

EXCLUDE JAPS, HINDUS, CHINESE, KOREANS, SAYS BIG SOCIALIST REPORT

Congress Committee Takes Issue with International Platform on Knotty Problem

Officers of the congress to... Chairman—James F. C... Secretary—George E. Roe... Sergeant-at-Arms—Charles...



MORRIS HILLQUIT

NO HOPE OF MINE PEACE; A. GERMER

Official of Illinois Union Shows How Bosses Trick Men and Break Law

BY ADOLPH GERMER (Secretary-Treasurer District No. 6, United Mine Workers.)

The coal mining situation in Illinois is becoming more critical every day. Whatever hope existed a short time ago for getting a settlement is gone.

What Blocks Settlement? Two other matters stand in the way of agreement: (1) The operators refuse to advance the mining rates in northern and southern Illinois to a competitive basis with the other sections of the state.

Trap Is Laid The further question was asked: "If such an agreement were reached and in course of its fulfillment the union should call out its members to force an operator to join the operators' association, would the Illinois Coal Operators' association bear any part of court costs arising from suits for damages against the union by such operator or any part of any damages that might be granted such operator?"

Some Try to Be Fair There are a number of individual operators who show a disposition to be fair, but the larger interests hold the smaller fry under their thumbs and prevent a settlement.

NOTICE Today's paper is the first of the Special Issues dealing with the Socialist Congress.

SOCIALISTS IN BIG CONGRESS MAP OUT WORK

"This Is a Conference," Says Hillquit, and Business Is Taken Up

EVENTS THAT HAPPEN DURING THE CONGRESS

TUESDAY Sessions of the congress, morning and afternoon, at the Masonic Temple. Banquet to be given in honor of the delegates at King's restaurant, Fifth avenue, between Washington and Madison streets.

WEDNESDAY Sessions of the congress, morning and afternoon, at the Masonic Temple.

BY J. L. ENGDALH With the "Milwaukee victory" in the immediate past and the hope of conquering the nation in the near future, the first national congress of the Socialist party of the United States has gathered in the city under auspicious circumstances.

The opening session on Sunday at the Masonic Temple was typical of the added responsibility which has been assumed by the only representative political party of the working class in the United States.

Is a Conference "I want to remind you, comrades, that this is not a convention, but a conference," said Chairman Morris Hillquit of New York, as the gathering was getting down to work.

From coast to coast the spirit of solidarity was manifest in the gathering of the delegates. Only in California was brought to the congress in a protest against the seating of a delegation from that state.

Pathway Is Clear This leaves the pathway clear for deliberations that will enable the delegates to determine on a solution of the problems that confront the Socialist party in order to enable it to further carry its message to the non-Socialist workers of the land.

Meeting Called to Order The big gathering was called to order shortly before noon, Sunday, by National Secretary J. Mahlon Barnes before a large gathering of Chicago Socialists and visitors who crowded the big hall on the seventeenth floor of the Masonic Temple.

Thanks Tendered "Comrade Fraenkel, on behalf of this convention, I wish to extend the thanks of the convention to the Carpenters' union of Chicago and promise you to wield the gavel with discretion and probably with some force, if necessary," said Chairman Hillquit, in receiving the hammer.

Here to Deliberate "We are here as a deliberative body, and I believe that if the comrades will bear that in mind all through we will be able to accomplish the task and fulfill the trust imposed upon us by our constituents."

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LABOR FIGHTS COURT WRIT KILLING POWER OF THE CLOSED SHOP

Blow Aimed at Street Car Men Is Met Squarely by Unionists; Briefs Rushed to Springfield

SIDE LIGHTS IN THE WAR ON THE STREET CAR MEN

"It is unnecessary, in this case, to consider the effect of malice on what would otherwise be a justification of the defendants' acts because their threats were made not out of any ill will toward the complainants or to inflict loss on them, but for the purpose of strengthening their union."

Speaking of the strike authorized by vote of 241, to enforce the closed shop agreement with the Chicago Railways Company, the majority opinion signed by Judges Chytrous and Smith, says: "The controversy here involved is not between an employer and employee. It is in no sense a dispute between capital and labor. It is a controversy between the employees of the same employer—a few individual workmen, complainants on one hand, and a large and powerful combination of workmen on the other hand."

Such strike is with right, and legal. When our organization is broken they will start in on other crafts."—Michael Buckley, president Division 269 Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees.

UNION MAN IS SHOT AT

Scab Baker Draws Revolver and Fires at Picket on Duty

The strike between the baker bosses and the Polish branch of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' union has developed into open war, shooting by scabs being a common occurrence at the scab shops.

Make False Charges The police, in their efforts to find some means of incriminating the strikers, do not hesitate to make ridiculous charges and follow up the fabrications with Russian police methods.

Striker in Hard Position If the matter had not been brought to the attention of the union the strikers would have been carted off to the bridewell, as he was unable to pay the fine and was unable to defend himself.

Union machines are at every stand in the down town district. There are very few non-union autos in operation. The officers of the Automobile Transportation headquarters, 244 Michigan avenue, stated that they had fifty machines in operation.

TAX STRIKERS GAINING GROUND The association is carrying strike breakers free of charge to and from the Cosmopolitan Electric company, where a strike has been declared.

Continued on Page Three

SEC. BARNES IN PARTY RECORD

REPORT TELLS PARTY RECORD

Events Since National Convention Are Reviewed; Great Prospects for the Future

Notes—The accompanying report by J. Mahlon Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist party of the United States, was read to the national congress late Sunday afternoon.

Decision in March The decision, which is intended to wipe out the closed shop, was handed down by the Branch Appellate court for the First district of Illinois in the March term.

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a suit by a "bill in equity" to "enjoin and restrain" Division 241 and its members from making work for the Chicago Railway company; and

Some Satisfactory Advice "Whereas, in this decision Judge Fred A. Smith and Axel Chytrus, as a majority of the court, gratuitously stated: "It will be seen from the foregoing authorities that the law has the same mandate for the rich and poor; for the corporation and the individuals; for the manufacturer and the laborer and the labor unions. It is no respecter of persons. The freedom and dignity of labor lies at the very foundation of our institutions. The right to labor existed before governments were formed. Hence the jealous and scrupulous care manifested in all the judgments of courts to guard and protect the freedom of the inalienable right of the individual to labor. IT IS OBTAIN ALL THE PROPERTY HE HAS. His right to it and to dispose of it when and where he pleases is guaranteed to him by the fundamental law of our government; yet

Freedom and Dignity "Whereas, it is impossible to reconcile a sincere belief that the freedom and dignity of labor lies at the very foundation of our institutions, with a right to refuse to quit employment when the employer violates the terms of a contract by retaining non-members of the union, to work with members of a union; it is therefore

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with their employment but on account of the resignation of complainants from the union and a strike is inaugurated against the employer to compel or coerce him to discharge an employe unless such employe will become a member of the union or to force the employe against his will to join the union, such strike is without right and illegal and the rights of such employe are unlawfully interfered with and he has a right of action for all losses directly resulting from such action. The chancellor below erred in sustaining the demurrer to the amended and supplemental bill and dismissing the bill for want of equity."

To Break Our Union "It is an effort to break up our union," said Buckley. "We have a strong organization. It cost effort and pain to build it up. If they crush us they will have made a good start and will attack the other trades. That's all it means; it's an effort to break us and then go after the rest of you."

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WHEN THE DOORS WERE OPENED



THERE WAS A SCRAMBLE FOR ADMISSION

TAFT EXPLAINS AWAY INCIDENT

Steps Into Investigation Arena to Defend the "Lawler Draft" Boston, Mass., May 16.—As the Massachusetts legislature is about to adjourn, the work of the Socialist representative, Charles H. Morrill, in the lower house, stands out prominently for review.

Convention Notes BY J. L. E. Milwaukee Papers Interested The capitalist newspapers of Socialist Milwaukee are very much interested in the convention, sending their starlets to cover the proceedings.

GREETINGS OF MRS. DORA B. MONTEFIORE TO THE CONGRESS Comrade Chairman and Comrades: First of all I will thank you for the honor you have done me in giving me a seat on the floor of this most interesting conference.

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DEBATE RIGHTS OF SOCIALIST ALIENS IN U. S.

Power to Have Special Delegates at Party Conventions Comes Up

Efforts on the part of the foreign-speaking delegates to gain recognition at the hands of the national congress marked the early hours of the meeting of that gathering. Indications are that the delegates from these organizations will contest every move on the floor of the congress to win the right which they claim is necessary to the better propagation of Socialism among their peoples.

London Asks Ruling "I want a ruling on the question whether delegates from foreign-speaking organizations may be members of the committee," he said. "In my opinion they should be members."

Cannot Read English Delegate I. Klawier, of the Polish section, then took the discussion. "It is not a question of having a double vote or a double voice at this convention," he said. "As a matter of fact, a good many foreign-speaking organizations are interested in the Socialist party, but are not participating in the work of the party, for the simple reason that referendums are sent out in the English language, when these people cannot read the English language and have no idea of the referendums."

