The paper will be stopped on that day unless proviously renewed.

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The Worker.

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tances must state distinctly how long they are

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VOL. XVI.-NO. 44.

Central Palace has given a new im-

petus to the movement. The con-

spiracy of silence on the part of the

capitalist newspapers has convinced

the most conservative of the delegates

that, if we were to depend on those

papers, the working class of New York would never hear anything about

delegates are determined to raise a mammoth fund for the purpose of dis-

seminating literature and thus spread the truth among the members of or-

ganized labor, which the newspapers

are suppressing. The demand for more literature is becoming a general fea-ture of all the meetings of the confer-

ence, and the delegates from trade

unions are very eager to see a strenuous agitation. Imbued with such a determination, the Conference is

bound to increase its activity, and it will not take long before the con-

The meeting last Saturday was pre-

sided over by M. Oppenhelmer and the

attendance was a large one consider-ing that most of the Socialist Party

delgates had to attend another import-

ant meeting on that evening. New delegates were seated from the follow-

ing organizations: New York District Council Housesmiths and Bridgemen, United Housesmiths and Bronze Elec-

ters, No. 52; Stone Masons' Union, No. 74; Photo Engravers' Union, No. 1;

Silk Workers' Union, No. 176, I. W. W.; A. K. & S. K., Br. 173; do., Br. 157; do., Br. 158; do., Br. 179; and So-

The reports of delegates from labor

organizations are very encouraging.
The contributions to both funds con-

tinue to come in, most of the organiza-

full report of all the organizations, we

can quote those of unusual importance. Among others, the delegate

from Local 375 of the Brotherhood of

has decided to donate thru the District

for the Agitation Fund; Italian Stone

Masons, No. 74, \$800 to the Defense Fund; Bricklayers' Union, No. 84, \$800

The Executive Committee of the

Conference made a report that owing

the Socialist Party and President Gompers of the American Federation

of Labor, and that the Central Federated Union of New York and several national and local unions have made

requests for a National Conference

those circumstances it deemed it in-advisable for this Conference to take the initiative in calling such a nation-al conference, as decided last week, inasmuch as it might cause confusion

and strife and thus do harm to the very cause the Conference is further-ing, the committee felt that it had not

the means necessary to carry such a project to success; for these reasons it suggested to the Conference either to rescind its former action or to elect

it was decided to issue Franklin H. Wentworth's speech in Grand Central Palace as a leaflet, in both English and German, and the Executive Committee was instructed to use its discretion in determining the number to be printed. It was also decided to in-

struct the Executive Committee to

struct the Executive Committee to communicate regarding the purchase of 10,000 copies of the "Appeal to Reason" of Feb. 16, which is a special Moyer-Haywood edition edited by Euegene V. Debs. The Executive Committee was instructed to ascertain the number of the Moyer-Haywood Conferences now in existence all over the country, so that a closer affiliation may be established. Secretaries of such Conference or comrades knowing about their existence will please communicate with U. Solomon, 06 E. Fourth street, New York City.

municate with U. Solomon, 66 E. Fourth street, New York City, The next meeting of the Conference

pnother Executive Committee.

the Defense Fund.

cialist Band

spiracy of silence will be broken.

the Moyer-Haywood outrage.

FOR MOYER

Vicinity.

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY, 2. 1907

# will take place on Saturday, Feb. 2, FEDERATION 8 p. m. sharp, at the Labor Temple. Financial Secretary U. Solomon acknowledges the receipt of the following additional contributions: AND HAYWOOD.

FOR THE DEFENSE FUND: Hannauer

Work of the Conferences FOR THE DEFENSE FUND: Hannauer Socialist Club. \$5; Workers' Club "Forward," \$5; Tile Layers' International Union No. 2, \$10; Beer Wagon Drivers' No. 23, \$10; Job Press Feeders' Union No. 1, \$2; A. K. & S. K. Br. 180, \$20; Slik Workers' Local No. 170, I. W. W., \$45; A. K. & S. K. Br. 70, \$25; Eureka Lodge No. 434, I. A. of M., \$50; Electrical Workers No. 270, \$5; Hop Butchers' Union No. 15. of Labor Organizations in New York City and The Conference of the labor organizations in New York continues its No. 270, \$5; Hog Butchers' Union No. 15, \$10; Dist. Council Housesmiths & Bridge-men, \$10; Manhattan Lodge 402, I. A. of work on behalf of our imprisoned comrades, and the number of organi-M., \$15; Bricklayers' & Masons No. 74, \$300; A. K. & S. K. Br. 25, \$25; Bro. of Car-penters' No. 497, \$10; Singing Society, Teutonia, \$7; Eccentric Engineers No. 120, zations represented keeps on growing. The great demonstration in Grand

> Examiners & Spongers No. 11680, \$10; to-tal for the week, \$645; previously acknowl-edged, \$4,908.55; total to date, \$5,553.55. FOR THE AGITATION FUND: Han nauer Socialist Club, \$5; A. K. & S. K. Br. 18), \$10; Wm. Meyer, \$1: Julius Hirsh, Br. 183, \$10; Wm. Meyer, \$1; Julius Hirsh, \$10; Silk Workers' No. 176, I. W. W., \$5; Eureka Lodge, No. 484, I. A. of M., \$25; Electrical Workers' No. 270, \$5; Manhattan Lodge 402, I. A. of M., \$10; A. K. & S. K. Br. 25, \$10; Local No. 407, Bro. of Carpenters, \$5; Eccentric Engineers No. 120, I. W. W., \$20; Shake, St. Island, \$1; total for the week, \$112; previously acknowledged, \$2,337.92; total to date, \$2,949.92.

I. W. W., \$80; Shake, St. Island, \$1; Cloth

#### BROOKLYN CONFERENCE.

#### Labor Organizations Across the Bridge Are Also Hard at Work-Distribution of Literature a Specialty.

The Brooklyn Moyer-Haywood Conference held its last meeting on Friday, Jan. 18, at the Labor Lyceum. At no time has the Conference larger or more enthusiastic meetings. The unusual interest of the unions is shown by the seating of new delegates. Representatives of the following organizations were seated last week: Cigar Makers', No. 149; Beer Drivers' and Stablemens' Union, No. 24; Bartenders' Union, No. 70; Amalgamated Meat Cutters' and Butchers'. No. 211; I. W. W., No. 190; Socialist Party, 12th A. D. and 22d A. D.; and Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Br. 4. The receipts were \$160 and at least \$1,000 pledged for donations at an early date. Carpenters' No. 32, comprising 600 members, has sed each member \$1.

tions voting money from their treasur-ies, others calling special meetings, so that large donations may be decided upon. While we are unable to give a The Executive Committee was instructed to arrange a mass meeting. The Press Committee was instructed to have 5,000 leaflets detailing the conspiracy against Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone, to be ready as soon as possible and distributed to newsdealers who have signified their willingness Carpenters and Joiners reported that his organization at a special meeting to place them in the Sunday newspapers without charge. The distribu-tion of leaflets then the papers hither-Council \$150 to the Defense and \$50 to has been paid for. In some instance the newsdealers, on discover ing the nature of the leaflets, refused to accept any compensation whatever and requested that they be furnished with literature in future for Sunday for the Defense Fund (sent direct to the Western Federation of Miners); Housesmiths' Union, No. 52, \$75 for distribution. Many of those accepting compensation were found to be unreliable, often misrepresenting their Sunday circulation; therefore the deto the fact that negotiations for the calling of a National Conference had been going on for some time between the National Executive Committee of cision of the Conference. Boys will also be bired to distribute leaflets at elevated stations and street corners.

The next meeting occurs on Friday, Feb. 1, 8:15 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, Willoughby and Myrtle avenues. The work of the Conference is increasing and a large attendance Is necessary to carry it on.

# PROTEST DEMONSTRATION

# IN RICHMOND BORO.

The labor organizations of Richmond Boro have arranged a grand Moyer-Haywood protest demonstration to be held at the German Clubrooms, Richmond Road, Stapleton, Staten Island, next Sunday, Feb. 3, 2:30 p. m. The speakers will be Misa Luella Twining of Denver, Colo., Fred Paulitsch, President International Iron Workers' Union of New York City, Jacob Huber, ess Agent, Brewers' Union, No. 1, and George Kirkpatrick of Ohio. Admission is free and the working people of Staten Island are urged to be present and enter an emphatic pro test against the persecution of the Western Federation of Miners offi-cials. Make this meeting a great suc-

# TO HELP GET HEADQUARTERS

report brought forth a lively discussion, most of the delegates present favoring the stand taken by the Executive Committee. Other delegates, however, were of the opinion that the proposition could be carried out and that if we are to depend on President Gompers a national conference will never be called. The question was finally decided by the Conference rescinding its former action. On motion it was decided to issue Franklin H. Wentworth's speech in Grand Central The 3d, 6th and 10th A. D., Socialist Party, have arranged a concert and lecture for Friday evening, Feb. 1, at Arlington Hall, 19-28 St. Mark's place (Eighth street), for the purpose of raising funds to establish permanent pendquarters for the districts, which bave combined to provide a place in a good locality where meetings can be held and the work of agitation and organization advanced. The arrangement committee has prepared an attractive program. The concert will be under the direction of Mr. Maurice Nitke, which is a guarantee of its good quality. The lecture will be an instructive as well as an interesting one. J. G. Phelps Stokes will act as chalrman. Comrades and friends are requested to assist in making this oc-casion a success in every way. Ad-

# President Gompers Tells New York C. F. U. He Will Not Call National

WILL NOT ACT.

Conference. The Central Federated Union of New York has succeeded in forcing an answer from the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in regard to calling a national confer ence of labor organizations to protest in the case of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone. On Jan. 25 the C. F. U.

sent a letter to the Executive Council at Washington demanding an immediate call for a national conference of all labor organizations. The following dispatch was received from President Samuel Gompers and read before the C. F. U. on Sunday afternoon: "The subject of your letter of the

25th of January was communicated to the Executive Council some weeks ago, and the decision was made that a convention at this time would be of no advantage to Messrs. Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone. The Executive Council prefers to be of real use to the men, rather than to make a useless splurge.

"SAMUEL GOMPERS." At the close of the session a motion by Morris Brown was unanimously adopted that a request for exact information be directed to the Executive Board of the A. F. of L. as to what they had already done and what they ntended to do.

In the course of the discussion on he motion, many trade union deleates expressed themselves as being disgusted with the silence maintained by all of the capitalist papers, even those which before election were such good "friends and brothers to the working class", concerning the Moyer-Haywood demonstration at Grand Central Palace a week ago Sunday.

In connection with this, Delegate Coakley asked what the committee which was to visit the capitalist press in the interest of the Moyer-Haywood case had so far accomplished. Delegate Robinson thereupon reported that the committee had a long interview with Mr. Carvalho, the general manager of the Hearst papers, who promsed them to give the matter his most of course he had to take into con-

sideration the "legal status of the case", but they might be sure that his papers would take a clear position.

Coakley dryly added the remark that apparently Mr. Carvalho had not yet determined the "legal status of the

#### IN WISCONSIN LEGISLATURE.

#### Socialist Members Introduce Severa Important Labor Bills.

MADISON, Wis., Jan. 24.-The So cial Democratic members of the Wisconsin Legislature have already introduced three important labor bills.

A bill permitting unions to do picketing or any act which can lawfully be lone by one person, and making un ions not liable for damages for unau-

thorized acts of individual members.

A bill providing for an eight-hour day on municipal and state building and making contractors liable for vio-

naking employers responsible for their share of the neglect in case of

injuries. Other bills will be introduced this week by our Socialist members in the Assembly and Senate.

#### LUELLA TWINING FREE FOR PROTEST MEETINGS. Miss Luella Twining of Denver re-

quests The Worker to state in response to numerous enquiries that she is prepared to fill engagements for meetings on behalf of Comrades Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone in any of the eastern states. She is especially anxious to appear before trade unions where a hearing can be had. Comrad-Twining is intimately acquainted with our imprisoned comrades and has worked for years for the Western Fedcration of Miners. As she is now repesenting that organization there is no charge for her services or expenses she is an excellent speaker and especially well fitted to discuss the West ern situation, and the imprisonment of Comrades Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. She has done very effective work in New York City during the past two months. Comrades in the large cities of the eastern states could well make use of her services. Comrade Twining can be addressed care of The Worker until further notice.

# JACK LONDON CLUB GIVES BENEFIT.

The Jack London Socialist Club has rranged a concert and lecture for the benefit of the Moyer-Haywood De-fense Fund, to be held at Pacific Hall, 209 E. Broadway, Monday, Feb. 4, 8 p. m. J. G. Phelps Stokes will lecture "Socialism". Admission, 10 cents. Half of the profits will go to the De-

# **ELECTIONS.** Socialist Representation

# in Reichstag Heavily Decreased, But Popular Vote Probably Greater Than Before.

THE GERMAN

The result of the German Reichstag elections has been a disappointment to the Socialists and a surprise to everybody. We were not alone in expecting a Socialist victory; as a matter of fact, the correspondents for the capitalist papers predicted larger Socialist gains than the Socialist press ventured to expect.

The outcome of the voting on Jan. 25 is that only 29 Social Democrats were elected to the Reichstag-getting majority over all in their respective districts-and that our candidates in 76 other districts, running first or second but not getting a clear inajority. will be voted for in the second ballot to decide between the two highest in each district, which will take place next Tuesday.

In the last preceding election, held in 1903, we elected 56 members on first ballot and entered the second ballot in 122 districts, carrying 25, so that we had 81 members in all. In 1898 we

elected 56 members altogether. Of the 76 districts in which the Socialist candidates enter the second ballot, we face National Liberals in 26. Radicals in 23, Conservatives in 10, Clericals in 5, and various parties in the others.

The latest dispatches show that the Liberals, Conservatives, Clericals and some of the Radicals have formed an agreement to cast all their influence together in the second ballot against the Social Democrats. Our comrades, on the other hand, have decided that in those districts where a second ballot is to be held and the Socialist is not one of the two candidates, Socialist voters should stay at home, except in cases where a Radical is in the field and the comrades of the distric may deem it best to support him against the reactionary alliance.

This means that the capitalist, landholding, official, and clerical elements are more solidly combined against the Social Democracy than they ever were before. It also means that we shall probably have less than 50 members n the new Reichstag.

This is not the first time in the history of the movement in Germany that we have sustained such reverses. In the first Reichstag of the Empire elected in 1871, we had fewer members than in the parliament of the Confederation elected in 1867. Then our representation rose from 2 in 1871 to 9 in 1874 and to 12 in 1877. Then, in 1878, it fell to 9. In 1881 it rose again to 12 and in 1884 to 24. But in 1887 it was reduced to 11. Since then, in 1890, 1893, 1898, and 1903, our delegation grew to 35, to 44, to 56, and to

Twice in these thirty-six years out popular vote has fallen off-in 1878. when we lost 56,000, or 15 per cent of our total; and in 1881, when we lost 125.000, or about 35 per cent.

This time, altho we have as yet no full and definite report, it seems fairly certain that the decrease in our rep resentation is not due to any loss in the popular vote. According to all the dispatches so far received, the Socialist vote is at least as large now as in 1903 and probably somewhat larger. The total vote is largely increased. The various capitalist or reactionary parties made an extraordinarily good campaign, following methods learned from the Social Democracy. They got out hundreds of thousands of voters who have hitherto stayed at home. Also, in critical districts, they made combinations in advance to an extent anknown in past years.

The principal gain was made by the nal Liberals; so far they have gained 15 new seats and will undoubt edly get still more next Tuesday. The Conservatives have gained 10, the Radicals 7, the Clericals one, and some of the numerous smaller parties have also made gains.

As in 1903, we carried five of the six districts in Berlin and all the three in Hamburg. Richard Fischer Heine, Singer, Robert Schmidt, and Ledebour are our representatives from the former city and Bebel, Dietz, and Metzger from the latter. Bernstein was defeated in Breslau. Von Vollwas defeated in Breslau. mar was elected from Munich II. Auer from Glauchau, and Legien from Kiel

# SOCIALIST SUNDAY

#### SCHOOL ASSOCIATION. The first meeting of children to form clubs under the plan proposed by the Socialist Sunday School Association

will take place at the rooms of the New York Socialist Literary Society. 237 E. Broadway, Saturday afternoon, Feb. 2, at 2:30. Boys and girls of the age of ten and upwards are invited to come.

-There is no difference in principle whether a slave is bought because he has the power to labor or a man is paid wages for his labor power, both ere bought and sold for profit.-Melbourne Socialist

# COULD NOT "DIVIDE UP."

#### J. G. Phelps Stokes Answers Those Who Say He's Inconsistent for Not Doing So.

In discussing Socialists, the smart editors of the daily press think it funny, as well as conclusive, to cali upon those reported to be wealthy to be consistent and "divide up" with the poor. When J. G. Phelps Stokes delined recently to contribute to the Young Men's Christian Association because it had established classes in real estate and stock investments, some papers renewed their criticisms, intimating also that he acquired much of his income thru speculation.

This brought the following interview from Comrade Stokes:

"I receive annually an income from investments amounting to about \$2,000. I consider that this income has been produced by others than myself, and that I am not entitled to make any personal use of it. If I could ascertain the names and addresses of those individuals who by their own productive and creative effort produced this unearned income which I receive I would return every penny of it to them severally-to each in proportion to his contribution to it.

#### Wealth Created Co-operatively.

"There are circumstances, however, evidently such that it would be entirey impossible to secure the information that would be required to make possible such a return, for the reason that the production of wealth has long since ceased to be individual in its na-With rare exceptions there is no wealth created to-day except by the co-operation of vast multitudes of peopie, who each contribute in some manner to its production.

"It would be impossible, for instance. to ascertain the individuals who have contributed to the wealth represented by the few hundred dollars which I receive as dividends on stock which own in the Woodbridge Company of this city. That company has improved and for many years rented and managed high-class office property in our financial district. Large banking. insurance, manufacturing, mercautile and other productive enterprises pay the rentals of which I receive a share.

"All the employees of all those companies have contributed thru their productive effort to the creation of that income of a few hundred dollars a year. So, also, have all persons who, directly or indirectly, participated in the development of the communities in which these business enterprises have sought and received support. So, also, have all those individuals who, as citizens of our country, have contributed to the support of those institutions without the aid of which these businesses could not have been conducted.

# Used for Good Purpose.

"At least a majority of our peoplel. e., at least as many as the number of those who support our present political and industrial system-have contributed, each in a measure, to the incomes of each and all of our important industries. To ascertain the proportion of my unearned income of \$2,000 which should be returned to each or any of this majority would be utterly impossible. A simple calculation would show that the average amount due to each would be aproximately the fortieth part of one cent.

