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# The Worker.

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## THE SITUATION IN GERMANY.

### Socialists Making More Trouble for the Kaiser and Capitalists.

#### The Parliamentary Methods of the "Law and Order" Class—The Krupp Affair—Bebel's Reply to Emperor William—Spread of Socialism Throws Ruling Classes into Panic.

During the last few months the German Socialists have so harassed and embarrassed the government as to enrage the Kaiser and bring consternation and dismay to the ruling class. In his determination to maintain a great military establishment the German Emperor has been seeking to greatly increase the tariff tax on food products. As this burden would fall most heavily on the working class, the Socialists used every possible means to secure the defeat of the law. So successful were their tactics that the governmental parties were compelled to adopt the most extreme methods of gang-rule in order to force the bill through. This violation of parliamentary law and constitutional right by the agrarians and clericals was so flagrant as to call forth condemnation even in conservative circles. The recent proceedings in the German Reichstag show once again that the capitalist class which poses as the defender of "law and order" will stop at no methods, however illegal, to attain its ends. As a reward for forcing the tariff law through, the Emperor offered Chancellor von Bülow the title of Prince. The title was declined, von Bülow probably realizing that the title of Prince, given to Bismarck for achievements so much greater, would only make him ridiculous when awarded for such a shameful and petty success.

#### The Krupp Affair.

One of the greatest beneficiaries of the military policy and the strongest supporters of imperial despotism was Herr Krupp, the head of the great arm and ordnance firm. The Reichstag "Vorwärts," the great Socialist daily, published an exposure, that Krupp was practicing the most revolting "unnatural vices" at his winter residence on the island of Capri. A libel suit was at once started against "Vorwärts," but Krupp died a few days later. The Emperor saw an opportunity in this fact to turn public sentiment against the Socialists, and attended the funeral and made a most violent attack upon the Socialist movement, eulogizing Krupp's character, eulogizing him as a public benefactor and friend of the workingman, and charging the Socialists with his death. The capitalist press of America, which joined the Emperor in his laudation of Krupp and rebuke of the "wicked Socialists," in almost every case failed to mention the real nature of the Krupp exposure. In answer to the Emperor's eulogy of Krupp's "generosity" and "benevolence," "Vorwärts" showed that the Krupp system of insurance, pensions, etc., for employees, was simply a shrewd method of reducing wages, increasing exploitation, and destroying the last vestige of personal liberty. It has since become known that the Emperor was considering a request of Krupp's wife that he be deprived of legal rights and placed under a guardian account of his habits, and that physicians were sent to examine into his sanity just before he died. It is supposed that he committed suicide. His body was so carefully guarded that the true manner of his death could not be learned.

#### Capitalists Alarmed.

"Vorwärts" publishes a secret circular signed by the leaders of the feudal nobility and industrial plutocracy, and appealing to the capitalist elements for contributions to a fund of 300,000 marks for the purpose of publishing and distributing eight million pamphlets against Socialism. The circular begins as follows: "Right Honorable Sir: The Social Democracy received, in the Reichstag's elections, vote: 181-312,000; 1884-550,000; 1887-703,000; 1890-1,427,000; 1893-1,787,000; 1898-2,212,000, and would probably poll two and one-half million votes in the coming Reichstag election if its growth only remained the same. But the Socialists expect to poll 3,000,000 votes, at least, so the leaders have declared at their national convention in Munich. The Socialist party will then contest the second ballot in still more election precincts than in 1898 and expects to win out, in consequence of the greater intensity of industrial, denominational, and national antagonisms between the non-Socialist parties, even in those precincts where such a possibility was not given before.

"Unfortunately, we must, therefore, anticipate a considerable increase of Socialist representation in the Reichstag, who now number 58, and thus a greater influence of this party, which is already strongly felt in the Reichstag. What a danger it would be to have the Socialists assume a dominating position in the Reichstag needs no explanation.

"To forestall this danger with all our strength is a duty which is dictated by national, social, industrial, and ethical motives. This sounds very much like the circulars of our own American National Association of Manufacturers and Na-

## DAILY GLOBE FAIR.

### Unions Showing Increased Interest in the Undertaking.

#### Fourteen Organizations Added to the Roll at Last Session of the Daily Globe Conference—Notes and Amounts in Regard to the Fair.

The last meeting of the Daily Globe Conference held on Thursday, Feb. 12, was well attended and considerable work for the Fair was done. Fourteen new unions affiliated themselves with the Conference at this meeting, which shows how the daily paper proposition is taking hold of the labor organizations in this city. Comrades representing the different district organizations of the party are required not to fail to appear at these conferences, for there has been in the past a lack of attendance of such delegates. The various districts of the party should send delegates, who are elected who will attend to the duty imposed upon them.

The next meeting of the Daily Globe Conference will take place at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, on Thursday, Feb. 26, at that body has decided to meet twice a month until after the Fair.

The next meeting of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association, which should regularly be held on Feb. 23, is postponed until the second Monday in March, in view of the fact that Feb. 23 is a legal holiday and the day of the "Volkszeitung" Jubilee.

#### Sale of Tickets.

From present indications it seems that the tickets for the Fair are going very well. Comrades should see that their organizations are supplied and the Fair benefit as extensively as possible. Members of any organizations which have not yet been supplied with tickets are requested to inform Secretary Butcher of the fact, so that the oversight may be corrected.

Returns for tickets sold should be made as promptly as possible, as a considerable amount of money is needed to cover preliminary expenses. All returns are to be made to the Secretary, William Butcher, at 64 East Fourth street, not through the Worker, and comrades making returns by mail should give the numbers of the tickets retained.

In general no public acknowledgment can be made through the Worker for tickets sold, on account of limitations of space, but by special request the Secretary notes that the Trunk Makers' Union has bought \$3 worth and the International Arbeiter Unterstrituungs Verein \$5 worth.

#### Collection of Presents.

Many of the comrades are heeding the request of the Committee in sending in the presents they have either donated personally or collected from others. All who hold donation books were asked to see to it that the presents on their books are sent to 64 East Fourth street at once, and when the presents are of such a nature as to require the sending of a wagon the Committee requests that they be notified.

Within about a fortnight the Executive Committee will call a general meeting of all bodies interested in the undertaking for the purpose of electing the committees needed at the Fair and assign to each committee the work it will be called upon to do prior to and during the Fair.

## NEW JERSEY.

At the last regular meeting of the State Committee the following resolution for amendment of the state constitution was offered by delegate Frederick Knapp of Hudson County, and adopted and ordered to be embodied in a referendum and submitted to the locals for acceptance or rejection:

"Resolved, That votes counted on referendum in New Jersey be counted only when such votes are cast (as certified by the chairman and secretary of the branch) by members in good standing, at a regular meeting of the branch, and that members desiring to vote shall be required to produce their due-cards in evidence of membership and good standing."

The vote on this referendum must be in the hands of the State Secretary on or before March 7; no votes received after that time will be counted.

At the same meeting of the State Committee, the State Secretary was given instructions, based on a protest of the Third Ward Branch of West Hoboken, endorsed by the Eleventh Ward Branch of Jersey City, to take a new referendum on place and time for holding state convention. The following dates and dates will be voted on: Places—Camden, Camden County; Jersey City, Hudson County; Paterson, Passaic County; Trenton, Mercer County; Newark, Essex County; Butherford, Bergen County; Hoboken, Hudson County; Dates—May 10; May 30; July 4; Labor Day.

"For this referendum also all votes must be returned on or before March 7 and the return from each branch must bear the certification of the Chairman and Secretary to the correctness of return, the acknowledgment of the Financial Secretary of the right of all recorded to vote, and the seal of the branch. Blanks have been sent to all branches.

All returns are to be made to the State Secretary, H. R. Kearns, Arlington, N. J.

"What a luxury a clear conscience is," exclaimed the high-minded statesman. "Yes," answered Senator Sorghum. "It's a luxury. But it isn't a necessity."—Washington Star.

READ THIS AND PASS IT ON.

## ACTIVITY OF MANUFACTURERS.

### The Latest Circular from Mr. Parry's Association.

#### Declares that Organized Capitalism in America Has Effected the Emasculation of the Eight-Hour Bill and Urges Still More Vigorous Action—Capitalists Will Stand by Friends in High Places.

The Worker has at various times during the past six months given considerable notice to the activity of the National Association of Manufacturers, whose utterances are important as showing the class-consciousness of the capitalist class. We have just received a copy of another circular issued by this body to large employers of the country, which is perhaps the best of all. It reproduces it in full:

"Dear Sirs:—The efforts recently put forth by the members of the National Association of Manufacturers and its friends caused the Senate Committee on Education and Labor to amend the Gompers Eight-Hour Bill, just reported to the Senate, that it is no longer acceptable to the American Federation of Labor; indeed, they are determined to try to bring up for consideration in the Senate the original House bill with all its unconstitutional, destructive, and preposterous provisions.

