of the delegates as wis to have lunch in the restaurant ac joining the convention hall. Delegate and visitors so desiring, are requested

ganizer was requested to prepare

list of books he has on hand. No meet

to notify Organizer Solomon. Comrades able and willing to act as speakers for our outdoor agitation wh have not yet notified the Organizer their intention to assist in this work are requested to inform him as to the number of dates they can convenient ly place at his disposal. There seem to be quite a lack of speakers for outdoor meetings this year. Many of our old-time agitators do not feel like starting the work so early. However, the Organizer will arrange, from now one, as many outdoor meetings weekwill allow. The speakers are again urged to ignore requests for extra meetings from districts and inform them that the Organizer has sole charge of outdoor agitation and that requests for speakers should be made of him.

The Picnic Conference met Tuesday May 16, at 64 E. Fourth street. J. C. Chase acted as chairman and U. Solo mon as secretary. New delegates were seated as follows: Shpoler Young Men's S. D. P. Club, R. Padolsky, M. Men's S. D. P. Club, R. Padolsky, M. Gossip, 4th A. D., S. 'D. P., D. Staelson, M. Kaplan; 35th A. D., Br. 1 Joseph Kuhn, H. Busch; Annexed A. D., Br. 2. Richard Hoppe, A. Seidler A. K. & S. K., Br. 179, Henry Haupt Br. 91, A. Kunke. The committee ap-pointed to make arrangements for a barbecue reported that Butchers' Un-ion No. 174 has volunteered to have complete charge and that in all prol ability the barbecue will be a goo attraction to the numerous visitor attraction to the numerous visitors and will be at the same time a good financial investment; the Organizer was accordingly instructed to make arrangements for a barbecue. The Organizer reported for the Arrangements Committee that all arrangements Committee that all arrangements. ments for the entertains pleted; that the German Free Schools were invited and several prizes and were invited and several prizes and games for the children will be arranged; that advertisements will be placed with The Worker, "Forward," and "Volkszeitung;" that 20,000 small pasters will be rendy in a few days and will be properly distributed; 5,000 tickets were printed and 4,000 of them were distributed among the delegates; tickets must be accounted not later than June 10. Patrick Donohue and than June 10. Patrick Donohue and Oliver Smith were appointed as a committee to visit the painters' organisation with tickets; R. Padolsky and M. Gessip to visit the Jewish erganisations; M. Sand and Schmals to visit Carpanters No. 309. The next meeting of the Picnic Conference will take place Wednesday, May 31, at 84 R. Feurth street. The various committees for the picnic will then be ap-pointed and all those desiring to help in making it a success can do so by

attending this meeting.
Socialists and sympathizers who are interested in the publication of the interested in the publication of the "Daily Call" and desire to see the necessary funds raised as soon as possible will be pleased to learn that one of our lady comrades has made a handsome human. me burnt-wood picture, a copy of the famous painting "Ready for the Moors," which will be disposed of at the party picnic on June 11 for the benefit of the Call Fund. The picture s now on exhibition at the Working nen's Fire Insurance headquarters 214 E. Eighty-fourth street.

The Second Agitation District Committee has issued an effective appea to the trade unions, offering them Se cialist speakers, suggesting contribu-tions to our campaign fund and invit ing them to send delegates to its meet The 16th A. D. will hereafter I

every Friday at the clubrooms, 255 E. Fourth street. The next meeting will be very important and every member is urged to be present.

On Friday evening, May 26, a de-bate on Anarchism versus Socialism will be held at 200 E. Broadway, under the auspices of the Liberal Arts Society, H. Kelly speaking for Anarchism and Joseph Spero for Social sm. Maurice Diamond, Sol. Scalpone and Platon Brounoff will render a musical program and the evening will close with a social gathering and lance. Admission, 10 cents.

The Worker is asked to acknowledge

the receipt of the following sums for the assistance of Comrade Koplovitz of the 4th A. D., for whom an appea was made in our Issue of May 13: Joseph J. Shanahan, \$1; A Socialist \$1; Mrs. Dora Foster, Buffalo, \$1. Fur ther contributions may be addressed to M. Gillis or L. Slotkin, in care of Worker.

All comrades are invited to visit the headquarters of the 22d A. D., at 241 E. Forty-second street, which have recently been greatly improved. There are reading rooms, card room, pool room and other attractions to suit all tastes. A number of comrades are always willing to argue and discuss all questions of the day. The clubrooms are open every evening and Sunday

all day.