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Rubbert A BARGAIN FOR WOMEN

Here's your chance to get your summer shoes at a great big reduction in price. I have a large assortment of the handsomest kind of ladies' low shoes--shoes that formerly sold at four, five and six dollars--and were good values at those prices.

YOU CAN NOW TAKE YOUR CHOICE \$2.85 OF THESE SHOES AT \$2.85

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Rubbert

Socialist Books

The largest Socialist book publishing house in the world is right here in Chicago. Come and see us. One block north of the river, half a block west of Clark street.

We have a few special bargains that will not last, for example:

- Seven volumes of the International Socialist Review, cloth binding, \$3.50; expressage, 15c. Turgenyev's Novels, 3 volumes, \$3.00; expressage, 75c. Spargo's Socialism, last edition, publishers' price, \$1.50; our price, \$1.00; postage, 10c. Whitman's Poetical Works, 40c; postage, 10c. Darwin's Origin of Species, 40c; postage, 10c. Selections from Fourier's Writings, cloth, 25c; postage, 5c. Biology of English Politics, cloth, 25c; postage, 5c. The English Republic, cloth, 25c; postage, 5c.

The May International Socialist Review (pages 1032-1035) offers a clear, definite suggestion for a platform on which the Socialist party can unite. Send a dollar for a new yearly subscription to the Review and we will mail you sixty of the best Socialist propaganda books ever written, all different.

Charles H. Kerr & Company 118 WEST KINZIE ST., CHICAGO

lish comrades and Polish comrades and others worked on our state referendum in choosing representatives here.

"I see no reason why double representation should be given to those who are paying dues in regular fashion.

"I want to inquire for information of the comrades who are urging this, has the Socialist party as it has been constituted ever opposed propositions relating to methods of propaganda among foreign-speaking peoples in this country?

No Idle Opposition "As I understand it, there has never been any opposition to well-considered plans for propaganda among these people. There has never been in Wisconsin, and so far as I know, not in any other state.

"I want to emphasize this point: The Socialist party is a political party, organized for political action, and as such I think we are justified in insisting upon unity of methods throughout.

"I do not wish to bring Milwaukee too much to the front, but we know a little about propaganda and effective propaganda in Milwaukee, and it seems to me it goes forward pretty well when it goes forward as a unit.

"We have various nationalities, and we find a way to work together. I do not see why that should not be done here. I do not see why it would not be better for the foreign comrades to have their representation in the regular channels and through the regular forms. I believe it makes far unity."

Delegate G. T. Franckel of Illinois said: "The question of foreign-speaking organizations participating in the work of the Socialist party of the United States is one of the questions that must be determined by this congress.

"There will be no solution until the Socialist party of the United States will recognize the fact that unless the foreign Socialist organizations of the United States shall have such a position in this organization as they ought to have according to their position and their numbers.

Never Recognized "We have never recognized the position of the foreign organizations in the United States. One of the reasons was that a good many of them are scattered throughout the United States, in lumber camps, in railroad camps and in several other departments of human activity in America, where the average English-speaking Socialist does not see what is going on all around.

"I heartily agree with the foreign-speaking Socialists' position at this congress.

"We have foreigners all over the country who are known as English-speaking people, whereas here in Chicago and in other big industrial cen-

ters at least 50 per cent, if not more, are foreign-speaking Socialists.

SOCIALISTS AT WORK

MISSISSIPPI IS READY FOR WORK

Industrial Workers Backward but Farmers Hail Socialism's / proach

BY SUMNER W. ROSE (Written for the Daily Socialist) Biloxi, Miss., May 10.—Mississippi is largely an agricultural state, and trade unions are not numerous, although there are a few.

Labor Will Awaken I cannot say that so far as the trade unions go they are enthusiastically in favor of Socialism. I believe, as a mass, the unions of Mississippi have given little attention to the Socialist movement. That they will awaken from their lethargy, however, I fully believe.

Never Have Empty Benches The towns are harder to get a hearing in, though the speaker never has exactly empty benches, even in the most hide-bound place that he may land in this commonwealth of sage, cotton, corn and sweet potatoes.

Elect Socialist to Council Here in Biloxi we polled 38 votes last election, but now the movement has taken such a hold that even many of those outside our party are predicting that the Socialists will win part of the city council in the election that takes place next December.

Need an Organizer Our organization is not recognized by the national committee, nor can it be, as we have not sufficient dues-paying members. Were we able to put out a good organizer this could be speedily remedied.

Neither workmen nor farmers in this state are very prosperous at present. In fact, they are just the opposite. What with high prices on what they have to buy, low prices on what they have to sell, and a rapid hardening of the steel walls of "hard times," those who create the wealth of the world are beginning to recognize their class interests, and they are becoming eager to hear the gospel of Socialism explained.

How to get to them with a message is still one of the unexplained problems, as without organization it is hard to raise any considerable amount of money, and at this date Mississippi is a state without organization.

We are hoping for any plan that will result in the organization of every state still unorganized.

DELEGATES ARE ENTERTAINED

A delightful reception was tendered the delegates to the national Socialist conference Saturday night at the home of Mrs. Anna Hulbert, 6159 Monroe avenue. About seventy-five delegates attended and the evening was given to getting acquainted and renewing old acquaintances. There is a place in the movement for such gatherings, and the one held Saturday night was most satisfactory in every respect.

Among other features, happy and opportune speeches were made to those present by three prominent women Socialists—Mila Tipper Maynard, Lena Morrow Lewis and Marion Craig Wentworth.

SCAB SHOOTS AT UNION MAN

detectives, who do not hesitate to throw their clubs or shoot. The band headed by Kristian is said to be a part of the Baxter Baker's association, of which about 500 have signed up, but this is not credited.

JUSTICE AIDS WAGE EARNER

BY A. W. MANOE (Staff Correspondent) Milwaukee, Wis., May 16.—An attitude of human fellowship toward the wage earner in the Socialist courts saved the small earnings of a laborer from being garnished.

FOREST PARK

Ladies and children admitted free. Wash. St. entrance. Concerts daily by the orchestra. Mat. 2, Chicago av., Madison or 18th St. gate

TEXAS FARMERS ARE SOCIALISTS

Debt System and Other Burdens Drive Rural Workers Into Poverty

BY NAT L. HARDY (Written for the Daily Socialist) Colorado, Texas, May 18.—West Texas from present indications will be put on the Socialist map at the next election in bright red colors.

Will Elect Socialists Many counties are nominating county tickets and present indications are that a number of Socialists will be elected to various offices in San Angelo, the largest town in this part of the state.

Four Nights' Debate At Crowell a four nights' debate was held in the Opera house between W. L. Thurman, one of the most logical thinkers in the Socialist movement in the Southwest, and the Rev. G. G. Hamilton, a Methodist minister.

Simpson for County Judge In Mitchell county the Socialists have nominated a full county ticket with A. N. Simpson for county judge. Comrade Simpson is at present a farmer, but has spent many years as a teacher in the public schools.

Farmers in this section are mostly tenants or living on mortgaged farms. Crops have been very bad for a year or two and the farmers are badly in debt. They are very rapidly getting in a very revolutionary state of mind.

Chains of Debt System The farmers here were once well organized into the Farmers' union and have a number of co-operative gins and warehouses, but the debt system keeps the farmers where they can do nothing in the way of holding their crops for higher prices, etc.

The Farmers' Journal, a Socialist paper published at Abilene, Texas, has recently changed its name and changed its policy from a general propaganda paper to a party organ, devoting more space to the news of the party in the state.

Surely the farmers are waking up. The physician placed the bill in the hands of a collection agency, which garnished the man's wages. The laws of the state provide that if a man earns \$50 a month or less he is exempt from the garnishment action.

The man working for the Pennsylvania Coal and Supply company, earns only \$38 a month. He broke a casting in the shop, for which he was "doctored" \$14. This forced him to fall behind in the payment of a doctor bill of \$12.50.

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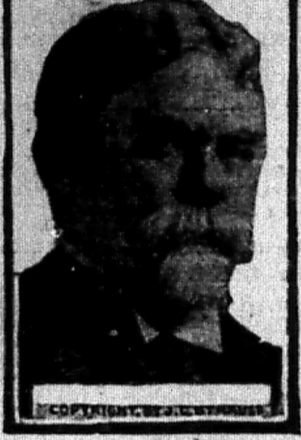
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FOE OF LABOR DIES



The Late James Wallace Van Cleave, Maker of Unfair Stoves

St. Louis, Mo., May 16.—James Wallace Van Cleave is dead, his death being attributed partly to the worry and anxiety caused with his bitter fight against organized labor. It will be remembered that Van Cleave was president of the National Association of Manufacturers. During his occupancy of this office and in conjunction with a detective named Turner of Cleveland he laid plans to disrupt the iron molders' union at the Bucks Stove and Range company. Letters showing this conspiracy were brought to President Gompers of the A. F. of L. after a boycott of the Bucks Stove and Range company had been declared, following labor trouble. The plan of Van Cleave was to gradually cause friction among the iron molders employed in that plant, and when the opportune time should come these union men were to be displaced by non-union men. The conspiracy was noted before it was consummated and the whole publicity strength of the A. F. of L. was called into action.

