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WILSHIRE AT ROCHESTER.

Greeted by a Large Audience in Germania Hall.

Partial Report of His Speech—Socialism a Simple Proposition, He Says—Trust Ownership Forces It Upon Us.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., July 27.—Comrade H. G. Wilshire, editor of the "Challenge" of Los Angeles, Cal., addressed twelve hundred men and women gathered in Germania Hall. His topic was "Trusts and Labor," and he spoke in part as follows:

"I am afraid that I cannot come up to your expectations after a matter of flattery introduction given me by Mr. Brown, and can assure you that I myself have a most modest opinion of a man who has come to the conclusion that a social revolution is inevitable. It seems to me to be one of the simplest propositions that can be entered upon by the mind of man, but I will admit that, notwithstanding it seems so extremely simple—something like a 2 and 2 are 4 proposition—as a matter of fact it is very difficult to understand. Now I believe you here in Rochester have a strike on hand. The strikers wish, I understand, an increase of two cents an hour. Now to a Socialist it seems to be so absurd that there is a bargaining over two cents an hour. If it were \$2 an hour it would be all right. The wages are so infinitesimal compared to what he would get under Socialism, that it does seem strange that a man will give his life for two cents an hour increase when he could get \$2 an hour."

"We are so accustomed to think that wages determine the amount of production that when a laborer asks for an increase of wages we are inclined to think that society cannot pay it. I know a great many men to-day think that society could not afford to pay more than it does at present. They will point, for instance, to your city treasury and say: How can we pay any more? Taxes are so high, the treasury is bankrupt, and could not pay any more. That is the same story throughout the United States. Let us consider the question: If a laboring man goes to a contractor in the city and wants a job, the contractor will say, 'Well, 18 cents an hour is what we are paying.' It doesn't make any difference if he is making 30 cents an hour or not. If you stand for twenty cents, you get it. When the contractor figures out his bill for my labor, and therefore my bill on this job is so much. If he has to pay 23 cents an hour, he increases the amount of his bill; so whatever you stand for in the way of wages, if you keep at it, you get it, because it simply means that the contractor raises his bid when he bids on city work."

"Is not this the general plan of all wages? A man receives what he gets according to what he produces, but according to what the employer can get another man for."

"I may be taking \$100 a day out of a gold mine, but every man who works for me, on account of these being plenty of men, receives but \$3 a day. Of course I make \$100; I pay the \$3 a day and pocket \$97. If I should make a strike in that mine, and take \$200 a day, the wages would still remain the same \$3 per day. Wages are determined by what the employer can demand, and by what the employer can get another man for."

"The United States may be considered as if it were a great gold mine, owned by Rockefeller, Morgan & Co., and it does not make any difference how much we take out of this country it is about \$1.30 a day all the surplus we produce goes to Rockefeller."

"We all know that. But the point is, what does Rockefeller do with the difference? We may as well differ to it, we have nothing to do with us. We all know that Rockefeller, Morgan, Gould, and the others spend a great deal for diamonds, yachts, etc. But that does not make any economic difference, simply because there are so few people who have these great fortunes. One per cent. of our population own 52 per cent. of the wealth of this country, and Rockefeller has an income of \$50,000,000 a year, and he cannot find an outlet for his income. Most of us could get along on \$1,000 a day. But \$1,000 a day is but a small part of his income. What does he do with the balance? He keeps down his expenses, say, to \$1,000 a day and by the doctrine of abstention, as the old economists say, he saves his money. But as a matter of fact it is more difficult for Rockefeller to spend his money than it is for you. When a man owns all the United States he has nothing to do with his balance. He must save it, because he cannot spend it. It takes too much trouble to spend it. After you have one yacht you don't want another."

"By saving it, we mean either building new machinery of production, building new railroads, or iron mills, building it or buying it. Now you may have noticed that recently Mr. Rockefeller has not been building anything new. He has been buying out all the small owners of capital in this country. Why is it that he buys out Carnegie instead of building new mills? He doesn't wish to duplicate capital unnecessarily. You remember about twenty years ago the first trust was formed. When the trust was formed by Rockefeller, he had the same story that he had to-day. He said there was too much of being produced and we were not getting it. We could do it in fifteen minutes. Rockefeller has just

as much sense as you have, he is no fool, and he is not going to keep a thing that he could not keep anyway. He is naturally going to say: Why, here is the United States, take it. He wants it thought, until you tell him you want it. You have one simple way, go to the party that says: We want the earth—the Social Democratic Party. Socialism simply means the next step in evolution. We will operate all the industrial factories of the country, the land, the machinery of the country. It means that we will operate it to benefit ourselves and distribute to ourselves what we produce. Capitalism is not going to give to the producer what he produces. The capitalist has performed a useful function. Rockefeller, Gould, Morgan, have done the saving for us. They have fulfilled their mission just like the shell of the egg to the chick. After the chick gets old enough the shell cracks and is cast off. Rockefeller and Morgan have done their duty, but now we are going to do it. We will not let a man recognize that they were necessary to this industrial evolution. Just as I recognize that the shell of the egg was necessary to the chick. But if we do not discard this capitalist shell which is like the chick in the egg in the process of hatching, we shall die just as the chick would."

"Socialism is coming, step by step. It took Rockefeller and Morgan ten years to do what they have done in the line of concentration of ownership. Will it take us one hundred years? No. It will not take us any longer to say that we want the United States for the co-operative commonwealth, and we will get it when we want it and we will get it."

Comrade Wilshire's words were listened to with attention, and often greeted with applause.

GOING IN TO WIN.

Rochester Social Democrats Nominate Full City and County Ticket.

Gad Martindale for Mayor and Frank A. Sieverman for Alderman in Seventeenth Ward—A Strong Campaign Is To Be Made.

The Social Democrats of Rochester held their city and county convention on July 19. There was a large and enthusiastic gathering of comrades and sympathizers and much interest was shown in the nomination of candidates for the coming campaign, which the Rochester comrades propose to make the hottest that their city ever saw.

In the city convention Frank A. Sieverman and the whole ticket, with Wm. F. Brown as secretary. The following is the list:

CITY TICKET CHOSEN.

For Mayor—GAD MARTINDALE, a member and now business agent of the Shoe Workers' Union.

For Controller—PHILIP JACKSON, Editor of the "Morning Herald," and President of the Board of Aldermen—L. ZACHES.

For Assessors—JOEL MOSES and MICHAEL J. GARROLL.

For School Commissioners—MRS. MABEL KENNAN, WM. HAMMON, and CHARLES L. SWAIN.

For Police Justice—CHAS. BACH.

For Senator (Forty-third District) to fill out the unexpired term of Senator Parsons—MARK MICHAELS.

Fracturing the whole ticket is composed of actual wage workers and union members, as is also true of the county ticket, which shows how well the Rochester Socialists have carried out their work of education among the organized workers. Comrades Martindale, Zetrenner, Carroll, and Swain are members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Comrade Jackson of the Pressing's Union, Comrades Moses and Michaels of the Garment Workers' Union, and Comrade Bach of the Hat and Workers' Union.

Thomas Grady acted as chairman and Comrade Brown as secretary of the county convention. George Southworth, a shoe worker, was chosen to head the ticket as candidate for county judge. The other candidates are: For County Attorney, Charles Meering; for District Attorney, Erasmus M. Ely; for coroner, Wm. Erbacher; and Isaac Cronner; for superintendent of the poor, James O'Connor; for assemblyman—First District, Chas. Volk; Second, Lawrence Oberlies; Third, Geo. E. Cooley; Fourth, Bernard R. Ward.

QEATER OF THE FIGHT.

While no part of the city will be neglected, the center of the fight will be in the Seventeenth Ward, where Frank A. Sieverman was nominated for alderman. William Lippelt is the candidate for supervisor in this ward, and Nicholas Brust for constable.