The entertainment held by the 26th A. D. on April 1 netted \$50.45; onetenth will go to the State Committee and the rest will be divided betwee the English and Bohemian branches the ladies' branch waiving their share The ladies have won hearty thanks for their work in this affair.

The 26th A. D. will distribute 25 copies of The Worker weekly during

the next few months. At a recent meeting of the Literary Committee of the Yorkville and Down Town Young People's Social Demo cratic Clubs it was decided to arrang a series of inter-club debates. action was heartily approved. long time the comrades of both club debates between the two clubs will be held on Thursday, June 1, at 8 p. m at the clubhouse of the Workmen Educational Association, 206 E. Eightysixth street. The subject to be dis-cussed is: Resolved, That Capital Punishment Should Be Aboilshed, the affirmative Leing taken by Marat Mcr-ten, Leo M. Rohr, and Edward Meyer of the Down Town Club and the nega tive by Charles Schulz, Emil C. Paul. and James F. Bell of the Yorkvill Club. Algernon Lee will act as chair man. The committee has also pro vided for some music. Admission will be free and it is hoped that the hall will be well filled. All young people—and old people, too—are extended a cordial invitation to attend and bring as many friends as possible

The Yorkville Young People's Club is having a most interesting and in sions, led by Dr. A. Ingerman, on the Philosophy of Socialism and the Ma-terialist View of History. The club meets every Thursday evening in the W. E. A. clubhouse, 206 E. Eighty-sixth street. Visitors and new members are cordially welcome. In place of the regular meeting of June 1 a debate will be held between representatives of the Yorkville Club and the

Down Town Club. _ The open-air meeting in the 28th A. D. on June 2, the place for which s not given in the list of meetings, will be held, we learn, at Eighty-second

street and East End avenue. On Sunday, May 28, the comrades of he Harlem Socialist Club will hold a real old-fashioned picnic on the Palisades at Fort Lee, all bringing their lunches. Comrades from other sections of the city, Brooklyn, and Jersey City are cordially invited to participate in the jollification, and to bring their friends and families with thme, and are requested to be at the ferry. One Hundred and Thirtieth street and North River, at 10:30 a. m.,

that all may start in a body.

At the Harlem Socialist Club, 250 W. One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street, on Sunday, May 28, Leonard Davidson will lecture on Municipal Ownership; and on Wednesday, May 31. Isidore Phillips will speak on Our

The Bronx Borough Agitation Committee will start its open-air cam-paign with a street meeting at the corner of One Hundred and Thirtyeighth street and Willis avenue, Saturday evening, May 27.
The 35th A. D., Br. 3, Highbridge, 1

progressing well. A bowling club has been formed as a social feature and a source of income; the second tourna-ment is to be held Saturday evening. May 27, at Realty Hall, Ogden ave-nue. The next meeting of the branch will take place Friday evening, June 2, at 1194 Ogden avenue, over Class-en's hardware store. All who are in-terested in Socialism are invited to come and join. BROOKLYN.

The 9th A. D. has about comp visiting all enrolled Socialists and in-dependents with such good results that the Democrats and Republicans will next be seen and acquainted with our program. Headquarters are open every Sunday morning at corner of Verona and Iminy street. Open meeting and discussion next Sunday. A street meeting will be held on Thursing and the street meeting will be held on Audit day evening. June 1, corner Walcott and Van Brunt streets, at which Comrade Dawson and others will speak.

The picnic held on May 16 by the facial Democratic

young People's Social Democratic Club was a great success, the net pro-ceeds to date reaching \$100. Meetings

GRAND PICNIC AND SUMMERNIGHT'S FESTIVAL

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE S. D. P. MUNICIPAL CAMPAIGN FUND

TO BE HELD ON SUNDAY AFTERNOON AND EVENING, JUNE 11

AT SULZER'S WESTCHESTER PARK

PROMENADE CONCERT BY THE NEW YORK LETTER CARRIERS' BAND AND THE SOCIALIST MUSIC BAND,

Dancing Music by Carl Sahm Club,

Amseemens and games for young and old. Chorus of the United Workingmen's Singing Societies, Gymnastic and Wrestling Exhibitions by the Turn Verein Vorwaerts, New York.