The Bucks Stove and Range company was declared unfair and the boycott was far reaching. Naturally Van Cleave turned to the courts and Justice Gould of the District of Columbia granted an injunction against the A. F. of L.

Refusing to pay any attention to the injunction, Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison were sentenced to jail sentences by Justice Wright of the District of Columbia, which sentence was sustained first by the Supreme court of the district and is now before the Supreme court of the United States.

Although fought desperately by hundreds of citizens, soldiers and forest rangers since early Sunday morning, a forest fire four miles wide has been slowly nearing Bemidji from the south.

At midnight, after a thousand volunteer fighters had gathered for a last desperate stand at the big state road, a few drops of rain fell from an apparently clouding sky, and hope filled the breasts of the men.

Lumber Yards Peril Source The big lumber yards of the Shevlin and Weyerhaeuser companies are still a source of imminent peril, and the big piles of timbers there are being guarded day and night.

Firebrands, the size of flaming sticks, drop in hardly visible myriads, passing through the dense and most suffocating forest. The lumber and surrounding forest, have been wet down, but some small fires have been discovered just in time to save the yards.

As the yards immediately adjoin the many frame houses in which mill employes live, the business and other resident districts of the city through these highly inflammable trains have been in constant danger.

At least 3,000 volunteers from as far east as Duluth were available at an early hour this morning.

CITIES PERILED; PEOPLE PRAY

(By United Press Associations) Merrill, Wis., May 16.—The most disastrous forest fire in the history of northern Lincoln county is raging in the vicinity of Dudley, Jeffries Junction, Parrish and Harrison. Large tracts of valuable timber land are being destroyed.

At Parrish the entire mill crew of a lumber company succeeded in saving the town. Now efforts are being made to save the village of Elm City.

Women and Children Pray Bemidji, Minn., May 16.—Women and children are praying in the churches of Bemidji for rain or some other act of nature to save them, their husbands and fathers and their homes from impending catastrophe.

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SEEK TO SHUT OUT JAPANESE

(Continued from page 1)

of the standard of life which frequently results from the mass import of unorganized workmen.

"We believe that this statement applies with peculiar force to conditions in the United States. If it be admitted that the working class of each nation has first to settle matters with its own ruling class; if it be furthermore admitted that by defending the immediate interests of the working class we are taking care of the ultimate ideals of the future, and if it be finally admitted that the principles of national autonomy prevents the international congresses of the Socialist party from laying down specific rules for the carrying out of the general principles recognized as valid by all Socialists, then we may well concede the right of the International Congress to declare that it sees no proper solution of the difficulties in the exclusion of definite races and nations from immigration."

"For this reason we are convinced that we are fully justified in endorsing every demand made and position taken by the International Congress in its resolution on immigration and emigration, with the exception of those passages which refer to specific restrictions or to the exclusion of definite races or nations.

Not Fruitless "We do not believe that such measures are necessarily 'fruitless and reactionary,' as stated by the International Congress, but, on the contrary, are convinced that any measures which do not conform to the immediate interests of the working class of the United States are fruitless and reactionary.

"Such a measure of measures would place the Socialist party in opposition to the most militant and intelligent portion of the organized and unorganized workers of the United States, those whose assistance is indispensable to the purpose of elevating the Socialist party to political power.

"We have no special recommendations to make that would enlarge upon the general position on immigration and emigration taken by the International Congress in its Stuttgart resolution. But the present conditions in the United States compel us to make an important exception in the matter of immigration."

This exception refers altogether to the mass immigration of Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and Hindus to the United States. We advocate the unconditional exclusion of these races, not as races per se—not as peoples with definite physiological characteristics,—but for the evident reason that these peoples occupy definite portions of the earth which are so far behind the general modern development of industry, psychology, as well as economically, that they constitute a drawback, an obstacle and menace to the progress of the most aggressive, militant and intelligent elements of our working class population."

"The larger and more powerful elements of our ruling class, the great capitalists, the real and effective opponents of the militant working class, are the real beneficiaries of immigration from these countries, and being well aware that these emigrants are accustomed to a much lower standard of living, and do not easily assimilate with the other elements of our population, we encourage the immigration of these people to a point where it becomes an effective competitor against the progressive elements of the working class, serves to lower their standard of living, and constitutes itself a formidable factor in perpetuating division among the workers by subordinating class issues to racial antagonisms, and thus tends to prolong the system of capitalist exploitation. For this reason the exclusion laws already on the statute books are not only not enforced, but are made largely inoperative by the influence of the powerful interests which desire that this immigration shall continue.

Was Vain Attempt "It is true that this legislation was passed mainly by the influence of the middle class in its vain struggle to avoid political and economic extinction, but it has so happened that this legislation promotes the interests of the working class rather than those of its originators. The exclusion of the above mentioned peoples does not prevent the disintegration of the middle classes, but it does, on the other hand, assist the workers by lessening unemployment, maintaining the standard of living, minimizing the number of possible strikes, and lessening the various race problems which tend to confuse and divert the working class in its struggle for its final emancipation.

"In view of the already existing race problem bequeathed to this country by former chattel slavery, every mass immigration of peoples referred to inevitably tends to add to and intensify race issues and relegate the class war to the rear by weakening the economic and political labor organizations and substituting an Asiatic middle class with a lower standard of living than the American. The continuity of such mass immigration would undoubtedly prolong the life of capitalism and constitute a most formidable factor in retarding and relegating to the far distant future the realization of our social ideals.

"Just as emphatically as we insist on the exclusion of the races named above, so we on the other hand insist that our position shall not be construed as applicable to those immigrants of other races and nations who have behind them a long history of faithful service in the struggle of the working class, and which contain most valuable revolutionary elements, such as recorded here in our common conflict with the exploiting classes. Especially does this exception refer to immigrant Jews from all countries, who through long centuries of association, not only in struggles against race oppression, but in the general labor struggle, have become an integral and essential part of the world's revolutionary forces.

"Also it is to be distinctly understood that we are in full agreement with the position taken by the international congresses, which demand freedom of immigration and emigration for all political refugees regardless of their race and nationality.

"The committee has arrived at this conclusion after several years of careful study of all available data. So far as he time limits of this convention permit, individual members of this committee are prepared to state the general and specific reasons that have led them to the position taken in this report.

Data on Hand "We would, however, call attention to the fact that an enormous amount of data has been accumulated in this question, an amount which precludes the presentation of anything more than a general conclusion. We would recommend in addition that this mass of data be arranged systematically with a view to publication in book form for the education of the party membership on this complicated and important question.

"Finally, we recommend the continuation of this committee with the same members or others, as the convention may decide, for the general opinion of this committee is that this question is in no sense exhausted, and that new and peculiar phases of it appear from year to year, which imperatively demand attention."

LABOR FOES IN A COIN GRAB

Ship Subsidy Wanted by Those Who Crush Unions (By Pan-American Press) Washington, D. C., May 16.—In the investigation of the methods of the Merchant Marine league's campaign for the ship subsidy measure, evidence has been produced before the house committee hearings, which shows that the United States Steel corporation is practically responsible for the league's existence and the "popular demand" for government gold to aid in a great ship-building scheme.

Union Busters It was also shown that the principal agitators for ship subsidies were a gang of union busters and scab herders. Among the witnesses summoned, who acknowledged membership in the league, were the president of the Lake Carriers' association, William Livingston, and its attorney, Harvey D. Goulder. In the course of their testimony it was shown that the principal and most important member of the association is the Pittsburgh Steamship company, one of the subsidiary corporations of the United States Steel Corporation.

Step by step it was dragged from the unwilling witnesses that a paper called the American Flag had been employed to carry on a campaign of publicity for the desired subsidies and that its editorial work came from a man by the name of Maxwell, formerly the private secretary of the notorious D. M. Parry, of "union bustling" fame.

Maxwell's cross examination was so damaging to himself that he at times refused to answer questions and his reasons for so doing may be gathered by the following bit of testimony: "You said that you were employed by a merchants' information bureau?" "The Manufacturers' Information Bureau," says he; "a very short time. It was in 1906."

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"What is the purpose of that organization?" "It is an industrial detective agency." "Who is its president?" "J. K. Turner." "What is the nature of its business?" "As Mr. Turner describes it, it is an educational business. It puts men in the factories where he thinks there is error, where error is claimed to exist. For instance, if there is stock being stolen or inefficiency being shown as to output, he puts men in there for purposes of correction."