The comrades say they are either going to elect their ticket or "know the reason why" and they do not propose to let the reason which is found in any other party on their part. All preparations are being made and the active campaign will soon begin.

THE ISSUE IS CLEAR.

Steel Strike Presents the Class Struggle in the Plainest Terms.

Either Complete Capitalist Control or Else Socialism Must Be the Solution—No Lasting Compromise Possible.

The past week has been a memorable one in the history of the class struggle in America. New strikes have begun, new injunctions have been issued, new methods have been devised by the capitalists and the courts for crushing the resistance of the working people.

The steel strike has settled down to what will apparently be a long and bitter struggle, with little chance of compromise. It will be a trial of endurance, with all the chances of victory on the side of the Steel Trust, unless the workers inspire their masters with fear by showing a determination to use their political power to settle the question in their own interest.

The issue is declared by the capitalists to be a clear one, on which no compromise is possible. That issue is: SHALL THE CAPITALISTS CONTINUE THEIR MILLS IN THEIR OWN WAY OR SHALL THE WORKINGMEN, THROUGH THEIR ORGANIZATIONS, DICTATE TO THEM?

Since the fight is on, in the form of a strike covering practically the whole steel industry, it is the plain duty of every workman to lead the strikers to their fullest support in every possible way.

But the workers, and especially the strikers themselves, have another and greater duty. They know that it is they who have created the property of the Steel Trust. They know that they have a moral right to control the industry and to receive and own the product. It is their duty now to take up the challenge of the capitalists, to accept the issue as stated by them, and to answer it by their ballots.

There is really no lasting compromise possible. Either the capitalists are to rule and labor organizations must be crushed, or the workers are to rule and the capitalists must be appropriated. The strike, even if it ends in temporary victory, will not settle that question. It can be settled only by the Socialist proposition of collective ownership of the means of production. If it will have to be settled that way, sooner or later. The sooner the better, for the interest of the working class.

INJUNCTION IN CONNECTICUT.

A Most Sweeping Order Against Striking Machinists.

Arrests Made and Vigorous Prosecution Probable—Great Indignation Is Aroused.

The injunction epidemic which has spread so rapidly over the country during the recent strikes has finally reached Connecticut. F. W. Holden, counsel for the Farrell Foundry Company, of Ansonia, has obtained an injunction restraining the striking machinists from trying to prevent men from going to work in the shops of that company.

The injunction was issued by Judge Gager of the Superior Court and prohibits the strikers or their friends from "in any manner interfering with any person who may desire to enter the employ of the Farrell Company, by means of threats, PERSUASIONS, personal violence, intimidation, OR OTHER MEANS . . ." from boycotting the company or any persons who may desire to do business with their workmen . . . from picketing or patrolling the factory or lotter or making boisterous noises near it, or causing others to do so . . . FROM ALL CONCERTED ACTION WHICH WILL IN ANY WAY INTERFERE WITH THE COMPANY OR ITS BUSINESS OR ITS EMPLOYEES."

Prominent members of the labor unions have also been served with attachments for \$25,000 and ordered to appear in the Superior Court in September for trial; some of them are charged with conspiracy.

On complaint of State Attorney Williams, Judge Shumway of the Superior Court issued a warrant for the arrest of six of the Ansonia strikers. These men—Stephen Charters, president of the Board of Aldermen and a member of the Carpenters' Union; Jason Wright, president of the Machinists' Union; and M. P. Driscoll, president of the Painters' Union—were arrested.

The largest demonstration in the history of the Ansonia strike in Ansonia occurred when it became known that the labor leaders had been arrested, and would be taken to New Haven on the 11 p. m. train. Long before train time the streets were crowded with strikers and sympathizers, and when the officers led the men out to go to the station a crowd of several thousand thronged about them. At the depot some one called for cheers, and shout after shout went up for the prisoners, mingled with hisses for the sheriff.

As he boarded the train, Charters drew a small flag and waving it above his head cried, "Here's for a shorter workday." The action was received with the greatest excitement, which did not subside until the train left the station.

CENTRAL FEDERATED UNION DECLARES FOR SOCIALISM.

CLASS HAS BUILT AND NOW OPERATES, BE-CONTROLLED BY CAPITALISTS, IN ORDER TO MAKE PROFITS FOR THEMSELVES, OR SHALL THE WORKERS, CONTROLLED BY THE WORKERS, IN ORDER TO SERVE THE COMMON NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE?

The Central Federated Union of New York City the following excellent resolutions were adopted last Sunday and referred to the affiliated unions:

"Whereas, We the delegates of the Central Federated Union, view with alarm the rapid encroachment of organized capital and the courts on the freedom and liberty of organized labor as shown in the circumstances leading to the steel workers' and other strikes, and

"Whereas, We learn with the utmost concern and apprehension of the action of the courts in Ohio and Connecticut in depriving the citizens of the right of free speech and levying the court costs upon the workers' homes, thus wrecking the foundations of our institutions; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Central Federated Union now and while the struggle of the steel workers lasts pledges its moral and financial assistance to them and urges upon its liberty-loving citizens to stand by the steel workers in their struggle for freedom and justice."

"Resolved, That we earnestly recommend that all workers combine at the ballot box to overthrow the system that makes such outrages as the pre-mentioned possible."

Now we want to ask you—you delegates in the Central Federated Union—do you mean what you say in those resolutions? Are they merely so many words to which you said "Aye," without giving them any thought? Or do they express your real convictions and are you going to act in accordance with them?

If they do not express your real convictions, then you have done an inexcusable wrong in voting for them. In fact, publicly and solemnly lied upon a question of the utmost importance to your class. We should be loath to think that any delegate has been guilty of such falsehood.

We are compelled, then, if we would not insult both your intelligence and your honor, to believe that you really mean just what you have said in those resolutions. And naturally we are pleased, for this is just what we have been advocating for a long time.

But you have done more than express an opinion. You have made a binding pledge. When you "recommend that all workers combine at the ballot box to overthrow the system that makes such outrages possible," YOU PERSONALLY PLEDGE YOURSELVES TO SUCH CLASS-CONSCIOUS POLITICAL ACTION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

There is not one of you that has not some political connections. There is not one of you that has not some political influence. There is not one of you that does not take some part in political action; you cannot keep out of politics if you would. And now at last you have defined the only sort of political action that any of you can honorably participate in.

Some of you have been more or less afraid of the word Socialism. You have associated it with certain doctrines which the capitalist press falsely assured you were held by Socialists or with certain wrongful acts committed by men claiming to be Socialists, but really disavowed and condemned by the mass of Socialist themselves. You have had some reason and much excuse for your opposition or indifference to the Socialist movement.

But let us tell you that YOU HAVE PUT THE VERY ESSENTIALS OF SOCIALISM INTO THOSE RESOLUTIONS OF YOURS. Political action of the working class to overthrow the capitalist system—that can only be Socialist action. If you believe what you have said, you belong inside the Socialist movement.

What is "the system that makes possible" the outrages you condemn? It is the system of PRIVATE OWNERSHIP of the means of production created and operated by social labor.

The steel strike has come down to a plain issue: SHALL THE STEEL MILLS, WHICH THE WORKING

LOCKOUT IN TROY.

Five Hundred Collar and Shirt Cutters Thrown Out of Work—Capitalists Exhibit Their Class-Consciousness.

The city of Troy is again threatened with a serious labor conflict. The leading industry of the city, as is well known, is the manufacture of collars, cuffs, shirts, etc., and it is in this industry that a lockout has now occurred.

A short time ago the Shirt, Collar, and Waist Cutters' Union submitted a proposition to the United Shirt and Collar Company, to limit the number of apprentices as journeymen and was steadily displacing the better-paid workers and reducing the general level of wages.

The union fought that other companies would not stop the same plan if it were not stopped and therefore lost no time in attempting to make an agreement on the matter.