"They will succeed in this unless the manufacturing and employing interests of the country resist to a man their continuing coercion. We have won the first skirmish, but our opponents are still fighting with a new desperation.

"Please write at once to the two Senators from your state, urging that at all hazards they resist any effort to call up either the amended Senate bill or the original House bill; urging that any legislation of the sort would be a great menace and wrong to all the manufacturing and employing interests and, worse even than that, to all employees; pointing out the hard conditions that would be put upon them if it were a 20 per cent. confiscation of your investment in plant and the additional confiscation of just so much for additional wages; and especially pointing out that the manufacturers and employers of the country are united as never before, not merely to resist the unreasonable encroachments of organized labor, but from now on to stand by their friends in high places who are willing to be corrupted enough to do what is absolutely right.

"Be sure to find in this mail, copy of our eight-hour document, full of arguments and worthy of your attention because it has been three months in preparation, requiring 50,000 entries. Please make your letter strong. Please have your Senators understand that you and your friends will resist this business in the last ditch.

"Also please advise our Mr. Cushing who you have done, so that your cooperation with us and our co-operation with you may be as effective as possible.

"Respectfully yours,  
"MARSHALL CUSHING,  
Secretary.  
"D. M. PARRY,  
President."

The "eight-hour document" referred to is a book of 230 pages, entitled "Overwhelming Business and Patriotic Reasons Against the Eight-Hour Bill," and containing an appeal to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor against the bill and statements from some three thousand manufacturing firms all over the United States, declaring their opposition to any such legislation on behalf of the workingmen. Copies of this book have been supplied to Senators and Congressmen and to the capitalists in the Association, but it is carefully kept away from the public.

Some of the most active men in the National Association of Manufacturers, who are there so violently denouncing labor organizations, are also members of the National Economic League, in which they alternate between similar denunciations and pathetic appeals to the workers not to listen to those who talk of class antagonism.

Such a sort of animal is the typical capitalist. Duplicity is the very breath of his life.

## LABOR SECRETARIAT.

Chas. Scharrt presided at the general meeting of the Labor Secretariat. Credentials were accepted from Bakers No. 1 and 16, Carpenters No. 375, 464, 497, and 513, Butchers No. 211, Brewers No. 1, and Cigar Makers Nos. 90 and 149, Laborers' Protective Union No. 4 and United Carriage and Wagon Makers' Branch 2 were admitted to membership. Donations for the reserve fund were made as follows: Iron Workers No. 42, \$50; Brewers No. 1, \$25; Bakers No. 50, \$10; Butchers No. 174, \$15; Cigar Makers No. 90, \$20; Carpenters No. 309, \$12; Machinists No. 335, \$3; Bakers No. 1, \$10; Cake Bakers No. 7, \$5. J. Hillquit of counsel for the Secretariat made a report for the month showing good work done. The auditing committee reported the books in the best of order, and the financial report for the quarter showed that the Secretariat is making steady progress. Cake Bakers No. 7 reported that they made several complaints to the Factory Inspector about unsanitary bakeries, but without result, and also asked to be furnished with a copy of the labor laws. The matters were referred to the attorney, B. Neubert, J. Kern, and E. Pfann were chosen as a committee to visit Carpenters No. 12. The membership of the Secretariat is now 1,908. The next meeting will be on Feb. 28.

## IS THE PUBLIC TO BLAME FOR BAD TRANSIT SERVICE?

The newspapers report that the elevated railway employees of New York City are organizing. The "Times" adds that "the employees say they have grievances, but refuse to state what they are." This is delightful. Only a week before, the "Times" told us that the ticket-choppers were working twelve hours a day for \$1.47, and that many of them are being "promoted" to be trainmen without any increase of wages. Perhaps the "Times" does not consider such a condition as that of a legitimate grievance.

"The passengers on the elevated roads submit to be hustled, herded, jammed, and smothered, like a lot of sheep, for the glory and profit of the Goolds. They complain sometimes, of course; so do sheep bleat pitifully, sometimes; that is all the good it does them. Perhaps if the employees pluck up spirit to organize and demand better treatment the "dear public" may wake up to a realization that it too has wrongs and power to redress them.

The report of the Manhattan Railway Company for the last year shows a reduction of operating expenses and a big increase in gross receipts. The Goolds and their partners may well be satisfied. Equally satisfactory is the showing of the Whitney-Brady-Widener-Rockefeller Metropolitan and Union companies, controlling the surface lines. And equally outrageous is the treatment of employees and of passengers by these companies.

And now Governor Odell's bipartisan State Railroad Commission adds insult to injury by saying that the responsibility for these abuses rests upon the city and not upon the companies. Because the city government, which has given away franchises and street privileges of almost incalculable value for a mere fraction of what they are worth and with virtually no conditions attached for the protection of the public and which has allowed the transit companies to dodge the greater part of their taxes—because the city government has not given these companies grants absolutely everything they asked, the Railroad Commission says the city government has obstructed the improvement of the service. Messrs. Greatsinger, Vreeland, and the rest of them, it seems, have been yearning to lay hands of blessing upon us, for to these many years, but a stiff-necked and perverse generation refused to be blessed.

And yet, in another sense, it is true that the people of New York—or, at least, the voters of New York—are responsible, that they have themselves to thank for the injury and the insult. They have persisted in believing themselves incompetent to manage their own affairs, in believing that it is necessary to depend on the "enterprisers" of certain bondholders and stockholders, that without the aid of these capitalists street railways cannot be built or operated or any other industry carried on. Both old parties have held to this view, in theory most of the time and in practice always, and those who have supported the two old

parties have got just what they voted for.

Only the Socialists have really a right to complain. We do complain, as much of the dull or timid apathy of our fellow citizens as of the capitalist greed. The Social Democratic Party, applying its fundamental principles to this question of rapid transit, has consistently and persistently declared that the elevated, surface, and underground railways and the ferries ought to be owned by the city; that they ought to be operated by the city, not for profit, but for the public service; that the millions of dollars which now go annually—nay, monthly—into the pockets of non-producing bondholders and stockholders should be used to extend and improve the service and to increase the pay and reduce the working hours of the employees.

This program is not to the taste of Mr. Belmont, Mr. Whitney, Mr. Crimmins, Mr. Hill, or the other eminent gentlemen who dominate the Democratic party in this city and state. Neither does it appeal to such influential citizens as Senators Dewey and Platt, Governor Odell, and Mayor Law on the Republican side. These men believe in private enterprise and individual responsibility—the responsibility of the individual workman to create private profits for the enterprising capitalist. They are moved by an intelligible self-interest and class-interest and the theories of both their parties consistently support them.

The question is, Why should not the mass of workmen act with equal intelligence and consistency for their own self-interest and class-interest against these eminent gentlemen? This question is worth considering.

The next time you, as a passenger or as an employee, feel inclined to swear at the street-railway companies, just stop and think calmly about this matter.

Consider whether the program of the Social Democratic Party is not favorable to your interests and the programs of the two old parties favorable to the interests of your exploiters.

Consider that you have a vote to cast next November, just as weighty as George Gould's vote, or William C. Whitney's or P. A. B. Widener's or John D. Rockefeller's. Consider that these men are going to vote against public ownership, against the Social Democratic Party. Make up your mind that you will vote against them, for the Social Democratic Party.

Consider, also, that you are one of many; that you have a brain and a tongue; that you can help to educate and organize the exploited many against the ruling few. Consider that you have just about eight months in which to use your influence. Make up your mind to lose no time. Talk Socialism to your neighbors. Distribute The Worker among your fellow workers. Bring your friends to meetings of the Social Democratic Party.

You have no idea, perhaps, of the influence one earnest and honest man can exert. You will be surprised at the good you can do if you try. If you do not try, you will be to blame that things go wrong.

Worker will heed this appeal and contribute liberally to this important fund, we are.

Fraternally,  
"M. PONEDEL,  
"A. SKANBERG,  
"E. NORDMAN,  
"G. SJÖHOLM,  
"C. J. MILLER,  
"Executive Committee."

## LECTURE CALENDAR FOR NEW YORK CITY.

Free public lectures, followed by answering of questions and general discussion, will be given in New York City and vicinity, under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party, as follows:

Friday, Feb. 20, 8 p. m.—Mrs. Mary E. Lease: "The Religion of the Twentieth Century." At the West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall, corner of Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, second floor.