"Since, then, this \$2,000 cannot be returned proportionately to those who are better entitled to it than am I. and since it is impossible to determin the proportion due to any, and since to single out any individual and give him more than his due would be unjust to some other rightly entitled to the excess, it is clear to me that the entire amount must be devoted to the support work as is, in my judgment, likely to hasten public rec tion of the injustice of the capitalist system which legalizes the appropria tion by non-producers of portions of the wealth produced by others.

"My personal expenses are all de frayed from the earnings which I receive as compensation for productive services rendered. Of my uncarned income I use not a penny for my own support or otherwise chan as above

# WOMEN'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman will lecture for the Women's Socialist League at the Socialist Literary Soclety, at 237 E. Broadway, Sunday afternoon, Feb. 3, at 4 o'clock, instead of 8 p. m. as previously announced,

The Women's Socialist League has also arranged an entertainment and dance for Saturday evening, Feb. 9, at Clinton Hall, 151 Clinton street. Tickets, including hat checks, 15 cents

All information about the Women's Socialist League can be had from the secretary. Florence Margolies, care Howell Printing Company, 55 W. Third street, New York City.

A Socialist daily would also have less Thaw and more thought in it.

# FIVE DAYS RED RECORD.

acknowledged.

#### Without Regard to Race or Country, the Workers' Yield Their Lives and Sacrifice Their All that an Idle Class May Profit and Revel in Debasing Ease and Luxury.

Within five days the daily papers report disasters occurring at distances far apart but all involving the same loss of working-class lives, and all telling the same story of horror and mutilation, of distracted women and orphaned children, of failure to pronecessary precaution against such disasters for the sake of keeping down expenses and increasing the profits of the capitalist class.

And these horrors occur in republies as well as in monarchies. The murder and mutilation of labor are as common in one as in the other. The capitalist owner is as reckless of luman life when profits are at stake in one country as in the other, for the governments in both cases represent his interests. The suffering of labor is as international as its exploitation by the capitalist owners of industry.

Read the following condensed dispatches reporting five days' disasters and note how identical they are in detail. Then consider the smug claim of the defender of capitalism that the "capitalist takes risks which entitles bim to a fair return upon his investment". Consider then what a risk labor-the producer of all wealthtakes to get a bare living. Then ask yourself which of the two deserves the most consideration in the ultimate settling of accounts. And if you are a workingman, like any of these who have fallen victims to industrial des potism, ask yourself who will give you the most consideration-your own class or the class which thrives by your suffering and misery and sorrow.

And ask yourself further how long you intend to support and vote for a system which makes these things pos

#### In Colorado.

TRINIDAD, Colo., Jan. 23.-An exolosion in the mine of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company at Primero caused the death of twenty men today. The explosion was caused by fire damp.

Heartrending scenes were enacted by the wives and children of the men at work in the mines. The work of rescue was conducted under great difficulties. The company places the blame upon the carelessness of the miners, as usual, altho fire damp is preventable by good ventilation.

# In France.

LENS, France, Jan. 28.-A disaster involving the loss of an undetermined number of lives has occurred in a coal mine at Lievin in the Courriers district. The catastrophe was due to an explosion of fire damp in one of the

· A panic followed the explosion, and the greater part of the population of the town rushed to the mouths of the pits, preventing the work of rescue until the gendarmerie restored a semblance of order.

An official investigation has been made and it is declared certain that all the miners who were down at the time of the explosion have returned to the surface. Arthur Lamendin, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, who descended into the mine, confirms previous reports that only three men lost their lives, and a declaration to this effect has been posted up.

The crowd, however, continues to show excitement and when this poster was read there were cries of, "They ( said the same thing at Courriers."

#### In Chicago.

CHICAGO, Jan. 28.-Wholesgle death and injury were caused at the stock yards to-day, when an ammonia tank in the plant of Armour & Co. exploded, wrecking part of a building

in which scores of men were at work. Nine men are known to have been killed outright by the fumes. Eleven others were overcome and were dragged from the building. All were unconscious and terribly injured. Two others known to have been in the building are missing.

For some time after the first res-cuers arrived it was impossible to enter the building. The fumes drove back rescue parties again and again.

#### In Germany.

BERLIN, Jan. 29.-The directors of the Reden mine estimate that 165 workmen entered the pits yesterday. Seventy-seven bodies have been re-The entrances to the sheds in which

the bodies are laid were besieged thruout the night by sobbing, half crazed women, waiting their turn to be summoned to identify, if possible, the terribly mutilated remains of husbands and brothers.

The injured were almost as badly mutilated as the dead. Their clothes were in rags, their faces blackened, their eyelids paralyzed, in many cases so that the victims were unable to open their eyes. One of them had lost his speech.

#### In West Virginia.

CHARLESTON, W. Va., Jan. 29 .-Seventy men lost their lives in the exflosion at the Stewart mine of the Stewart Colliery Company, near Thurmond, on the Chesapeake and Ohio, late this afternoon.

There is a possibility that a large number who have not been accounted for will be found dead in the mine.

About 200 men are employed and the mine was working full. The explosion was caused by dust igniting from a miner's shot. The mine is a shaft about 500 feet deep and has been in operation about three years. It is only a short distance from the Farrell mine, in which a similar disaster in February, 1906, killed twenty-nine. Both mines are owned by the same

company. At the entrance to the mine the wives and children of the miners are gathered, weeping and imploring men to go to their rescue.

# In Massachusetts.

DEERFIELD, Mass., Jon. 29.-Five men were killed and two seriously injured as the result of a freight train running into the rear of a passenger train to-day, on the Fitchburg division of the Boston & Maine Railroad, about a mile west of West Deerfield. All the men killed were rallroad employees and in the rear car of the pas-

senger train, which was a deadhead car. In the fire which broke out this car was burned, and the bodies of the dead were consumed. Many passengers were severely shaken, and some were cut and bruised.

ernment, "intrenched at the Capitol,

# THE PATRIOTIC POWDER TRUST.

#### Exposed by Rival, Senator Dupont's Concern Shown to Have Gobbled Enormous Profits. An independent powder manufac-

turer is squealing on the powder trust, which has absorbed all the plants in the industry except the Buckeye Powder Company of Peoria, Illi, Tris is the company that's saying things. In a red-hot letter, its president, Robert S. Waddell, reveals what he calls "The Powder Conspiracy". Among other things, Mr. Waddell shows that the trust reaped profits of \$2,348.304.30 from supplies furnished the government from July 1, 1905, to July 1, 1906, which "is greater than any profit ever derived by any seller of any product or staple sold in one year to the government in the history of the repub lie, and the monopoly carrying on this business was at the same time contracting with foreign nations to furnish ammunition with which they could attack American warships and American merchantmen on the high seas

It's the same old story. The capitalists are patriots; for the money that is in it. They are always profit-takers first of all, and they will sell to their country's enemies as fast as they will to their own, and faster if there is mere money for them in the transac-tion. It is for this that wars are promoted and the blood of the working class is shed.

Mr. Waddell also declares that the powder trust is superior to the gov- World

with its representatives in House, Senate and its departments". No single individual, he says, can stir Congress to action. What, not even trust buster Teddy? Beware, Mr. Waddell! You are on dangerous ground. But Mr. Waddell is undaubtedly

right. Why did Mr. Dupont of the powder trust have himself elected to the United States Senate from Delaware last summer if not to look after his company's interests? Mr. Dupont was supposed to be a much spectable citizen than Mr. Addicks, the corrupt, and his election was heralded as a great victory for clean politics. Now it is made clear why the victory was achieved. No doubt Senator Dupont believes fervently in the theory that peace is best preserved by the

nations keeping well armed.

Mr. Waddell says nothing about the conditions under which the trust's employees work. He is too greatly conrich and provide its profits. ists have no sympathy for the men-like Waddell, We ARE concerned about the wage-slaves who need to be considered. He is only one of many others who fight the trust because it has accomplished what they could not. But the workers will never be heard until they speak for themselves against all exploiters, large au l small.

-The number of people killed and vounded on the railways in New York was larger in 1906 than in 1905, being 317 killed and 2014 injured in the former and 240 and 929 in the latter. Probably the only excuse the railroad have to offer is that the opportunities to be killed were greater .- New York TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS. Invariably in Advance.

Bundle Rates: ess than 100 copies, per copy .... Weekly Bundles:

Address all business communications, and make money orders, checks and drafts payible to The Worker. Communications concerning the editorial department of the paper should be addressed in the Editor of The Worker. Communications for the Volkszeltung" should be separately addressed.

"Volkszeitung" should be separately addressed.

All communications should be written with ink and on one elde of the paper; words should not be abbreviated; every letter should bear the writer's name and address; and matter should be put in as few words as possible, consistently with clearness. Communications which do not comply with these requirements are likely to be disregarded. Rejected manuscripts will not be returned unless stamps are enclosed. One of the editors may be seen at the office svery Tuesday and Wednesday between 7 and 9 p. m.

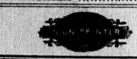
Receipts are never sent to individual subscribers. Acknowledgment is made by changing the number of the wrapper, the week following receipt of money.

As The Worker goes to press on Wednesday, correspondents sending news should mail their communications in time to reach this office by Monday, whenever possible.

Complaints about the business or editorial management of the paper should be addressed to the Board of Directors, Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, 18 Sprine street, New York.

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

THE SOCIALIST VOTE. The Socialist Party has passed throu ird general election. Its growing indicated by the increase of its vo 



#### "PRACTICAL ACTION OR USE-LESS SPLURGE."

Messrs. Gompers, Morrison, and others of the administration of the American Federation of Labor have lost a chance of partially redeeming themselves in the eyes of a large, active, intelligent, and growing body among the rank and file of the unions, who have long been dissatisfied with alleged leaders who, instead of leading forward, seem to think of nothing but how to delay the advance and damp the enthusiasm and repress the aspirations of the labor movement.

More than a month ago the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, in session at Chicago, considered the advisability of calling a national conference of labor organizations to take action to save the officers of the Western Federation of Miners from the doom with which the capitalists menace them. After careful deliberation, these representatives of our party decided that it would be better if the call for such a conference came from the Executive Council of the American Federation. They knew that whenever and wherever the facts can be brought before the rank and nle of the unions, the men are, almost without exception, eager to act and ready to make sacrifices for their cause. They knew that there was no love for Socialism in the headquarters of the A. F. of L. But they believed there was enough practical statesmanship there to take up this proposition. They were willing, in order that the movement might have the best possible chance of success, to forego any credit for themselves and let it all go to President Compers and his associates-who need it sadly. They consulted with a number of officers of national unions, who warmly approved the plan. Then they laid it before President Gompers, who assured them that it would be carefully considered.

We waited week after week and got no answer. Meanwhile central labor bodies and local unions in different cities addressed the A. F. of L. headquarters in the same vein. At last the Vederation officers had to speak. The New York Central Federated Union was informed that the American Fedcration of Labor would not call such a conference-President Gompers and his associates said they would do "something practical", but they would not "make a useless splurge".

What "practical" action is intended, we do not know. President Compers gives us no bint as to that. We should like to be informed.

We should like to be informed also what Mr. Gompers considers as a "useless splurge". When Mr. Gompers of naughty schoolboys-was that a sworn that they shall hang. Their ar- ranks of the Socialist Party, we could

useless splurge, or what kind of a splurge was it? When Gompers and his fellow officers meet with August Belmont and Grover Cleveland and President Ellot and other "friends of labor" of that sort in Civic Federation conventions and "welfare" conferences and brotherly-love "get-togethers", while Belmont is blacklisting union men in the industries he controls and Cleveland is publishing lies about the history of the labor movement and Eliot is praising the scab as "a high type of American hero"-tell us, Mr. Gompers, what kind of a splurge is that? When Mr. Gompers and his associates issue a political manifesto that "thunders in the index" and, at the end of a campaign are to be heard "roaring as gently as any suckling dove", as they have done this last year-tell us, Mr. Gompers, is such a splurge as that a very useful one?

Money is needed for the legal defense of Mover, Haywood, and Pettibone. But something esse is needed. Much more necessary even than money is publicity. Every person informed of the facts knows that these men have been sentenced in advance-sentenced a year ago by the Mine Owners' Association and the sentence approved by the Governors of Colorado and Idaho and the President of the United States. Some of the forms of legal trial will be observed. But it is not by the law that they will be hanged or set free. Law or no law, they will go to the gallows if the ene mies of our class dare send them there. And the only thing that can save them, by proving to our enemies that our class is alert and taking the aggressive—the only thing that can save these brothers of ours is publicity, communication of the facts and their significance to the whole mass of workingmen in the country, such a degree of publicity as only the united efforts of the federated labor unions on their own field and the Socialist political organization on the other could adequately achieve.

The A. F. of L. Executive could, if it would, bring together in some great central city delegates from all the national and international unions, from central labor unions all the way from Portland to Los Angeles. Such a gathering could not be ignored by the Associated Press. Besides, independently of the press, it would have the power to effect the needed publicity. By reports to all the represented bodies, by the use of funds which they would gladly contribute to put speakers in the field and hire halls and print and distribute leaflets, and by direct and public address to the President. the Congress, and the state authorities in Idaho, such a conference could in form and awaken the whole working class and all other honest citizens and could expose and so defeat the murderous conspiracy of the Western mine

But Mr. Gompers says this would be "a useless splurge". He will be "practical". He will distinguish himself again, as he has so often done before, by his "masterly inactivity".

We put it to our readers, and especially to those who are members of labor organizations, as most of them are: Shall the Executive Council's "non possumus" prevent action?

New York, Brooklyn, and severa neighboring cities, as well as a few others in different parts of the counwell organized and active. In every city where there is a Socialist local and where there are trade unions, such a conference or a joint committee should be established. All such bodles should at once-not after a while. but right now, this week-get into communication with the Moyer-Haywood Conference in New York.

Meanwhile, in every local union and in every central body the matter should be brought up and appropriate resolutions sent to the press, to the Governor of Idaho, to the President of the United States-and to the President of the American Federation of Labor. Let our too bold enemies and our too timid friends know what the rank and file of the labor movement think

#### MILLIONAIRE DEGENERATES AND LABOR MARTYRS.

The Hearst papers can afford page after page, a soled with wood type. red ink, pictures, and every device of up-to-date journalism, for the advocacy of the cause of Harry Thaw, who, whatever his wrongs, whatever the palliations of his guilt, is undoubtedly a parasite, a debauchee, and a

Three men lie in prison out in and his fellow officers went before Idaho. They have been in confinement President Roosevelt, Vice-President for almost a year. The Governor of Fairbanks, and Speaker Cannon a few the state and the other high officials, months ago to present "Labor's Bill as well as the great capitalists of the of Rights", and got lectured like a lot mining region of the Rockies, have

rest was illegal; when criticized for that, the reply of the prosecution is-"Anyhow, we've got them now, and we're going to hang them"; and the Supreme Court of the United States. with but one brave judge dissenting. has said: "Never mind about the criminal methods you have used in arresting these men; go ahead and hang them". The capitalist papers have given the prosecution's side of the case with abundant detail and have hired skilful writers to concoct articles to prejudice the public mind in its favor; and they have systematically suppressed what the defense has to

These three men are workingmen. not millionaires. They have a record as honest and fearless labor-union officers, not as drunkards and seducers. They are charged with murder-and the evidence on which it is proposed to hang them is the word of a confessed\*murderer, given under instructions from a professional spy.

The Hearst papers take a lively interest in the defense of the millionnire degenerate who killed another rich sybarite. When called on by the labor organizations of New York to say a word for the three Western workingmen whose lives are threatened for their fidelity to the working class, the Hearst papers coldly reply: "We must look into the legal aspects of the case."

Need we comment?

We are not surprised to learn that Charles Klein, the author of "The Daughters of Men", is an ardent Christian Scientist. The theory that the conflict between labor and capital can be settled-or, rather, eliminated-by brotherly love, which that play rather lamely set forth, is on a par with the theory that cancer and tuberculosis can be cured by faith. Faith must loom large in Mr. Klein's mind. He expected his audience to have faith enough to accept his caricatures of working people as true representations. Alas, that the managers had not faith enough to keep the play on the boards when people would not pay

#### SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN CAPITALISTS REJOICE.

The master class in the South will not be slow to take advantage of the opportunity offered by Secretary Strauss to evade the Alien Contract Labor Law by acting thru the agency of their state governments. G. W. Koiner, Commissioner of Immigration and Agriculture in Virginia, announces that he expects a party of domestic and farm workers imported from Europe to arrive before the end of the month, and talks of getting 50,000 for Virginia alone.

The Southern papers, completely devoted as most of them are to the inerests of the planters and the manufacturers, bave burst into pwans of joy over the Strauss ruling and are almost willing to forgive President Roosevelt for dining with a "nigger" in consideration of his appointment of a Secretary of Commerce and Labor so ready to nullify the laws he is sworn to enforce. The capitalist papers in the North, with few exceptions, take the same tone, but a little less effusively; they are wise enough to wish that such things should be done quietly, so as not needlessly to

"American Industries", organ of the Association of Manufacturers, is very outspoken. It publishes the ruling in full, with comments, as a guide for employers who wish to get around the law. Mr. Parry and Mr. Post, with characteristic lack of caution, show that in the North as well as in the South, in industrial as well as in agricultural regions, the Strauss ruling gives the capitalists a great advantage in their attack on the labor movement.

# NOTE, COMMENT, AND ANSWER

Our friends of London "Justice" continue to dissent from our views of Mr. Hearst. They say:

What is positively known about him is that no man in the United States has done more to organize and support trade unions in the very trades he has to deal with, and wages against himself, then Mr. and in opposition to the opinion of his own ablest condjutors, his press alone, except for the Socialists, took sides vehemently for Moyer and Haywood when the whole capitalist class of America wanted to see them hanged.