The company refused to consider the proposition and a strike of the cutters followed. Then came an exhibition of class-consciousness on the part of the capitalists. The Manufacturers' Association decided to help the company by having its cutting done in the various Association shops.

Last Saturday morning the men were simultaneously assembled in the various shops and a statement from the Association read to them. The men were informed that the Association was determined to support the United Collar and Shirt Company, and that the men would be required to do the cutting for this strike shop. The men were cautioned against "driving capital away" by resisting the employers' demands and the hope was expressed that the "pleasant relations" existing between capital and labor would be maintained.

The men, however, considered that this relation, however pleasant to the capitalist, was not satisfactory to them. When, on Monday morning, the work from the strike shop was given out to them they refused to touch it and were all preemptorily locked out.

That this trouble was anticipated by the manufacturer is shown by the fact that the usual vacation was omitted and the shops kept busy to enable them to obtain a sufficient amount of stock to last through a long period. Thus to most of the manufacturers the trouble, unless of very long duration, will cause but little loss. They rely upon this fact to crush the five hundred locked out workers.

The Manufacturers' Association exerts a powerful political, religious, and commercial influence throughout Troy and vicinity, and the collar cutters must be prepared for attacks from all directions, for capitalism uses every device to further its own ends. The workers are thus forcibly reminded of the class struggle and all that it implies. Let us hope they will take the lesson to heart and make use of the only weapon left them—the ballot.

THE TAILORS' STRIKE.

Large Gains Made by East Side Workers—A Strike for Fresh Air.

The strike of some fifty or sixty thousand East Side tailors has again brought to mind the horrible conditions under which they work. The sub-contracting system is responsible for the worst of these evils. The strike has been characterized as "a strike for fresh air," because one of the demands is that the manufacturers shall assume responsibility for the proper sanitation of the contractors' shops.

Another grievance is that the contractors frequently withhold the wages of work done until the tailors demand that the manufacturers guarantee the payment of wages.

A considerable measure of success has been won. On Wednesday thirty-one manufacturing firms acceded to the whole schedule of demands, including recognition of the union. While it is to be expected that much of what is gained now will have to be fought for again next year, because the employers have long ago proved themselves absolutely faithless in their dealings with the garment workers, the present strike is, nevertheless, one of the most successful ever undertaken in this trade. The present developments do credit to the solidarity of the East Side workmen and workingwomen and give new hope for the final victory of the class-conscious political labor movement that shall at last render strikes unnecessary.

DELEGATES INSTRUCTED.

General Meeting of Local Greater New York Acts on Convention Questions.

A general meeting of Local Greater New York, Social Democratic Party, was held in the Labor Lyceum, 61 East Fourth street, on Sunday, July 21. The purpose of the meeting was to instruct the delegates from the local to the Unity Convention to be held at Indianapolis. A large number of members were present.

Algeron Lee was elected chairman, John Franklin Clark, vice-chairman, and I. Phillips and Gedda, sergeant-at-arms.

Upon the subsequent withdrawal of Comrade Clark from the meeting, Courtenay Lemon was elected vice-chairman in his place.

The results of the meeting's deliberations are summed up in the following motion, which was adopted almost unanimously in all cases:

1. That the delegates be instructed to stand for organic unity—that is, one national organization with one national committee, with one state organization in each state, the units of said state organization to be the locals in each state affiliated with the national organization. Any plan looking to the perpetuation of factions in any state to be opposed and discontinued.
2. That the national organization be composed of one member from each organized state, together with a quorum to be elected by the local at the seat of the National Executive Committee; the expenses of delegates from each state to be borne by the respective states.
3. That it be the sense of this meeting that the first national secretary of the party be elected by the convention, and that he be removable at any time by the party or its duly constituted authorities.
4. That the delegates work in the convention for a provision in the constitution by which separate charters can be granted in the large cities, where occasion may require it. This instruction to be so understood that where two or more charters are granted in one city, they shall conform to the division of such city into boroughs or counties.
5. That the national platform be a concise exposition of the principles of scientific Socialism, together with the principal provisions usually embodied in the immediate demands of national Socialist platforms; the said immediate demands to be so worded that the class struggle be brought out so that all may understand them.

The discussions on the various propositions were long and exhaustive, the meeting extending over four hours. There was the utmost harmony and all seemed satisfied with the result.

SEIGER IN CONNECTICUT.

ANSONIA, July 17.—Aousing open-air meeting was held on Maple Street Bridge to-night, Comrade N. P. Geiger being the speaker. The recent events in connection with the machinists' strike had aroused public interest and although the meeting was but little advertised and a circus in town divided the interest the meeting was a success.

Comrade Geiger used the injunction obtained against the local machinists very effectively as an illustration of capitalist control of the government and class-consciousness of its own work. We sold all our pamphlets and got six Worker adherents.

Comrade Geiger held meetings during the week at Waterbury, Bridgeport, New Haven, Branford, New London, Stonington, and Meriden. Where advertising was done, the meetings were well attended. Several meetings were not advertised at all, and the speaker had to call up casual passers-by. Locals should answer promptly, telling the place of meeting, if they want advertising.

The new unions trust has been incorporated at Trenton, N. J., with a capitalization of \$25,000,000.

BIG ELECTRIC MERGER.

A dispatch from Cleveland announces the completion in that city of a corporation which will be the first great electric-railway system in the world. The Everett-More syndicate is engineering the scheme.

Over twenty-five different city and inter-urban lines have been acquired and gathered together into this system. It includes the city lines in Port Huron, Mount Clemens and Detroit, Mich., and in Sandusky, Lardin, Cleveland and Akron, Ohio, and the inter-urban lines connecting them. The system, already completed forms a belt almost around Lake Erie, from Port Huron, Mich., to Buffalo, N. Y., with lines reaching southward from the lake toward Cincinnati, Wheeling, W. Va., and Pittsburgh.

The mileage already completed and in operation in this system amounts to 1,215, while over 400 miles of additional track are under construction and will be completed within the next year.

The total earnings of the separate companies that comprise this huge system already amount to over \$100,000,000 a year. It is estimated that these earnings will increase enormously after the roads have been connected and united under one management.

And the earnings will come out of the community, while the employees will find it harder to maintain wages or shorten hours, and the men displaced by the consolidation will have time to study Socialism.

THE LOGICAL CONCLUSION.

The courts have decreed that an organized worker, who tries to resist the encroachments of the employer, has no right to address a non-union workman with view of pointing out to him that to do anything contrary to interests of the organized workers is detrimental to his own interest, is violating the law. Having declared that boycotting is illegal and blacklisting is legal, that picketing and conveying with non-union men is illegal and that to become a slave to the employing class is legal, the judicial representatives of capitalism should cap the climax by ordering the class-conscious union men to vote the old party tickets or stand in contempt of court. To insist that wage workers should exercise their political prerogative and relegate to oblivion the tools of capitalism, is far more dangerous than to boycott and picket when strikes are on, and must not be tolerated.—Cleveland Citizen.

All the textile workers' unions of Philadelphia voted that no militancy could remain in their organizations.

UNIONS vs. MILITIA.

Much apprehension is being caused among the employing classes through the actions of those trade unions which have prohibited their members from attacking themselves to the military. If this thing is kept up the employers will have to do all the shooting themselves some day, and the workers will wonder why they allowed themselves to be used against their fellow workers for such a long time.—The Unionist.

A USEFUL PAMPHLET.

Every Socialist Democratic organization in the city and state of New York should order a supply of "Why Workingmen Should Join the S. D. P.," a little pocket pamphlet, full of information, published by the State Committee. Single copies, 2 cents; 100 copies, 45 cents; 1,000 copies, \$5. Every Socialist should carry a few in his pocket to give to inquirers.

Spread Socialist papers. They make Socialist votes.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

The General Committee of Local New York will meet at the Labor Lyceum, Saturday evening, July 27. Election of officers will be the first order of business and delegates should be on hand promptly at 8 p. m. Other important business will come up.