Friday, Feb. 20, 8 p. m.—Dr. Ingerman (in German): "Saint Simon and seine Schule." At the Socialist Educational League, 953 Second avenue.

Sunday, Feb. 22, 8 p. m.—Courtney Leamon: "The Socialist View of the State, State Interference, and State Capitalism." At Colonial Hall, 101st street and Columbus avenue.

Sunday, Feb. 22, 8 p. m.—P. J. Cooney: "Rise of the Proletariat." At Dispensary Hall, Thirty-sixth street and Ninth avenue.

Sunday, Feb. 22, 8 p. m.—Warren Atkinson: "Socialism and Progress." At Zeltner's Morrisania Park, 170th street and Third avenue.

Sunday, Feb. 22, 8 p. m.—George D. Herron: "Socialism and Patriotism." At the Socialist Propaganda Club, Wurler's Hall, 315 Washington street, near Postoffice, Brooklyn.

Sunday, Feb. 22, 8 p. m.—Margaret Halle: "Socialism and Individuality." At the Socialist Literary Society, 241 East Broadway.

Contributions should be sent to the Treasurer, M. Ponedel, 232 E. Eighty-eighth street, New York City, and will be duly acknowledged in The Worker. "Trusting that the readers of The



The Worker.

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THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

Complaints against the business or editorial management of The Worker may be addressed to the Board of Directors, S. C. P. A., 184 William Street, New York City.

Our readers will please take notice that all moneys for the Daily Globe Fair should be addressed to Wm. Butcher, Secretary, 64 East Fourth Street, New York, and not to this office.

The letterheads of the Connecticut State Committee bear a suggestive adaptation of scripture: "A prompt reply turneth away wrath." Doubtless this is intended as a gentle hint to procrastinating correspondents; but we find more in it than that. A large share of the trouble of this world results from our failure to respond promptly to the changing demands of the time in which we live. We cannot get rid of evils by ignoring them. Weeds thrive through the husbandman's neglect, but useful plants live only by his vigilant care. One moral of this is: If you think Socialism is the cure for the social ills we now suffer, vote for it the next chance you have; you may not get another. Another moral, fitting this between-campaign season is: If you wish Socialism to come quickly, don't wait till just before Election Day, but begin to work for it now.

The Socialist Party has its internal disputes, like the old parties. But one difference is that our disputes are over questions of principle, while those of the old parties are squabbles over the distribution of patronage and influence. Another difference, resulting from this, is that we are never afraid to discuss our disagreements openly, while the old parties try to conceal theirs. Another difference is that we settle our internal questions, after open discussion, by an appeal to the vote of the rank and file, while old-party disputes are settled by secret conferences ending in deals and combines among the leaders. Because the Socialist Party applies the principles of democracy to the management of its own party affairs, it has nothing to fear from occasional internal differences.

NO LOG-ROLLING FOR US.

The "Appeal to Reason"—or, to speak more strictly, A. W. Ricker, reporting the National Committee meeting for the "Appeal"—says:

"After the Committee on Resolutions had reported as above and the report was unanimously adopted, the next real struggle in the Committee was begun. A National Secretary must now be chosen to serve for a year. For this office the contest, which was begun by preliminary skirmishes before the convention assembled, finally narrowed down to W. G. Critchlow of Ohio and Wm. Mally of Massachusetts. In the earlier hours of the session, Work of Iowa had been seriously considered, and had been an active candidate for the position, he undoubtedly could have received the support of the Western men, and several of the Eastern delegates. The West, however, wished to be generous with the East, and while considerable distrust of Western Socialists was manifested on the part of Comrades Carey of Massachusetts and Hillquit of New York, and while the West by uniting could have selected both the Secretary and the head-

quarters, yet they manifested no purpose to exert their power, and on the final vote, Berlin of Illinois and Christensen of Omaha voted for Mally, thus electing him. When the referendum on the location of headquarters is taken, Eastern Socialists are now solemnly reminded of this most generous act on the part of the Western comrades. I think I may say that the election of Mally is satisfactory to the Socialists in every state and territory in the Union. His fitness is unquestioned, and he will add great strength to his position."

The Worker, believing it can speak from a pretty full and accurate knowledge of the Socialists of the East, now "solemnly" replies to the "Appeal"—or to Comrade Ricker, as the case may be—in these terms:

We do not consider the election of Comrade Mally as a favor to the East and a "most generous act on the part of the Western comrades." We consider it an act of wisdom on the part of the Committee, Eastern or Western, who voted for him, because we consider him a man well fitted for the position—and a man above all sectional feeling and devoted only to the interests of the party at large.

If the "Appeal"—or Comrade Ricker, as the case may be—is sincere in its (or his) judgment of Comrade Mally, as expressed in the sentence quoted, we do not see how it (or he) can consider Comrade Mally's election as a concession to the East, which the East ought to be willing to pay for with some other concession.

We said two weeks ago in regard to the evasion of the provisions of Article VII, by the majority of the National Committee: "We are not used to such politics in the Socialist Party, and we do not like the innovation." We repeat that comment on the "solemn" proposition made by the "Appeal"—or Comrade Ricker. We know what "log-rolling" is in the old parties. We are not used to it in the Socialist Party, and we do not like the suggestion that it be introduced. We do not like the idea of settling questions of party organization by dickers between different sections of the country.

If any Western or Eastern Committee did not consider Comrade Mally the best man for National Secretary, he would have violated his duty to the party in voting for him. If—as we believe—the Western and Eastern Committees who voted for him did consider him the best man for the place, they did only their duty to the party in so voting. There is no question of generosity or of gratitude here. There is no room, in such a matter, for sectional or personal generosity. Comrade Mally would be the last to feel grateful to a National Committeeman who voted for him on such grounds.

Equally in the matter of headquarters, there is no legitimate place for sectional ambition or generosity or gratitude. If, as the "Appeal"—or Comrade Ricker, as the case may be—implies, fourteen Committeemen voted for Omaha with the idea of balancing that place against Comrade Mally's personality, then fourteen Committeemen were in so far false to their duty. We are loth to believe that they did so consider the matter. We would rather suppose that each of them considered Omaha the best place for national headquarters, regardless of any question of generosity or gratitude. We dissent from their judgment, without impugning their motives, and appeal to the rank and file.

In so appealing, we "solemnly" disavow any recognition of "Western generosity" and call on the rank and file to do likewise. If any comrade, Eastern or Western, thinks Omaha the best place, it is his duty to vote for Omaha; if he thinks Chicago a better place, it is his duty to vote for Chicago against Omaha. Which choice of headquarters will be best for the whole party? is the sole question every comrade has a right to ask, just as which man is best for National Secretary? was the sole question any Committeeman at St. Louis had a right to consider.

The Worker will loyally abide by the party's decisions and will never factiously oppose or seek to hamper the national organization, wherever located. But The Worker will not keep silence when the referendum provisions of the party constitution are violated; it will not help to foster an Eastern faction and a Western faction within the party; and it will not fail to protest when log-rolling between such factions is "solemnly" proposed as a canon of Socialist statesmanship.

An isolated reader of The Worker—one whom we know to be a devoted Socialist of several years' standing, but who is the only known Socialist in his town in a state where we have as yet no organization—writes us in a way that indicates a serious misapprehension. He says:

"I have been working for Socialism for fifteen years. But I am not a mechanic and cannot belong to a trade union. Therefore I am excluded from membership in the party and from a vote in its councils. What is to be done with such a fellow as I?"

We have replied to this correspondent personally. But lest there be others laboring under the same misapprehensions, we reply also in these columns. Membership in a trade union is not a qualification for membership in the Socialist Party. The party, through its national convention, has advised party members who are eligible to member-

ship in trade unions to join them. It does not require this even of mechanics belonging to organized trades. Certainly it does not exclude nor in any way discriminate against Socialists who follow occupations in which no organizations exist.

PAY OFF THOSE DEBTS.

We would call attention to the movement initiated by Local Toledo, as reported in another column, for the payment of the debts of the national organization of our party.

As shown in the National Secretary's report, printed in The Worker of Feb. 8, the total gross and net liabilities of the national organization at the close of the Unity Convention of 1901 and on Jan. 1, 1903, were as follows:

Table with 3 columns: Year, Gross Liabilities, Assets. 1901: Gross \$1,970.80, Assets \$87.65. 1903: Gross \$1,835.62, Assets \$329.08.