Further on, they admit: "We know nothing whatever about Mr. Hearst beyond what we read". Well, we in New York know more than that; and we may warn the comrades in the office of "Justice" not to believe all they read about Mr. Hearst-especially in his own papers. As a matter of fact, the thing which they say is "positively known" is not known at all in this country; the statement rests wholly on the authority of Mr. Hearst and his editors. Without going outside the

name offhand at least twenty men any one of whom has done more to organize and support trade unions than has Mr. Hearst. As for his pay ing high wages-it is true that many men in his offices get over the scale but the same is true of the large majority of the big daily papers in New York and other American cities; the International Typographica: Union and the other organizations of the Allied Printing Trades deserve the credit for that-they not only maintain a high scale of wages, but they enforce such conditions that in order to hold good men the newspaper publishers have to do even more than the unions require. For the other side of the shield, let it also be remembered that when Mr. Hearst has had to deal with unorganized workers-such, for instance, as the newsboys-he has been, to put it mildly, not a whit better mas ter than Mr. Pulitzer, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Ochs, or any other publisher in the

city. As for Mr. Hearst's having "taken sides vehemently for Moyer and Haywood," we Socialists in New York something about that besides what the editors of "Justice" have read. We know that he did not act "in opposition to the opinion of his own ablest coadjutors". We know that the strongest pressure had to be brought to bear upon him and his abte condjutors, thru the Socialist press thru resolutions adopted by trade unlons, thru letters written by workingmen, and thru other means, before he could be induced to say one word on

behalf of our persecuted comrades. We know, furthermore, that there is not a daily paper in New York which more deliberately and unscrupulously suppresses and falsifies news and not one which more systematically uses the methods of suppression and falsi-fication against the Socialist movement than do Mr. Hearst's morning

and evening papers. "Justice" repeats the wish that they had Mr. Hearst in London. Well, we join in the wish, since Mr. Harmsworth isn't enough for them. we'll gladly throw in a few of his able coadjutors for good measure if "Justice" will only take charge of the

J. S .- In regard to both the points which you raise we have to remark, first, that Socialism is not a ready made scheme of a new society, with all the details planned in advance, to be imposed by us on the people future ages. The essential point in Socialism, as the new social system to be established by the triumph of the working class, is simply this: Public or social ownership and democratic control of the socially necessary means of production. As to the methods by which industry will be administered. they will be determined and altered from time to time as the people find necessary and desirable. words, it means industrial democracy added to political democracy; it wil not be a fixed and unchangeable system, but a flexible and growing one Now, to take up the questions or objections which you say, you have heard urged against it:

1. Under Socialism every man would be rewarded according to his deeds. This would give some individuals privileges which others could not enjoy. For instance , a single man, produce as much as you who are a married man with two or three children. We get equal pay, in the form of labor-checks or otherwise, for equal work. I can thus get many comforts an luxuries which you cannot enjoy becaus you have to support a family out of you This will establish a privilege class, getting more benefit from the community than others get. In fact, Socialism would rid us of some of the evils of the present wage system, but would not abol ish it whofly.

Well, we take it for granted that when the people are masters of their industrial life, when they are freed from the domination of the capitalist class and, collectively controlling their own means of employment, have pow er collectively to adjust their economic affairs, they will not do anything so foolish as your friend supposes.

They will consider women as human beings and members of society, just as useful to society and just as worthy of consideration as men. And they will consider that a woman who care for a household and bears and rears children is doing just as socially useful labor as a man who digs coal or weaves cloth or lays brick. The economic dependence of the wife upor the husband will come to an end and marriage, instead of being a bargain in which a woman exchanges jugal services for board, lodging and clothes, will become a union of economically free and equal persons for reasons of mutual and personal affec-

The labor of all men would not, un der Socialism, be considered equal. Thus, a common laborer would have to work more reward that a professional man or trades man receives for a shorter time of labor. This assertion is based on the fact that the professional man or tradesman must spena portion of his life in apprenticeship. This. owever, is unreasonable; is serving his apprenticeship to a trade or profession he lives at the expense of the community, and it is therefore no more than his duty to repay the community s far as it is in his power. He works at a task which affords him pleasure, while the work of the common laborer is monotonou

We don't just see where the "ob jection to Socialism" comes in here. We do not know that it is any part of the Socialist program that laborers shall be paid less than physicians or typesetters. (We presume that by the word "tradesmen" our correspondent means skilled mechanics, men follow ing skilled trades, tho that is not the common use of the word.) That is a detail, of course, to be decided and adjusted as the people may see fit. But it seems to us probable that, in a sys-

tem of economic liberty, in order to attract enough men to the less pleasant sorts of work, it will be found necessary to give them a shorter labor day or more liberal vacations or some

thing of the sort. The argument about apprenticeship has no application to conditions under Socialism. It explains or helps to explain why, under capitalism, skilled mechanics and professional workers get better pay than unskilled laborers -not why they ought to get more, but simply why they do get more.

M. O. FRENIER.-Thanks for the suggestion. We shall act upon it.

READER.-The general rule with regard to the taxation of church property is that property used for church purposes (including auxillary bodies, such as church schools, hospitals, charitable agencies, and the like) is exempt from taxation. Other property owned by religious corporations and yielding them an income—as, for instance tenements or lands vielding rent to the church-are supposed to be taxed. The rule is generally pretty liberally interpreted in favor of the churches. All this, of course, applies only to state and local taxation; the national government does not levy any property taxes whatever, deriving its income from the tariff on imports and the excise on the manufacture of liquor and

C. SOLOMON, Cleveland,-The letters have been forwarded.

# Current # # Literature

All books noticed in this department can be obtained, at the published price, from the Socialist Literature Company, 15 Spruce street, New York. The word "net" in the statement of price, indicates that postage or expressage will be charged extra.

On Feb. 28, a year from the date of its original publication, a paper-bound edition of Upton Sinclair's book, "The Jungle", will be issued for propaganda use. It will be printed from the same plates and will be identical with the first edition in all respects except the binding and the use of a somewhat lighter paper. It will be sold at 50

## BUSINESS DEPARTMENT.

The following shows the circulation of The Worker for the last two weeks Jan. 12. Jan. 26 Subs . . . . 9,635 Dealers . . . . 1,726 9.722

2.639 6,591 Bundles ..... Totals ......14,000 18,000 Subs corresponding weeks last year, 9,473 and 9,663.

Our bundle circulation fluctuates. One week it goes away up, the next week away down. That is to be ex-

But how about the individual subscriptions? That is the part of the circulation that is most important. It is about 100 higher now than it was a year ago. At that rate it will take century to put the paper on a selfsupporting basis.

Comrades, we know there are sev eral thousand of you who prize The Worker. We know there are hundreds of you, at least, who consider it one of the most valuable agencies in the service of the Socialist move ment. We appeal to you, comrades, are you content to have it go on with small circulation, published at a dedeficit and reaching but a small proportion of those whom it ought to

We count on you to act as volunteer agents for the paper. We count on you to push it forward to success by swelling its circulation. How many of you will respond by sending in at least one new subscription this week-more if possible, but at least one?

#### IF. He has gained the thing that is named suc-

His proud wife glitters in gorgeouspess

Have made his palace a place to haunt; He sees them gazing thrru sunken eyes, And can never escape, however he tries.

He has wilfully had his way, and few Of his covetous dreams have not co But there are hearts he has robbed And if souls must rise when the flesh is

To cringe for the sorrow that greed has Think of his poor soul, how it is betrayed.

He has risen high and is proud and free From the cares that are burdens to you and

me, And the world, in spite of his lasting taints May even list him among the saints, Men may give him praise, but they cannot

The wounds from the hearts he has caused

He has never slain as the savage slays, He has killed in none but the cuaning

ways; He has murdered innocence and believed. That splendid triumphs were thus achieved: But if men's souls from the dust shall rise Think of his poor soul on the day he dies. — S. E. Kiser, in Chicago Record-Herald.

The United States Senate has passed bill prohibiting the employment of railroad employees over sixteen conhours. This has been accomplished after years of effort. Some one might figure out bow long it will take to get an eight-hour bill passed at this rate of progress.

-Get good books free by hustling for The Worker. See fourth page.

# JUST A WORD WITH YOU. MY "GOOD" SOCIALIST.

By George R. Kirkpatrick.

Tweive million American working- | plans, 30,000 men patiently, intelligent-

men are walking in a trance: Asking only for cheap clothes, cheap food, cheap shelter and cheap furni-

Expecting only chean clothes chear food, cheap shelter and chest furni-

Planning only for cheap clothes cheap food, cheap shelter and cheap furniture-

Hoping for nothing more than cheap clothes, cheap food, cheap shelter and furniture-

Demanding-demanding!! demand ing? No! oh, no! A man in a tranco doesn't demand anything. Sheep don't demand things. Cattle Jon't make de mands. Chattel siaves don't demand things. Wage slaves walking in a trance, believing in a wage-slave industrial system, don't make any very trenuous demands-not with highest kind of power, their ballots,

Twelve million big American six footers who toll ask only to see the prosperity; ask only to hear about the prosperity; ask only to know "furrin" markets are being found for

our prosperity. With cheap clothes they are satisfied, with cheap food they are con-tented, with cheap sheiter they are

conservative with cheap furniture they are pacified. Thus 12,000,000 toil on in a trance.

Who shall speak the ejectric word to rouse these millions to a hot, blazing consciousness of their wrongs, consciousness of their rights, conscious ness of the ways and means within their reach to rouse and rise to wel fare, justice and freedom? Who?

Those and those only who are already roused from the cursed trance that numbs and stuns the mind of the working class—the Socialists!

Five hundred thousand Socialists 500,000 evangels to that "dark continent," the working class intellect of this country

But-

Five hundred thousand men in the American Socialist movement, wishing but planless-Five hundred thousand men hoping

but undisciplined-Five hundred thousand men long-

ing but unorganized-Five hundred thousand men meaning but unsystematic-In the industrial education of their

ellow workers accomplish NOTHING; In politics accomplish NOTHING: In freedom's struggle accompisi NOTHING:

Yesterday they accomplished NOTH-ING:

Today they accomplish NOTHING; Tomorrow they will accomplish NOTHING: They are numerous but NOTHING:

By the ward-heeling old party po-litical crooks these 500,000 are unanimously DESPISED; By old party "statesmen" they are cordially DESPISED;

By the greedy, remorseless indus-trial Caesars who have the world by the throat they are unqualifiedly DE-SPISED.

Thirty thousand men in the American Socialist movement organized, 30, 000 men disciplined, 30,000 men with

ly, defiantly, herologily devising ways and means—these 30,000 Socialists are systematically financing an absolutely necessary national party office twelve months in the year, these 30.-000 organized Socialists are systematically financing the absolutely necessary State party offices twelve months in the year, these 30,000 organized Socialists are, not topsy-turvily but systematically, distributing millions of pieces of literature, these 30,000 organized Socialists are systematically holding thousands of meetings;

These 30,000 organized Socialists are protecting the movement, guiding the movement, fluancing the movement making the movement; these 30,000 organized Socialists ARE the Socialist movement-they MOVE things. These 30,000 organized Socialists not only understand economic determinism and the class struggle and surplus value, but they also understand distinctly that an organized, systematic effort is a thousand times as effective as an unorganized, unsystematic effort. These 30,000 organized Socialists understand that 12,000,000 toilers politically unorganized-walking round and round in a circle—in a trance, in a dull, dumb stupor, are simply industrial cattle and political sheep, utterly helpless. These 30,000 organized Socialists also realize that though 500,000 unorganized Socialists know the class struggle and may know surplus value, these same 500,600 Socialists are helpless, ridiculously helpless, childishly helpless, utterly, hopelessly helpless in the vast and terrible struggle for freedom WITHOUT AN UNCRUSHABLE, UNCONQUERA-BLE, UNSKILLABLE ORGANIZA-TION.

In nature organic effort crowns the earth with life. In society organic effort crowns the

world with achievements. In politics organic effort crowns parties with victory.

In the working class struggle for working class freedom organic effort and only organic effort can ever be crowned with triumph.

If you really understand Socialism you understand broadly and deeply the phenomena of organic effort and method. If you understand industry you understand that at a certain stage in its organization the socialization of industry becomes logically proper and advantageous. If you understand the political party method and practice in the United States you understand the necessity of an organized political party for the organized teachings of the doctrines, the organized defense of the doctrines, the organized inauguration of the doctrines and the organized operation of the doctrines that

will set you and your class free. Come! come! Be manly! Play fair! Stand shoulder to shoulder with us in the organization! See the vast work to be done! 12,000,000 men walk in a trance! Help us rouse them! Help us organize a splendid political machine with which they and we can take possession of the powers of government. When our brothers wake we shall with an organized party sweep invincibly on to victory.—Reading Union Sentinel.

# THE LIGHT OF DAY.

By James G. Kanely.

"Gentlemen, the source of fear, which cannot be exaggerated, is the entrance of labor unionism into polities and its adoption of Socialism and anarchy, as 'a creed or doctrine."-Chancellor Day of Syracuse University, in his address at the banquet of the Manufacturers' Association.

A few more Day-breaks like this men will begin to see the light of Day.

"The source of fear is the entrance of labor unionism into politics and its doption of Socialism AS A CREED." THAT CREED WHICH IS A SOURCE OF FEAR TO DAY SHOULD BE A SOURCE OF HOPE

TO HIS ENEMIES. Is Day a friend of yours? You have read his many distribes against unionism—AGAINST YOU.

He hates trade unionism YOU DON'T. You have benefited by it. That's

why you don't hate it. Trade unionism has cost his masters money. That's why HE hates it. He's afraid of Socialism ARE YOU?

Isn't it more than likely that if the one thing of the present which Day bates has reaped a measure of benefit for you, the thing of the future, which Day hates still more, will bring to you

If you are afraid of Socialism, like Day, it must be that you don't know

a still larger measure of benefit.

If you don't-FIND OUT! But DON'T ASK DAY AWHAT IT Read what the Socialists (who know what it is and who know what they want) have to say about it.

You know where you can get one. Read a Socialist book. They cost but a trifle.

By the way, did you natice that the "World", a capitalist newspaper, gives
Day A COLUMN. But NOT ONE bill promises to be very effective in preventing child labor from being premonster mass meeting held in Grand vented.

Central Palace, Sunday evening, Jan. 20, at which 5,000 workingmen were present. (Not even Hearst's "American" and "Journal.")

This meeting was to enter a protest against the further persecution of our brother trade unionists in jail in Idaho on a trumped-up charge of murdering ex-Governor Steunenberg that state. They first had been kid-napped from their homes in Colorado and taken out of the state in the night. Moyer and Haywood didn't murder Steunenberg, BUT HE MURDERED WORKINGMEN, when the Cour d'Alene miners, some years ago, went out on strike; he had them "bull-penned" and shot down like dogs. The "World" doesn't print anything

about the Moyer-Haywood outrage. But Day, when he denounces the labor movement, gets a column, and he can get a column every day as long as he talks against labor—AGAINST YOU. THERE'S A CONSPIRACY OF SI-LENCE AGAINST YOU-and your

Get your own daily paper-help

establish it. It will be started on next Labor Day-"The Daily Call". It will be the only workingman's daily paper in this city. In the meantime read The Worker, a Socialist and workingman's weekly paper.

#### BUT SIR THOMAS IS PROSPEROUS John Bentley, 36, decorator, was

charged at East Ham, with stealing a piece of bacon valued 24 cents on Christmas Eve, from one of Sir Thomedenswered: "it is quite correct. My children are without food, and I took it." The prisoner pleaded that he had been out of work for seven weeks, and he had six young children at home who were almost starving. He took the bacon, he added, to provide his children with a meal on Christmas Day. Inquiries showed that this story was true, and the prisoner was dis-charged under the First Offenders Act.-London Justice

Senator Beveridge's child labor

# THE SCHURMAN-HILLQUIT DEBATE: INDIVIDUALISM vs. SOCIALISM.

report of the debate on Socialism versus Individualism, held under the suspices of the People's Forum of New Rochelle, N. Y., on Sunday afternoon, Jan. 20, in which Jacob Gould Schurman of Cornell University appeared as the champion of Individualism and the Socialist side was upheld by Morris Hillquit of New York.

a lively interest in the discussion, both speakers being liberally applauded at many points. In the printed report we have omitted most of the notes of applause, laughter, and so forth, except where they are necessary to the understanding of the speaker's following re-

# SCHURMAN'S OPENING.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Hillquit, Ladies and Gentlemen:-I shall address my self without any preliminaries to the subject in hand. The afternoon somewhat advanced already, and pretty long program has been laid out, which may possible tire the patience of some of you before we reach the end. For that reason, as I say, I shall plunge at once into the midst of my

We are to debate before you to-day the subject of Socialism. thought that in a preliminary address it might be well to speak of the mean ing of the term and the different significations attached to it. Some So cialists are perfectly clear as to what sans. Other Socialists attach different meanings to the term, and the general public undoubtedly associates with the word a very great variety of meanings. It is no mon thing to hear any extension of government functions described as practical Socialism. Sometimes objection is urged to such extension of governmental functions on the ground that the measure is socialistic. We know well enough that our government is a government of restricted functions. We know that in the earlier century, the past century of the republic's history, the main function of our government has been the protection of life and property. But ve also know that in more modern times the conditions of life, social and economic, have become so varied, so complex, so startlingly novel in their appearance and in their results, that governments, whether they would or not, have been compelled to extend their functions; and we are nowadays disposed to think—perhaps too much disposed to think—that the government as an institution is actively engaged in promoting the common inter est of all its citizens; and consequent-ly matters now come before us for legislative enactment which would have seemed not only inconceivable in themselves to our forefathers, transcending the limitations which they in their age set upon the func-

of government. We have in this country and in this state passed laws for the protection of the health of working people, which indicate an extension of the functions of government in this country. So, in Germany, where the movement was initiated, they have passed laws viding for the insurance of working people against old age and against ac cident. And on the other side of the globe, in New Zealand, under the lead of Prime Minister Seddon, they have cone even further than this and provided by legislation for compulsory arbitration in the case of labor disputes, and have set up state banks

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I will say at once by way of preliminary that no one generation can lay down limitations which shall be binding on the governments of succeeding genera tions. The times put upon us, upor Evils, and great evils, which have arisen in connection with our econic system of production, exchange and transportation, evils new to this generation, must be met by this generation; and we cannot be estopped legislatively by being told that this, that or the other measure is a socialistic mensure. So far as the extension of governmental functions is concerned. I am one of those, however who believe that the less we are govcrued the better. I am one of those who believe that the presumption is always in favor of restriction of governmental activity. But while that is my own preference and theoretical standpoint, I refuse to be bound by any general theory on the subject, and say that every case must be settled with reference to the merits of that case; and whether we depart from an cient theories or not we must see that justice is done and that evils, economic and social, which belong to our modern civilization, are, so far as legislation can do it, averted from our fellow citizens. We need not, there-fore, linger over this popular conception of Socialism. There will be no difference of opinion, I think, between Mr. Hillquit and me on this subject

# Municipal Ownership.

So I pass to a second popular con-eption of Socialism, which associates with public ownership of public utilities. You know what evils have grown up in our great cities in con hection especially with the problem of transportation, the it is not limited to transportation, and affects more or less all public utilities in our great citles. Hitherto these public utilities have, as a rule, been managed by prioltalists. There has in years been a reaction against that ethod, and a considerable number of cople have felt that the evils incident

vesting the control in the municipalities or even in the states. With us, I need not say that water is, as a owned and controlled by the municipalities. There may be some cities in which, also, gas plants are owned by municipalities. Certainly in England they have gone much farther than that. I remember landing in Glasgow, not very many years ago, on the very day when the municipality was taking over the street cars, or the tramways, as they call them, and, as you know, in the last few years, in the city of London, municipal owner ship of public utilities has been dominant, and for some years the street railways, the river boats, the electric service, have been managed by the municipal authorities.