The Social Democratic Party has been should be widely advertised, and the most effective means to do this is to wear the Red Button with the Arm and Torch. See that your organization orders a supply of the emblem button. Every comrade will buy one, and this help to increase the finances of your local.

The rich men are making a great fuss about the small per cent. they are obliged to give up in taxes, but how will they feel when they have to give up all they do not want themselves?—The Workers' Call.

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GENERAL COMMITTEE.

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The Social Democratic Party has been should be widely advertised, and the most effective means to do this is to wear the Red Button with the Arm and Torch. See that your organization orders a supply of the emblem button. Every comrade will buy one, and this help to increase the finances of your local.

The rich men are making a great fuss about the small per cent. they are obliged to give up in taxes, but how will they feel when they have to give up all they do not want themselves?—The Workers' Call.

LOCKOUT IN TROY.

Five Hundred Collar and Shirt Cutters Thrown Out of Work—Capitalists Exhibit Their Class-Consciousness.

The city of Troy is again threatened with a serious labor conflict. The leading industry of the city, as is well known, is the manufacture of collars, cuffs, shirts, etc., and it is in this industry that a lockout has now occurred.

A short time ago the Shirt, Collar, and Waist Cutters' Union submitted a proposition to the United Shirt and Collar Company, to limit the number of apprentices as journeymen and was steadily displacing the better-paid workers and reducing the general level of wages.

The union fought that other companies would not stop the same plan if it were not stopped and therefore lost no time in attempting to make an agreement on the matter.

The company refused to consider the proposition and a strike of the cutters followed. Then came an exhibition of class-consciousness on the part of the capitalists. The Manufacturers' Association decided to help the company by having its cutting done in the various Association shops.

Last Saturday morning the men were simultaneously assembled in the various shops and a statement from the Association read to them. The men were informed that the Association was determined to support the United Collar and Shirt Company, and that the men would be required to do the cutting for this strike shop. The men were cautioned against "driving capital away" by resisting the employers' demands and the hope was expressed that the "pleasant relations" existing between capital and labor would be maintained.

The men, however, considered that this relation, however pleasant to the capitalist, was not satisfactory to them. When, on Monday morning, the work from the strike shop was given out to them they refused to touch it and were all preemptorily locked out.

That this trouble was anticipated by the manufacturer is shown by the fact that the usual vacation was omitted and the shops kept busy to enable them to obtain a sufficient amount of stock to last through a long period. Thus to most of the manufacturers the trouble, unless of very long duration, will cause but little loss. They rely upon this fact to crush the five hundred locked out workers.

The Manufacturers' Association exerts a powerful political, religious, and commercial influence throughout Troy and vicinity, and the collar cutters must be prepared for attacks from all directions, for capitalism uses every device to further its own ends. The workers are thus forcibly reminded of the class struggle and all that it implies. Let us hope they will take the lesson to heart and make use of the only weapon left them—the ballot.

THE TAILORS' STRIKE.

Large Gains Made by East Side Workers—A Strike for Fresh Air.

The strike of some fifty or sixty thousand East Side tailors has again brought to mind the horrible conditions under which they work. The sub-contracting system is responsible for the worst of these evils. The strike has been characterized as "a strike for fresh air," because one of the demands is that the manufacturers shall assume responsibility for the proper sanitation of the contractors' shops.

Another grievance is that the contractors frequently withhold the wages of work done until the tailors demand that the manufacturers guarantee the payment of wages.

A considerable measure of success has been won. On Wednesday thirty-one manufacturing firms acceded to the whole schedule of demands, including recognition of the union. While it is to be expected that much of what is gained now will have to be fought for again next year, because the employers have long ago proved themselves absolutely faithless in their dealings with the garment workers, the present strike is, nevertheless, one of the most successful ever undertaken in this trade. The present developments do credit to the solidarity of the East Side workmen and workingwomen and give new hope for the final victory of the class-conscious political labor movement that shall at last render strikes unnecessary.

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THE LOGICAL CONCLUSION.

The courts have decreed that an organized worker, who tries to resist the encroachments of the employer, has no right to address a non-union workman with view of pointing out to him that to do anything contrary to interests of the organized workers is detrimental to his own interest, is violating the law. Having declared that boycotting is illegal and blacklisting is legal, that picketing and conveying with non-union men is illegal and that to become a slave to the employing class is legal, the judicial representatives of capitalism should cap the climax by ordering the class-conscious union men to vote the old party tickets or stand in contempt of court. To insist that wage workers should exercise their political prerogative and relegate to oblivion the tools of capitalism, is far more dangerous than to boycott and picket when strikes are on, and must not be tolerated.—Cleveland Citizen.

All the textile workers' unions of Philadelphia voted that no militancy could remain in their organizations.

UNIONS vs. MILITIA.

Much apprehension is being

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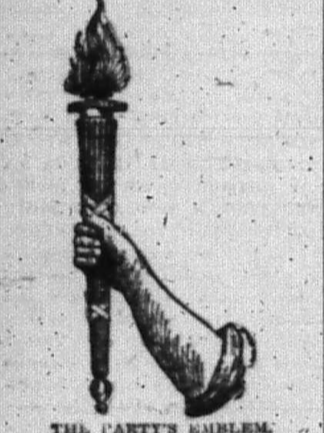
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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Table showing Socialist vote in the United States for various years: 1858 (Presidential) 2,005; 1890 13,331; 1892 (Presidential) 81,187; 1894 133,123; 1896 (Presidential) 26,594; 1898 92,304; S. D. P. 9,543; 1900 (Presidential) 96,918; S. L. P. 33,450.

NEW YORK CITY TICKET.

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



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

Contrary to our usual rule, a very large amount of space in this week given to long and more or less theoretical articles and many matters of interest in the world of Labor are passed over or treated but lightly. This is due to the fact that this is the last issue before the Convention. We ask those of our readers who are not much interested in internal party affairs to pardon this, which will be in their eyes a defect, and to await our coming issues, in which we hope to announce the settlement of many internal questions and the reorganization of the party upon a basis which will enable us to carry on a more lively, a more aggressive, and a more effective propaganda of Socialism than ever before.

Capitalist judges cannot enjoin Socialist votes.

Seventh National Bank wreckers are not yet arrested. Perhaps the law divides breaking in on their summer vacation.

For some reason, the American consul at Bremen, Germany, fails to lay the blame of the very bad condition of trade in that country upon Socialism. This betrays a lack of political enterprise that should subject him to immediate recall.

Channey Dewey is "having a bully time" in Europe, so he says. "Bully" is good, coming from Channey. The New York Central employees learned what that word meant long ago. They've been having a "bully" time under Channey's direction for many years. That's why he's able to have a "bully" time in Europe now.

During the inquest over the disaster which sank the steamer Island ferryboat Northford and cost five lives, it developed that the owners of the two boats that collided had been squabbling over signals and the collision was primarily due to that fact. And the owners of the two boats are still at large and doing their best to get away with their money. Dear old private ownership, what could we do without you?

Out of the many labor bills introduced into the Pennsylvania legislature during the past session, one of the very few that became a law was one increasing the number of unscrupulous mining inspectors and providing for their election by the people. The bill was closely watched by the miners' lobbying committee to prevent any attempt at dictating, so when the bill passed, there was exceeding great joy in the industry. Now it turns out that through a glaring error in the bill, its

entire purpose may be destroyed and all the expense and energy used in its passage has probably gone for naught. The miners should be used to this sort of thing by this time, but they never seem to tire of electing capitalist legislators to perform the trick with unflinching regularity. The working people evidently like to play the leading role in a green goods performance, only the role is a tragic one, if they would but see it. "Gold bricks" in the shape of worthless labor laws will continue to be imposed upon them while they evince a partiality for hocco games.

THE TASK OF THE CONVENTION.