"Does it not supply spies upon labor organizations?" "I think you may say so; yes, sir."

ALLEGIANCE FROM ST. LOUIS St. Louis, Mo., May 16, 1910. National Convention of the Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill. Comrades, we, the protesting members of Local St. Louis, reaffirm our allegiance to the Socialist party, and trust a great good will result for the cause of Socialism.

S. M. HOSKIN, C. C. WEDDERMAN, S. LIBESKU, Committee.

Explosion Kills and Maims Brownsville, Pa., May 16.—Three persons are dead and six seriously injured as a result of the explosion of five boilers at the Diamond Coal & Coke company's plant at Chewtown, near here.

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"Monkeys and Monkeyettes" A Reply to EX-PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT By W. F. Ries. AUTHOR OF "MEN AND MULES," the book which had a sale of more than 1,000,000 copies in five months. These who have read and distributed Comrade Ries' former book will appreciate the appearance of another work in the nature of a "follow-up" of "Men and Mules."

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SEC. BARNES IN REPORT TELLS PARTY RECORD

Events Since National Convention Are Reviewed; Great Prospects for the Future

(Continued from page 1)

The election of the national executive committee and a national secretary by the national committee was substituted by a provision for the election of these officers by national party referendum...

By the same referendum the provision for mileage assessments for conventions and congresses was stricken out and a provision to set aside 10 per cent of the national dues monthly for this purpose was substituted.

Change Is Made

The same referendum abolished the time limit (90 days) for the required number of seconds to initiate a national party referendum. The vote on the several propositions ranged, highest affirmative, 10,158; lowest affirmative, 6,790; highest negative, 5,725; lowest negative, 3,512.

November 10, 1909—To strike out the alphabetical group provision on the ballot for national officers and providing for elections in odd numbered years; requiring nominations by five locals to qualify candidates, and introducing a system for the rotation of the position of the candidates, each to occupy in turn the favored position on an equal number of ballots. First proposition: Affirmative, 2,920; negative, 1,888. Second proposition: Affirmative, 3,167; negative, 2,615.

February 6, 1910—Eliminating from the laws relating to the election of national officers the preferential system of voting and the rotation of position of candidates upon the ballot. First proposition: Affirmative, 6,014; negative, 2,885. Second proposition: Affirmative, 6,193; negative, 3,282.

Referendum Propositions Defeated

April 24, 1909—Providing that the national executive committee shall be permanently employed in the national headquarters and constitute the office force, and to increase the membership dues to twenty cents a month, the amount to be equally divided between the state and national organizations. By a vote ranging: Highest affirmative, 4,832; lowest affirmative, 2,484. Highest negative, 5,489; lowest negative, 4,488.

February 19, 1910—Providing a substitute of an entire new constitution, containing the following provisions: Winding the salary of the national secretary at \$75 a month; locating the national headquarters in the residence of the secretary; substituting the national executive committee and national committee; the election of a campaign committee of five to serve during the presidential campaign; the nomination of political candidates by referendum; each organized state to contribute \$5 per month for the support of the national organization, etc. Affirmative, 2,884; negative, 3,218.

April 6, 1910—To strike out the provision for national party congresses. Affirmative, 3,740; negative, 5,020.

In the July (1909) session the national executive committee adopted the following motion:

"That we recommend to the national committee that the compensation of national organizers be fixed at \$4 a day and expenses."

This action arose from the recognition of the fact that the unions pay their organizers a higher rate than does the Socialist party, which rate is usually determined by or relating to their prevailing wage scale. And further, as stated by the committee: "Feeling the force of the wide spread criticism that our national organizers have not successfully reached the organized workers of the country, the national executive committee undertook to send special organizers into the trade unions. This work, so far as tried thus far, has proven to be more productive of good results than any other form of propaganda."

Procedure Able Men

"For this work we have found it necessary to secure the services of the most capable and energetic comrades actively engaged in trade union work. But, in order to obtain the services of such comrades, we find it absolutely necessary to pay wages equal, or nearly equal, to the recognized trade union rate of wages. Further—quite apart from the fact that such men cannot be otherwise enlisted in the work—we believe that the Socialist party should, as a matter of principle, scorn to pay low wages to its servants."

The above motion was passed upon by the national committee and adopted August 20, 1909, by the following vote: Affirmative, 12; negative, 13; not voting, 1.

February 9, 1910—The following national party referendum was adopted: "Restructuring the national committee to restore the old rate of \$3 a day and expenses to national organizers and speakers." Affirmative, 5,740; negative, 3,071.

On September 7, 1909, the national party platform was amended in the following manner: By striking out the words "and all land" from No. 2 of the General Demands.

By inserting the following paragraph in the Principles, immediately following the words "and have fitted them for collective use and operation": "There can be no absolute private title to land. All private titles, whether called fee simple or otherwise, are and must be subordinate to the public title. The Socialist party strives to prevent land from being used for the purpose of speculation and speculation. It demands the collective possession, control or management of land to whatever extent may be necessary to attain that end. It is not opposed to the occupa-

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That is, if you send a dollar TODAY your subscription will start on the 27th of May and you will receive the Daily Socialist for three months from that date, and will also receive a full set of the convention series with the first ten chapters of Adelphe Popp's "Story of a Working Girl."

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tion and possession of land by those using it in a useful and bona fide manner without exploitation." First proposition: Affirmative, 5,832; negative, 1,117. Second proposition: Affirmative, 5,924; negative, 2,568.

In the matter of referendums and to prevent contradictory ones following close upon each other and for the purpose of eliminating those of minor import, and confining general attention to such questions as changes of law or policy or administrative control, the time limit should again be introduced, within which reasonable period the sufficient number of indorsements must be forthcoming.

Party Management

The supreme power of the party is vested in the membership referendum, followed in authority by party conventions or congresses, and the national executive committee for matters of immediate administration or of an executive character, their acts being subject to review by the national committee, the latter having, as between the two, the superior power in initiating new work or defining new policies.

The national committee, composed of one for every two thousand members or major fraction thereof, is empowered to meet whenever it shall deem it necessary to do so. However, there has been no meeting of this committee since the one held in St. Louis in January, 1903, and all its business in the interim has been transacted by correspondence.

Thirty-seven motions arose and were submitted during the year 1907; forty-one motions during the year 1908; ten motions during the year 1909; and three motions thus far in 1910. Most of these motions were upon administrative matters or related to purely party action on current public questions. The controversy has settled, various committees and sub-committees and an additional international secretary in the person of Comrade Victor L. Berger.

Meets When Needed

In like manner the national executive committee is authorized to meet whenever it shall deem it necessary to do so, and since the last convention (May, 1908) eleven sessions, each occupying two or more days, have been held, as follows:

During 1908: May 15—When proper arrangements were made for carrying forward the decisions of the convention and the required referendums relating to the same; a permanent woman's organization was appointed; the long standing Nebraska controversy was settled. A contract was taken of the national office finances and prospects for the ensuing campaign.

June 11—Speakers for the campaign were selected; a tentative route was made up for the presidential candidates; literature and advertising matter was decided upon for the campaign, including a farmers' leaflet; the Minnesota comrades were advised to pay the filing fee under protest and attack the election in the courts after the election; it was also decided to give some special attention to those congressional districts that seemed most promising of success; Comrade Joseph Medill Patterson was delegated to prepare a campaign book.

July 10—Provisions were made for the publication of several leaflets and pamphlets; the proceedings of the convention were ordered published and Comrade Work was appointed to edit the same; the question of employing a Socialist special campaign train was thoroughly discussed and indorsed, and a special appeal was authorized for financing the campaign train.

Train Under Discussion

August 15—The subject of the special train was the main topic of discussion and the national secretary was instructed to complete the arrangements and sign a contract with Mr. Yarex for the tour as planned up to September 25, from Chicago to the Pacific coast and return.

December 15—Committees were appointed to make reports at the next meeting on the subjects of organization, study courses in Socialism, meetings, literature, press, trade union movement, propaganda among farmers, and campaign methods; the national committee was requested to elect an additional international secretary; regulations for foreign speaking organizations were considered; notice was taken of the assault made editorially by the American Federationist regarding the finances of the Socialist campaign; a bond for the national secretary in the event of ten thousand dollars was provided for; Comrade Chas. J. Wright was assigned as temporary state secretary to the state of Nebraska under direction of the national office; provisions were made for the issuance of a booklet on naturalization laws; appointed the last Sunday in February as a special day for propaganda in behalf of women and recommended that the

like subject be made a feature at the May Day celebrations.

Work Undertaken

During 1909: January 23—Reports received from the committees on the special subjects assigned at the December session; a booklet was issued covering these subjects, entitled "Organization and Agitation—Ways and Means"; arrangements were made for the publication of Weekly Lessons and the Rand School was commissioned to prepare the same. Twenty-six weekly lessons have since been published in thirty-three party papers, beginning November 6, 1909, and ending April 20, 1910. The aggregate circulation of these papers closely approximates 500,000 copies.