Net Liabilities...\$1,546.54 \$329.08. As the present assets, however, include a considerable amount of "bills collectible," not all of which are, at least, promptly collectible, as well as the value of the office equipment, it is evident that the fund here opened, in order to serve its purpose of clearing away debts and disencumbering the national organization, so that it can carry on its work energetically without being compelled to draw upon current revenue for the payment of old debts, should amount—and that as quickly as possible—to at least \$1,200.

The Worker believes that this amount can readily be collected and individual comrades and sympathizers to contribute at once.

Just as strongly would The Worker urge that all state committees meet their present and future obligations to the national organization promptly and cheerfully, so that the clearance of debts which we now propose may be a clearance for good and all.

The Steel Trust capitalists are denouncing the organized steel workers just now for "limiting production." In a year or two more, when the hard times come, and myriads of workmen are tramping in search of employment, these same capitalists will answer their complaints with the one word, "Overproduction." Under capitalism, the worker is between the devil and the deep sea. He must either produce too much or not produce enough, either work too hard or not be allowed to work at all. The reason is that, with the means of production held as private property and the control of industry lodged in private hands, private profit is the only motive to production and industry is pushed forward or checked without regard to the people's needs.

LYNCHING AS A CURE FOR STRIKES.

The New York "Times" of February 18 gives a very frank exposition of the capitalist ideal of "law and order." That we may not be suspected of coloring the matter—after the fashion of the "Times" itself, which prints "all the news it sees fit to print"—we quote the article in full: "The citizens of Shreveport, La., are imitating the excellent example of those of Bloomington, Ill. The street-car men and electric light employees lately went on strike, and, as is usual when this class of labor is dissatisfied, lawlessness and violence were at once resorted to. The conditions being intolerable, a mass meeting was held, at which the Grand Jury was called upon to indict all law-breakers, and the City Judge, who had manifested a disposition to dismiss complaints which should have had more attention, was requested to resign. Notice was also served upon those known to have been identified with acts disturbing the public peace to leave town with all convenient dispatch. These measures not having the desired effect, a second mass meeting was held and a Law and Order League organized. A large force of volunteer policemen was sworn in and under its protection the power and light plants resumed operations, and the city again enjoyed the advantages of electric lights and a street-car service. All disorder was promptly suppressed, and at last accounts the town was quiet and orderly. "There is absolutely no reason why similar means should not produce equally prompt and satisfactory results wherever organized labor attempts to establish a mob rule and to menace life and property. (Schenectady and Watertown papers please copy.)"

We may well doubt the "Times" statement as to the lawlessness of the Shreveport strikers. We have known the "Times" to lie before this, and we might assume the officers of justice in Shreveport to be the best judges of the conditions there prevailing. But this is beside the question. The essential point is that this most respectable of capitalist papers—a Democratic paper which supports Republican candidates a good part of the time—deliberately commends and advises the organization of "vigilance committees" and the banishment of obnoxious strikers under threat of lynching as a means of maintaining law and order as the "Times" and the owners of street railroads and electric-light plants conceive it.

There is nothing surprising in this except the frankness with which it is put. But that is surely worthy of note. The devil cannot always conceal his cloven hoof. The true inwardness of capitalists' respect for "law and order"—a phrase which, in their mouths, means nothing more or less than the maintenance of property interests at

all hazards—will come out, now and then, in spite of all their caution. It is dangerous to example these pillars of society set for us of the lower classes. We are not anxious to follow it. We prefer peaceful methods for righting wrongs. But we may well profit by observing what our masters do and applaud.

The Washington dispatches inform us that Secretary of War Root "has given his endorsement of a project formed by the National Rifle Association, which met in New York last week, for the introduction of rifle practice in the public schools of the United States. The idea of encouraging rifle practice in schools and colleges by government assistance originated with Secretary Root, who has indicated on several occasions his desire to further as far as possible the training of the youth of the country in rifle marksmanship. He endorsed the plan of organizing rifle clubs, and he is now in favor of extending the idea to the public schools. As soon as definite plans can be made the intention is to give the project a trial in the schools of Washington."

No doubt a good many humanitarians and some Socialists, even, will strongly denounce Root's new scheme. The Worker is rather inclined to welcome it, holding to the idea of our forefathers who wrote the Second Amendment to the United States Constitution, declaring that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." We grant the evil motives of those who are promoting this movement, but we are not afraid of the results.

"While the lamp holds out to burn, the vilest slinger may return." District Attorney Jerome will still have a chance to appear before the Central Federated Union and "put up or shut up" in the matter of his malignant attacks on the labor movement.

As was to be expected, it has been decided that the engineer was alone to blame for the Westfield railway disaster. The railway officials, directors, and stockholders are satisfied; the engineer is dead, so he cannot protest. Now things will go on as before until another disaster results from the same causes—the economy policy of the railway companies, conducting increased traffic with antiquated equipment and an inadequate working force. So it will be until the people who are not capitalists, but who work to produce the capitalists' wealth, take the public powers into their own hands.

It is worthy of note that of the six men in the present New York Legislature who have been willing to act as agents for the property owners' associations in introducing bills to deprive the tenement dwellers of all protection from the landlords' greed, two are Republicans—Senator Marshall and Assemblyman Remsen—and four are Democrats—Senators Hawkins and Wagner and Assemblymen Dale and Matthews. The two old parties are united in serving the capitalists, up to the limit they dare to do. And Hawkins is a "labor man"—God save the mark! Such are "labor men" elected on capitalist tickets. Of course, each and every one of these men protests either that his bill is harmless or that he does not support his bill, but introduced it only as a favor to some constituent. It is not true that any of these bills are harmless. They are all insidious attacks on the existing Tenement House Law—a law already far too mild and lax; and the attack is in the most desperate struggle against capitalism.

There is the main battle field of the Socialist movement of the near future, not because the trade-union movement is strongest there, but because the reign of capitalism is more general, more powerful, and the more general and more intense capitalist exploitation of labor naturally and unavoidably leads to a more severe, more intense and more desperate class struggle. "And where the class struggle is most severe, right here, into the center of Socialist activity, belongs the national headquarters of our party. "The 'Appeal to Reason' further says: "The great cities like New York, Chicago, St. Louis and San Francisco, are precisely the places where the elements of compromise and fusion have their stronghold. It is there, where the middle-class Socialism is raising its sinister head, in the Hearst democracy, the politically-immature independent labor parties, and the politically short-sighted Socialist friends who are ready to fuse with anything in sight, for the sake of doubtful and passing advantages. It is there where the middle-class politician is bred whose desire for political jobs is stronger than his love for the revolutionary principles of our movement. "Up to last national elections the elements of compromise and fusion came from the rural West. Neither in New York, Chicago nor St. Louis has the Socialist Party compromised or fused with any other party, nor is there any probability or possibility of compromise or fusion in the future. The Socialists must be in St. Louis, Chicago and New York will take care of itself, and cannot be dragged into any fusion or other entangling alliances. Our Socialist movement in the industrial

AS TO HEADQUARTERS.

NEW HAVEN, Conn., Feb. 11.—At a regular meeting of Local New Haven held in Aurora Hall, 135 Union Street, Eugene Toomey in the chair and Julius Paecht acting as Secretary in the absence of Comrade Volmer, who is sick, the following resolution was adopted, and ordered sent to The Worker and other papers for publication: "Whereas, The National Committee at its recent annual meeting has arbitrarily set aside the party constitution by refusing to submit the change of national headquarters to a general vote of the party; and "Whereas, We regard Omaha, Neb., as the best place for the seat of the National Committee, as quite amenable for national headquarters; be it resolved, That we submit the following questions to be submitted to referendum vote, together with all acts

of the National Committee at its recent meeting: "1. Shall the seat of the National Committee be at Chicago? "2. Shall the Local Quorum of the National Committee until the next convention consist of the members of the National Committee from Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Iowa, and Kentucky?" JULIUS PAECHT, Secretary pro tem.

TOLEDO, O., Feb. 11.—By unanimous vote yesterday, Local Toledo instructed the undersigned to send the following communication to National Secretary Mally and also to send a copy to each local in Ohio: "To the National Committee of the Socialist Party, William Mally, Secretary, Omaha, Neb. "Local Toledo, of Ohio, in accordance with the provisions of Article IX of the national constitution, hereby petitions that you submit to a referendum vote of the party membership the following propositions: "1. That the headquarters of the party be removed to Chicago. "2. That the Local Quorum until the next national convention be composed of the members of the National Committee from the states of Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Iowa, and Kentucky. "3. That all acts of the National Committee since its last annual meeting in conflict with the above provisions be rejected."