Next Monday the delegates of Socialist organizations from all over the land will meet in Indianapolis and begin their work for the organization of a united Socialist movement. In another week we shall know the result of their deliberations, shall know whether they have deserved the confidence reposed in them and have been able to rise above factionalism, above personal and sectional feeling, above petty prejudice, vanity, and pride of opinion, to the resolute courage of action and the no less essential power of forbearance required of the successful revolutionist.

We believe that the Convention will succeed in the performance of its task. We believe the delegates realize the sacredness of their duty and their obligation to the great mass, the rank and file of the party, the ones who work and sacrifice without reward or praise and the result of whose labors lies so largely in the power of these, their chosen representatives, by their wisdom to be trusted most efficiently to the service of the Social Revolution or by their folly to be wasted in discord and strife.

We believe we speak for the rank and file when we say that we want complete organic unity, from bottom to top, through all the land. We want no trace of past divisions to be visible in our completed unity.

There is little doubt that this demand will now be fully recognized. But care must be taken lest its fulfillment be endangered by stubborn dispute upon the details of organization. This is no light matter, no question to be settled with a phrase or put aside with a wave of the hand. There is an attention to detail which is frivolous and contemptible—a factious love of technicality which is most fatal to great movements. But there is also an attention to detail which is most necessary, which finds nothing too small for thoughtful consideration, and yet maintains its sense of proportion and knows how to subordinate small matters to great. To create a party machinery that will work to strike the happy median between despotic centralization and anarchic local autonomy, to secure control over party officials without hampering them in the performance of their duties—this will require more than generous enthusiasm and good will; it will require calm and conscientious deliberation.

And on this point especially it is important that our delegates show the fullest confidence in the collective honesty and intelligence of the party, that they be not frightened by bogies of the past or phantoms of the future. Let them seek to frame an organization that CAN DO GOOD, rather than one that CANNOT DO HARM. We have less cause to fear an executive that may occasionally overstep its powers than an executive whose hands are tied with excessive restrictions. The former can at least be overthrown if it abuses its powers; the latter is sure to degenerate into a red-tape machine or into an intriguing clique—and lucky if it is not both at once.

There is but one matter which might give the Convention legitimate cause of failure to effect unity. If there be a real difference of principle, then unity would become a disaster as well as a farce. If there be any present who do not accept the class struggle as the basis of our movement, if there be any who do not accept independent political action as its inflexible rule, then we do not see how these can conscientiously seek unity with those who accept both, or how the latter can conscientiously accede to such union.

But we see no reason for believing that there is any such real difference of principle. Every day brings us new evidence that the rank and file of our party, in all its factions, fully accept these fundamental ideas. Indeed, the working class outside the movement is learning these lessons in the factory even better than we can teach them through our propaganda. If there be any individuals who reject them, we are sure that they are out of touch with the real living movement, and that they represent no considerable force.

The question of "immediate demands" is a matter of detail. It is not a trivial detail—we unhesitatingly say that we favor the retention of such a program, consistently arranged, as an integral part of our platform—but yet it is a question of method rather than of principle. For all seem to agree that we should welcome and urge on our members such measures; they differ only in that some think that this will best be accomplished by declaring ONLY for our ultimate aim, while others (with whom we agree that that ultimate aim will be the more readily

understood if we give a recognized but subordinate place to an exposition of these ameliorative measures. For the main portion of our platform, we see no reason why it should be nitch changed. Our party is more than a propaganda organization, but it is also more than an ordinary political party. Its platform must be more than a declaration of our purpose; it must be an exposition of our principles. "Let the nation own the trusts" is an admirable agitation phrase, but it would be a poor platform. A mere declaration, to two or three sentences, for collective ownership of the means of production, would state our purpose, but it would not explain our principles, and it would carry conviction.

In its deliberations on all these questions, the Convention must be guided by the common sense rule of seeking to keep all that is good of the past, while rejecting what has been found bad, and of adapting existing forms, with the least possible waste of energy, to the new conditions of our larger world.

That the Convention will be enthusiastic we know. That it may also be thoughtful we desire. And that it may succeed in its work we hope, in the interest, not of any faction, not of our party alone, but of the toiling and suffering millions for whose emancipation it exists.

MR. TOWNE'S FRANK AVOWAL.

Charles A. Towne of Minnesota, who once had visions of political greatness as the champion of free silver, admits that the silver issue is dead and explains the situation in the following words:

"Free silver as an issue is absolutely dead in the West. I do not believe it will be mentioned in the Democratic platform or campaign of 1904. The feeling among Democrats in the West is that they want to win, and they do not care a rap what kind of a platform they have so long as it brings victory."

For once Mr. Towne has stated the facts exactly as they are, without attempting to disguise them in "Jeffersonian" cant and gorgeous rhetoric. The Democratic party, just like the Republican party, wants to win, and it does not care a rap about principles.

Of course, if this were applied to the great mass of the men who have voted the Democratic ticket, who have supported Mr. Towne and Mr. Bryan through two disastrous campaigns, it would be a base libel. The rank and file of the voters have honestly believed that their party was right, and have had no interest in political victory except as it would mean the establishment of what they considered true principles.

But the Democratic party is something quite different from the mass of Democratic voters, just as the Republican party is something quite different from the mass of Republican voters. The platforms and policies of these parties are made by the machine, by the professional politicians who have just two ends in view: First, to serve the interests of their class backers; second, to feather their own nests with the perquisites of office. And they make and change platforms and policies with the sole consideration of "catching votes."

The workmen of the West who have honestly supported Mr. Towne will be sorry to hear of his desertion. But let them long no time in grieving or in recrimination. Let them, instead, resolve that henceforth they will depend on their own class, and on it alone, for the political advancement of their class interests. Let them decide that they will no longer look for leaders or nest-holders, but that they will band themselves together as workmen, conscious of their wrongs and determined to right them. Let them study for themselves the conditions under which they live and work out by frank mutual discussion the means of improving those conditions. And then, having thought together, let them act together for their common good.

Mr. Towne has done a real service to the Socialist movement by his frank avowal of the insincerity and the mercenary motives of the so-called "reform" parties.

The charge is made that Chicago merchants are making use of a dangerous poison to keep fruit and vegetables from rotting on their hands. Chemists testify that a very mild dilution of the poison sprayed upon potatoes or fruit is enough to bring great suffering to the people eating the food so treated. This is nothing short of murder on a diabolical and long drawn out scale, but modern business methods tolerate and demand murder of this kind. For how are the merchants to compete and make profits if they do not use such methods? It is all a "business" and the man who is so scrupulous as to shut his eyes and smother his conscience at the dictates of "business" will go to the wall. His name spells ruin before he begins. And who are the people that are poisoned? The wealthy class? Oh, no! They can afford good food, and their purveyors see that they get it. It is the workers, who work on hard and get so little, who are the victims of the food and confectionery commercialism. They have to take what their scant wages will buy, and as they are only working people, the merchants continue their soulless traffic without mercy, and grow rich in pocket and class high in

good society by reason of it. Little need the bourgeois care while the working people continue to vote for the system of private ownership and profit that not only impoverishes them but numbers them slowly and surely into the bargain.

More than ordinary interest attaches to the news that there has been a strike on Sir Thomas Lipton's Shamrock II, and that he will fill the strikers' places with scabs in order to sail the yacht in American waters. Not that it is anything unusual for the titled groceryman to handle labor troubles in this way. Not at all. Long ago his treatment of his employees in his stores throughout Great Britain has been known as harsh and outrageous in the extreme. That is one of the ways by which he got rich, just like our own Carnegie and others did. Labor unions in England distrust Lipton with much the same vigor that the trade unions in America distrust Carnegie. But what makes the yacht incident most interesting at this time, is the probable attitude the trade unions will assume toward Lipton when he arrives here to compete for the cup. Will they again lead themselves to the laudatory so-called hospitality they have been led to believe necessary? Or will they consistently and openly lay a boycott upon Lipton and the yacht race, and show clearly that they place the cause of labor above a millionaire's race for a worthless laurel?