April 9—A Washington News Service was established for the period during the session of congress, with Comrade Fred H. Merrick in charge; plans were made for more effective Socialist propaganda among the organized workers.

July 23—Arranged for the publication of a booklet on Socialism and trade unionism; reporters were appointed and subjects assigned for discussion at the party congress; representation to the International Socialist bureau was made, accompanied with a claim for an additional secretary, and Comrade Berger was authorized to attend the session of the bureau, November 6-8, at Brussels, Belgium.

December 11—Principally occupied by the consideration of special propaganda for organized workers; provided for a call for nominations for delegates to the international congress; the last Sunday in February was again set aside for special propaganda among women.

During 1910: April 9—Decided to use fewer national organizers and give particular attention to a campaign of literature; sufficient interest being manifested in the Weekly Lessons on Socialism; it was decided to publish the same in booklet form; the national secretary was authorized to issue leaflets on all important events in the labor movement or in public life; the bond for the national secretary was reduced to five thousand dollars. Further arrangements were made for the congress.

Members in Close Touch

Aside from the actions taken at the meetings, the members of the national executive committee are in almost constant correspondence and considering motions submitted by correspondence.

Special notices in the Bulletin or party press have frequently been authorized in behalf of various papers published in the foreign languages, likewise in support of other worthy purposes.

Cash appropriations or per diem allowances to organizers were from time to time granted to assist the weaker states, to meet special conditions in a given locality, or to aid struggling foreign speaking organizations, as follows:

New Hampshire, \$125.00; Slovenians, \$60; Florida, \$60; Wisconsin, \$54; Bohemians, \$68.15; Vermont, \$30; Kentucky, \$60; Alabama, \$100; Croatians, \$129; Lettish, \$44.41; Spanish \$60; Louisiana, \$60; Omaha, Neb., \$50; Polish, \$300; Pennsylvania, \$60; Oklahoma, \$150; West Virginia, \$60; Neues Leben (German paper) \$300; a special daily edition of the New York Call, authorized during the Philadelphia general strike at an expense of \$250; for the defense of Comrade Freeman Knowles, \$300; and for the defense of the New Castle (Pa.) Free Press, \$25.

Party Organization

Within the scope of this document I have to report that in thirty-nine states or territories organizations existed in the sense of maintaining state organizations on Jan. 1, 1907, with about 1,900 affiliated locals. The party membership numbered 38,734. At the present time there are forty-two organized states with more than 3,300 affiliated locals and branches; this leaves the following states unorganized: Delaware, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia, and prospects are bright for bringing several of these into the organized column in the near future. In the interim locals or members at large have been attached to the national organization in Hawaii, Alaska, South America, Cuba, Porto Rico, Mexico, South Sea Islands, the Panama Canal zone and the Philippines. The dues paid during the past four months represent a membership of 33,275.

The Presidential Campaign

In the intervening general election it may be said with deliberation that no previous equal number of years were freighted with a like amount of agitation as that which comprehended within a few months during the presidential campaign. Scarcely a citizen of the nation this day can plead ignorance of the fact that there was a working class political platform and a sitting candi-

date in the race for the White House in the year 1908.

The files of the public press of the time will show scarcely an exception as to notices of these facts, while a column upon column were devoted by many publications of wide circulation, not to mention numerous articles relating to incidents of the campaign which appeared in the magazines and more pretentious periodicals.

The campaign resulted in more than agitation as defined by the commonplace of "attracting attention"—it also produced votes, though this fact may not appear at first glance upon the figures of the returns. It must be remembered that the alleged radical democratic candidate was making his last stand and rallied to his support those entertaining a last hope under capitalism.

Political Campaign

Besides, the American Federation of Labor, through its executive council, at this time first entered a national campaign as a partisan, having endorsed the Democratic ticket, and the president of the organization was engaged in an active campaign in support of that party.

The elements and issues in the last and the preceding campaigns can hardly be compared; scarcely a single condition is found common to both. The conservative Democratic candidate, the boom times (prosperity?), the widespread strikes and industrial unrest of the former, as against Bryan; the acute period of the panic, the general conditions of unemployment; the vast number of workers lacking residents' qualifications; the threat of the master—Job owing class—all these in the latter campaign tended to reduce the Socialist vote and make conservatism for the time being the normal trend.

Vote Not Counted

Lacking proof we need not assert, but there is every reason to suspect that a very much larger Socialist vote was cast than that which was counted. However, on this point we have no cause to complain. The mere thought carries with it the proper lesson of organization. We must not only be vigilant in declarations in opposition to capitalism, but must show that resolution, vigor and earnestness of purpose to the degree necessary to make each single vote that is cast an additional vote in the count.

The Socialist Press

As previously stated, publications which supported the party are entitled to the highest praise for assistance rendered. Almost without exception they have given liberal space to official communications and earnestly co-operated in the work of organization.

In the last year the government officials seemed disposed to harass the Socialist and liberal press by imposing impossible postal regulations upon financially weak publications. It would seem that the current of public protest has turned aside their resolutions. A portentous incident in this connection was the arrest of Comrade Fred D. Warren, editor of the Appeal, upon a federal warrant for having circulated an offer of a reward for the apprehension of John the Governor Taylor of Kentucky, who at that time was a fugitive from justice under the charge of murder. Comrade Warren was convicted and a fine of \$1,000 and a sentence of six months in jail was imposed—this in spite of the fact that the postmaster at Girard, Kans., testified that he had passed with approval upon the document in question before it was mailed.

Warren's Great Coup

The act for which Comrade Warren was indicted was a coup, a counterstroke to John the Governor Taylor and try out the possibilities of alleged evildoers handed justice in the defense of the officials of the Western Federation of Miners, who had been kidnaped in Colorado and transported to Idaho. In the interim between the judgement of the charge against and the trial of Comrade Warren, a pardon was granted to ex-Governor Taylor and he appeared as the principal witness for the federal authorities. It should be known that the recusal of the trial at Fort Scott would prove that Governor Taylor was never indicted, no charge was ever lodged against him, and consequently that he was never a fugitive from justice, although the whole world knows that this is untrue and knows that the records are a lie. Within the past few days Comrade Warren has appeared before the court in St. Paul for a re-hearing, where he personally put up to the court the question whether the kidnaping of a workman is a legal and the suggestion to kidnap a socialist politician a crime. Information as to the outcome of the re-hearing is not at hand at this writing.

Launch Local Papers

Relating further to the press, one of the dangers to the movement is the disposition of comrades, all unprepared, to launch a local publication, which in the very nature of things is frequently foredoomed to an early or certain demise. The value of the two English daily papers to the American workmen can surely not be over-estimated. The Chicago Daily Socialist, now less than four years old, and the New York Call, which has not yet rounded out its second year of existence, have nipped in the bud many a brutal scheme aimed at the working class. The flashlight of publicity and exposure has proven a very effective protection.

The value of the daily papers in the foreign languages needs to be noted, also one distinctive feature about them. That is, while it is always necessary for a movement to precede the establishment of an English paper, a new foreign comrade, almost invariably with little or no organization behind them, started these papers and the papers have made and are making the respective movements.

Considerable might here be said about the Rand school, located in New York, the Intercollegiate Society, the Socialist Sunday schools, the Finnish Socialist College at Smithville, Minn., and other lines of educational endeavor; but these subjects have either been extensively noted in the Official Monthly Bulletin, or will be brought to your attention in other documents presented during the course of the congress.

International Action

The relations between our party and the International Socialist bureau and all its affiliated branches have been most pleasant, fraternal and cordial. All our publications of every kind and nature are regularly forwarded to the bureau. Obedient to its initiative necessary information has been transmitted to every country as required, and such financial aid as was possible was extended upon call.

The international spirit of the Socialist party of America and its recognition of class solidarity can probably best be shown by the following table of figures:

Table with columns for year (1907, 1908, 1909) and various fund names (Russian S. D. L. P. and Bloody Sunday Fund, W. F. of M. Defense Fund, Political Refugee Defense Fund, Swedish Strikers Fund, Spanish Prisoners Fund, Total, International Socialist Congress). Total for 1909 is \$7,963.97.

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Agenda and assignments

1. Relations between co-operative organizations and the political parties. Should co-operative societies remain neutral independent from the political organizations attached to these by a personal bond, or should they be affiliated to the parties?

2. The question of unemployment. Upon this subject Comrade Hunter will make report.

3. Arbitration and disarmament—Affiliated parties should state what they have accomplished and what their hopes are in the matter of bringing this matter to the favorable attention of the working class.

4. International results of labor legislation—Upon this subject Comrade Berger will report.

5. Organization of an international manifestation against capital punishment.

6. Line to take up to insure speedy execution of resolutions passed at the International congress—What procedure would you recommend in case of war threatening?

7. Organization of international solidarity—What is best mode of collecting help in the case of serious struggle between capital and labor? How supply information to labor newspapers and prevent the press from infusing the movement by biased information?