We know, also, that in Germany rallways are owned by the state, as ilso in France; and in Russia you have the most perfect system of state ownership to be found anywhere in the world. We need not, then, it seems to be, be scared by a name. We need not hesitate to declare for public ownership of public utilities on the ground that the thing is new, that there is no warrant for it in experience. As a matter of fact, we ourelves to some extent, and other nations to a still larger extent, have been making the experiment. But while I make that statement and that conces sion, I want also to add most emphotically that I am not aware that the experiences either of our own country or of European countries, either in the matter of municipal ownership or state ownership of public utilities, has appreciably advanced the millenium. I know that if, for instance, you are in Russia, where you municipal and state ownership on a large scale, you are apt to get the worst service in the world; and you will find as a result, and a necessary result of this centralization of governmental functions, a bureaucracy which is exceedingly oppressive. I was talking only last week with a former ambassador of the United States to the German Empire. He fold me, what I knew before, that a good many lines of railway were owned by the state. But he also said that if you wanted to travel fast and conveniently on state-owned railways, the thing to do was to get a train which private companies put on that road at set or special times after agreement with the government. you wanted good, effective service you got it, he said, from private companies. And we know, as a matter of fact, that in London, where municipal ownership, as I have already explained, has in recent years been develcped to a considerable extent, there was last fall such a reaction against it that in the November elections an overwhelming majority of candidates opposed to municipal ownership were ownership had become exceedingly costly. The work people found that their rents were going up, and when they got back and asked why they were up, it was because taxes going up; and if they asked why local taxes were going up, it was because in municipal ownership there was extravagance and mismanagement; and so there came a reaction.

# Would Experiment.

but with Caution.

Now, I say, Mr. Chairman and adies and gentlemen, that I am one of those people who do not know what the result of municipal ownership-I will speak in a moment of state own ership-of public utilities will be. am therefore one of those who are glad to see the experiment made, provided always the results involved are not too risky for municipalities to accept in case they be unfavorable. I As I have already stated, experience seems to me to demonstrate that it is wise for municipalities to own their water supply. It may also be wise for tion by land and water in the cities. But so far as experience goes I am not one of those who believe that that proposition has yet been demon-strated. I am therefore willing to see experimentation go on on a large and aried scale th our municipalities; but I do feel that so far as state owner ship of public utilities is concerned, and federal ownership, we cannot af ford just now to make the experiment We had better wait until we find the result of the experiments which at occupied by our municipalities. I am one of those, therefore, who unhest tatingly oppose the policy with which Mr. Bryan, when he returned from his trip around the world, startled the conservatives, even the conservative Democrats of his own party in New York City, when he declared for state ownership of railways within the limits of the state, and federal owner-ship of trunk lines. I am opposed to it on two or three grounds:

First, I want to see the result tried in the smaller field of the municipalities, where as yet the result seems to be in great doubt; I want to see the experiment tried in that field. Then if I were disposed to make any prediction with regard to state ownership and national ownership, it would be this: That it is the height of folly for a government to borrow billions of llars in order to buy the railways of the country in order that other billions of dollars might afterwards be sunk in mismanagement and political corrup

people have felt that the evils incident | That is all I have to say just now of £28, or \$140. In 1906 there were ta! of the country. Marx is the classic to private ownership and control of on the subject of state and municipal 1,637 such societies in England. They expounder of the doctrine. Marx own

We give below a full stenographic | public utilities could be obviated by | ownership, which is often regarded as

#### a synonym for Socialism. Co-operative Societies.

Now I will go on to speak of a third conception of Socialism which in the ninteenth century was often associated with the name, and which at the present time is associated with the name not only in the minds of the general public, but in the mind of the ablest and most sympathetic historian which Socialism has found in the English speaking world. I mean Mr. Kirkup, of Edinburgh, whose book on the history of Socialism has just passed thru a third edition. Now, this conception of Socialism is, in brief, this: The volun-

tary union of labor and capital. Under that conception the capitalist is such would disappear, and in place of establishments owned by capitalists and manned by workmen who received their wages from him, you would have co-operative societies, themselves owning the capital, themselves democratically administering their establishments themselves equitably dividing among themselves the product. That was the conception of Socialism entertained in the early part of the ninteenth century by Owen in England, by Fourier in France. It was the conception of Socialism entertained by John Stuart Mill, when, in his classic work on political economy, written and conceived from an standpoint, he observed that if the race continued to advance, if humanity continued to improve, the ultimate goal could not be the perpetuation of our present system of capital and wages. but such a co-operative\_industrialism as I described at the outset as the doctrine substantially of Owen and of Fourier.

Now. I think that it is a brand of Socialism which will appeal with great force to all English speaking people. I add at once, it is not the kind of Socialism which the advocates of the Marxian doctrine favor; on the contrary, they have unsparingly denounced it. But it is a brand of Socialism which Mr. Kirkup, in the third edition of his history, develops with the utmost sympathy, and on which he bestows great praise, and, as I have said. it is a brand of Socialism which will also appeal to all English speaking people. It will appeal to them for a num-

In the first place, it does not lean on or glorify the state. And one thing, ladies and gentlemen, we have got to learn in every attempt to understand Socialism, is that the state is not an earthly providence; the state is not an omnipotent entity. The state of New York, for all practical purposes in the last few years, has been Theodore Roosevelt, Senator Platt, the Governor at Albany, the leaders of the two poli tical parties; Democratic and Republican, and the leader of Tammany

# "Voluntary Socialism."

Now, we have got to realize that the state is not, as I say, some earthly providence, but a number of officials we have elected to exercise certain publie functions, officials who in capacity and in character are not much above us-not much above, if any above, the average of the people of the country.

The brand of Socialism I am now describing, the voluntary union of labor and capital, leading to co-operative production and co-operative distribution, appeals, I say, to people of the English speaking world because it does not lean on the state, that is to say, on the six or eight officials who run things for us, whom we have elected to office or who got themselves made heads of their respective departments. And, in the second place, it apold doctrine of individual thrift, individual industry, individual self-sacrifice. Ladies and gentlemen, in the long run, whatever your theories of society, if they work well they are to depend upon the intelligence and character of individual citizens.

Socialism, as a voluntary union of labor and capital for the purpose of co-operative production and co-opera-tive distribution, appeals strongly to as in the English speaking world because it brings home to us, because it is bas ed upon, these good, old fashloned virtues which we were taught as children at the fireside.

There is another reason why we may have faith in this conception of Socialism, this voluntary union of labor and capital. It has had a remarkably good record. It was first proclaimed in Germany about the middle of the nineteenth century, a little before that. Its great advocate was Schultze. Opposed to Schultze was Lassalle. Lassalle wanted state credit. He believed in productive associations of working men, associations for purposes of production and distribution; but it never occurred to him that they could get started alone; they must be state helped. So he was asking the government

and of course vainly asking, for a loan hundred million thalers. Schultze on the other hand, was preaching to laboring men the doctrine that they ought to save their earnings and com-bine them, and themselves establish such productive associations. What is sult? Lassalle never got his hundred million thalers from the state but in twenty-five years after Schultze's establishments were founded their capital amounted to a hundred million thalers. So in England these associations, which there existed rather for purposes of distribution than of protion, began in 1844 with a capital of £28, or \$140. In 1906 there were supplied a fifth of the people with articles needed for their consumption. Their membership embraced two millions and a quarter of people, and their capital had risen from £28 to £30,000, 000, or \$150,000,000 and their profits last year to £10,000,000, or \$50,000,000.

This conception of Socialism, this voluntary combination of labor and capital for the purposes of production and distribution, unaided by others, ppeals and must always appeal to us in the English speaking world because it rests, as I have said, on these fundmental virtues, primitive virtues which have made this nation what it is.

#### Two Kinds of Fortunes.

Besides these three conceptions of Socialism which I have mentioned there is another one, vaguer, more shadowy, which I am going to mention and describe not so much positively as negatively. It is a protest against enormous fortunes. We live in an age when there has been a great accumula tion of wealth. It is not beyond the memory of men now before me when in this country you could count all the millionaires on the fingers of your hands, or perhaps one hand. Now we have become familiar not only with millionaires, but even billionaires. It is true that wealth has increased on all sides. It is true that the country has prospered. It is true that all class es have enjoyed the benefit of this increase of prosperity. But in the presence of this comparatively small number-I mean comparatively small when you take account of the whole population-in the presence of this compara tively small number of millionaires and billionaires, people are apt to forget everything else about this wave of prosperity, and a good many thoughtless persons draw the conclusion that the enrichment of these few is due to or has the result of the impoverishment of all the rest. (Applause.) I am glad to get that applause because it shows that there are men in this audience that are of that view, and I always like when I meet an error to bunt it down. And I want to face this one at once. I say that the difference between America to-day and and America when Columbus discover ed it, on the economic side, is due altogether to the fact that people have practised thrift and learned to accumulate. On the economic side that is the meaning of civilization, that people accumulate capital, do not live from hand to mouth as the savage does. I want therefore to say that we are all the richer, we are all the better off, because in our country there has been such accumulation of wealth, even tho some of it has gone, in what you think exaggerated forms into the pockets of certain individuals. But I want to say that, whether those individuals will or not, they benefit the community when they use their money as capital for productive purposes. The only man who hurts the community is the man who squanders his wealth. I know we are living in an age when

blg fortunes are denounced. I know that in general the sympathy of many persons in this audience will be against ie when, from an economic point of view and even from a moral point of view, I undertake to defend big fortunes. I know that you will quote against me even the President himself—the justly honored name of Roose velt you will quote against me-when in his message he denounces swollen fortunes. Yet, ladies and gentlemen, have my own view, the result of study and deliberation, and I will hold it, no matter what others may say And I assert that I see a danger. The danger that I see is not in swollen fortunes) but in stolen fortunes. I want to make it clear that a fortune because it is big is not bad. I want to make it clear that the community economically would all be better off if our fortunes were bigger than they are want to make it clear that we are all the gainers when men honestly accumulate blg fortunes. I want to make it clear that we are all the losers when the sons of millionaires and billionaires squander away the wealth which their fathers accumulated. I want to make that clear. I want the fire of criticism to be concentrated at the right point, and the right point is not the swelling of the fortune, but the unjust method by which some fortunes have been accumulated and the wrong use made of some of them. Let us have clarity of vision. Let us criticize what deserves criticism. Do you say that a man cannot possibly in this country honestly accumulate a hundred thousand dollars or a million dollars? (Cries of "No. no.")

How do you know? How do you know? (A voice: We have tried it and we couldn't do it. Another voice: The workingman cannot accumulate a single hundred dollars. Cries of That's right.")

Here is a country of from seventy to eighty millions of people. Here is continent of inexhaustible resources Here are seventy or eighty million people with an infinitude of wants. The 'nventor or the captain of industry who knows how to divine those wants and how to cull from the inexhaustible treasures of this continent means of satisfying those wants, may in my judgment, without any dishonesty of method, easily become in this

#### age of the world a millionaire. Marxian Socialism.

Now, I go on to another conception of Socialism, and that is the Socialism associated with the name of Marx. That is the Socialism which is pecul iarly, I think, the tenet, the dogma, of the Socialist Party in this country-for there is a Socialist Party in this country, Mr. Chairman, and also in Germany. That is the doctrine of national ownership of the land and capi

character and training and experience in a measure account for the doctrine. Marx went to the university in Germany when the Hegelian philosophy was in the ascendant, the most highly speculative philosophy that the human mind has produced since the time of Aristotle. Marx became an Hegelian. In a few years disillusionment arose Germany in general went over to materialism. Marx became a materialist.

Marx studied economics profoundly

-lived, as you know, in England part

economics in England at wat time was Ricardo. Ricardo's fundamental doctrine was that all wealth was produced by labor. "Very well," said Marx, "If that be so, then the wealth which the capitalist gets has been produced by the labor of the workingman, and the capitalist got it." And so he propounded his famous theory of surplus value, namely, the theory that while the workman received a subsistence wage, barely enough to keep his wife and family and himself alive, he also created additional value which was taken possession of by the capitalist, who therefore exploited him. He foresaw that in time the consolidation of capital already going on would intensify, big industries would develop, and the captains of industry who took charge of these blg enter prises would prepare the way for state ownership, as perhaps he might say if he were living now in this country. There are certain industries I could mention which are already tipe for state ownership.

This, in brief, I hope fairly enough, so far as I have gone, altho I have spoken with brevity, is the doctrine of Marx.

I want, before I give place to Mr. Hillquit-and I have only six minutes more. I think, in this round-you will hear me again, tho-I want to make some remarks on this system, so that Mr. Hillquit will do me the honor of animadverting upon them, as I am sure he will.

#### "An Obsolete Philosophy."

Well. Marx' system rests on the materialistic conception of history. He believes that the one real thing in his tory is the struggles between economic classes; that religion and philosophy and science and art are mere by-plays; that the one essential thing, as inevitable as the operations of nature, is the conflicts between industrial classes.

Materialism is now an obsolete philosophy. Marx believed that labor, the labor of the workingman produced all value; and as against Ricardo's theory of economics, the conclusion which Marx deduces seems to me an irrefragable one—as against Ricardo. But we can see to-day, If we have eves to use and will use them, that labor of the workingman is not the sole or perhaps even the principal source of value. The capitalist or captain of industry, who creates establishments, who keeps them running, who gets his goods to market, the man of sagacity, the man of organizing ability, the man of administrative skill -he is the all-essential factor in the business. He is not exploiting the laboring man when he takes out a good large sum as compensation for himself. He is entitled to it. (A voice:

Where does he get it?) He is entitled to it. And further more, let me tell you this, that so far are we to-day from accepting Ricardo's or Marx' theory of economics that the best exponents of economics we have in the country tend to the proposition that the laborer, and the undertaker-the man who undertakes the business-and the capitalist, each tend to get out of the business what themselves have created. That is the tendency of the modern theory, as opposed to the theory of Ricardo. I shall undoubtedly have an oppor tunity to come back to this subject But I want to say right now that to any such Socialism I for one am irre vocably opposed. I am opposed to it because it is a blight to that individualism which has made this country. I am opposed to it because it rests on a wrong conception of the function of capital and the kinds of labor that enter into production and transportation.

# "An Econ mic Blight."

Capital is a force. Capital is not dirt lying around here and there. which certain very rich men, million aries and billionaires, have rushed in and picked up before we got there. No, it is a force. It is a creation. And it requires the utmost intelligence to use it. And we have always to remember that if we adopt a system which eliminates such management, such creative skill, such organizing power then our industries will simply go by the board. You all are aware of examples of two establishments, essentially similar in their circumstances and mode of operation; one in a year or two becomes bankrupt, the other goes on and makes money. Why is it? The employees, the laboring men, on the other hand-the manufacturing laborers and wage earners are as good us the wage earners on the other. Why is it? The management, the brains, the organizing ability, the administrative skill, which are necessary for the success of one business were there; but were absent in the case of the other. I am opposed, I say, therefore, to

this brand of Socialism. It seems to me that it would produce an economic blight in America or in any other country which adopted it. Practically, Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to it-and with that I yield the floor to Mr. Hillquit, for my time will be up-practically I am opposed to it because it puts on government infinitely more than government can bear. You speak of the state taking over these industries-oil, coal, steel and what not. Well, could the state-that is to say, could President Roosevelt and Senator Platt and Governor Hughes and Mr. Murphy and the leaders of the Repu-

lican and Democratic parties-I speak with the utmost respect, for these men are practically the state for us-can these men, these men being the state, can they run these industries better than the captains of industry?

#### HILLQUIT'S FIRST SPEECH.

I am deeply thankful to the People's Forum of New Rochelle for this opportunity to discuss the very vitai subject of our debate before such an intelligent and representative audience; and I am especially thankful for the opportunity to discuss it with such a distinguished adversary. I believe the philosophy of individualism has one of its strongest, most able, eloquent, and earnest exponents in Dr. Schurman; and for this reason I be-Heve that if the philosophy of Individualism should nevertheless fail in this debate it will very obviously not be due to any fault on the part of my adversary, but to the inherent weakness of the cause he represents.

Now, I wish to disclaim, in the first place, any of the three brands of Socialism Dr. Schurman has enumerated at the outset. It may be true that in the popular conception any extension of governmental powers is called Socialism; it may be true that within certain spheres and circles the demand for government ownership of public utilities only, is called Socialism; and it may be true that Mr. Kirkup has invented a new kind of Socialism, the community of Capital and Labor. But it seems to me, ladies and gentlemen when we discuss the subject of So cialism we do not have to ascertain from various conceptions or misconceptions of different persons not responsible for the theory what Socialism really is. The Socialist movement to-day embraces no less than about 25,000,000 men and women all over the civilized world. It is organized in par ties, it has its declarations of principles, which are uniform all over the world, and what modern, contemporary Socialism stands for can easily ascertained from those declarations of principles.

#### The Real Socialism.

And I say Socialism to-day, as un derstood by Socialists themselves, is that particular form of social movement which was mentioned by Dr. Schurman but passingly with the last six minutes of his forty; and that is the Socialism of Karl Marx. That Socialism stands for the public ownership, not only of the so-called public utilities, but for the public and collective ownership of all essential tools and instruments of production-land, railroads, mines, as well as factories and machines. That Socialism stands for co-operative labor and collective enjoyment of the total national product and national wealth. I want to mention that in order that we may be perfectly clear what sort or brand of Socialism we have in view in this

Dr. Schurman in analyzing the subject, and particularly the merits or demerits of Socialism, has subjected it to a double test: First, justice; second practicability. His first question was: Is it just to demand an equal distribution of wealth? Isn't the owner of eapital and "captain of industry" entitled to a larger share? Cannot he honestly make a fortune of a million or more in this country. His second question was: Could the state in any vay, decently, properly manage our industries, or could it not? Would it

We will consider the subject from these two points of view. But before we do that I will add a third point of view which, to my mind, is the more important one.