Every local which wishes to rebuke autocratic action and dangerous precedent should endorse these resolutions and forward a signed copy to National Secretary Mally. We must abide the will of a general referendum, but we cannot afford to let go unchallenged the autocratic action and force of a referendum on but one city, selected by a majority of one vote in its committee. The Local also unanimously voted to initiate a general vote in the state of Ohio on the question of recalling W. G. Critchlow as National Committeeman, on account of his course at the St. Louis meeting, which did not represent justice and fair play as we understand the Socialist movement. HENRY BOWERS, Secretary. CHAS. R. MARTIN, Organizer. P. O. Box 257.

The following is an extract from last week's issue of the "St. Louis Labor" on the headquarters question: "Speaking of the removal of national headquarters of the Socialist Party to Omaha, Neb., the 'Appeal to Reason' says: "The referendum on the question of opposing the selection of Omaha as national headquarters is a clear waste of time and means. 'If it is certain to result in an endorsement of the action of the National Committee. We need our means and time, in the cities for the municipal campaigns, in this country for the perfection of our organization. And it would cause a needless delay in getting the headquarters in working order for the organization of a thorough opposition against all capitalist parties, from the Hearst paper to Lamb's clothes, to the G. O. P. clique. Let us get to work at once, and drop all needless maneuvering. If the present Secretary and Quorum do not fulfill our expectations, the next national convention can settle the question satisfactorily, and without extra cost and delay."

"To this kind of procedure we certainly object. Neither the 'Appeal to Reason' nor the majority of the National Committee can prevent the general vote on the question of national headquarters. For years the 'Appeal to Reason' has been working the direct legislation racket, and right now, when a most vital question is to be decided—the question of national headquarters of the Socialist Party—we are politely informed that a referendum vote on this question is a clear waste of time and means. "The very fact, that the 'Appeal to Reason' in its tactics every other month furnishes only another argument in favor of direct legislation in our own Socialist Party. Because a dozen National Committeemen saw fit to interpret our national constitution arbitrarily, and because the 'Appeal' has no objection to such queer procedure, is no reason why a general vote on the question of national headquarters should not be taken. The older and more conservative members resisted this overt act, but to no avail. "Since the constitution has been ignored in the matter of headquarters it was decided by the minority to have Chicago submitted to the referendum of the party as the seat of headquarters."

National Committeeman Critchlow of Ohio, who acted with the majority throughout, says in the course of his report that the whole matter decided with Omaha, he was led to vote for that city because the members of the old Local Quorum "insisted on using their vote to determine the headquarters," and also because "the East had been given the Secretary" and that the action of the old Local Quorum members induced him heartily to support immediate removal. National Committeeman Berger of Wisconsin in his report given in the "Social Democratic Herald" says, in part: "While our party may well congratulate itself upon the lively participation of the Western farmer element in the Socialist movement, yet the backbone and the leadership of this movement must remain proletarian for a long time in the future. The Quorum selected for Omaha has a strong agrarian coloring and would be absolutely out of touch with the proletarian masses of the country which the Socialist Party must win before all things if it wants to have success. We say this although we value very highly the sympathies and the assistance of the farmers—the writer of this article was the author of the Socialist farmers' platform of the Social Democratic Party, which was read so much here and cry among the 'ultra-class-conscious' of this country. But for the very reason that we want no antagonism in the Socialist Party between the city proletariat and the workers in the field who still own their tools, we do not want headquarters in Omaha, Neb., and a Quorum which would represent the masses of the rural, semi-rural, and small town elements, and cannot be dragged into any fusion or other entangling alliances. Our Socialist movement in the industrial

centers has weathered all the storms of capitalist and false labor politics, and long years of experience has taught us the fact that we can rely on the same in any crisis that may arise in the near future. "In our opinion Chicago would be the place for national headquarters."

A general meeting of members of Local New York was held in the Labor Lyceum last Sunday to receive the report of National Committeeman Hillquit.

As Comrade Hillquit's attitude on the various questions acted upon by the National Committee has been made clear by the reports of the St. Louis meeting and by his communications in the last two issues of The Worker, it is not necessary to add much to what has been said. He showed that though there was entire unanimity in the National Committee on the question of fusion and of the attitude of the party toward trade unions, yet through most of the session it was clearly divided into a well organized majority and a minority, the former led by Committee-men Mills of Kansas. Several Western members, he said, comparatively new men in the party, were evidently influenced by representations from Carey, Hillquit, and Barnes were "dangerous schemers," and this method was used to hold the majority together. He told how, on the second day, Mills showed the existence of what might justly be called a "machine" as follows: When a vote was to be taken on an appeal which under parliamentary rules was not debatable, Mills stood on his chair and cried, "Vote it down, boys!"—and the majority voted it down. Comrade Hillquit gave his reasons for holding that the removal of headquarters before the referendum was taken was unconstitutional and also for considering the selection of Omaha an unwise one. He advised the adoption of the resolutions presented in The Worker of Feb. 8 (identical with those adopted by Local Toledo as reported above). National Committeeman Goebel of New Jersey was granted the floor, as one of those who voted with the majority at St. Louis. He admitted that Mills was in the wrong and that Mills' "Vote it down" speech by saying that some of the members who were inexperienced in party affairs did not know always how to vote and needed someone to tell them. He charged that some St. Louis comrades were responsible for changing the name of the party in Missouri to "Working Class Party" during the campaign, alleging that the S. L. P. protest in court had nothing to do with the case; he had received information to this effect in St. Louis and this, together with the acts of the Local Quorum, caused him to consider immediate removal necessary. He strongly condemned the conduct of the minority and especially that of Hillquit who, immediately on returning to New York, started to "stir up rebellion." He added that the opposition to himself in Hudson County, N. J., was due to the fact that he could not speak German.

After general discussion it was decided, with only three dissenting votes, to advise the General Committee to adopt the resolutions demanding a referendum. The Terre Haute "Toller" prints the report of National Committeeman Mahoney to the party in Indiana. He says in part: "The majority of the members seemed illiberal against the Local Quorum and were not disposed to proceed in a constitutional manner to accomplish their purpose. It was on this point that most of the contention arose, the minority favoring conformity to the constitution, while the majority disregarded it entirely. "In the matter of a headquarters the constitution specifically requires that the question of removal be submitted to a referendum of the party but a majority of the Committee members represented less than a third of the membership, decided to move the seat of headquarters to Omaha, Neb., and decided that the effects of the party be at once taken to that point without first placing the matter before the membership. "This was clearly a violation of the constitution and should be rebuked. The older and more conservative members resisted this overt act, but to no avail. "Since the constitution has been ignored in the matter of headquarters it was decided by the minority to have Chicago submitted to the referendum of the party as the seat of headquarters."

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present time and out of keeping with our final aim. Steps have already been taken to correct by referendum this mistake of the majority of the National Committee."

Current Literature

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

OUR BENEVOLENT FEUDALISM.

By W. J. Ghent. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1902. Cloth, 202 pages. Price, \$1.25.

This book is expanded—very greatly expanded—from an article similarly entitled which appeared in the "Independent" of April, 1902, and which was shortly afterward issued as a pamphlet by the Collectivist Society. The article was very widely noticed at the time, being given, as it seemed to us, much more attention than it really merited. The idea of comparing the rule of the capitalist class in present-day society to that of the feudal nobles of medieval Europe was by no means original with Mr. Ghent. Many unnoted Socialist writers had drawn comparisons years ago, and drawn it more accurately than he. Because of the extravagance of the notices given to that article, we took up the present book, of which it was the germ, with a certain degree of prejudice. As we read, however, this feeling disappeared, and we gladly recognize in Mr. Ghent's book a valuable contribution to the criticism of capitalist society. What gives the book its value is not the main thesis—which is not only not original, but not tenable in the form in which it is given—but the great mass of illustrative facts which the author has marshalled to support the thesis and which he has presented in a most lively and effective way.

We are somewhat at a loss just how to regard the book, to know just how far the author expects or desires to be taken seriously. The tone of the opening chapter, "Utopias and Other Fantasies," and of the closing one, "Transition and Fulfillment" (which latter formed a considerable part of the "Independent" article) is not clearly defined. But as we read the intervening pages we get the idea that Mr. Ghent is something of a joker, that he does not at all believe in the permanence of the "benevolent feudalism," that he will heartily agree in the criticism which we have to make upon his thesis.

This thesis is: That under the forms of elit and political liberty and equality, and even by means of the cunning use of the vote and indirect rule, the ruling class of the industrial proletariat—i. e., for many reasons, better able to understand its own subjection, more apt persistently to seek amelioration and even emancipation from class rule, and infinitely more capable of concerted action than any ruled class of the past—has not only refused to do more for itself, but has actually become more so; that it is, and in a still greater degree will be, able so to control its own conduct, and so to play upon the minds of the ruled as to keep the latter in a state of contented servitude, substituting well calculated benevolence for the methods of "blood and iron" by which the rulers of the past have sought to maintain their power; and that the new class rule will thus neutralize or divert the forces of resistance which have proven fatal to earlier ruling classes, so that industrial feudalism will survive, at least for a very long time, as a stable system of society.