Comrade Hillquit will report on the progress of the Socialist and labor movement of America.

At the present time a membership referendum is in progress for the election of eight delegates to the congress. Some provision should be made to cover their expenses, which will probably approximate the sum of \$2,500.

Trade Unions

As to the policy of the party towards trade unions or labor organizations little need be said except that its declarations in the last convention, and the latest statement of the national executive committee, are in entire accord with the resolution of the Stuttgart International congress. That no enemy of our movement, using the texts thereof, can by any subterfuge set us in opposition to the organized labor movement, or discount our position before the whole working class. Unfortunately some of our members fly in the face of every party declaration, the essentials of which are stated in the Stuttgart resolution, as follows:

"The unions and the party have equally an important part to perform in the struggle for proletarian emancipation. Each of the two organizations has its distinct domain, defined by its nature and within whose borders it should enjoy independent control of its line of action."

Again, there is a strong tendency on the part of some to show disappointment and resort to severe criticism because the organized labor forces have not, or do not, come en masse under the political standard of the working class. Account must be taken of the history and tendency of organized labor, its experience and accomplishments, and here as elsewhere, material interests are found to play their part.

Growth of Trade Unions

In 1906, or fourteen years ago, organized labor in the United States numbered in its membership about 600,000 workers. These were mainly composed of shop men—inside workers, such as printers, tailors, shoemakers, cigar makers, hosiery, bakers, molders, brewers, garment workers, etc. Most of these had fought their signal battle with the employers while competition was a factor in the industry during the previous decade. Relatively speaking, they have since stood still in membership and their later accomplishments in trade conditions are not to be compared with those secured in the earlier period.

Today, as against 1906, about 1,800,000 additional workers are enrolled in the various labor organizations. This addition is made up of builders and transportation workers—outside men, such as car men, carpenters, masons, electricians, teamsters, miners, railroad employees, structural iron workers, etc. Many of the trades in this class had no organization whatsoever at the period first stated. About 70 per cent of the present labor movement is made up of these new men and new organizations. Their principal contests have been fought in these later years. Frequently an organization increased its membership enormously year after year and also reduced hours and increased its members' wages with almost equal regularity, amounting in wages in some cases to more than a hundred per cent within the period.

Are Coming Around

The former division—the older organizations—are susceptible to Socialist thought and the trend among them is more and more towards the recognition of class lines. There is a reason. The later division, comprising the newer organized workers, all unmindful of the vices of living, or any other consideration, are all attention and fully engaged in the near everyday fight resulting to date in their material advancement under the present regime.

Our duty to all is plain; that is, to point out the insidious and hideousness of capitalism; the injustice and inequity of profit taking or any other form of robbery which takes from the toiling producer his just and full reward and provides the idler with the luxuries and the habilliments of power, squandered and undeserved.

Franchise Limitations

Two years ago the national executive committee promised aid to the Minnesota state committee for making a legal contest upon the existing primary law and advised them to pay the fees demanded only under protest. In the month of April, 1908, the national committee took similar action and guaranteed one-third of the total expense, providing further that the states should proportionately share the amount and reimburse the national office, but only about half of the states responded. Comrade Nash, state secretary of

Minnesota, under date of April 22, 1910, writes as follows:

"At the last meeting of the executive board I was instructed to ask you to make another call for assistance in taking the Pilling Case to the United States Supreme court. The case has been decided against us in the state Supreme court, but that is about what I expected. It may be foolish to spend any more money on the case, but I believe we had better put the thing through now, as it will either result in giving us the case or else fix things where other states will know better than to waste any more money in fighting the class courts."

Although there are about a dozen states somewhat similarly affected, the party as a whole is committed to financing and fighting this specific and flagrant case of class legislation. This case was selected as the best among many to be carried to the Supreme court of the United States, and the benefit of a successful issue will be advantageous to each and every state organization. Some further financial provision should be made to relieve this state of its disproportionate share of the burden. As arrangements now stand it is committed to meet two-thirds of the total expense.

In Memoriam

Since our last meeting two valiant workers have ceased from their labors and gone to rest. Both had been long in the service of the party and exerted the most capable efforts of their lives in its behalf. It is with profound regret that I must needs make record here of the death of Comrade M. W. Wilkins on January 13, 1910. He was a delegate to the 1904 convention and one of the best known national organizers. And also the death of Comrade Ben Hanford on January 24, 1910. He was a delegate to the 1904 and 1908 conventions and at each was chosen as the candidate of the party for vice president. His later years' struggles with illness, while giving the full measure of his wanting energies in service to his class, as a martyrdom almost unequalled will remain as an example and an inspiration to thousands of comrades in the years to come.

Foreign Speaking Bodies

I sincerely hope that the long deferred action will be taken, or rather that a proper solution of the question concerning foreign speaking organizations, will be found and applied. It is necessary that each be on an equitable basis and have their proper relations to the national organization clearly defined. However, this question will arise in your midst as a result of a conference of the delegates of the foreign speaking organizations held in this city May 13 and 14. I bespeak for their proposal a careful and serious consideration to the end that unity and harmony may be promoted throughout the entire movement.

Considering the many trying situations lately confronting all branches of the party in the matter of electing delegates, caused by the recent national party referendum upon the question of holding this congress, and upon which the vote closed April 6, I would suggest the adoption of a constitutional provision preventing the possible recurrence of such a situation. A certain month, long enough in advance, might be designated in which to elect all delegates, or a constitutional prohibition be imposed against the introducing of a referendum affecting the time of the congress or convention after a certain date.

This document might be indefinitely increased in length by the consideration of such other topics as organization, propaganda, organization among women, etc. but reporters will open these subjects before you and the various standing committees are due to maintain the policy of the "open door" for suggestions from any source.

And in the course of events in the American Socialist movement a national party congress has been evolved. Comrade delegates, as the chosen representatives of the working class movement of America, a great honor, responsibility and opportunity rests with you. The present year ends the first decade

of the twentieth century. This century and its possible accomplishments through generations, has been in the hands of the savant, the theme of the poet, and the hope of the sons of toil.

Shows Great Future

Our purpose and program is clear—to reserve to labor the value it creates. There is no deep and hidden philosophy in the just demand; no reward without labor, no labor without reward. Better still, our class has seen the strength of numbers, the power of conditions on the side of the elects so to do.

It is for you representatives, and now, to make our organization so compact, so disciplined, so responsive, that when the order is to move, the foot fall of the nearest and farthest removed comrades will sound in unison.

The number of enrolled party members, the active sympathizers and voters of the Socialist ticket is a host to reckon with. The more intelligent and militant opponents understand this quite well, and by subtle and subtle means means are trying to split our progress and divide and disarm our present forces.

They have an impossible task before them. Day by day in the markets of trade, in the halls of legislation, in the whole varied field of industry, they prove anew their dishonesty and impotence and goad the workers to rise and press them ever nearer to the point of revolt.

The Socialist movement of the world has raised the standard for working class rule—and supplemented economic class action with political and social action with political and social action. The vulnerable spot in the armor of capitalism has been disclosed, the capitalists make and interpret the laws themselves. The American division of the international movement is conspicuous working class—hardly better prospects and more assured of success than ever. It turns its face towards Washington to punish its enemies and to reward itself, with laws of labor by labor.

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SHAVING OF DEATH CLAIMS
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THE CHICAGO DAILY SOCIALIST

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The Party and the Unions

One of the questions that is certain to come before the present convention is the relation of the political to the economic organization of the working class. All Socialists are agreed that the revolt of labor has two organs through which it expresses that revolt—the union and the political party. Here disagreement begins, and has been particularly sharp in the United States. The last national convention, in common with nearly all other national conventions, stated the position of the Socialist party on this point. On the eve of a new discussion it is well to be sure of our starting point and to know the position that the party now occupies.

For that purpose we would call attention to the following portion of the resolution adopted at the last national congress, which deals with the question of policy:

The movement of organized labor is a natural result of the antagonism between the interests of employers and wage earners under the capitalist system. Its activity in the daily struggle over wages, hours and other conditions of labor, is absolutely necessary to counteract the evil effects of competition among the working people and to save them from being reduced to material and moral degradation. It is equally valuable as a force for the social, economic and political education of the workers.

The Socialist party does not seek to dictate to organized labor in matters of internal organization and union policy. It recognizes the necessary autonomy of the union movement on the economic field, as it insists on maintaining its own autonomy on the political field. It is confident that in the school of experience organized labor will as rapidly as possible develop the most effective forms of organization and method of action.

The Socialist party stands with organized labor in all its struggles to resist capitalist aggression or to wrest from the capitalists any improvements in the conditions of labor. It declares that it is the duty of every wage worker to be an active and loyal member of the organized labor movement, striving to win its battles and to strengthen and perfect it for the greater struggles to come.