We have come to the time, ladles and gentlemen, where we do not any more liscuss social systems on the theory that we could in one session decide upon the best form of government or upon the best system possible and, as it were, by a vote of the audience adopt this or the other social system or reject it. We know to-day that social systems are not made, but that they grow. We know to-day that the first important inquiry in all matters of social institutions is this: Does our social development tend toward a certain system, towards certain instirutions, or does it not? And I therefore say that the way we will consider the subject of Socialism to-day and incidentally also the other subject, the subject of individualism, which Dr. Schurman was supposed to stand for, but which I presume he has reserved for his second inning and so far has not mentioned very muchwe will consider both of these conflicting social philosophies from this three-fold point of view, if you will. That is, first, as it were, from the point of view of scientific sanctionis Socialism coming, or is Individualism growing? Second, which is the more efficient and just, the present system or the system advocated by Socialists? And third, which is the more practicable, the present system or the Socialist system

# Economic Development.

To start out, we will make a comparison of present industrial conditions with the industrial conditions of say about a century ago. We will do that for the purpose of ascertaining the trend of economic development. We have a pretty large period before us, a period well known to us, pretty much within the memory of the pres ent generation; a period, besides, which uncovered the blind forces of economic development better, more clearly than any preceding period. In analyzing that period we will ascenthin in what direction the economic development tends.

Now, about a century ago the production of wealth was essentially dividualistic. That is, the individual workingman worked either at home or in his small workshop alone,

or in conjunction sometimes with a helper or apprentice. His tool was an individual tool, owned and operated by him individually. His product was the product of his individual labor skill, and when finished he could rightly claim it as his individual prop-

Within that century, however, a tremendous change took place in the economic conditions and relations of the modern world, and it is always well, ladles and gentlemen, to bear in mind existing conditions when you talk about a social theory, and not to reasons in the abstract. The conditions of to-day are not those of a century ago.

Within the last century the plain, simple, individual tool developed into complex of huge, immense machines, fron giants, as it were, specialized for the mass of production of certain small particles of commodities. The small workshop grew into the enormous factory of the present day, in which hundreds and thousands of workingmen are brought together from all over the country, all working together, each doing one little thing, each working into the hand of the other, all of them collectively and co-operatively producing one commodity which may, perhaps, have to pass thru a number of similar processes of manufacture before it reaches the actual and direct consumer

We find this process has changed the entire aspect of modern industry. The modern machine is a social tool, no more an individual one. The modern factory is a social workshop, not an individual workshop. The modern workingman is a social servant, and modern production is a social and collective process, not an individual pro-

#### Social Production. If you were asked to-day, ladies and

gentlemen, this question: Who produced such plain and simple articles of use as the coat you wear, the chair you sit on, or the bed you sleep in; if you were asked who produced these articles, if you considered the thousands of men and women who contributed to the first direct process of their design and production, who contributed to the manufacture and transportation of the various materials contained in those articles; to the construction, operation, and transportation of the wonderful machinery used at each stage of the production of these plain articles; if you would consider perhaps the cotton worker in the South, the lumber worker in the West; if you would consider the miner of Pennsylvania, the factory hand in New York or Massachusetts; if you consider railroad worker all over the United States; if you consider, perhaps, the weaver and spinner of England, and perhaps the silk worker in China, and perhaps the steamship that had to bring these products to you, and the men employed on them all over the world-if you consider all this mass of humanity, and then repeat the question to yourself: Who produced very plain, these very simple articles of use I am enjoying to-day? you will find the individual workingman has obilterated himself completely.

What is before us to-day is no more

the individual workingman of a century ago. What is before us to-day is practically an international brotherhood of labor of all gradations from the highest to the lowest and most common, all of them working collectively, all of them working co-operaall of them working for the benefit of entire mankind, without distinction, and you cannot to-day single out the merit of this man or the merit of that man, the work of this man or that man for humanity at large, or at least the working community at large, is a social producer. And I say It is this social feature of our production which to-day sustains mankind, civilization and all modern comforts. If for one moment we should decide to return to the system of strict individualism, if we should decide to give up all the benefits of co-operation in the production of goods, if every one of us should be relegated to his own reown meals, make his own clothing, without receiving the material from other men, without receiving the help or co-operation of other men, how long would our boasted civilization our "individualistic" civilization, last? How soon would we return to the system of the primitive savage? For, as a matter of fact, the primitive savage, the man devoid of articulate speech, the man who has no experience, no tools, no weapons, no arts, the man who subsists on the natural or in caves. this is the only man who is absolutely independent of his fellow men on tho neighboring tree; he is the only unalloyed, the only simon pure individnalist known in history.

# Producing Millions.

Now, I say, with this economic change, the role of the captain of industry and the role of the workingman have also greatly changed. And if we take up the question whether it is possible to-day for the individual man to produce a fortune of a million, as Dr. Schurman claimed he could, or whether it is just or proper to demand an equal, or more or less equal, distribution of wealth, I say we cannot in discussing these questions use the same standards that were applied a century ago.

There was a time, when industry was young; there was a time when industry was in the process of develops ment, there was a time when indus-try was individualistic, largely, and when the so-called captain of industry had a considerable and important role to perform in the social economy of nations. Those times have passed Machine production, the factory systent, the division of labor and concentration of industrial concerns, have

(Continued on page 4)

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#### SCHURMAN-HILLQUIT DEBATE.

(Continued from page 3.)

brought about a certain routine method in the production of goods and management of industries, and have trained and organized labor to such an extent that industry has become absolutely independent of any "captains of industry" or other "undertakers". Take, for instance, to-day the typical capitalist, the man who possesses millions or more, the billion-aires, the new type produced in soand ask yourself the question: What does this man do to earn his millions? We cannot make the distinct tion here between swollen and stolen fortunes, for in the eyes of the law and in the judgment of his fellow men this multi-millionaire has earned his actly the same methods as the smaller millionaire or smaller capitalist. How did he earn those millions or billions? Dr. Schurman says it is not by exploiting the labor of his fellow it is by his own thrift, skill and ingenuity.

. I would like to give you a little example in arithmetic. I would like to ask you, assuming that the man of more than ordinary skill earns or produces thru his skill or otherwise products equivalent to, say, \$1,000 a day-something absolutely impossible as a matter of fact-and assume that he spends no more than ten cents out of it for his personal use, and assume that all the rest of it he saves up, stores up, accumulates as capital. Onestion: How long did it take John D. Rockefeller to accumulate one thousand millions.

# Brains and Ownership.

Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Morgan, and other millionaires, typical capitalists of the present day, may or may not have skill, enterprise, or brains. This is entirely a secondary matter with them. This is not their stock in trade. If a millionaire happens to possess the brains, to possess enterprise or skill, it is really to-day, in the present generation, an exceptional case-but at any rate it is not the stock in trade towhich he owes his millions. He owes his millions to an entirely different condition of affairs. His millions he owes to the fact that he has a controlling interest in certain railroads, in certain mines, in certain banks, in certain other industrial or commercial enter-

Now, consider this position. I may happen to be a capitalist, and it may happen that I do not suffer from an capital. How do I proceed, as a rule? Why, I invest my capital in stocks and tonds which represent, say, certain railroads or certain other industrial enterprises. I, of course, have to make great efforts; of course I have to do some very hard work in cutting the coupons from time to time. To-day ! have mining stock-I own a certain it, consequently I am the owner, the promoter of that mine. It is due to my skill, to my foresight, that those

elsewhere are at all able to live. But the next day I sell my mining stock and buy railroad stock, and I have become the skilled captain of railroad

The typical capitalist to-day owns a majority of stock in mines, in railroads, in steamships, in steel works, in banks, in factories, in every industrial concern in the world-every one of them requires a lifetime of studyand still the capitalist changes his occupation, and every day becomes the master of a new, great, important, and complex industry.

# A Captain of Industry.

The original Commodore Vanderbilt, for instance, might have happened to be, and probably was, a genius in his line, and developed a certain industry, the industry of transportation. He was a captain of industry. He lived his allotted number of years, died, leaving heirs. Some of them might have inherited the old man's brains and business enterprise; others might have neglected that particular commodity altogether; but each of them gets a certain number of millions, repre-sented by stock which conveys the wnership of certain railroad systems. and so on. Do you think that the Vanderbilt with the brains of the second generation will fare much better than the Vanderbilt without the brains? No. Each one of them will draw exactly the same rate of dividends his fortune in exactly the same way. For labor-useful labor-is not done by the capitalist. There is no such thing as a captain of industry. labor, from the highest, requiring the greatest skill, ingenuity, and study, from the highest paid engineer down to the lowest common laborer-all of them, from top to bottom, are hired by the capitalist; all of them work for Brains is not a special attribute of the captain of industry, of the capitalist. Why, he can buy brains, and he does buy them, in the market.

Thus, I say, what was just and what was proper a century ago is no more just and no more proper to-day. A century ago production was altogether individualistic. To-day it is practically social. There is but one feature in our modern industrial life which has remained individualistic. Altho the machine is a social tool indispensable to the entire working community, it is still owned by the individual capitalist. Altho the production of goods is social in its methods and character, it is conducted and regulated by our competing captains of industry for their individual gain. Altho all useful members of the community collectively contribute to our so-called national wealth, only a comparatively small number of individuals share in it. In short, altho the production of our wealth is socialistic, its appropriation and distribution is entirely individualistic

The feature of individualism in industry is an anachronism, a survival of an older industrial order It has absolutely no sanction in reason or justice to-day, altho it might have had a century or half a century ago. To-day it has become a clog on

dies, social iniquities, social plagues under which humanity is suffering. To-day every rational and progressive man should be opposed to it, every adocate of a higher order of things should stand for the next step in industrial progress, the abolition of the sole surviving feature of individualism in our production-that is, for the system of collective ownership of all tools of production, and collective distribution, co-operative joint distribution of all social wealth; in other words, for Socialism.

# Socialism and the State.

Now, Dr. Schurman claims that So cialism would not be practicable for the reason that it attempts to put on government what government is not organized to do. The state, he says, is practically, in the instance of New York, President Roosevelt, Mr. Platt, the Governor, or the political bosses of the two dominant parties. There is one little thing which Dr. Scherman forgot, and that is that President Roosevelt did not drop from the skies. nor did Senator Platt, nor did the political bosses of the old parties. They are there with the sanction of the people behind them. They express the desire of the people, and if their administration, if their management is wrong, is disastrous, it shows only one thing, that the people of the state of New York to-day do not know any In saying that the state was not or-

ganized for industry and could not perform industrial duties just as well as the individual capitalist, Dr. Schurman assumes that the functions and character of the government or state are fixed and immutable at all times As a matter of fact they are just the contrary. The patriarchial state of the semi-barbarous tribes, or the military government of ancient Rome, or the despotic government of feudal society, or the representative government of modern days, are all different organizations, have different functions to perform, and perform them differently. As a matter of fact, a state is always that political form of organization which a people or a nation assumes for the proper transaction of its common business and protection of its common interests. And where such a nation is divided into classes, the state is primarily the form of organization devised for the protection of the interests of the ruling class. With the change of economic interest the form of government changes.

Modern society is based upon the theory that the work of wealth-production is an individual, not a social, concern; and that the government should not interfere with that process, Our modern civilization proclaims the innlienable right of every individual citizen to capture in the war of compe tition as much of the national wealth the labor of his fellow men for himself and his heirs forever. And I say the modern state, the modern government was devised for the protection of that so-called right of the individual citizen, or, rather, of the ruling min-

ed and interpreted with the object in view of maintaining present social relations, of protecting the possessing classes in the possession of property; of preventing the classes not possessing anything, the classes of the poor, from encroaching upon the privileges of the rich. And this state, this form of government has worked very efficiently for its purposes, to the entire satisfaction of its mandators.

#### Government Under Socialism. Socialism, on the other hand, is based on the theory that wealthproduction is a social, not an individual, function, and that it is the duty of society to regulate and manage that very important social function for the equal benefit of all its members. Conse quently a Socialist state of society presupposes a form of government which is adapted to that particular purpose, the purpose of securing the people of the state in the enjoyment of the wealth collectively produced by them. And I say when Socialism is inaugurated we will no more have a state governed, a state administered, a state owned by a Roosevelt, a Platt, or a Murphy, or any other political boss. We will then, of necessity, from the very theory of the government, from the very interest of the people, have a state owned and controlled by the people, and organized for the purposes which society as such exists, fo the purposes of industry. ment or state under Socialism would be free from many of the duties of the present state; but, on the other hand, it would have industrial duties, and it would find in the long run the

proper form of organization to discharge these duties. It never has concerned me, it never has bothered me very much, just what form of government future society will assume. I know the form of government has always been changing. I know that every new epoch, every new era has produced another form of government. I know that the form of government has in all cases corre spended to the social relations of that period. And I know that for this reason the form of government which the future generation that will have the making of it will devise, will in the long run be the best and the most practical one for conditions then existing.

# SCHURMAN'S

SECOND TURN.

The last speaker, Mr. Hillquit, has given us a very eloquent discourse, which we all admired and for which you have at proper intervals shown just appreciation. There were, how-ever, some matters of fact which I should have been glad to have him condescend to deal with, especially as they concerned me. I am not an advocate of individual-

ism in the form of the simian man or the anthropoid ape up a tree. You not the face of what I said when you assert that I told you that the functions of government were immutable. On the contrary, I said, and I repeat. tens of thousands or hundreds of thou- the wheel of progress; to-day it has Consider our constitution, consider that with the progress of society in sands of miners in Pennsylvania or resulted in multitudinous social mala- our form of government, consider our complexity—and our society has cer-

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tainly developed economically in com-plexity in the course of the last two or three generations, or even the last generation-the functions of government must necessarily be modified and even enlarged. That was the very first point that I made. You cannot quite win a triumph for socialistic theory by attributing to the advocate of the existing theory, or the defender of the existing theory, a doctrine of individ-ualism which is a caricature of the existing system and of what the speaker has said about it. Every system of government must do the work for which it is devised. The primary business of government is protection of life. Then comes order, justice, which is the great business and the great function of government; and with changing civilization and changing economics and social conditions justice will be realized in different ways, and therefore new problems will confront the government, and government must devise new solutions am not saying, therefore, that the present system, or any individualistic system, must remain unchanged. Government is an organism. It grows like every other organism. It adapts itself to its environment; that is, to the conditions of its life.

Mr. Hillquit critcized me-kindly, indeed, but censoriously-for not hav ing defended the present system. Well, the present system is as old as the Socialism, as government of ership of the land, capital, and all tools and instrumentalities of produc-tion, is an idea in a man's head. It never has been realized. If a man

(Continued on page 6.)

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LABOR SECRETARIAT. — Delegates' meeting the last Saturday of the month, 8 p. m., at 243 E. Eighty-fourth street Board of Directors meets the first Thursday of the month, 8 p. m., at the office, 320 Broadway, R. 703. Address correspondence to Labor Secretariat, 320 Broadway. Telephone: 6076 or 5077 Franklin.

Local Troy, N. Y., Socialist Party, meets d and 4th Wednesdays in Germania Hall, ecretary, W. Wellnik, 1 Hutton St.

UNITED JOURNEYMEN TAILORS' UN-ION meets second and fourth Mon-days in Links' Assembly Rooms, 231-233 East Thirty-eight street.

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Dist. V—342 W. 42nd St., 8 p. m.;
Dist. V—3509 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VII—2009 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VII—4439 Second Ave., 8 p. m. The Board of
Supervision meets every Tuesday at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Ave., 8 p. m.

CARL SAHM CLUB (MUSICIANS' UN-ION), meets every Thursday of the month, 10 n. m., at Clubhouse 243-247 E. 84th street. Secretary, Oscar Funk, 402 E. 80th street.

SOCIALIST WORKING WOMEN'S SOCIETY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.—Branches in New York, Brooklyn, Paterson, New-ark, Ellisabeth, Syracuse, Cleveland, Chi-cago, St. Louis, Control Committee meets second Thursday in the month at 11 a. m. in the Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th street, New York City.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPEN-TERS & JOINERS OF AMERICA, LO-CAL UNION NO. 476, meets every Tues-day at 8 p. m. in The Labor Temple, 243. East 84th street. Arthur Gonne, 1992 Anthony Ave., Bronz, New York City, Recording Secretary. H. M. Stoffers, 221 East 101st street, Financial Secretary.

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# PARTY NEWS.

The National Committee is voting pon the following motion offered by National Committeeman Lee of New

That the National Secretary's ruling of date Dec, 22, 1908, declaring out of order a certain motion offered by National Com-mitteeman Wentworth of Massachusetts, be overruled; and that the National Sec-retary be instructed to submit the said motion to the National Committee in the

In offering the motion, Comrade Lee ments as follows:

The National Secretary has acted under Sec. 8 of the rules of the National Committee, which empowers (though it does not require) him to "declare a motion out of order if it is in conflict with the Con-

stitution of the party or with the Rules of the National Committee."

He bases his ruling on two points: 1. An interpretation of the Constitution—that the Constitution gives the National Committee no power to act as advisors of legislation pertaining to the organic law; 2. A precedent—the fact that the National Executive Committee at its session in April, 1905, defeated a motion to incorporate in its minutes, for the information of the National Committee, two communi-cations from National Committeemen advising certain constitutional amendments.

I deal with these points separately.

1 If it be true that the Constitution does not expressly authorize the National Committee to take such action, it is equally true that it does not expressly forbid it to do so; and it tacitly recognizes an advisory function by authorizing it to arrange the rules and order of business for conventions and to submit reports thereto-reports which customarily include recommendations as well as statements of fact. Comrade Wentworth's motion is therefore not clearly and certainly in conflict with the Constitution; there is room for considerable doubt on the matter; there is a question of conitutional interpretation involved; and hold that the National Committee itself ought to pass on this question. I consider it inadvisable that the National Secretary ould have power summarily to forbid the National Committee to consider any proposition not expressly mentioned in Art. V., Sec. 1 of the Constitution.

2. The precedent cited does not apply to the present case. The communications there in question were not offered as mo-tions in the National Committee, but as let-ters to the National Executive Committee. The latter body had power to do what it pleased with these letters. But the fact that it saw fit to leave on its table letters addressed to it does not establish its power to suppress motions addressed to the Na-tional Committee.

Finally, I call attention to Art. IV, Sec. 8, and Art. VI, Sec. 3, of the Constitution, by which the paramount authority of the rules of the National Committee over rules, or decisions of the National Executive Committee, is clearly established.

National Secretary Barnes ments upon the above as follows:

. In the absence of rule 2, of the rules of the National Committee, every motion of whatever character would be submitted: wherupon the National Committee would at the same time decide as to its merits and constitutionality.

It seems a foregone conclusion that a National Executive Committee acting upon its conception of the constitution, having denied space in its minutes to suggestions dealing with constitutional amendments, if called to pass upon the submission of a motion of the same nature, would unquestionably rule it out of order.