Secretary Gage estimates that the surplus of the fiscal year will be nearly \$80,000,000. If he will give us an estimate of the surplus value absorbed by the employing class from the unpaid labor of the workers for the current year we will acknowledge our gratitude to him. This is a form of "surplus revenue" that is conspicuous by its absence in the reports from Washington.

Chicago Workers' Call. Speaking of the recent hot spell, the "Tribune" gives the following sage advice: "The facts justify the conclusion that it is advisable to slacken the working pace in extremely hot weather." But there are also several other facts that not only don't justify the conclusion, but on the contrary render it "inadvisable" besides. One is that "slackening the working pace" tends to reduce the profits of the employer, while on the other hand the wage slaves who attempted to "slack up" would speedily discover that his job was imperilled by the practice. Had the "Tribune" inserted a proviso in its advice to the effect that wages should be reduced in proportion to the slackening, there might be less danger in accepting it, but under present conditions it is evidently impracticable. Capitalism supplies too much "incentive" to permit its universal adoption.

Philadelphia New Era. Great alarm was felt in some quarters while our industrial masters were crossing the ocean. Some timid souls were afraid the world would go to smash if the Democratic ticket were won on an orthodox platform. Morgan can't run a locomotive, Griseom can't sail a ship, Wildener can't put up trolley poles and string wires on them, and Elkins can't build cars. If these gentlemen had gone to Davy Jones' locker there would be some seventeen millions of people, who know how to, and do work, left. The billionaires could not take the mines, the forests and farms with them, and with these left to us we could manage to get along.

Social Democratic Herald. The students of wealth and want, of progress and poverty, of providence and piracy, etc., have object lessons challenging their powers of investigation in the mysterious processes of evolution in these notable estates created during the nineteenth century—the Astor, the Vanderbilt, and the Gould estates. The Astor estate evolved from a coon skin, the Vanderbilt estate from a mud scow, and the Gould estate from a mouse trap. These estates have all grown to colossal proportions within a century. The Astor estate, the least spectacular of the three because confined to real estate, lands, and buildings about which the great public know absolutely nothing, except that it is monstrously large. The Vanderbilt and the Gould estates attract more attention because they involve in a large measure public interests in the way of transportation. In the aggregate these estates are estimated at \$750,000,000. Their owners never performed a day's work in all of their lives. The Astor collected rents and the Gould collected toll and extended the lines of their railroads over the continent and are, therefore, constantly in the public eye. Labor, and only labor, has contributed in making such estates possible.

BOTTLE TRUST LAUNCHED. It has just been made public that a trust in the flat bottle industry has been formed. Every one of the fifty manufacturers of glass bottles in the United States is included. The capitalization of the new trust is \$20,000,000, and it will control the flat glass industry of the country. The manufacturers declare that competition has become so keen that profits were all but wiped out, and it was finally suggested that they get together for self-preservation. The immediate effect of the consolidation was a raise in prices, and the other industries affected are getting ready to take it out of the consumers.

It is common conclusion to know that these trusts are conspiring for the common good. It is more likely to be suggested that the people own them.

THE TASK OF THE CONVENTION.

An Unparalleled Opportunity to Organize the Socialist Forces for Future Progress.

The approaching Indianapolis convention will certainly eclipse all preceding Socialist conventions in this country in the magnitude and importance of the task before it.

For the first time in the history of this country Socialism bids fair to assume the dimensions of a real national movement. The closing years of the last century were replete with many glaring manifestations of the class struggle on the political and economic fields which did not pass unheeded by a large number of intelligent workmen. In almost every state and territory of the union there are indications of a complete revolution in the minds of the workmen; they are beginning to feel in their old political views and parties; hundreds of them are joining the Socialist camp every month, and thousands of others are flocking to Socialism. The only thing required to shape these popular currents and to organize these elements in a well directed battle against the forces of capital is a Socialist party abreast of the times.

The Indianapolis convention will create such a party, and thus become one of the greatest landmarks in the history of the movement; or it will miss the splendid opportunity which thus become a lamentable failure. Whether it will do the one or the other the future will show. The one question we can make at the present stage is, that the convention will certainly contain all the necessary material and elements to make it an unequalled success. If present indications do not deceive the representation will be larger than at any preceding Socialist convention; the delegates will be composed of some of the most active and intelligent workers in the country, and they will have more freedom of action than ever before.

The recent troubles within the ranks of the Socialist parties have served to weaken the authority of former forms of party organization and administration; the delegates will be emancipated by party ties and traditions, and free to create a practically new party adapted to the needs of the times in all respects.

How can such a party be created, is the question of paramount importance facing the convention. The question has been vigorously agitated in our party press for the last few weeks, and I will now contribute a few suggestions to the discussion.

The ideal Socialist party is one which has: First, a clear and definite understanding of scientific Socialism as applied to the special conditions of the country in which it is organized, and knows how to express its views tersely and lucidly. 2. An intelligent, active and enthusiastic membership, and a union for the propaganda of Socialism on a well planned system of division of labor and in complete harmony with each other. I. e. AN EFFICIENT FORM OF ORGANIZATION. Let us consider these propositions separately.

THE PLATFORM.

Much has been said and written of late under that head, which betrays a somewhat superficial conception of the subject: A Socialist party is more than an ordinary political party. It is also a party of propaganda and education, and its platform is more than the platform of an ordinary political party. It is also a declaration of fundamental principles and a program of action. While the platforms of purely political parties are merely called upon to comment upon passing conditions and outline a line of action and demands suitable to those conditions as a kind of prospectus for the voters, a Socialist platform is at the same time also a test of qualification for membership and a guide for the actions of any representative it may elect inside or outside of the party.

Socialism denotes a state of society, as well as the movement to realize that state of society, and a well drawn platform should make a full and lucid declaration of Socialism in that final meaning, i. e. it should contain a terse description of the material basis upon which the movement is founded—the present industrial system with its most salient concomitant features, such as the class struggle, concentration of capital, growth of the proletariat, etc.; the tendencies of that system and the final stage of its development—Socialism; and also the ways and means by which we expect to reach that stage—our plan of action.

The first portion of that declaration are contained in the body of the platform and the last portion in the "immediate demands." One is just as much an organic part of the platform as the other in the same way as Socialist views are just as much part of Socialism as Socialist activity and vice versa.

From this point of view I am unable to agree with those who would like to see the platform boiled down to such a size that it could be printed on an envelope or postal card, as well as with those who advocate the striking of all immediate demands from our platform. The fear that middle class reform parties may steal our thunder by purchasing some of our immediate demands is no reason why we should drop them, or to be consistent, we would have to give up our agitation and activity in the lines indicated by the immediate demands because other parties may also take up those issues, and we may remain ineffectively waiting for the social revolution in company with our anarchistic friends.

Our platform should be just as brief as consistent with clearness and completeness and so direct. It should be neither a tedious philosophical discourse nor an offhand dictionary definition.

THE TASK OF THE CONVENTION.

will be a matter of impossibility at least until the Socialist movement in this country has fully developed to its full extent. While the party is weak and scattered in small organizations all over the country, a central administrative body with large powers is the only thing that will unite these scattered bodies into one compact party, and extend and strengthen the organization. A very strong national committee is the mark of a very weak party. The more the organizations grow in any one state the less is the intervention of the national committee in its internal affairs necessary or even useful, and whenever all states of the union will be well and fully organized, so that each state will be capable to take care of its own affairs, the functions of the national committee will of necessity be limited to the management of national campaigns, representing the party in external matters, and perhaps serving as a means of communication between various state organizations.