TICKETS. *10c. A PERSON. AT THE GATE 156

Sale of tickets as follows: Worker office, 184 William St.; New York Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth St.; Clubhouse, W. E. A., 206 E. Eighty-sixth St.; Clubhouse W. E. A., 300 Third avenue; Socialist Literary Society, 223 E. Brondway; Office "Forward," 175 E. Brondway; West Stide Headquarters, 531 Eighth Arc; Hariem Socialist Club, 232, Que, Lludered and Twenty-Sfrth St.; Headquarters 22d A. D., 241 E. Forty-second W. G. Charles and Twenty-Sfrth St.; Headquarters 22d A. D., 241 E. Forty-second

will be keld every second and fourth Sunday during the summer.

The next regular meeting of the 16th and Br. 1, 18th A. D., will be held on May 28 at Northern Star Hall, 1898

BEBEL ON FRENCH UNITY.

Fulton street, at 2:30 p. m.

"La Vie Socialiste" publishes a let ter written by August Bebel in reply to an invitation to be present at the Unity Congress of the French Socialists at Rouen, Circumstances prevented him from accepting the invita-tion, but he sent the warmest congratulations, saying:

I can sincerely assure the French com rades that, in my long activity in the party, I have seen few events that I have greeted with so much joy and satisfaction as this Unity Congress. By it the hope which the believe, in al! of us, is more than satisfied. Our French comrades thus gave the most striking and magnanimous example of abnegation, of idealism, of devotion that they could give to our great cause. We all thank them for it.
From the moment when the French So-

cialists form a unified party, they will be a greater power than ever before, a power which will be, more than before and in increasing measure, a determining factor in the politics of the country. Only now does the party become a force that can accom plish, nationally and internationally, its I am convinced, moreover, that this great

example of French Socialist unity will have the best effects upon the Sociadsts in countries where the party is still unhappily divided: they also ought to follow the exmple.

I have never said with more joy than today: "Hurrah for international Socialism, ch represents the future of humanity!" It may be remarked that the unity is not quite absoltue. A small group in Paris and the neighborhood, repre-

sented by the monthly "Le Mouvement Socialiste," and a newly established weekly, "L'Avant Garde," has stayed outside and will constitute an extreme left, a sort of watchdog for the integrity of the party. As Comrade Askev remarks in the London "Justice," thi s perhaps not to be regretted. The wing will serve to keep the great body of the Socialist movement sharply up to the line and prevent any re-descence of opportunism. This treme left consists of the so-called revolutionary trade-unionists, among whom Victor Griffeulhes and Huber Lagardelle are perhaps the best known exponents, who have little faith in purely political action and attach especial importance to the general strike as a revolutionary method. In Italy there-exists a similar extranc Latt, led

THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA

by Arturo Labriola.

The importance of the eight-hour movement in Russia has been well shown to lie in the fact that it marks the proletarian nature of the revolution, and in contrast to the tendency. even of certain Social Democrats, to lay the chief stress on the political demands, shows what demands the proletariat, hitherto non-Socialist, itself attaches the most importance to; this is just that demand that divides the bourgeois liberal from the proletarian revolutionist. LAS a fact, the demands of the latter include the former, and much more They sum demand for a fuller, freer Me, and for protection from exploitationdemands he can realize only through the conquest of political power. As a sign of the awakening class-consciousvery significant. In the German offi-cial press, the idea is expressed that the sham concession of religious toleration-for Christians only, be it noted-will quiet things down. the contrary, it is too late for that. It will only whet the appetite for real concessions. In the meantime, the infamous religious laws have had the effect that a large number of people in the Baltic Provinces now live together outside of the legal marriage tie. In this way does the stubborr orthodoxy of the churches contribute to the building up of a true social structure outside of their sphere.—J.

THE GENERAL STRIKE I am glad to see that Carl Legien,

the secretary of the General Commisgood Social Democrat, writes that they are not opposed to the general strike in any way. They only say that to justify it the feeling of a burning in-justice must have deeply stirred the proletariat, but that obviously that is not a contingency for which it is pos-sible specially to prepare or to discuss beforehand-outside, naturally, the formal organization of the proletariat With these sentiments I can only agree, and feel glad to find so high an authority on my side.—J. B. Askew, in London Justice.

THE PARTY AGAINST ALCOHOLISM.