The alleged "advisory function" found in the constitutional investigations in

the constitutional provision authorizing the National Committee to arrange the rules and order of business for, and submit reports to conventions, cannot be admitted in the interim. The method for changing the law is constitutionally provided. The right of the initiative is vested solely in the locals.

By casy steps power is acquired or transferred. A departure from first prin-ciples is here involved. Shall we concede

ciples is here involved. Shall we concede
to any division of the party, less than the
whole, the right to advise (or condemn)
legislation which can be enacted only by
the entire organisation?

The "advisory ballot," as proposed by the
motion, in the event of a national referendum, would in advance, throw the weight
of the approval or the burden of the disapproval of the National Committee upon
the subject.

"Article 5. Section 1, gives the National

"Article 5, Section 1, gives the National Committee no power to act as advisors," elsewhere the constitution denies that priv-llege to all comers. With confidence, the constitution invites the highest law from constitution invites the highest law from the unguided hands of the membership by providing that all, referendums of the party shall be presented without preamble or

The new sought right to advise affirma-tively and the right to caution negatively are too closely related to be acceptable to a competent constituency. Regardless of the specific action contemplated, the tendency of the innovation is not towards, but against democratic administration.

The National Committee has voted down the motion offered by National Committeeman Ufert, by instructions of the New Jersey State Committee, denouncing the dishonorable discharge of United States regular troops at Brownsville. Vote was: Yes, 4; no. 28; not voting, 25.

Jos. Bechtel of McCabe, Ariz., bas been elected a member of the National Committee, and J. G. Kroon of Globe, Arix., has been re-elected State Secretary.

A resolution and petition by morthan 150, farmers of Cass Township. denounces the prosecution of les Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone as a foul conspiracy, and a deep laid plot upon the part of the West-ern Mine Owners' Association to de-stroy the political and industrial ortions of the working class.

J. T. McDill, 469 Humphrey street. Nashville, has been re-elected State Secretary of Tennessee.

E. Snyder, Secretary of Oklahoms will resign that position Feb. 5, and beginning Feb. 20 will fill a number of to New York City, arriving at the lat-ter point about April 1. Locals desir-cus of dates should correspond with the National Office.

Local Omaha, E. L. Burriss, Secretary, under date of Jan. 5, reports the expulsion of J. P. Roe, State Secretary, and F. H. Alexander, for tion of the state constitution. Jan. 6 the local quorum of the State Commi tee submitted the question of revoking the charter of Local Omaha to the members of the State Committee. State Secretary Roe, under date of Jan. 19, reports the adoption of the recommendation of the local quorum. The controversy seems to turn upon the question of the right of the local quorum to assume the power to fill vacancles. While the state constitu tion provides that "the State Committee shall elect the local quorum from the party membership of the local selected as the seat of the party headquarters.

The poster on the Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone outrage is ready for shipment. The size of the poster is 18x24 fuches. They should be hung in a conspicuous place in all meeting halls Orders for the number that can be judiciously used should be placed with the National Office, and they will be supplied free of charge.

NATIONAL LECTURERS.

Dates for National Lecturers are a follows:

E. E. Carr: Jan. 28, Richmond, Va. Jan. 29, Feb. 1, Norfolk and Newport News; Feb. 2, 3, East Radford; Feb. 5, Danville; Feb. 6, 7, Greensbord N. C.; Feb. 8, 9, Winston-Salem, N. C. West Virginia, under direction of State Committee.

#### Massachusetts.

State Organizer A. J. Lonney spent last week in Springfield. He attended the regular weekly meeting of the local and the question of the state organization was fully discussed. As a result it was arranged to raise funds by permanent monthly subscriptions public meeting was held Thursday, and despite the bitterly cold weather a good crowd assembled and listened to an address by Comrade Lonney on Modern Socialism. He spoke to a hundred men before the main gate of the Armory at noon the same day. Friday night he addressed a private social club of workingmen. In the afternoon he visited Chicopee Falls and Westfield, addressing a meeting at Smith's Foundry at the latter place in the noon hour. He returned to Springfield Saturday and spoke to a public meet ing in Turner Hall. During the entire week special stress was laid upon the Moyer-Haywood case. Twenty-seven subscription cards to The Worker and everal Socialist books were sold. This makes fifty Worker subs in two weeks, altho bad weather prevented the best results. The Springfield comrades are reported to be enthusiastic and have promised to co-operate in an effort to organize the state support of all the Socialists in Massachusetts is requested in the effort now being made thru Comrade Lonney to strengthen the party organization in the state.

Franklin H. Wentworth is to give his first February lecture on Wendell Phillips at Eberle Hall, Union Square, Somerville, Sunday, Feb. 3, at 3 p. m. Admission free. The other lecture the same subject during the week are at Springfield, Feb. 6, and Leominster, G. A. R. Hall, Feb. 9, 8 p. m.

A mass meeting to commemorate Bloody Sunday and to protest against the Moyer-Haywood outrage was held at Quincy, Sunday, Jan. 20. Hancock Hall was filled to overflowing. State Organizer Lonney spoke in English, Prof. Ottavis Pinate in Italian and anther comrade in Finnish. Resolutions of protest were adopted.

The ball and theatrical of the Ward 7-9 Club in the interest of a Labor Lyceum was, considering the weather and counter attractions, a success Comrades holding tickets are req ed to make returns at an early date. At last Sunday's meeting Morrison I. Swift spoke on "Socialism and the American Spirit" to an interested audience that taxed the capacity of the Next Sunday Representative M. J. McEttrick, who is advocating a ence and the discussion showed that it state university, has been invited to speak on "The State as an Academic Teacher". The following officers were elected for the ensuing term: Secretary-Treasurer, John J. McEttrick; Organizer, Joseph Spero; Auditing Committee, Henry Steinman and Samnel Zorn.

The Dorchester Socialist Club held its regular meeting Sunday, Jan. 27, at its headquarters, Gibson Hall, corner of Gibson and Adams streets. 'Arrangements were made to get renewals of expiring subscriptions to The Worker, and lists were distributed for new subscriptions. The second masque ball of the club will be given at Gibson Hall, Monday, Feb. 4, and a good attendance is expected. Regu-lar Monday evening dances will be held, in addition to the combination whist and dance parties held every Thursday evening. These entertainments are largely attended by non-Socialists, who are becoming interested in the movement.

# Connecticut.

The State Committee met at New Haven on Jan. 13, with Comrade Hull of Naugatuck, Morse of Hartford, Beardsley of Shelton, Hummel of Ansonia, and Toomey, Applegate, and Secretary Maas of New Haven pres-ent; Hull in the chair. Numerous communications were received and bills passed on. The financial report since the last meeting. Dec. 23, showed \$53.20 received and \$63 expended, and a balance of \$57.97. Action was taken looking to the engagement of a regu-iar organizer to work in the state. The mitteeman showed that E. D. Hull had received 96 votes and S. E. Beardsley 26. As Connecticut is now entitled to two members, both were declared elected. The attention of the

ed medification of the election laws as reported in The Werker last week. The members were also called on to contribute as liberally as possible, by means of the pledge cards sent out to the fund for putting an organizer in

All communications about matters concerning the state organization should be addressed to Louis Maas Acting State Secretary, P. O. D. 45. New Haven.

#### Pennsylvania. PHILADELPHIA.

Twenty-five thousand copies of the Letter of Acceptance of Charles Sehl, Socialist Party candidate for Mayor, will be ready for distribution Wednesday, Feb. 6. A second edition is ex-pected to be ordered. Comrades who desire to distribute copies should communicate with their branch secretary or the Campaign Committee at once.

The nomination papers required in city and in the wards where we are not an official party have been duly sworn to and turned in.

Comrade Farrell, Financial Secretary of the Campaign Committee, announces receipts as follows: Social Democratic Women's Branch, No. 13 \$5: C. R. Heinick, \$1: Pentecost meeting, \$5.60; Wanhope meeting, \$90.22; Machinists' Union, No. 670, \$10; total, \$101.82.

Comrade Wait, for the Free Speec Fund, announces donations of \$3.25. James M. Rellly of Jersey City will speak at the Sunday evening educational meeting in Logan Hall, Feb. 3. on the "Issues of the Present Cam-

#### ALLEGHENY COUNTY.

The general membership meeting will be held Sunday, Feb. 3, at 2 p. m. Every member is urged to be preas business of the greatest importance will be transacted, the details having been explained in the circular which was mailed to every individual party member. Comrades, by all make it a point to be present at this meeting.

Three thousand tickets have been distributed among the branches that have taken Comrade Kirkpatrick for a lecture. It is up to the members to make these meetings a success by selling the tickets and putting out the advertising matter.

Ella Reeve Bloor lectures under the anspices of the 4th Word Branch Allegheny, at their headquarters, Federal and So. Diamond streets, Allegheny, Sunday, Feb. 3, 8 p. m.

The protest meeting and commemoration at Old City Hall, on Tuesday. Jan. 22, was attended by between four and five hundred people. This on ac count of the inclemency of the weather. Some unknown persons tore down the streamer at the hall, and others at the hall told people that the eeting was "declared off".

Important. Branches are quested to notify the organizer if they are prepared to take a speaker every alternate month or every month on one of their meeting nights, under same arrangement as Comrade Kirkjatrick will tour the county. Give day in the month that is preferred.

Branches Swissvale and Wilkinsburg have filed certificates nominating candidates for boro officers.

John M. O'Neill, editor of the "Miners' Magazine", will speak at the Socialist headquarters, Federal and So. Diamond streets, Allegheny, Monday, Feb. 4, at 8 p. m.

Ten thousand blanks have printed for distribution among the people of Allegheny County, who are requested to fill them out and mail them to the organizer, who will see that they get literature free each month.

# New Jersey

The comrades in Essex County are doing good work these days. The Monday lectures at Headquarters, 230 Washington street, Newark, are very well attended and attract much interest. The lectures by Professor Tobias on Socialism from the Negro Standpoint was given before a large audimade a good impression. The Orange before the public.

John Sherwin Crosby will lecture on "The Declaration of Independence" at Socialist Party headquarters, 230 Washington street, Newark, Monday,

Feb. 4. Admission free.
Albert Weiss of Newfield, Secretary-Organizer of Local Cumberland County, has removed to New York and the local has lost a faithful and tireless worker, and the comrades are regretting his departure. J. M. Worner, 556 Columbia avenue, Millville, has been chosen to succeed Comrade Weiss as Secretary-Organizer.

Frederick Krafft will lecture on "Is Our Country a Republic", at the Arcade, 15 E. State street, Trenton, on Sunday, Feb. 3, 3 p. m. Admission

# Here and There.

Among the many educational institutions in which Socialism is gaining a footbold, Cornell University is to be Gilbert R. Sackman, a Cornell student who is organizer of our local in Ithaca, informs us that the subject is commanding a great deal of attention there. This is illustrated by an article on "The Industrial Probby Professor D. S. Kimball, in the January number of the "Cornell Era", and by an address on Socialism recently given by Assistant Professor karapetoff before the Business Men's Bible Class, which made such an impression that the discussion was continued thru the two following meet-

The Trades and Labor Assembly of Minneapolis, Minn., has elected Thomas Van Lear, an active Socialist and

ion, to the office of President. Several Socialists have been elected as delegates to the central body by various

Local Lucas County, Ohio, has elect ed W. H. Reed, 1040 Forsythe street. Toledo, secretary, and W. C. Guntrup. literature agent, A. M. Stirton was elected permanent organizer at the ast joint session to begin his dutie as soon as his affairs can be arranged. A protest meeting was held Jan. 20, at which the dissenting opinion o Judge McKenna was read and Bloody Sunday commemorated.

#### New York State.

The first meeting of the new State Committee will take place on Tuesday, Feb. 5, 8 p. m., at 66 E. Fourth treet, New York. The election of officers will take place at this meeting.

New York City.

At regular meeting of the General Committee Saturday evening, Jan. 26. the following officers were elected for the ensuing six months: Organizer. Solomon; Recording Secretary, Anna A. Maley; Financial Secretary, U. Solomon; Treasurer, Thomas Crimmins; Comptroller, R. Raphael; Sergeant-at-Arms, M. Steltzer; Committee on Credentials, R. Raphael, Miss Newmann, F. Kussrow; Committee Grievances, S. P. Kramer, H. Harris, Wm. Edwards, H. Engels, S. Berlin; Auditing Committee, & Goldbarth, L. B. Schwartz, Paul Dinger: City Executive Committee, F. M. Gill, Wm. Kohn, James Boyd, S. Solomon, G. B. Staring, E. Wolff, R. Tetzner. The result of vote for State Committeemen was announced as follows: U. Solonon, 448; T. J. Lewis, 409; L. A. Malkiel, 308; L. Lichtschein, 273; S. Goldbarth, 269; Wm. Kohn, 228; M. Stelt-142, Comrades Solomon, Lewis, Malkiel and Lichtschein being elected The matter of program for May Day was referred to the Assembly Dis tricts for their decision. A communication from Kerr & Co. was read calling attention to a new translation of Marx "Capital", which may be had at \$1 if ordered thru stockholders of the Kerr Company. Comrades T. H. Lewis and L. A. Malkiel volunteered to place orders for comrades desiring the book. Reading of the report of the retiring City Executive Committee was dispensed with and the report was ordered submitted to The Worker with request that it be published in full. Delegate from the Mover-Haywood Conference reported that up to date \$2,700 had been collected on the Agitation Fund; on the Defense Fund. 4.100 has been forwarded to National Secretary Barnes, and there is an additional \$1,400 on hand. Alexander lonas proposed the following message. which was ordered cabled to the Executive of the German Socialist Party: Three cheers for our brave German comrades in their manful struggle against the united forces of bourgeois

Common Cause, General Committee, Socialist Party, Local New York." The semi-annual report of the Organizer and Executive Committee has een referred to The Worker for publication. Its length and the necessity of carrying out arrangements made for the reporting of the Schurman-Hillquit debate compel postponement. The report will be printed in full next week. The financial portion of the report shows receipts of \$6,927.29, expenditures of \$6,431.32, and a balance of \$960.14, as against \$464.17 on July 1. The sale of dues stamps for the six nonths indicates an average membership of 1.100.

reaction! No temporary set-back can

prevent the ultimate triumph of In-

ternational Socialism.—Yours for

Since the consolidation of the old 11th and 13th A. D. into the 9th, the two organizations have united, and now constitutes one of the largest and most active West Side Assembly Districts. Inasmuch as the daily press utterly ignored the great Moyer-Hay wood demonstration at Grand Central Palace on Jan. 20, and after reading the editorial in The Worker on the subject, the members of the 9th last Friday night voted unanimously to purchase 1,000 copies of the issue of and Irvington branches are also active tion of The Worker, with a copy of the and by lectures and otherwise, are donew leafiet, "Prosperity", enclosed in ing all they can to get Socialist ideas each, took place on Sunday morning last, commencing at 10:30 a. m.; and as a number took part the task was an easy one, and what was considered a duty was a pleasure as well, in addition to securing some subscriptions for The Worker. The Socialists of the 9th, in spite of the capitalistic press. are determined that the attempted judicial murder of their comrades in the West shall have the publicity it deserves in their territory.

The New York Socialist Dramatic Club has added to its membership an orchestra of 12 pieces, and is prepared to give dramatic entertainments for the benefit of Socialist and progressive organizations. The club has decided to produce J. C. Frost's play. "The Walking Delegate", in April.

Comrades of the West Side are irgently requested to attend the meeting of the West Side Agitation Committee to be held Thursday, Feb. 7, 8 p. m. Committees will have reports ready and committees for the entertainment to be given at Lyric Hall Many subjects of must be elected. special interest and for the good and welfare of the district will come up. and a good attendance is therefore

The 3d and 10th A. D. will hold its regular meeting Thursday, Feb. 7. at 85 E. Fourth street, 8 p. m. Comrades ere requested to attend promptly, as steps will be taken to canvass the dis-

The Harlem Socialist Club, 250 W. One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street, will have a musical entertainment preceding its lecture Sunday evening at 8 o'clock. James G. Kanely will Business Agent of the Machinist's Un- | speak on "American Political Parties".

The members of the Rand School extend to all a cordial invitation to par-ticipate In their debates and literary exercises, which take place at the Rand School of Social Science, 112 E. Nineteenth street, every Sunday at

5 p. m. Membership is free The last of the series of lectures on "Published and Unpublished Literature" by Abraham Cahan, under the auspices of the New York Literary Society will be given on Sunday, Feb. 3, 8 p. m., at the Educational Alliance, East Broadway and Jefferson street. I. Josephs and J. Kunen will have charge of the musical entertainment.

William English Walling and Anna Strunsky Walling will lecture on "The Russian Situation" at the Rand School, 112 E. Nineteenth street, Sunday, Feb. 3, 11 a. m.

Jos. Wanhope will lecture on "The Tendency Toward Socialism", at the West Side headquarters, 585 Eighth avenue, between Thirty-eighth and Thirty-ninth streets, Sunday, Feb. 3, 8

Dr. S. Berlin will lecture on "Ethics of Socialism and Capitalism" at the Labor Temple, 243-245 East 84th street, Sunday, Feb. 3, 3 p. m.

Abraham Schomer and Adolph Benevy will debate on "What is Better for the Jews, Nationalism or In-ternationalism?" at the Liberal Art Society, 206 East Broadway, Friday, Feb. 1. 8 p. m.

J. G. Phelps Stokes will lecture on "The Reasonableness of Socialism" at Flood's Hall, Keating's Block, Two Hundred and Twenty-sixth street and White Plains avenue, Williamsbrige, Sunday, Feb. 3, at 3 p. m., under the auspices of the People's Forum. Admission free.

J. G. Phelps Stokes will lecture on Why I Became a Socialist," 8th A. D. headquarters, 106 Ludlow street, Saturday, Feb. 2, 8 p. m.

John Spargo will lecture on "Pessimism, Optimism and Socialism," for the Bronx Agitation Committee, at-Metropolis Theater Hall, corner 142nd street and Third avenue, Sunday, Feb. 3, 8 p. m.

William Mailly will lecture on "The Socialist Party" for the Cooper Civic Club of the People's Institute at 206 East Broadway, Friday, Feb. 8. The Jack London Socialist Club

meets every Saturday evening at 255

East Fourth street. The smoker of Branch I, of the 32nd A. D. has been postponed on account of being disappointed in getting the hall for Feb. 1, the date set.

Business meetings of the Sth A. D. are held every Friday evening. A Socialist class in the English language taught by J. T. Britt Gearity is being held every Tuesday in the headquarters, 106 Ludlow street.

Socialist Stage Society will meet at the studio of Mr. Mackay, 19 W. 44th st., Saturday, Feb. 2, at 8 p. m.