Most of the evidence which he adduces in support of this thesis (omitting the first and last—"Combination and Coalescence," "Our Magnates," "Our Farmers and Wage-Earners," "Our Makers of Law," "Our Interpreters of Law," "Our Moulders of Opinion," and "General Social Changes"—serves to support only the first part of the thesis, to show that the capitalist class does now actually control society through, rather than in spite of, the forms of democracy, and that its power is being progressively consolidated and organized, and to illustrate the many indirect methods by which our lords of industry carry out their will. In all this, of course, we heartily agree with our author. If we Socialists have been proclaiming the same truth for many years and have called attention to most if not all of the illustrative facts he uses, and if Mr. Ghent makes too scanty acknowledgment of the fact, we can forgive him all that for the service he has done in bringing the whole argument systematically together in most attractive and convincing form.

We part company with Mr. Ghent when he tells us that this system of class rule is to be permanent. He rather assumes this than tries to prove it, except in a superficial and incidental way, and we are half inclined to think that he does not himself believe in the truth of the assumption, but throws it out as a sort of challenge to stimulate others to fight the more vigorously against class rule.

We do not doubt that Mr. Ghent has well formulated the ideal more or less clearly held by many thinkers, who are intelligent of the capitalists and their hired thinkers. The capitalists know that they are the real rulers. They know that their right to rule is being questioned or denied, that the very basis of their power is being attacked. They would like to continue to rule and to hand down their power undiminished to their children's children. Most of them, too, quite sincerely believe in their right to rule, believe that they are the superior ones selected by Providence or Nature or Fate to govern the mass of inferior men; it is as natural for a Vanderbilt or a Rockefeller to believe this as for a Wilhelm or a Nicholas; a man "born in the purple" is not likely to question his fitness to wear it. The more cautious and thoughtful capitalists—and especially their hired thinkers, of whom we have spoken, who see more of the real world than do their masters—realize the discontent of the ruled and the reasons for it and their latent power to destroy the masters' power. Their ideas, then—their wild utopian

dream, as we believe—is to govern well, to rule firmly but kindly, to soothe the workers' discontent with "bread and plays," hospitals and libraries, to fool them with schemes of arbitration and profit-sharing and pensions, to divide and disorganize them by holding out false hopes of individual success, by all means to keep them contented, rather than to risk increasing their discontent by roughly stifling its expressions.

That this is the capitalist ideal, so far as they have a common ideal, we believe. That it is a realizable ideal, all history denies—and current history most emphatically of all.

No ruling class has ever yet been wise enough to restrain its own aggression, consistently to follow a policy of moderation, or even to gauge the feelings of their subjects well enough to make their concessions at the right time and in the right manner to have the desired conciliatory effect. The same training and environment which convinces the rulers of their right to rule makes them impatient of any questioning of that right and prone to punish, or even worse, violently to threaten with punishment—any insubordination or presumption in the common herd. One ill-timed reprisal or ill-considered threat by one of the ruling class may destroy the effect of the moderation and paternal benevolence practised through long months or years by all his fellow patriots. If the glass feeling of the feudal nobles of old Europe or of the slaveholders of old South could not restrain individuals from now and then bursting out in violent words or acts, disastrous to their class interest, far less can this be expected of a class the very breath of whose life is individualism run mad. And the very benefactions and concessions of the capitalists, being dictated rather by individual caprice than by collective wisdom and in that ignorance of actual conditions which always handicaps a ruling class, are likely to be made in such a manner as to exasperate or to enlighten rather than to conciliate or to deceive the workers or as a concession to clearly to better the conscious weakness and fear of the rulers and so to encourage the spirit of revolt.

If our modern ruling class is no better able than that of any past age consistently to follow a policy of self-restraint and prudent moderation, the ruled class of to-day—especially in its typical form of the industrial proletariat—is, for many reasons, better able to understand its own subjection, more apt persistently to seek amelioration and even emancipation from class rule, and infinitely more capable of concerted action than any ruled class of the past. It is not necessary to dwell upon this point. To institute a comparison between the character and conditions of our working class and those of the serfs of old Europe or even the artisans of the medieval towns is, for one who knows history, to recognize at once the vastly greater aggressive stimulus of desire and the vastly greater power of organization in the exploited toilers of to-day. We see what we make for others, we see what we lack, we see what we might have, we begin to see how we may get it. The more we get, whether of material comforts or of power and freedom, the more we desire. Once we have got so far, whether our masters seek to engage our affections by patronizing kindness or to intimidate us by brutal force, the one course serves only to increase our discontent, the other only to arouse our indignant resolution.

We believe that Mr. Ghent reads the signs of the times all wrong when he does not see in current events the proof of those principles, Carnegie, who sincerely feels his responsibility, no doubt, as a trustee of other men's fortunes, can never build enough libraries to wipe out the memory of Hoemstedt; rather has that money been strengthened by his ostentatious giving; he is more widely and severely condemned to-day than he was nine years ago; the one concession that might have made friends for him among the workers—the concession of a shorter workday in his mills—he could not have the sense to make. Morgan may contract a free maternity hospital, as a trustee of other men's fortunes, can never build enough libraries to wipe out the memory of Hoemstedt; rather has that money been strengthened by his ostentatious giving; he is more widely and severely condemned to-day than he was nine years ago; the one concession that might have made friends for him among the workers—the concession of a shorter workday in his mills—he could not have the sense to make. Morgan may contract a free maternity hospital, as a trustee of other men's fortunes, can never build enough libraries to wipe out the memory of Hoemstedt; rather has that money been strengthened by his ostentatious giving; he is more widely and severely condemned to-day than he was nine years ago; the one concession that might have made friends for him among the workers—the concession of a shorter workday in his mills—he could not have the sense to make.

Perhaps the importance of Mr. Ghent's book hardly merits such extended comment, except as it furnishes us a convenient text for a timely sermon. Nevertheless, we commend the book as a most readable and suggestive one, which may well have a place in every Socialist reading-room. I.

A CORRECTION.

Comrade Folgenhaft asks us to note an error in printing his article last week—the word "consciously" being substituted for "cautiously." The correct reading, "The error occurs in the quotation from Kautsky, near the top of the second column of the article."

READ THIS AND PASS IT ON.



PARTY NOTES.

Comrade Ringler of Reading, Pa. writes: "Franklin H. Wentworth of Chicago addressed a large and enthusiastic audience in Stauffer Hall, Saturday, Feb. 7, on 'The Promise of Socialism.' The large proportion of women in the audience occasioned some surprise to the lecturer, who said it was somewhat unusual. All who were present were highly pleased with the address and expressed the hope that they would have the privilege of hearing Comrade Wentworth soon again. The cause is growing in Reading and all the workers are encouraged by the bright outlook for the success of our party in the local election on Feb. 17. Every indication points to an increase in the vote."

We are informed that the "Lynch Law" decision reported from Wilkes-Barre, Pa., last week affected only the nominations in that township, not, as we understood, in the whole of Luzerne County.

We are sorry to have to record the death of John C. Edwards of New Castle, Pa., who was an earnest worker for the cause.

H. Gaylord Wilshire challenged President Andrews of the University of Nebraska to debate, on account of his complete misrepresentation of Socialism in a public address; but President Andrews says he won't debate.

Comrades Leamy and Dale, the Socialist candidates for Mayor and Treasurer in Butte, Mont., are both principals of schools and as a result of their candidacy on the Socialist ticket the capitalist Board of Education has made a rule that hereafter the acceptance of a political nomination by an employee shall be equivalent to a resignation.

All communications intended for the National Secretary of the Socialist Party should be addressed to William Malloy, National Secretary, Rooms 10-11, Arlington Block, Omaha, Neb.

Local Hudson County, N. J., will hold a Commune celebration on Saturday, March 14, at Central Hall, 350 Central avenue, Jersey City, which is expected to excel all its previous affairs. Tickets can be had from Comrade Mohrert, 903 Garden street, Hoboken, and the committee appeals to all comrades to push the sale of tickets.

Local Philadelphia has secured the Free Library of Economics and Political Science and it will hereafter be located at Socialist Headquarters, 1305 Arch street. This library was started in 1897 by Miss Innie Forbes, Miss Pratt, Miss Marot, and some others at 1305 Filbert street, afterwards moved to the Council of Allied Building Trades, and then to the University of Pennsylvania. It is a very valuable collection. Lectures are being given at the headquarters every Sunday evening. On Feb. 22, Dr. G. Metzler will speak on "The Position of the Socialist in America."