THE PARTY AGAINST ALCOHOLISM.

I am glad to see that in connection with the atrikes in Russis a great move has been made to obtain abstinence from alcoholic beverages—at least during the strike. This was also the case during the great mining strike in Germany when the drunkenness cases decreased in a most remarkenble manner. In Russia there appears to be a general propaganda in the party in favor of total abstinence—and several groups of the Social Democratic Party, strict Marxista, demanded the publication of a pamphlet against alcohol, which the party responded to. The consequence was that one of the state licensed drinking places took only Tig roubles in the week in-

stead of 300 and another less than 5 in-stead of 200. There is no doubt that in the whole European movement it has now become much more universally recognized what a serious danger alcohol is to the movement, and in Switzerland especially among trade unionists the number of total abatainers is very large. Apart from the physical advantages to the workers them-selves, the self-control and self-discipline thus imposed on themselves are invaluable hus imposed on themselves are invaluable lements in any movement and especially in one that makes a great demand on the self-sacrifice of its members as ours in obliged to do at times .-- J. H. Askew, I

SELECTIONS FROM

GRONLUND'S LECTURES. The story of how I became a Social-

ist is curious. In 1876, while practis-ing law in Chicago, I once was reading the "Thoughts" of Pascal He slaughter house. This frightful illustartion took tremendous hold of me and made me ask myself: make such a life bearable? This led me to study ecoonmics from all sides, and in 1879 I found out, to my great surprise, that I was a Socialist.

But I had discovered not alone how to make life bearable, but to make it blessed, and every day since then, in spite of hardships, has been blessed to me; indeed, since the death of my wife, life is worth living to me only by preaching Socialism. · It requires wise leaders to

find out the right steps to that goal. You young gentlemen have splendid opportunities before you to become such leaders, more glorious opportunitels than your forefathers ever had. worst is that we, the American people, are more cowardly than the people of Europe; among other rea-sons, because we are more dependent upon organized capital than they are elsewhere. You, young women, have especially great responsibilities in that Woman here has probably much greater influence than there. No reform movement can succeed without her assistance. One woman and nine men can do ten times more than ten But our women have a great deal to answer for in regard to our cowardice. They have power to stimu-late to the noblest exertions. Alas! too many itch after shining in society; they too often prevent men from fol-lowing disinterested impulses, from

pursuing generous ideals. One thing is true by common con-sent, that we Americans are the most materialistic and individualistic of all peoples. That is due to our economic terrible indictments lie: First, they make it impossible for us to lead a truly mora life; they compel us to compete with our fellows (and Herbert Spencer has shown that competitive business is necessarily immoral); they make insecurity our worst curse, and make the poor into instruments of the private greed of the rich. Secondly, they tempt us to become criminals, to become

gamblers; poor women are sorely

tempted to dishonor themselves.

Now, morals means right conduct; our conduct is wrong, because the foundation is rotten-very different from the times when our forefathers were ready to lay their heads on the block for conviction's sake. Now we accept the teachings of Herbert Spencer that we are autonomous individu als, that we men have come into this world each for the sake of himself, and that society is a heap of conscious grains of sand. Socialism v of society, the brotherhood of humanity. That does not mean selfishness, or self-sacrifice. that the prescribed way to work out our own welfare lies through the col-lective well-being. Then we shall learn to co-operate instead of compete; we simil deprecate personal depen-dence and authority, and refuse mental services from fellow men for money, we shall not be ambitious to shine in we shall not be ambitious to same in society, but have the noble ambition of serving society. We shall all be tempted the right way and all men will gradually become painstaking, houest and compliant. During the last century history was supposed to be a record of man's errors; now we know it is a record of man's orderly and

egular evolution. • • The mistake is that society is not a structure or a building; it is an organism, exactly like a tree or animal a whole whose parts are reciprocally cons and ends and partake of a com-

-We didn't lick the Democrats last election, but by and bye we're going to lick the fellows who did.—Jos. Wanhope.

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book has resulted in the issuance of a paper bound edition at such a price as to en-able the comrades to sell it at public meetings. Its circulation should be pushed, for undoubtedly it is one of the half-dozen most valuable books of our popular literature. Asan exposition in plain language of the materialistic conception of history it ft with-out an equal. The local or branch of the-Socialist Party that cannot dispose of at least twenty or thirty copies at its open-air meetings this summer is an organization

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