#### KINGS COUNTY.

Adolph, Benevy will lecture for the Socialist Educational Club of Brooklyn on "Elements of Education" at Ortner's Hall, 574 Broadway, corner of Lorimer street, Brooklyn, Saturday, Feb. 2, 8 p. m. Admission free. J. P. Kohler, Deputy County Clerk the Boro of Kings, will lecture on "The Kingdom of Heaven" at Silver Hall Forum, 315 Washington street, Brooklyn, Sunday, Feb. 3, 8 p. m. Mr. Kohler is a single taxer.

Hamilton Holt, managing editor of the "Independent", will lecture on "The Duties of a Sincere Reformer Who Wants to See Results Accom plished" at I art's Hall, Gates avenue and Broadway, Sunday, Feb. 3, 8 p. m.

# Queens County.

The entertainment committee of Local Queens County met Friday, Jan. 18. The following officers were elect-Chairman, Henry Froelich; Reed: cording Secretary, John A. Burgher; Financial Secretary and Treasurer, Frank Schuepf. It was decided to hold the first entertainment on Sunday. Feb. 24, at 3 p. m. Press and program committees were appointed. The and entertainment will be held Sunday, April 7. The full committee is requested to attend the meetings of the committee, which consists of A. Lehman, P. Heiler, W. Burkel, St. Wenzel, W. Hennessy, Paul Krueger, Fr. Schueff, C. Seubert, Ch. Beisele, John Bender and M. Kramer.

#### BROOKLYN CONFERENCE PROTEST MEETING.

The Mover-Haywood Conference of Brooklyn will hold a mass meeting in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum on Friday, Feb. 15. The speakers will be: Miss Luella Twining of Denver, Colo., ex-Congressman Robert Baker, Elizabeth G. Flynn, Frank Bohn, and Charles S. Vander Porten. The executive and press committees are putting forth every effort to make this meeting a success. Fifty thousand circulars and other advertising matter will be distributed. The Brooklyn workers should make this meeting the greatest ever held in their boro.

# TO AID THE DEFENSE FUND.

For the benefit of the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone Defense Fund. the Morris-Shaw Dramatic Society will present its fourth performance. "The Lost Paradise", on Wednesday, March 6, at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. "The Lost Paradise" portrays the profligacy of the capitalist class. its contempt for the workers, a plot of appropriating the fruits of labor's inventiveness, and the tenacity with which this capitalist class holds on to its pilfered possessions. Thru all this there. The total net proceeds go to the Defense Fund.

-It must worry the daily papers not to be able to call Thaw a Socialist. -Subscribe for The Worker.

# A CALL FOR HELP.

Polish Socialist Party Issues Appeal for Locked Out Workers of Lodz.

The Polish Socialist Party issues a strong appeal for help for the factory workers of Lodz, Russian Poland, who have been locked out of the shops. The owners of the factories have had an exceptionally profitable year and have gone to Berlin after locking up the shops and pitilessly turning the workers out into the streets. Forty thousand men and women have been so treated and all for the purpose of crushing the splendid revolutionary spirit which has been so aggressive in Lodz. The appeal closes with the following stirring words, which must make a strong impression on anyone who reads them:

Comrades! Workers of all countries! Do

not leave the revolutionary proletariat of Lodz in their terrible need! Forsake them not in their necessity, these tens of thousands of Poles, Jows, Germans, who have so often in common in brave expression of the revolutionary spirit of sacrifice, offered their unprotected breasts to the bayonet. so often in common shed their blood in conflicts in the streets. Forsake not th in their necessity who, however often they were exhausted by suffering and sacrifice lways started the fight anew, fired by consciousness, that the fight for the freeling of the working-class of Pointed is at the same time a fight for the freedo working people of all countries! let the workers of Lodz suffer defeat for this that, placed by history at a post (tw fold threatened) they have engaged with tenfold endurance and boldness the most terrible reactionary powers in Europe!

once the treacherous French aristocrats fled to Loblenz, so now the capitalist magnates of Lodz, the Scheiblers, nauskies, Heintzels, Steinerts, atarrogant and cowardly, have fled to safe Berlin: from there to condemn a hundred thousand bended army of workingmen to death by starvation. Let not their infernal

plan succeed. Help if you can! Comrades! Workers of all The revolutionary branch of the Polish So-claist Party appeals to you to assist with all your power in the amelioration of this endless misery. The money contributed will be expended for the support of all locked-out men, and not alone those of any particular political affiliation.

Contributions may be sent to Al. H. Debski, 61 St. Mark's place, New York.

#### AMERICAN AID FOR RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

Secretary Rubinow and Treasurer Romm of the Russian Social Democratic Society of New York acknowledge receipt of the following contributions for the Russian revolution:

Dr. A. Seaman, Lenox, S. D., \$10; Soc. to Ald Pol. Prisoners and Exiles, per Dr. Rossenson, Brooklyn, \$100; W. S. & D. B. F., Br. 53, Altoons, Pa., \$5; Globe Miners Union No. 60 (W. F. of M.). Ariz. \$100; Jo. Mang, Newark, N. J., \$3; M. Eticson, Port. Wash., \$1: 'Loca' Manchester, terly donation, \$39.43; H. Schl., \$5; German Section, S. P., St. Paul, Minn., \$10: W. S. & D. B. F., Br. 124, Newark, coll. on list, \$14.05; do., Br. 57, Schenectady, \$5; Cap Cutters' Union No. 2, New York, \$1; per "Volkszeitung", \$9.75; C. Burger, New York, \$5; A. Burger, \$1; Russian Democrats, coll. by S. Klersfeld, \$3.35; Miss Cora Hodges, Cleveland, \$5; Local Vigo Co., Ind., No. 5, \$3.15; previously ac-knowledged, \$12,992,94; total to Jan. 26, \$13,319,67.

Contributions should be sent and checks or orders made payable to Dr. Maxim Romm, Treasurer, 306 E. Fifteenth street, New York City.

# MR. CALL'S STATISTICS.

To the Editor of The Worker:-- I respectfully submit the following corrections of the published reports relating to my paper, entitled "The Concentration of Wealth", read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at its recent. session in New York City.

My estimate as to wealth concentration, is that one per cent of the population of the United States now own practically per cent of the entire wealth of the nat actically 90 This estimate is based upon a compila-

tion referred to by Senator Ingalls upon the 1801, to the effect that 31,100 persons then owned 56 per cent of the wealth of the na-With this a (for the purpose of this estimate) the com-putations of Dr. Chas. B. Spahr, to the effect that one per cent of our population owned, in 1890, 3i per cent of the national United States Census Bureau, to the effect that 3/100 per cent of our population then owned 20 per cent of our national wealth; as also other authorities, substantially uncontradicted at the time, showing a general agreement upon the part of statisticians that one per cent, or less than one per cent, of our population owned, in 1890, practically half the wealth of the nation. I, however, insist that in order to make these statistics (of seventeen years ago) applicable to-day, allowance must first made for the known increase, both in size and number, of the enormous fortunes re-sponsible for that condition; due in part to ordinary interest rates, but also, and espe-

length in my article.

My estimate as to indebtedness is based upon the census of 1880, giving our mortgege, bond and general indebtedness, publie and private, at that time, as \$18, lie and private, at that time, as \$18.52.5 170.546. The census of 1900 is reprehensi-bly silent upon this important subject; and, notwithstanding the excessive bonding of our corporations within this period. I have assumed that our indebtedness has in-ercased only to the same proportion as our national wealth has itself increused; bringing the total at this date to, approximately,

cially, to trust formation, railway "reor-ganization", and other causes set forth at

I then continue: "Het the stocks of our railway trust, and other corporations are expected to draw dividents, and consti-tute as truly an indebtedness upon the part of the public to the owners of wealth as do under their present enemous over-capital-zation, would-perhaps double our debt bur-den; with the power given these corpora-tions to key a tax upon the industry and property of the nation, as extorributed in extent as were the debt burden to exceed, in fact, all the actual, fangible wealth of the nation." It will be seen at a giance, an overwhelming unjority.

from that attributed to me in the reports. to the effect that this indebtedness does in fact exceed all the actual, tangible wealth of the nation.

In dispraof of this estimate, as to wenith oncentration, an enumeration is given of farms, homes, savings bank deposits, in surance policies, and even corporation stocks. In the possession of the people, while a distinguished financier disposes of niy estimate as to indebtedness, by the assertion that "a share of stock in a corporation is not a debt in the economic sense of the term; but is simply the cer-tificate of title to joint ownership in a valuable property"; and therefore concludes that this estimate is "intrinsically absurd".

But, however our financiers may settle this question to their own satisfaction, so far as the public is concerned the payment of dividends upon these stocks differs only in name from the payment of interest upon the bonds, and the public it is that pays both interest and dividends; even as it already paid for the properties themselves, besides contributing to the enormous fortunes of the financiers in control.

What, indeed, is the preponderating part of the "valuable property", of which these stocks are "a certificate of title to", but the power given these corporations to tax the public upon all its products, supplies, and public services? This it is that has already compelled the public not only to pay for the properties, but also to build up the engrmous fortunes of the exploiters of these corporations; and that now enables these financiers to recapitalize the properties at three, or even five, times their real securities", thus constitute, in fact, a first Hen, or "blanket" mortgage, upon all the property of the nation; and not until this incumbrance is "lifted" can the farmer or other citizen be said, in any true sense, to own his farm or home; nor, until theu, can any enumeration of farms or homes, as be ing "popularly owned", be considered at all lusive upon this subject, or as substantially affecting my estimate of wealth cou-Nor yet can the people be said, to an

appreciable extent, to be the proprietors of these corporations. If the wage earner has invested his hard-carned and scantily spared savings in a share of corporation stock, it is because he has been lured, as in the case of the United States Steel Corporation, into the belief that his invest-ment would be safe, as well as available in case of need. And with this well remembered exception, and perhaps two or three other operations of like character, the owners of these corporation stocks will, as a rule, he found very safely included with-in the 500,000 names, constituting the one per cent of our population designated as the -called "wealthy class", enibraced in my estimate.

Nor yet can the items of savines bank

posits, and insurance policies extant, said to argue the possession of wealth in the body of the people. The few dollars deposited in the savings bank usually constitute the sole dependence of the toller and his family against sickness, the loss of employment, or any of the thousand and one vicissitudes of life that beset the "hand-to-mouth" existence of the great body of our population; and it therefore remains, and is increased, as a precious possession; even the the debts of the depositor may exceed many thues, the small pittance deposited. So also insurance is, again, almost the sole dependence of the toller's family in case of his death; and is, therefore, taken out, and the premium paid, so long as the holder can beg or borrow a dollar, and regardless of every other obli-

gation.

In order ,then, to arrive at any just estimate as to wealth concentration, it will be necessary to place over against the farm or home and other assets of every citizen, not only his own individual liabilities; but also the proportion his property, labor, and living are compelled to bear of the ener ous overcapitalization of our trusts, rallways, and other corporations possessing monopoly, or taxing, powers. Such overcapitalization is but the capitalization of the power of these corporations to compet this contribution; and as well might we omit the mortgage upon farm or home, as to omit this item, from our estimate of the owner's solvency. Upon this, the only correct, basis of computation, my estimate, 10 per cent of our national wealth as yet remaining with the body of the people, would seem to be a gross exaggeration.

These estimates, as also the concludrawn from them, are revolutionary of ac-cepted notions; and I expect them to be bitterly assailed. As here given, however, they are, at least, what I intended to say, and am prepared to substantiate. tunately, owing to a miscarriage in the malls, I did not receive the program of the mails, I did not receive the program of the section, advising me that an abstract of my paper would be required, until the morning of the day the paper was to be read. The abstract was hastily dictated, and received from the stenographer for cor-I, however, did, almost immediately after the paper was read, take the paper liself to the press headquarters; and assured that this, instead of the abstract, won'd be made the basis of the

ports.

Hy way of personal explanation, I desire to say that I am not a member of the Socialist Party; nor in any sense its authorized spokesman. My interest in economic subjects is solely that of a student and writer; and so little desirous have I been of enrolling my name with the "would be famous", or in the archives of Who's Who in America", that practically It was because the eminent scienists, in charge of the economic section of association, were familiar with my writings, that a communication was ad dressed to me requesting me to present a see before that honorable body therefore, not an accident; and it remains for a perneal of the article itself, to determine as to whether or not it is "scientiff in basis of character.- Yours very truly, HENRY LAURENS CALL

New York, Jan. 22.

#### SOCIALISM DEBATED IN FRENCH Y. M. C. A

A debate on "Is Socialism a Danger the Community" took place Saturday, Jan. 19, in the large auditorium of the French Y. M. C. A., 109 West Firty-fourth street, and was well attended by an audience composed almost entirely of French people. The affiguative was taken by C. P. Glatz, A. Voegli and Titay and the negative by L. Bicksel, secretary of the branch, G. Monod and Pugnant Gros. The decision was given by the judge to the negative altho he is not a Socialist, and when the question was put to th audience the negative also carried by

(Continued from page 4.)

mes before us, as Schopenhauer, the German philosopher did, with a theory of suicide and advocates it because the world is a miserable place, I am not obliged to defend living. I am willing to go on and live. (Applause.) It is up to him to show that suicide is (Laughter.) I do not see, in spite of the eloquent account of the transformation of industry which has taken place in the last hundred years any movements in present society which portend the coming into exist-ence of the socialistic state devised by Marx. I do not see any indication of it. I know there are theories abroad. I know that practises in government have varied. I know that government to-day in our municipalities has en larged its functions. I know the state and federal governments are enlarging But in all this en their functions. largement and change of function I see a guaranty of the perpetuation of the present system, because the present system in these changes is adapting itself to the work in hand, and I see in these changes no indication, no prophesy of the coming of the socialistic state of Mary in which private property shall cease to exist.

#### Some Statistics.

But, says the speaker, there has been a great change. It is the era of big production, social production, and capitalistic appropriation. Well, the use of abstract terms like those is very dangerous. Many a man becomes the slave of some abstract idea or theory because he has not worked it out logically or connected it with the facts. What do you mean by the coming of big industries in this country, for stance, and displacing the individualistic system? Take our farms. I have Lefore me some statistics on the subject. I have, Mr. Chairman, in general n good deal of skepticism about figures, unless I know where they come from and who got them up. These figures come from the United States Census. Furthermore, they were prepared for me by Professor Wilcox of Cornell University who, after Dr. North, was the statistical expert of the Census Bureau. That I think will be a guaranty for the accuracy of these figures. What do they tell about the farms

of the United States? Ten million people in this country are engaged in farming. That makes one-third of the winners of the country. Do you find in the farms of the country an increasing tendency toward big scale production? (Voices: Yes, yes.)

I knew you would say that, some of you, because you assume it as a mat-ter of course. But it is wrong. I knew you would say it, because your theory would be false unless some-thing like that were true. But it is not true. Here are the facts: In 1890 there were in the United States, total farms east of the Mississippi River-I don't go beyond, where the arid country is-3,072,000. In 1900, 3,678,000. In the one case we will say in round numbers 3,000,000 and in the other case, 3,700,000. How many of these farms had 1,000 acres or more in 1890 and how many in 1900, respectively? In 1890 there were 14,708 of 1,000 acres or more. In 1900, altho the total number of farms had increased by 600,000, only 10,000 had 1,000 acres or more. Or, putting it otherwise, for farm of 1,000 acres or more in the United States in 1800 there were 209 farms smaller than that; whereas in 1900 there were 339 farms smaller than that. So far as farming is concerned, big-scale production is operative but the opposite.

That provides for 10,000,000 of our people. I see no coming or sign of the coming of the socialist state of Marx

in that condition of things. What about our manufacturing? Everybody knows what an important interest it is. Not as important as agriculture, of course, but still a very large number of people are engaged in it. One-fourth of all our breadwinners are in "manufacturing and mechanical pursuits", as the census calls it. Now, how many of these en terprises do you think are big-scale production enterprises? Well, in the first place, we have 215,000 establishments of the hand-working grade, carpenters, blacksmiths, and the like-215,000 establishments. In the nature of things they are not susceptible large-scale production. Your black smith shop, your carpenter shop, they stay as they are, small. Take, then, the manufacturers proper. How many of them employ an army of men. Well here they are: There are 296,000 man ufacturing establishments, excluding the 215,000 hand-working establish ments-in round numbers 300,000 man ufacturing establishments. How many of these employ how many men? Well dred thousand, 41,000 have no em ployees at all, being run by their owners; 125,000 have from one to four employees; 70,000 have from five to employees; 24,000 have from 21 to 51 employees: 11,000 bave from to 250 employees; 2.800 have from o 500 employees; 1,000 have from

to 1,000 employees; and 443 have 1.000 employees. How many 200,000 manufacturing establishments? 4,700,000. How many of them were in establishments having over 500 per sons? 800,000. Seventeen per cent of

# Concerning the Capitalists.

I submit, sir, in the presence of these facts, that it is very easy for gentlemen who live in large cities, like New York and Chicago, where you have uncer your eyes a few of the big manufacturing establishments of the counof New York City is the big world of the United States of America.

Now, then, the gentleman has de-scribed the feasibility of the socialistic state and the delights of it. We would all like to be living in it-as painted by the imagination, for who knows anything about the socialist state? The gentleman tells us wicked politi clans will cease from troubling there. What do you propose to do with these great captains of industry whom he regards as monsters in system, in your socialistic system?

Good for you. Good for you. I like to see every man working. It is good for them. No man has a right to live who does not work and earn his bread. (Hearty applause.)

Yes, but they will work, and work their own devices on you then as they (Applause, laughter and cries of No.)

No; you tell me no, because in our present system, with limited governmental functions, these men make and practise corruption. Do you tell me that in the socialistic state, where the functions of government are infinitely increased, these men will not have a larger field and won't utilize it and won't become your bosses worse than now? (Cries of No. no, and ap-

Oh, my friends, you are not going to changing your system of government They will be there. They, will make themselves heard, and if they whip you here with whips, there they will do it with scorpions.

#### HILLQUIT'S REPLY.

There are a few scattered remarks, adies and gentlemen, made by Dr. Schurman, which I have to dispose of before taking up the main issue.

In the first place, he states: "The present system is as old as the world: we therefore know what we are about Socialism is an idea, and the burden of proof as to its feasibility is on the Socialists." Well, I deny that the present system is as old as the world. say the present system is no more than about a century old. The present system, economically, politically, and in every other way, is a creation of very recent times. Our political institutions are new; our republics are new; our representative form of government is new; our machine production is new; our trusts, our monopolies. are new; our social relations are new they are all created within about a century. And let me tell you, ladies and gentlemen, before this present system dawned or before it was developed nobody was called upon, nor was anybody able to give an exact outline of the system as it is developed to-day.