Frederick Kraft of Jersey City will speak on "Washington and His Time" on Saturday evening, Feb. 21, at the Socialist Party Clubrooms, 511-513 Hackensack Plank Road, West Hoboken, N. J. Readers of The Worker are invited to attend and also asked to bring their friends.

Comrade Koch of Salamanca, N. Y., reports that Comrade Debes' meeting held there under the auspices of the Shortland School on Feb. 9 was a great success. The local papers gave good reports. This was the first Socialist meeting ever held in that vicinity, and it made a good impression.

On Sunday, Feb. 22, at 3 p. m., Frank A. Silverman speaks on "Labor Problems" in the Common Council chamber of the City Hall, Rochester, N. Y., under the auspices of the Labor Lyceum. Admission is free.

State Secretary Critchlow of Ohio reports: A local has been organized at Corning, Perry County, O., with a good list to start with. Comrades are actively at work building up the local. Cincinnati and Cleveland comrades are working hard for their city tickets and signs already point to a good increase in the vote. The comrades of Cincinnati are getting on their own legs. In this campaign and it is certainly worthy of the personal of comrades at other points who are looking for suggestions as to propaganda material. The comrades are assisting nobly in the fund to place an organizer in the field which is being raised by the State Local Quorum. This is a part of the work that must not be neglected and the support accorded the plan proves conclusively that the comrades appreciate this Local Cincinnati has passed a set of resolutions calling on the party press and other comrades to not allow personal prejudice to enter the columns of the papers and the discussions as it hinders the propaganda work of the movement. Also for all comrades to take advantage of the present conditions and work for Socialism instead of quarreling. The smallest local in Ohio is in Peninsula, while the largest is Cincinnati. For some time past the Cleveland comrades have held the banner as the largest Local, but the Cincinnati comrades have had an organizer devoting his whole time to the work for some time past and the results are now apparent and the movement is still growing at a most rapid pace.

Cincinnati comrades held a city convention on Jan. 24 and nominated A. J. Swing for Mayor and a full ticket for the municipal election to be held on April 6. Enthusiasm among the Cincinnati Socialists is great. The organization of new branches since Jan. 1 has averaged one per week and membership has doubled. Lectures are given every Sunday at 3 p. m. in G. A. R. Hall, 25-27 West Sixth street.

Ludwig Jablonski, who has been reporting the Brewery Workers' convention at Cincinnati for the "Volkszeitung," writes enthusiastically of the Socialist movement in that city. He says, in part: "It is a strong local, energetic and filled with enthusiasm for the great principles of our party. While doing the brewers' convention, I had occasion to witness a meeting of our local. Imagine my surprise to find almost sixty Socialists in a business meeting and most of them young Americans. Our business meetings are not so well attended and you see usually the old faces, while here they admit new members every week. Twenty-three comrades joined the party in that meeting and the Organizer said proudly that the local has now over two hundred and fifty members. Lectures are held weekly in a spacious hall and the comrades do everything to get the best speakers. Almost every ward is organized, as also the nearby towns. In one of them, Elmwood, the Socialist Party is so strong that the election of our candidates was seriously considered in that business meeting. There are many readers of The Worker in Cincinnati and everyone likes the paper."

During the sessions of the national convention of the United Brewery Workers, Local Cincinnati sent a resolution of welcome and fraternal greeting, congratulating the union on its firm and progressive course in the past and wishing it continued and increased success. The reading of the message was received with enthusiasm. The convention reaffirmed the Brewery Workers' endorsement of the principles of Socialism.

All New York comrades should make a contribution to the fund for Comrade Epstein. He being incapacitated by arduous campaign work, it is our duty to come to his assistance. Contributions should be sent to Organizer Wood.

The Progressive Social Democratic Club of the 10th A. D. is growing in membership and has elected a committee to make arrangements for establishing a Jewish-speaking class on the East Side. The club holds its regular meetings on Monday evenings at Lafayette Hall, 5-10 Avenue D.

The Young People's Social Democratic Club of Yorkville will give a concert and ball on March 14 in the Clubhouse, 206 East Eighty-sixth street. The club meets at this place every Thursday evening, and all young men and women who are interested in the movement are invited to join.

Lectures are held every Sunday afternoon in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby avenue. Admission is free and discussion is invited after each lecture.

The Young Men's Social Democratic Club of Brooklyn at its last meeting decided to reorganize as a young people's club and invites all young women, as well as young men, who are interested in the Socialist movement to join its ranks. The club meets every Thursday evening in the Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby avenue.

At the meeting of South Brooklyn in January it was decided to hold four agitation meetings in that division. The first will be held on Feb. 23 at Germania Hall, Third Avenue and Fifty-eighth street. Comrade Kearns of New Jersey and Peter E. Burrows will lecture on Socialism. The second meeting will be held on March 8 at Erie Hall, 282 Van Brunt street. Assemblyman Kehoe, Democrat, has been challenged to debate at this meeting.

The next meeting of the West Side Agitation District will be held Saturday, Feb. 21, at 342 West Forty-second street. Every party member residing on the West Side should attend as matters of importance will come before the body.

At the last regular meeting of the 10th A. D. it was decided that all members must do their best to make the lecture course at Dispensary Hall a success. There are leaflets at Comrade Meier's place, 408 W. Fifty-fifth street, which must be distributed; comrades are requested to do their duty in that line. All readers of The Worker and sympathizers are invited to attend the next meeting at 413 W. Fifty-fifth street on Feb. 25, at 8 p. m.

The Kings County Committee wishes to acknowledge the following contributions to the campaign fund received since January 24: List 554, Friedreich Loebert, \$6; List 545, Morris Gold, \$25; List 546, 15th A. D., \$5; List 563, Reinhold Mueller, \$1; List 580, Fritz Rosenblath, \$5; List 663, 21st A. D., \$2.25.

Frank Lawrence Sletke, son of Comrade Leo and Johann Sletke, died on Feb. 10 from blood-poisoning following an operation for a broken arm. Frank Sletke was only nineteen years of age, but was well known to the comrades and had already done good service for the cause; he was a young man of very brilliant promise and enthusiastic in the Socialist movement. The many who knew him regret his loss and deeply sympathize with his parents.

The Young Men's Social Democratic Club of Brooklyn has been reorganized as the Young People's S. D. Club. All young people in sympathy with the Socialist movement are invited to attend the meetings of the club, which are held every Thursday evening at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby avenue.

In Brooklyn, Comrades Droste and Clark will speak at Eckford Hall, Eckford and Cady streets, on Saturday, Feb. 21, at 8 p. m. Comrades Cooney and Behringer will speak at 700 Evergreen avenue, corner Covert street, on Tuesday, Feb. 24, at 8 p. m.

The general debate at the Socialist Literary Society on Friday evening, Feb. 20, will be on "Socialism and Religion." A club is being organized for young people between the ages of ten to fifteen years; the Secretary is Isidor Schaffman, 241 East Broadway.

Don't be afraid to let people know you are a Socialist. They will find it out anyhow, sooner or later, and most people respect a man who shows that he has the courage of his convictions.

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IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Socialist Party State Committee Declines to Enter into Conference with the S. L. P. The Pennsylvania State Committee of the Socialist Party at its last session considered and replied to the following communication:

"Pittsburg, Pa., Jan. 15, 1903. "State Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

"Comrades—As per instructions from the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party of Pennsylvania, I enclose herewith a copy of a document recently submitted to the membership for a referendum vote.

"You will note that the proposition submitted is for a state convention to be held in Philadelphia on February 21, 22 and 23 of this year and that specific mention is made of the fact, that at least one of these three days is to be set aside for a conference of the Socialists of this state, who agree upon basic principles as stipulated in the call.

"The State Committee has further instructed me to say to you, that should the majority of the membership of the Socialist Labor Party of this state vote in the affirmative and thereby order the convention to be held, we would be pleased to have representatives of the Socialist Party attend this conference and confer with our delegates, as stated in the call, as to ways and means of advancing the cause of the Socialist Republic.

"In our estimation such a conference could not fail to bring about results which would be highly beneficial to the best interests of the working class and to the welfare of the Socialist movement, not only of this state, but of the entire country as well.

"With fraternal greetings, I am, yours for the Socialist Republic.

"WM. J. EBERLE, "State Secretary."