This resolution is identical in its position with that adopted by unanimous vote at the International Socialist congress in Stuttgart three years ago. It may, therefore, be accepted as stating the present position of the Socialists of the world. Any proposal of change must be a proposal to alter the policy of the whole international movement.

According to this resolution the Socialist party recognizes as a part of organized labor all efforts on the part of workmen and women to combine to better their condition. When the Socialist speaks of organized labor he includes any and every association of workers for defense against the employing class or improvement of the condition of wage workers.

This point cannot be made too clear or emphatic. The Socialist party does not tie itself up with any form or class of organization. It is with the whole working class or with any part of it that is fighting capitalism.

Because the Socialist is with every phase of organized resistance to exploitation he doubly deprecates any division that weakens that resistance. The Socialist calls for the UNITY OF ALL WORKERS on the political field. Therefore, while he "does not seek to dictate to organized labor in matters of internal organization," he cannot but deplore anything that tends to divide the forces of labor in the presence of the employing class. The Socialist cannot but look with disfavor on any policy of exclusion or craft jealousy that shuts any body of workers out of the field of organization.

The very exclusion of any large body by existing unions renders it inevitable that those so excluded will form organizations of their own, and such organizations when formed as a bona fide response to solidarity of the workers and resistance to exploitation are actually elements of strength to the whole union movement, including even the one which excluded them.

On the other hand, where such exclusion does not exist, the formation of rival bodies claiming the same field of operation, and especially if these be organized from outside for political purposes, tend only to divide and to disrupt and weaken the resistance of labor to aggression.

All of which is but restating the fact which has been demonstrated by years of experience and is universally recognized in theory, but so often violated in practice, that the Socialist must stand for EVERY effort of organized labor in the fight against capitalism and for the UNITY and SOLIDARITY of labor on both the economic and the political field.

A Businesslike Gathering

The first day's session of the national Socialist conference showed that it is a much more businesslike body than any national gathering of Socialists ever held before in this country. It has gone to work quicker. It is progressing more rapidly. It is proceeding toward more definite ends in a more effective manner.

Freed from the excitement and sense of strain that always dominates a nominating convention, appeals to prejudice and attempts to arouse the spirit of demagoguery fall on indifferent ears.

The problems to be considered are approached in a spirit of deliberation, although not without signs of sharp conflict on some issues.

Such conferences as this are the only ones known in European Socialist circles, and have been hitherto unknown here. In the older countries long preparation is made for these gatherings. The subjects on the programme are discussed at thousands of meetings. The ablest speakers on each side are chosen long before and spend months in study, and when they speak they address a body of students on these matters. The resulting decision is a truly democratic expression of an enlightened membership, and not a simple counting of votes from those who know little of the questions upon which they are voting.

The strength of the German, French, Belgian and other European Socialist movements is in no small part due to the educational effects of these annual conferences with their great debates. The present conference promises to be a long step toward the establishment of this valuable feature in the Socialist world of America.

CHARITY

BY LEWIS G. DE HART

"Poor man, it is said you've been injured so bad." Said a lady who stopped in the street; "But I know you will find that the world is quite kind. Tho', really, you ought to dress neat; Be cheery and sunny, and don't ask for money. Your fortune to God just resign; For fortune is fickle, tho' I'd give you a nickel. But the smallest I have is a dime." And the lady walked past, and the beggar stood fast. While the wind made his poor body shiver. And he said, "If the Lord had not promised reward, I'd end my whole life in the river." But the lady, content, said, "My time 'as well spent. For I know of my words he took heed." So, fitted with conceit, she went up the street, And thought she had done a good deed. Kansas City, Mo.

CET BUSY

By Emil Seidel, Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee.

The American Socialist movement is at this time entering a new period of life and activity. Much has been heard about unity and solidarity in our party discussions. And unity and solidarity of the working class are good things, precious things. "Get together" is a good slogan and one that is vitally important. "Get busy" is a better slogan and one that is also vitally important. Let us all get busy and work away at the things we know ought to be done and which are ready at our hands to be done. What you do will tell. What you do counts for more than what you say. We have a program and an ideal that is certain of triumphant advance if we will only spend a little less time to fashion all Socialists in one mold and a little more time on the work of making Socialists.

THE COMING DESPOTISM

BY ROBERT HUNTER

The biggest and most progressive act of the working class movement in America today is the attempt to organize the employes of the Steel Trust. The steel industry lies at the very heart of modern capitalism. Neither in this country nor in Germany, where the steel industry is thoroughly organized, have the workers formed an effective organization. The German workers have wonderful industrial and political organizations, yet they have been baffled in their attempts to organize the steel workers at Essen. In that one town there are seventy-five thousand men employed. They live under a feudal regime. They are given by the company pensions, gardens, playgrounds, houses, bread and clothing. Even the brothels, conducted for the benefit of the unmarried men, are under the supervision of the company. The town of Essen is owned by Krupp; the town government is controlled by Krupp. At one time Krupp himself cast as many votes for the members of the town council as all his workmen put together. No man can work for Krupp and try to organize labor, and no man can work for Krupp who declares himself a Socialist. The situation in this country is very similar. The United States Steel Trust employs at the present moment about two hundred and twenty-five thousand men. They have brought together into one gigantic corporation a lot of isolated steel companies. They took over the old factories, machines, mines and MEN. Today the Steel Trust is setting aside enormous sums for the purpose of building, in various parts of the country, feudal towns, owned, dominated and controlled by the trust. It is gradually obtaining complete mastery over the industrial, political, educational, religious and even social institutions of its slaves. It owns the tools, the homes, the soil, the libraries, the stores, the public officials, the courts, the newspapers and ultimately it intends to own the very lives of its men. It is today conducting a gigantic scheme of bribery to divide its workers into classes, to crush any form of labor organization and to prevent any hostile working class action, until it is fully prepared to deal on its own terms with its workers. It is now giving some of its employes stock, increasing the wages of others and promising pensions to still others in order to block the game of the labor leaders. And if you study these shrewd movements of the Steel Trust you will note three things: First, the pensions and the stock are given in such a manner as to tie the men to their jobs. They are new methods of purchasing slaves. Second, they are bribes to divide the workers and to make impossible any concerted action in time of strike. Third, they are concessions to the workers to gain a truce until the Steel Trust is in position to provoke a war that will mean the ruin of the workers. The fact is the heads of the United States Steel Trust are planning and quickly carrying through a revolution in our industrial, political, and social institutions. They have already destroyed competition and built up one of the greatest industrial organizations in the world; they now intend to become the absolute masters of the lives and destinies of every man, woman and child in their employ.

A PLEA FOR ACTION

BY GUY E. MILLER

The revolution will come the quicker because we taste the wine of victory now. Consciousness of power is the first requisite to great deeds. Socialists have been careless of the immediate economic needs of the worker; he has revenged himself by being careless of his ultimate need. The mistakes and defeats of the unions have been largely due to their lack of information; it is our duty to supply it. Our influence has been lessened by the settlement of half truths. Too often we have told strikers that if they voted right at the preceding election they would not be on strike. If the working class had done so that would be true. We have presented political action as an alternative to industrial action. It is not an alternative; it is an auxiliary. Let it be said again that solidarity can only be achieved through industrial action—the impact of great masses of men. "The federation of the world" will remain a poet's dream until labor hammers it out on the anvil of action. In order that the hammering may continue, labor must find a voice in legislatures and congresses. The Socialist party represents the conscious workers; they are but a small portion of the Socialist movement. Every union is at least a tacit recognition of the class struggle; each endeavors to lessen the degree of exploitation to which its members are subjected. Trace the development of industry, the history of their organization, their relation to and dependence upon other bodies of workers, and they will soon be ready to end all exploitation. The structure of unions must be so changed that in attack or defense all labor responds and the capitalists score no victory until every resource is exhausted. Their present form depends upon the condition of the industry at the time of their organization. It is our business to supply the facts which will result in making them a purely evolutionary product. No interest of the working class is foreign to the mission of the Socialist party. Our philosophy is one of action. Let us put it to work. We need intimate workers of struggles that shall reveal the strength and weakness of the working class and its organization. Men who have taken part in making contracts between employers and employes could give an interesting account of the way by which they arrived at an agreement, and its effect upon both parties. The history of trade unions is of vital importance, inventions and their effect upon industry, the condition of the workers in the various industries and sections of the country, comparisons in conditions of organized and unorganized workers. These are some of the things you might write about instead of the philosophy of Socialism. Not until our party enters into the life of field, factory and mine can it be considered the workers' party in the fullest sense of the term. To unite all classes of workers in a struggle to protect their economic organizations is the imperative need of today. We need fear no rivals if we perform that duty.