But have we already reached that point? The most sanguine of optimists will not say that we have. As yet there are many states totally unorganized, and many others too weak to take care of themselves. The spread of our movement to the unorganized states, and to assist the weaker states is a task which only a national committee, a committee with funds, and an income, and meeting at frequent intervals can perform. The cry of "state autonomy" has its justification in a very limited sense so far. The result of leaving each state to its own resources at the present stage of the movement would be the retarding of the movement in a considerable part of the country.

If it is true, however, that the state organizations have gained much strength of late, and the convention should recognize that fact by increasing the powers and revenues of the state committees. For instance, the state committee should retain a larger portion of the membership dues than heretofore. It should issue its own charters to locals within its territory, etc. Should it appear within a few years that the useful duties of the national executive committee have become merely nominal, why may not the national committee be further limited its powers and extend those of the state committees.

As long, however, as the national executive committee has necessary work to perform, organize it on a working plan and provide it with the necessary means. And in connection with this I believe the plan advanced by Courade Harriman is in so far the best as it provides for a working body subject at all times to the control of the party.

M. HILLQUIT.

SOCIALIST ECONOMICS.

Being an Attempt to Present the Main Principles of Scientific Socialism in Popular Language.

V.—LABOR-POWER AS A COMMODITY.

I have sought to show, in the last two articles, that under the capitalist system, labor-power is a commodity, a thing to be bought and sold in the market and that its price, like that of every other commodity, is fixed by the cost of production—in this case, by the cost of living. I shall now try to make clear how it follows that Socialism is the only means by which the condition of the working class can be materially or permanently improved.

In society as it exists to-day a workman has but one commodity to offer for sale—his labor-power. This labor-power may be mere physical strength, with the smallest amount of skill or intelligence. It may be skill or manual dexterity, natural to the individual or acquired by long experience and training. It may be knowledge, gained by careful education. It may be and generally is, two or all of these combined in varying degrees. In any case this labor-power is of hand or brain, or both, is the sole stock in trade of the proletarian. And the proletarian gets his living by periodically selling this labor-power at such terms as he can get.

In several particulars labor-power differs from other commodities—and always the difference is to the disadvantage of the workman. It is necessary here to discuss only two of the points of difference—the fact that, unlike other commodities, labor-power is always owned in small quantities; and the fact that, again unlike other commodities, labor-power cannot be saved or withheld from the market.

From the first of these facts it follows that the workman, the seller of labor-power, has always to labor under the disadvantage of being a "small dealer." It is the universal tendency, in every other sort of traffic, for small trade to give place to great commerce, for competition to result in combination. Wheat, potatoes, cotton, iron, sugar, petroleum—all can be combined, that is, the whole or the greater part of the stock in the market can be brought left the hands of a single owner, or of a few owners who will act in unison. This may be done indirectly, as when a dealer buys up nearly all of the wheat offered by small producers, or directly, as when a Rockefeller gets hold of the source of nearly all the petroleum. In either case, the owner of the great stock has a great advantage, and is able to sell at much better terms than do the small holders. But the workman has control only of his own individual labor-power. The only way in which this commodity can be combined is by a combination of its owners, the wage-workers, as in a trade-union. It will soon be seen why such a combination can never be so successful as the combination in the hands of the owners of iron, petroleum and sugar, etc.

The second point of difference noted between labor-power and other commodities is that the former cannot be withheld from the market. Here, again, it will be seen that the seller of labor-power is at a disadvantage. Let us compare him, for instance, with the farmer. The latter depends for his living on the sale of his wheat, potatoes,

and pork. But he has some choice in the time of selling. If he goes to the market and finds prices very low, he can go home and keep his produce till the next week, when better terms will be had. His decision to hold his wheat till next spring without much danger of losing it. The small farmer can always do this to some extent. The large farmer can do it better. And in proportion an agricultural passes into the hands of very large capitalist concerns, the owners of farm produce are better able to hold it back from the market, and so to command better prices for it. Not so the workman. His only commodity is his own labor-power. He must sell it daily in order to get his value. If he loses work for a week that week's labor-power is irretrievably lost.

This fact becomes more evident whenever the workmen and the capitalists are brought face to face in a strike—especially if the strike be a large one, if both sides be well organized, and if the matter in dispute be one of such importance as to make it worth while on both sides to fight it out to the end. The struggle then settles down to a trial of endurance.

The capitalist, at the worst, does not suffer an absolute loss. He is not compelled to burn fuel, consume raw material, and meet the other expenses of production without a return. He merely fails, for so many weeks or months, to get the profits that he expected to get. And sometimes even this negative loss is partly or wholly counterbalanced. The price of the product rises and he is able to dispose of his stock at an unusual rate of profit; and this unusually high price may continue some time after the strike is settled. Strikes are, indeed, sometimes welcomed by the employer as giving him an opportunity to "redeem the market" without incurring the odium of a shut-down or a cut of wages.

With the workman it is quite different. His expenses go on the same, whether he is working or not. He must live, and in order to live he must have food, clothing, fuel. While the strike temporarily interrupts both the expenditures and the income of the capitalist, it interrupts only the income of the workman. And the workman has no "stock on hand" to dispose of. His one commodity, labor-power, is of such a nature that he cannot store it up and hold it until prices rise. If wages do rise, if the strike is won, the increase applies only to the future, not at all to the past.

Exactly the same contrast appears when, on account of the lowness of prices, however caused, the employer decides to shut down his factory. By so doing he raises the prices of goods already produced as well as of goods to be produced in the future. But the workman suffers an actual loss, because his labor-power will be maintained and reproduced by food, etc., whether they work or not, but does not, during the time of the shut-down, bring them any return whatever.

We have, then, this fact: That the workman lives by the sale of his labor-power and that the price of this commodity—that is, the wages of labor—is determined pretty closely by the cost of the workman's living. We have this further fact: That labor-power is a peculiar commodity in that, while it must be reproduced from day to day, it cannot be withheld from the market, cannot be saved in order to get better prices, but must be sold from day to day, or not at all. There is, as other peculiar quality about this, the only commodity of the working class: That it is the only commodity which, in being used up, gives rise to a value greater than that which is being consumed. Of this we shall speak in the next article, under the head, "What is Profit?"

Current Literature.

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

THE CHILDREN OF THE NATION: A STUDY OF COLONIZATION AND ITS PROBLEMS. By Pauline Bigelow. N. Y. S. D. P. 86c. pp. 311. 30c. This is a book of the most interesting and most traveled of philosophers. Mr. Bigelow has traveled extensively, visiting the nations of the earth and their children; he kept his eyes open in his travels and reflected on what he saw. His observations and conclusions on the relations between children and their mothers, together with a broad historical sketch of the colonizing movements of our four continents, are presented in this book, which is greatly to be commended. The type and the most philosophic of travelers, the most traveled of philosophers. It must be said that Mr. Bigelow himself is rather better as a traveler and narrator than as a philosopher.

In general, the failures in the world's colonizing are attributed to corruption and greed, and the successes to liberal administration and free opportunity. Spain and Portugal were the most elaborate, expansionists, but they sought only to fill the home coffers, and cared for neither the natives whom they conquered nor the colonists whom they ruled; they exploited both "for all they were worth." France, however, while also a "Latin" nation, gives her dependencies excellent administration, but because of the Frenchman's reluctance to emigrate and his distrust of colonial self-government, his colonies are simply good homes for aliens, principally Italian and Spanish. France is doing a great work as a civilization, but she is a blessing to a country "so far as it means good roads, efficient police, courts of justice, harbor works, and other necessary expenditure." But France does not benefit from it all.

Germany's official colonizing is a failure, because it is a mass of red tape which upholds the flag, indeed, but which hinders trade. But the Germans, like the Scandinavians, the Finns, the Chinese, are successful colonizers unofficially; these people migrate to foreign lands, taking their industry and thrift and other virtues with them, becoming good citizens and prosperous, to their own advancement and the credit of their respective fatherlands—for which they always retain an affectionate regard. Russian off-

cial colonization is the most complete on record. "The Czar has moved his people eastward for political and strategic reasons, because he required an army of occupation, and the cheapest army was the one which handled the hoe as well as the rifle." Russia's success has been due to her complete control of some 200,000 two-legged creatures on the social and intellectual level of domestic cattle. "The Russian alone has sought to fuse with the Chinese, but China sets the limit to Russia's expansion."