The present capitalist system was developed within the very bosom of decaying feudal institutions, just as the Socialist system is even to-day developing within the bosom of capitalistic institutions.

#### Indications of Socialism. "We have no indications," says my

distinguished opponent, "of the ap-

proach or coming of Socialism."

sny: To whomsoever can see, there is nothing but indications of the coming of Socialism. (Applause.) Dr. Schurman will not deny the existence of a general, deep seated discontent, the social unrest, the general striving for something different, something new. What is that based upon? It is based upon this feeling, vague in some portions of the population, clear in others, that the present order of things is out lived, has ceased to be useful, produces evil, produces iniquities, and must be replaced by another system. You see no indications of the coming of Socialism? Consider our trusts; consider our monopolies; consider the numerous industries which are concentrated in the hands and under the head of a very few men, which have become organized, national in scope, the perfect examples of a socialistic method of production and administration. Consider at the same time the thousands, millions of working men all over the vorld, organized for the express purpose of introducing that system which we call Socialism-that is, the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production. Consider just this one phenomenon; that there is a movement which commenced fifty years ago, a movement which persisted all thru these fifty years, a novement that spread itself to all civilized countries of the world, growing steadily, rapidly, notwithstanding all governmental persecutions and difficulties, a movement which for the first time in history has practically destroyed all barriers between countries and races; a movement that has enlisted, between twenty-five and thirty millions of men and women under its banner. Does Dr. Schurman mean to say that a movement of that kind is not some sort of an indication in history? Does he mean to say that a movement of that kind can be born and disappear without leaving any traces behind it, without accemplishment portending the coming of the present system, and the present sysindication to-day of the coming of the Socialist system than there ever was of the coming of the present capitalist

feudal system, and we ask now in the light of after acquired wisdom, what to sell or give away the rights of the indications were there of the change of this feudal system into a more modern, more adequate system, the present system, we will say: in the try, to suppose that your little world lirst place, that certain social economic | That other famous statesman, Mr.

If we analyze the last years of the

system.

and political abuses had developed under that regime which made it impossible to continue it, and that the people became conscious of these abuses and

dissatistied with existing conditions. The Capitalist System.

And what do we have to-day? Con-sider to-day the iniquities developed by the capitalistic system within practic ally the last generation. Consider the fact that our capitalistic system has resuited in the formation of classes antagonistic to each other, constantly engaged in a warfare with each other, open or covert, expressing itself in strikes, in boycotts, in lockouts, and sometimes sanguinary contests. sider that there is a system which has developed a comparatively small number of men and women who own and control all the railroads, mines, and great industries of the country, stand between the people and the wealth, resources, and tools of the country, and grant to or withhold from them the right to live; consider this absolutely new, modern type of the multi-millionaire: consider on the other hand the also modern type of the tramp, the army of the unem-ployed with the resultant host of criminals, vagrants, prostitutes; consider the 2,000,000 children taken from the schools, taken from their playgrounds, thrust into the juggernaut of the modern factory system, their tender bodies being stunted, their unformed minds dwarfed, and they themselves developing a type of citizenship in this country inferior to all previous types; consider the fact that our home, our family, the boasted mainstay of our civilization is being broken up every day by dragging the working woman from her fireside into the factory; consider the system of industrial slaughmode of production, the half a workingmen and working women killed or maimed every year as a sacrifice to the relentless god of greed, consider all these things, and ask yourselves the question: How long will the people of this country stand for a system of this kind? Is any indication of coming Socialism? there any indication of revolt against existing conditions? I say, to the honor and in justice of American manhood and womanhood, there are strong indications of such revolt. plause.) A voice: How about the

#### As to the Farmer.

I will come to that. I will do Dr. Schurman the favor of following his method. I will, for a moment, becom scientific myself, and go back to his census figures of 1890.

In farming, he says, the process of development has not been towards big farms. Here I admit Dr. Schurman's contention. But on the farm, on the other hand, capitalist exploitation has grown tremendously. According to these very figures of 1890 fifty-three per cent of all the farmers in this country had their farms on rent or under mortgage. The mortgaged indebtedness of the farmers was no less than \$1,100,000,000. The American farmers surrendered annually equivalent of \$100,000,000 of their products to an idle, moneylending class, in the shape of rent and interest. Nor is this all.

The modern farmer is as dependent upon the railroad, the elevator, and the cold-storage house as he is upon his plow. They are his tools of produc-They are not owned by him. They are owned by the capitalist, who taxes him heavily, mercilessly, for the use of these tools of production.

In the case of the farmer the exploitation and fleecing is less direct, but by no means less effective, than in the case of the industrial workman. A very eminent authority, Professor Walker, said that deducting rents and interest the American farmer receives less than the average wageworker. And we may add to it that some times he works much harder even than his city cousin in the factory. This condition has the effect of bringing the farming class and all the 10,000,000 mentioned by Dr. Schurman, into de pendence upon the capitalist class. The farmers have to-day just as great an interest in the demand for the common ownership of the means of production in the demand for the abolition of money capital and exploitation, as have the wageworkers of this coun-

# Human Nature.

Dr. Schurman seemed to doubt that the Socialist society will be composed exclusively of angels. I must confess, I doubt it myself. L don't make that claim. If I live long enough to become a member of that society I promise to be one of the angels, but I don't make any guarantee for others. However, our claim is not based upon an expected improvement of "human natifre" under Socialism to any large extent. We do say that in a socialistic state of society, in a state of society not based upon the individual ownership of the means of production, there will be no political leaders to corrupt the government, as is done at present, or to array the government against the people. And why do we say that? We say it for the reason that from the very nature of things there will be absolutely no motive in the world for any kind of politician to do it. Do you consider for one moment that Mr. Murphy, or any other politician of the ordinary kind, is actuated by mere sheer deviltry? Do you suppose that he builds up an organization like Tammany Hall, that he has his agents to corrupt legislatures, to corrupt executives, to sell or give away franchises, people, just in order to gratify his diabolic instincts? Or do you suppose he gets a pretty good cash consideration

Richard Croker, publicly admitted, if thru its various agencies. I say that you remember, that he was working for his pocket all the time. And every other politician is doing the same.

, how, I ask, does he manage to turn the corruption into cash? And our answer is very plain. As long as our industries are owned, managed, operated for individual gain, in competition with other individuals, the individual capitalist will always have certain favors to ask from government. Our street cars need franchises; our railroads, our insurance companies and a certain kind and are afraid of another kind of legislation, and they are always ready to pay for franchises for favorable legislation, or for blocking unfavorable legislation. I ask you if society, itself in any particular form of organization owns these industries owns these street cars and railroads, how will society pay itself, its repre sentatives in the legislature, or any body else, any cash consideration for the purpose of passing any acts of the legislature affecting these industries? (Hearty applause.).

I am informed I have only five minutes more, and in those five minutes I will endeavor to sum up our position on the subject of the debate

#### Individualism.

I expected Dr. Schurman to say a little more about individualism. He not having done so, I will say some-thing about it. I must rise in defense of individualism which was sorely neglected in this debate. It seems to me our subject for debate was a little misleading. There is no antagonism be tween Socialism and Individualism, as the subject would imply. I claim that the only genuine individualists are the Socialists (Applause.) I claim that those who ordinarily call themselves individualists, the upholders of the present order, are not in fact individu-

We speak very often about the conflicting interests of the individual and the state, or the superior interests of the individual to those of the state. What do we mean by that? The state, as such, has no existence. The state as such, as an abstract entity or idea, has no interests. What we mean by the superiority of the individual to the state is the superiority of one individual over the aggregation of citizens represented by the state. The superiority of one to the many, the superi ority of the minority to the majority. That is the principle upon which the present order of things, present civilization is based

We Socialists, on the other hand, demand the absolute individual liberty of every citizen, so far as compatible with the individual liberty of others. We demand absolutely equal opportunity for every individual to develop all that is best and noblest in him, unhampered by any artificial re-straints, unhampered by conditions of economic servitude. We charge the present system, the capitalist system, with having destroyed the individuality of the citizen. We claim that the aggregation of millions of workingmen under similar conditions of labor, tied down to the same monotonous ma chine work day after day, leading the same bleak, colorless existence, dwelling in the same monotonous houses we claim that this mode of existence tends to convert our entire working population into one homogeneous, gray mass of people, without distinction or individuality of any kind. And we claim that individual liberty to-day has become a hollow phrase and no more than a hollow phrase. We claim for the majority of the population it does not exist. We claim that so far as the workingman is concerned, and the farmer as well, all his computation, all his life, his dwelling, his dress every manifestation of his individual and social life, are forced upon him by iron necessity. There is no individualism-no true, no genuine individualism-under the present system. A real, true individualism can be realized only under a system of equal opportunities, under Socialism.

# SCHURMAN'S CLOSING.

Ladies and gentlemen: It is true that in the seventies and eightles young men went out to the western countries and took up farms, and, having no money, mortgaged them. It is true that thru a succession of drouths and other ill experiences there were many farm mortgages in 1890. It is also true that since 1890 the mortgages are being paid off rapidly. Cor nell University had a million dollars invested in farm mortgages in Kansas and Nebraska at six per cent. in the nineties. We cannot invest a dollar there to-day. They themselves have become capitalists. They have paid off their debts.

As to the socialistic state, let me say this: If men sought only money, then the analysis given by Mr. Hillquit, proving the impossibility of corruption in the socialistic state, would be tenable; but the great quest of men i not for money. It is for power, and money is a means to power. If, now, you won't allow men who, in our pre sent system, become great captains of industry and millionaires, to enjoy their private property, their enterprise, then their ability will be turned in other directions, and owing to the vast extension of governmental functions contemplated in the socialistic state they will become bosses of such a col ossal magnitude that the most terrific boss we know of to-day will be but a pigmy in comparison (Applause.).

But I am reminded, in closing, of the situation in which we stand. Socialism comes before us as a cure for the evils of the present system. What are the great evils of the present system? What are the great evils unde which we labor? Cannot I say that the two greatest are monopolistic oppression of the public and corruption and of government in its various forms and gram.

the first evil which, it seems to me, the system of big production has made possible, is monopolistic oppres with regard to some of the necessities, comforts, or luxuries of life. But need we adopt a socialistic system, or need we have the socialistic state, in order

to secure the remedy? (A voice: Yes.) No. We are correcting it. What has been the greatest engine of oppression of the public? The railways Did not congress by the act passed last year provide a remedy for that? not the government, representing you and me and the people, the right to fix fair rates. That is the policy for which President Roosevelt, representing the people, works. And that is the

policy which prevails. And so far as the second evil is con cerned, corruption of government and agents of government by great cor-porations, or by wealthy individuals, is not the remedy within our own hands? This is a democracy This is America. This is a country where the people govern. Let the people rise. Let the people say that corruption shall cease. Let the people say that public immorality shall be no more, and we will see the end of it.

America, Mr. Chairman, is another name for opportunity. Ours is a great experiment in the history of the world, a republican government standing for individual rights, individual liberties, the guarantles of law and of the con stiution. Here, of all places in the world, young men have a chance to Wage earners have a chance to rise. Let us see to it that this glorious republic, which we received from our fathers, is handed down, with laws and constitution intact, to our children so that America, which has been land of opportunity for us, may also be a land of opportunity for them.

Three cheers for the Republic!

#### THE TSAR'S VICTIMS.

ST. PETERSBURG, Jan. 17.-Statistics were published to-day regarding the political repression during the year 1906. They show that 1,252 perwere sentenced to death for polltical or revolutionary crimes, 2,029 were condemned to servitude in the 186 were sent to Siberia for life, 5,945 were imprisoned, a total of 9.412. In addition, 563 newspapers were suspended, and 732 responsible editors were prosecuted. This does not include those arrested and punished by "administrative process"; if these could be known, they would add hundreds or thousands to the list of victims.

The number of persons who suffered in pogroms and in the suppression of strikes and street demonstrations is estimated at more than 22,000, whom perhaps one-third were killed and the others more or less seriously

Practically the whole territory of the Empire is now under martial law in one or other of its three forms.

The number of government agents killed or wounded in reprisal by the revolutionists is stated as follows High officials, 114; minor officials, 123 policemen of all kinds, 834; army offi-

ers, 109; soldiers, 750; total, 1,930. To show the necessity for the revival of terrorist methods, it is enough to state that Colonel Ermoloff, the police official who in cold blood shot Dr. Vorobleff for having given medical a tention to persons wounded during the fusillades in the streets of Moscow, instead of being punished by the gov ernment, was promoted to a good place in the service in St. Petersburg; and that this was not an exceptional case, but a perfectly typical one.

# SUPPRESSING ELECTION RETURNS.

ST. PETERSBURG, Jan. 29.-It was learned to-day that the government news bureau is printing two sets tribution to officials, the other for public circulation. The latter bulletin have not mentioned the election of a single Constitutional Democratic, Social Democratic or Social Revolutioningmen; they report Monarchist and Moderate returns. It will be impossible to get accurate returns of the elections before the receipt of independent reports by mail.

#### SOCIALIST MEMBER OF CHILEAN CONGRESS SENT TO PRISON:

In all the twenty-one national legisatures of the Western Continent there is only one Socialist member. Last year Luis E. Recabarren, a printer and a Socialist, was elected to repre sent Antofagasta in the Congress of From "La Vanguardia", the Socialist paper of Buenos Ayres, Argentina, we learn that Comrade Recabarren has been sentenced to 541 days of imprisonment for "contempt of authority". It is hoped that the result will be to bring a larger Socialist delegation into the next Congress.

# DEMAND THE ABOLITION OF

COURT-MARTIAL IN ENGLAND. Under the auspices of the Social Democratic Federation a demonstration was held in Trafalgar, London last Sunday, to demand the release of the stokers in the naval service who were recently sentenced by courtat Portsmouth to varying terms of imprisonment for a mutinos protest against the brutal and insolent conduct of the officers, and also to de mand the abolition of courts martial in time of peace.

-March of improvement goes steadily onward. One railroad now has a hospital car. Only a matter of time when every train will have one and carry along a life insurance agent and an undertaker.—Evening Tele-

#### A SERIOUS OBJECTION.

An Eminent Physician and "Friend o Defect in Pure Food Law.

Roland B. Grom of Newark, N. J. who is in the chemical trade, reports that he attended a meeting of the American Chemical Society in New York City, Jan. 11, the subject unde discussion being the "Pure Food" Bill. He says:

"I attended the meeting with the view of learning something about this peculiar new law, for as a Socialist, I view with suspicion any bill passed for the protection (?) of the common herd by their (?) representatives in lightened on the subject, the whole discussion consisting more or less of the "hurt our commercial interests."
"The repetition of this phrase, mon-

otonous as it grew to be, could be endured. The part of the proceedings that caused me to make this report. was furnished by the illustrious Dr M. D. Foster of the College of Physicians and Surgeons."

"This safe and sane pillar of so ciety, free-born and sovereign American citizen and probably friend of the workingman," agreed with all previous speakers that the pure food law was good, alright, etc. He had only one objection. Namely, that this new law would deprive the working class of this country of the opportunity of buying cheap food products'

"In other words, Dr. Foster laments the fact that the working people, our class, is to be deprived of the opportunity of imbibling such health producing and muscle building substances as sulphurous acid, benzoic acid, salicylic acid, and various aniline dyes and coloring matter.

"However, inasmuch as the new pure food law is but the reenactment of a somewhat similar law, passed several years ago, and that at the meeting last evening several methods for out. I do not think that either Dr. Foster or we, the working class, need have any fear that our stomachs will be compelled to digest any 'pure food.'

"Anyhow, Dr. Foster should have more confidence in his class, the capitalist class, than to think even for one moment, that they ever did, or do now, contemplate taking away the opportunity of the working class to purchase poisoned food products."

#### PRIVATE OWNERSHIP HINDERS DEVELOPMENT.

The same as the feudal lord, a hundred years ago, so has the capitalist of to-day became a hindrance to the further development of mankind. Private ownership in the implements of labor has long ceased to secure to each producer the product of his labor, and to guarantee him his freedom. day, on the contrary, society is rapidly drifting to the point where the whole population of capitalist nations will be deprived of both property and freedom. Thus, what was once the foundation of society itself, the means originally intended to stimulate the development of the productive powers that were latent in society, have now turned into a master-key that forces society, in an ever increasing degree, to squander and waste its productive powers. Thus, the system of private property in the instruments of production has wholly lost its original character; it has become a curse, not only to the small producer, but to the whole of society; instead of being a spur to social develop ment, it has become the cause of social decline and impending bankruptcy.-Karl Kautsky.

# THE HONEYCOMB AND THE BEE

It would be unwise to interfere with the working bees: better allow them to continue gathering houey during their lives.—Andrew Carnegfe, in the "North American Review". Working, working, working bee, Gather, gather, gather hone Gather it in lumps for me! (Doesn't Itssound very funny?) Let me boss your busy hive— Work the "organizing" racket;

And the profit I derive From your labor I will whack it. Prithee, Busy Bee, push on

With your work, and don't be sparing; Work like an automaton, And I'll do the profit-sharing. Here's my system: All to me,
Whilst you pouch what's then remaining;
I'll throw in a library,
With some books the game explaining.

Itless the gods that I exist. With my equity and learning-Andrew the Philanthropist!— Thank me for what I'm returning While my breast with goodness wells, Let me air my knowledge humble:

In the honeycomb are cells—
This is one. I hope you "tumble".
—Bezique, in London Clarion.

#### POVERTY IN DRESDER. In an article in one of the German

Socialist Party papers describing the pitiful condition of poverty existing among the working people in Dresden. the capital of Saxony, it is said that an appeal to the councillors to furnish free food for poor children in the schools was laughed to scorn. Even two years ago, some 3,400 children in that city went hungry to school, either entirely without breakfast or with insufficient nourishment.

—Says a despatch from Denver:
"The Colorado Legislature met in joint session and elected Simon Guggenheim of the Smelter Trust United States Senator. There was no enthusiasm when the announcement of the vote was made." Of course not. It's a mistake to say that money talks. Capital is really very shy.—Evening Telegram.

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# FRENCH SOLDIERS DISAFFECTED.

"L'Humanité" reports serious discontent among the Garde Republi-caine in Paris. In one of the barracks recently the men refused to perform certain duties to which they were ordered and sang the "Internationale", with special emphasis on the lines calling on soldiers to fraternize with the working classs. They hooted the officer who attempted to enforce the order in the usual peremptory manuer, and the disturbance ceased only when he adopted a more concillatory tone. The conservative papers kept silence about the matter and the soldiers were

not punished. See our premium offer on our

fourth page.