OPEN FORUM

Woman Suffrage. The open letter of Humphrey B. Campbell, published in the issue of May 3, involves the whole question of party tactics. The recognition of the class antagonism that exists between the wage-working class and all other classes that live by appropriating unpaid labor as rent, interest, or profit, is just what makes the Socialist party a Socialist party. The class of small shop and storekeepers live from profit. Their brains are soaked with capitalist ideas, and these ideas are fostered by their environment. From experience with some of these people who are party members, I am convinced that no amount of education will eradicate these capitalist notions, and because of this, that they constitute a dangerous element of the party membership. It is true that some members of this class may embrace the idea of a cooperative commonwealth. But when it comes to the work of breaking the ground for the realization of this commonwealth, where will they be? They will be found opposing the trade unions, the co-operatives, and many of the provisions found in the party program. Why? Because their immediate interests differ from the interests of the workers. They have a business of those who work for them only. Karl Kautsky has shown in "The Road to Power" that this class has, with the development of capitalism in Germany, become more and more antagonistic to the methods of the Social Democracy, and we have no reason to believe it will be any different in America. Of all the elements outside the working class the members of this class are the most uncertain. They can never be depended upon as allies. They are fighting a losing battle and the sooner they are expatriated the better. Comrade Campbell suggests a change in the application blank as a means to overcome what he considers the present fusion of Socialist sentiment with other parties. Does Comrade Campbell really believe that this change would make Socialists of those who work with other parties, or is he willing to admit people into the party councils who have not got brains enough to realize the impossibility of getting anything from capitalist parties? When the applicant is a Socialist the wording of the application blank won't scare him away, and we can use no others. The immediate task of the party is to destroy the confidence in capitalism by intelligent propaganda and a progressive conquest of the Socialist program by means of the political power entrusted to its care. O. C. WILSON. Muscatine, Iowa. What to Do and How to Do It. As the best method by which to increase the party membership, I suggest that all national organizers, speakers and active propagandists direct their efforts to secure new members, preferably members at large. If that cannot be done in conformity with our national party constitution, then I suggest that the constitution be changed so as to allow all active workers to take in members at large, collecting with each application one dollar, which would pay membership dues for one year as member at large. The idea is to get new members, and if this policy had been pursued in the past, Comrade B. V. Debs alone would have gathered in at his meetings members at large by the thousands. The principal reason why I suggest this innovation is that, as members at large, these new members would be unable to participate in the councils of the party until they had first been instructed from the national office as full-fledged members in their respective localities. In the meantime they would be required only to give their personal support to the party. To secure all the new members possible, to establish at the national office a correspondence bureau for the education of these new members, and then (after they shall have learned the first principles of Socialism) to transfer these members at large, if they so desire, to the respective locals under whose jurisdiction they may happen to live. That is the idea which, if put into practice, is apt to serve to increase the membership and to raise the general efficiency of the whole membership quicker than anything else. What do you think about it? A. E. GUSTAFSON. New Southern Bldg., Avon, Cal. N. P. ANDERSON.

On the Firing Line

BY MONOSABIO

The man higher up is against Socialism; it would land him in the penitentiary. Under capitalism, the United States spends over \$7,000,000 a year for detective service. How honest everybody is. Come here, my brother, let me gouge your eye just a little—you can gouge some other fellow's in turn. This is the competitive system. Dr. H. Cohen speaks of "a child reared in a factory before its birth." Workers, can you grasp the full significance of this and not make a vow to cast your next ballot for Socialism, which alone will abolish prenatal factory life? "Is your blood red? If it is, you want a live paper," advertises the poor, decrepit old New York Tribune. Yes, thank you, our blood is red, and our emblem of brotherhood is red, and we have quite a number of live papers, as you may discover before you finish your nap. Who drew the Taft railroad bill? Attorney General Wickersham; and even the capitalist New York Press admits that he "was evidently disposed to make too liberal concessions to the railway managers." Who helped the Sugar Trust seize the Philippine Islands for a song? As I have said before, Oh, Wickersham, a slicker than it would be hard to find! Dr. Alfred Leffingwell, former president of the American Humane society, follows Comrade Upton Sinclair's "Jungle" with a book on American meat, which shows that in spite of alleged "inspection" by the trust's own United States government, the vilest kind of Pekington stuff is still sent out to spread disease and death. All of which proves how easy it is to "regulate" the monsters bred by capitalism. One hundred thousand Socialists recently raised their hands in protest against the iniquitous franchise laws of Prussia at a meeting in Treplow park, Berlin. The impressive scene was photographed and reproduced in many journals. Oh, sea of white witnesses, who that hath a spark of manhood and love of liberty in his soul can behold you without sharing your hopes, your aspirations, your determined efforts to obtain that which rightfully belongs to you? The United States Steel corporation has merged its \$9,000,000 "pension" fund with the \$4,000,000 "pension" fund set aside by Andrew Carnegie, and now has twelve millions with which to attempt a wholesale corruption of the workers. And if this vast sum were spent in soothing syrup for a day, I do not believe it would succeed in stifling the protest which goes up from the victims who know that they are being robbed.

STORIES OF AN AGITATOR

BY RALPH KORNGOLD IN DIXIELAND

The steamer was going to put off in a few minutes. It was a cold, bleak day in December; a drifting fog with occasional showers of rain. There are not many such days in the Southland, but by contrast they are doubly disagreeable. The Man-From-Up-North, feeling quite comfortable in his thick military coat, was standing on the deck of the steamer and watching the last shivering passenger ascend the gang-plank. He felt quite pleased with himself, as well he might, for he had just closed a very profitable real estate deal, and he was furthermore contented that he had headed his wife's advice and had taken his heavy military coat instead of his light spring coat. He even derived some pleasure from the contrast of his own comfortable state with that of the thinly clad and shivering southerners. Among the last to ascend the gang-plank was a negro woman accompanied by a girl about ten or twelve years old and of the same race. The Man-From-Up-North would probably not have noticed them, but for the fact that the girl coughed painfully and the woman was tenderly wrapping an old tattered shawl around her frail shoulders. They did not hasten down into the cabin, as did the other passengers—cabins are not for "niggers," nor are negroes allowed on all parts of the deck, but have to remain at the stern. The woman and the girl waited themselves on a few coils of rope at the stern of the vessel, the woman drawing the girl closely to her, wishing to warm her with the heat of her own body. The Man-From-Up-North eyed no heed to this, for just then a voice cried "all-aboard!" A bell was rung and the gang-plank drawn in. Then another bell, then a sonorous sound that seemed to come from the innermost depth of the vessel, and the steamer swung away from the landing. The Man-From-Up-North went downstairs into the smoking-room and was pleased to find that compartment comfortably heated and cheerful. There was a fire-place with an imitation fire, leather chairs and pictures on the wall. Four men were playing at cards and the others loitering in their chairs and smoking. The Man-From-Up-North seated himself at ease in a rocker, lit a cigar that the land agent had given him and watched the game through half-closed eyelids. All the while he was thinking about the bargain he had made and the profit he would derive from it. An amiable Scotch collier, belonging to one of the players, snifled around his knee. He petted its head and playfully twisted its ears, after which he

watched the water as it flowed swiftly past the on-speeding vessel. Getting tired of this he went and stood at the door of the "Ladies' Cabin." Being a connoisseur of women, he greatly admired the southern type with its languid grace and the soft lisp of the southern tongue. And there were some fine specimens in that cabin, by Jove! In spite of this diversion the steady pulsating beat that throbbled through the vessel at every turning of the screw made him sleepy and he was glad when the call for luncheon came. The company at table was not what might have been desired; on his one side sat a preacher who answered in monosyllables, on the other a tedious old gentleman who talked incessantly about the cotton crop, a topic which did not particularly interest him. Fortunately, however, he could look right into the eyes of an enchantingly beautiful brunette, who was being waited upon by a man who looked like a politician and seemed to be very much taken up with her. After luncheon the Man-From-Up-North decided to vary the monotony by reassuming his military coat and taking a stroll on deck. The fog had not yet lifted; the cold was penetrating and clammy. The negro woman and child had left their place at the stern and were huddling close to the funnel, from which they were able to derive some warmth. It was pitiful to watch them sitting there shivering and holding each other, and to hear the cough tear the child's lungs. The Man-From-Up-North was not a hard-hearted man, but he was one who knew enough to mind his own business; he also knew that it was considered bad form to take interest in "niggers," and it was one of his principles that he would not do so. Some one should do as the Romans do. He had found this a "paying" principle. So the Man-From-Up-North went to the bow of the steamer and looked out into the fog. In a little while the captain joined him, and after they had chatted together they strolled down the deck. When they came to the funnel near which the woman and the child sat huddled, the captain halted, while his face contracted into a frown. "Don't you almighty know where you belong," he said. "Get away from heah quick!" The woman and the child looked at him with half-frightened, half-beseeching eyes. Then they got up and stunk off towards the stern, the girl coughing, the woman trying to soothe her with endearing names. It is possible that the Man-From-Up-North felt some indignation, but if he did, he did not show it, on the contrary, he said, "You Southerners certainly know how to handle niggers." "We got to do it, sah; we got to do it."