The Anglo-Saxon has been prominent as a colonizer, because of his capacity for self-government. Wherever colonies have had self-government, they have flourished. Whenever, for any reason, colonies of other nations came under the power of England they revived and prospered; when they returned to their original owners, they languished and decayed except where the English influence had become permanent.

From his survey of the world's experience in this field, Mr. Bigelow concludes that America, which has so recently become interested in these problems, must take warning and profit from the examples of other nations, and develop a school for trained administrators, to give our outlying territories a government based on "best-practice" principles. "History is more than a jumble of great men and striking events. The author tells us that 'the moving forces of this world cannot be put into the scales and weighed.' * * * Loyalty, respect for parents, patriotism, religion—these are the forces that move the world, not factory-wheels and banking concerns." Yes, indeed, loyalty and patriotism, and religion, humane sentiments, enthusiasm for right and justice, love of liberty, civility, anything you please—but factories, banks, greed, factory balances, interests! Goodness me, by no means.

We learn from Mr. Bigelow's study of colonization and its problems that the church has always found it easy to justify institutions that were worth while in a worldly way; that private interests have always succeeded in educating public "sentiment" in the proper channels; that merchants never allowed patriotism to interfere with trade—which "follows the flag" only when it leads along the line of greatest profit; that after the Jews, the Jesuits who tried to civilize the heathen and to protect him against his Christian exploiters received the greatest attention in the way of persecution. "Columbus knew that anything would be forgiven provided gold was procured; but that nothing could atone for an empty chest." Just so; and Columbus tracked the way of empire; thus, was the world. We need not sneer at the priests and friars, or at the planters and merchants who professed to believe that Providence intended the "gentle Carib" and the miserable negro to carry the white man's burden for him. The best of us to-day believe things that will be as shocking to the humanist at the other end of the century. There were abolitionists in 1510—yes, and what did they get for their pains? There are abolitionists to-day—always have been; but there is also freebooters, and "pioneers" and "emigrants" and business methods.

Let us do our own philosophizing. In gathering the material presented in this book, Mr. Bigelow huddled better than he knew, but the philosophy of colonization and the problems must be left to others.

Oppression has meant the government of one class according to the interests of another—as the governing of colonists, planters, "natives," in the interests of merchants, officials, soldiers. Colonies so governed have failed. Liberty and opportunity have meant self-government—the government by a class in its own philosophical interests. Colonies so governed have succeeded. The same principles apply to all government; when there are none to exploit, none will suffer from exploitation.

In general, the Latin races have been more short-sighted than the Anglo-Saxons; but their motives were not one whit worse. Books like the present teach us that the children of the nations are at least conscious, while the children of man—in spite of the inefficiency of their brains, in spite of the cruelty of the Malay, in spite of the shortsightedness in many lands are all, all brothers; that the "moving forces" are about the same for all of us, because we are all made of the same stuff—whether we accept Darwin or Genesis.

The book makes very pleasant reading, some parts especially being delightful. The historical data are for the most part accurate, and the numerous biographical and personal notes are very interesting, though not always as relevant. The type and paper are agreeable to the eye, and the binding is unusually good; the typography, too, is excellent, but alas for the dream of human perfection, half the pages in the sixth signature are transposed, while the decorative covering design is just disheartening, and that's no joke.

H. E. B.

MALLEABLE IRON TRUST.

It is reported that J. Pierpont Morgan is behind a movement to consolidate thirty of the largest malleable iron factories. It is said to be the plan to control essentially the malleable iron industry of the country. Some of the plants have no legal making a profit, and they will be consolidated the trust be formed. By consolidating the different plants and controlling the industry a larger profit is promised.

DRESSMAKERS' TRUST.

A dressmakers' trust has been formed under the name of the Dressmakers' Protective Association, with a capital of \$200,000. The headquarters are in New York. The trust will control the importation of models of styles abroad, thus doing away with the necessity of individual dressmaking firms throughout the country sending representatives to Paris every year.

Judging by the orders coming in to the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York, for the book "Before an Audience," by Nathan Sheppard, several hundred comrades have cast up their mind to become Socialist errands for our campaign.

NEW TENDENCIES IN AMERICAN SOCIALISM.

The Problem Is to Adapt Our Methods to New Conditions Without Losing the Fruit of Past Labors.

BY A. M. SIMONS. We are allowed to print this following article from the "International Socialist Review"...

ARE WE READY? One thing is certain. This fiercely fermenting new world demands new bottles. A mighty social upheaval, a great political party, an economic revolution cannot be confined within the bounds of a fraternal society for propaganda purposes.

A CRITICAL MOMENT. One thing is sure, and that is that in the midst of the most tremendous political, social, and industrial changes the world has ever known, the one who will be the most intelligent Socialist thinker...

DISCIPLINE AND DISCUSSION. Purty of economic doctrine can no longer be secured through party discipline. The time is even now here when the attempt to avert economic heresy by personal expunction becomes the broadest of burlesques.

CHANGING OF THE OLD PARTIES. Within the political parties all is chaos. In the height of its power the Republican party is panic-stricken...

THE FAILURE OF JONESISM. The fallacy of Mayor Jones' policy of no party receives a striking exemplification in his own particular case. Here we have a man whose platform approaches very close to that of Socialism...

THE SOCIALIST IDEAL. Oh, men and women true, once more take heed! Join hearts and hands, and clear the road! Let us not waste our time on the old, but let us be honest, honest work we have to do.

By a recent decision the Supreme Court of Ohio practically killed the law compelling convict-killed the law as such. It cost Ohio millions a good sized bunch of money to get the law through.

fraternal struggle is for the Socialists of America to decide. But if there is national unity, local diversity is no less a fact. There is as great variation in economic conditions between Maine, South Carolina, New York, Mississippi, Illinois, Florida, Dakota, and California, as between Germany, Belgium, France, Norway, Italy, and Spain.

Under the conditions of the future the maintenance of a membership in a dues-paying organization will be rather a mark of greater activity for Socialism than a test of Socialist orthodoxy. The party machine will be an instrument of coordination and communication, not of discipline and regulation.

HAT TRUST That Will Control the Hat Industry is the Latest on the Cards—Trouble Ahead for the Workers. Plans are being devised by the hat manufacturers of New Jersey and Connecticut, looking to the organization of a hat trust, which will control the leading hat factories of the country.

Over the Water. There is alarm in Austria among the manufacturers over the damage accruing to their business through American competition. Deputy Baumann has been commissioned by the representatives of the boat and shoe trade to question the Lower Austrian Diet as to what that body intends to do with regard to the threatened invasion of the Vienna market by an American syndicate.

THE CONVENTION WORK. Editor of The Worker. As the time approaches when Socialists from all over the country will meet in convention at Indianapolis, I feel it my duty to bring to the attention of the workers in this country some of the points which are being discussed in the various papers and pamphlets which are being distributed in the country.

THE CONQUEST OF DETROIT. Editor of The Worker. In the "Workers Call" of July 11, Comrade Simons writes with regard to the Detroit strike, that the Socialists who participated in it were not a party in name, but in fact.

STRIKES AND SOCIALISM. Editor of The Worker. A day passes by without increasing the number of strikes in this country and the spirit of solidarity and Socialism grows. The workers are beginning to realize that they are not only fighting for their own interests, but for the interests of the whole people.

Don't write on both sides of paper. CORRESPONDENCE. Don't send anonymous letters. The Conquest of Detroit. Editor of The Worker. In the "Workers Call" of July 11, Comrade Simons writes with regard to the Detroit strike, that the Socialists who participated in it were not a party in name, but in fact.

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