The enclosure refers to a convention of the S. L. P. organization to be held in Philadelphia next Saturday to Monday. To the invitation to participate in a conference on this occasion, the State Committee of the Socialist Party voted to reply as follows:

"To Mr. Wm. J. Eberle and Members of Executive Committee of organization claiming title of Socialist Labor Party.

"Gentlemen—In reply to your communication of Jan. 15, inviting representatives of the Socialist Party to attend a conference to be arranged by you in Philadelphia at the time of a convention of the so-called Socialist Labor Party, said conference to consider ways and means of advancing the cause of the Socialist Republic, we beg leave to say:

"1. We deny your right, or the right of any body of men whatsoever, to claim title as the Socialist Labor Party in this state. No such party is in existence, nor has been in existence, except by usurpation and misrepresentation, at any time since 1890.

"2. The great majority of Socialists who were members of a party, known prior to July, 1890, as the Socialist Labor Party, are to-day members of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania.

"3. The members of this organization, adhering to the principle of the referendum as the only possible basis of Socialist organization, and being denied the right of referendum by an Executive Committee located at Pittsburg, were in 1890 compelled to change the name of their party from Socialist Labor Party to Socialist Party. This was done in strict accordance with the common usage and principles of the Socialist movement, and in conformity with the laws of the organization in this state.

"4. Since the adoption of this name the organization this Committee has the honor to represent has fought the political battle of the working class, has propagated the principles of revolutionary Socialism, has gained official standing on the state ballot, and is the only political organization of Socialists recognized in Pennsylvania.

"This Committee, guardian for the time being of the integrity of the Socialist Party in this state, has neither the inclination nor the delegated power to confer with any person or body of persons outside the party membership as to ways and means of advancing the cause of the Socialist Republic. Will you permit us to suggest that those who wish to advance the cause of Socialism should join the party into whose keeping the cause has been committed by the votes of the working class.

"We are quite certain that we speak the mind of our organization when we say that it is now, and always has been, the will of the comrades who have been estranged from us, and renew the old ties of comradeship with a hearty good-will. But honor and principle demand that there shall be a clear understanding upon certain points.

"This is a democratic organization, and its officials are required to obey the mandate of its members. Those who are not ready to yield cheerful obedience to the rule of the majority are not wanted in our ranks. There is no place therein for would-be dictators or self-appointed leaders. Our members assert their ability, power and purpose to take care of themselves.

"Further, experience has demonstrated the absolute correctness of our position upon the question of the attitude of Socialists toward the trade unions. It is only fair to us, who consider the unions as legitimate recruiting stations for Socialism and therefore make constant propaganda among them, that our efforts in this direction shall not be obstructed by any confused or false ideas on the part of comrades toward them. Those who do not agree with us in this matter cannot in good faith come into the party.

"For these reasons you will perceive that we cannot send any representative to your conference. But we repeat that we are eager for an opportunity to extend the right hand of fellowship to all those who were parted from us, either through misunderstanding of

our position or misconception of their duty as Socialists.

"Respectfully yours, "FRED W. LONG, "State Secretary. "By direction of the Committee."

FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS.

New National Secretary Has Taken Up His Duties—Local Toledo Initiates Movement to Pay Off Old Debt.

OMAHA, Neb., Feb. 12.—The national headquarters of the Socialist Party have been removed from St. Louis to this city, in accordance with the decision of the National Committee at its recent meeting. William Malloy, the newly elected National Secretary, has taken up the duties of his office. All communications intended for the national party organization should be addressed: William Malloy, National Secretary of the Socialist Party, Arlington Block, Omaha, Neb.

TOLEDO, O., Feb. 11.—Some time ago Local Toledo passed a resolution calling on the Ohio member of the National Committee to try to devise some way of paying off the debts of the national organization of the Socialist Party assumed at the Indianapolis Unity Convention. The proceedings of the national party organization should be addressed: William Malloy, National Secretary of the Socialist Party, Arlington Block, Omaha, Neb.

At this week's meeting the Local adopted the following self-explanatory resolution:

"Resolved, That Local Toledo appropriate \$10 to apply on payment of the debts of the National Committee assumed at the Unity Convention, and that the Organizer forward the same to The Worker, with an appeal to it and other Socialist papers to open funds through their columns for the purpose of paying the long standing debts of the National Committee in the shortest possible time, organizations and individuals being asked to contribute, and the money received to be forwarded to National Secretary Malloy."

Knowing what has been done by the party press in the past, Local Toledo hopes that by its aid the debts will soon be wiped out and a real scandal removed from the party's reputation.

The Worker acknowledges the receipt of \$10 from Local Toledo and consents to act as an agent in receiving funds for this purpose and transmitting them to the National Secretary. It is best to send money by check or draft, or, better, by postoffice or express money order. Letters enclosing contributions should be addressed to The Worker with an enclosed statement showing the purpose for which they are intended. Receipts will be acknowledged from week to week.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

We are at last able to present a complete table, from official sources, showing the vote of the Socialist Party in 1902 as compared with that of 1900, by which they are intended. In the first time in 1902. In the eight states marked with a star we had no chance to test our strength in 1902, and the vote cast for our national ticket in 1900 is therefore carried forward for the latter year. In several cases, where the vote for different candidates of the Socialist Party varied largely, we have taken the lower figure, as indicating the solid vote. The figures given are, therefore, extremely conservative.

Table with 2 columns: State and Vote. Includes entries for Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming, and Totals.

NEW JERSEY'S VOTE.

The official returns for the election of November last in New Jersey show a good gain for the Socialist Party. It is not stated in our Assemblymen that counts for official standing and we therefore take it as a basis for estimating our strength. There was no general election in the state last November. The Socialist Party had candidates for the Assembly in ten counties—Bergen, Camden, Cumberland, Essex, Hudson, Mercer, Ocean, Passaic, Sussex, and Union. These polled a total of 4,835 votes. The same counties, in 1900, gave us 3,954 votes. The other counties of the state, chiefly agricultural, in which we had no organization and no local candidates, gave us, in the general election of two years ago, 653 votes. Assuming no increase in these counties, but simply carrying forward the figures of 1900, we can put our strength in November, 1902, at 5,489 votes, as against 4,608 two years earlier—a gain of 882 votes, or about 20 per cent.

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BOWERS, WILLIAM.

In pursuance of an order of Hon. Frank T. Fitzgerald, a Surrogate of the County of New York, notice is hereby given to all persons having claims against William Bowers, late of the County of New York, deceased, to present the same with vouchers thereon to the subscriber, at his place of transacting business, No. 245 Broadway, Borough of Manhattan, in the City of New York, on or before the 15th day of June next.

Dated New York, the 3d day of December, 1902. FRANK BOWERS, Executor. L. D. MAYES, Attorney for the Executor, 245 Broadway, New York City.

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LOCAL 476, MACHINE WOOD WORKERS AND TURNERS, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. Meets every Tuesday at Bohemia Hall, 323 East Seventy-third street, New York. Financial Secretary, W. E. P. Schwartz, 27 Fulton avenue, Astoria, L. I.; Recording Secretary, Chas. Flesler, 522 East Eighty-fifth street, New York.

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"For ways that are dark and for tricks that are vain the old-party friend of labor is peculiar." So would we paraphrase a famous saying. The occasion of the remark is a bill now being passed by capitalist "friends of labor" in Congress...

OUR GAIN IN TEXAS. GAINESVILLE, Texas, Feb. 10.—The Secretary of State, being asked to give the official figures of the vote for Socialist candidates for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor in the November election, has replied: "This department is not advised of the vote cast for those candidates."

KINGS COUNTY. At the regular meeting of the Kings County Committee, held on Feb. 14, the Organizer reported that information was received that a "United Labor and People's Party" was in progress of formation in Jamaica...

UPTOWN PARTY MEETING. On Friday evening, Feb. 20, a meeting will be held in Colonial Hall, 101st street and Columbus avenue, for the purpose of strengthening the up-town organizations of the Social Democratic Party and devising plans for energetic work...

READ THIS AND PASS IT ON. We are learning the lesson. The lesson is the lesson of unity. The masters have traded on our quarrels. The one solid asset of mastership is the isolation of the slave.

OF MANY VOICES ONE VOICE.

By Horace Traubel.

Labor is not perfected. It is in process. It has its wars, its wrinkles. But its aim has no wars and wrinkles. And that claim is what will get the decision. You can trifle with the solar rays. But you cannot play fast and loose with that claim.

SEVEN FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALISM. An unbreakable, an invincible outlook of mankind to some eternal ought-to-be, that is faith. Nature, experience, the constitution of the mind, or whatever other name may be given to the thing upon which man rests for his ought-to-be, has given sanction and assurance that certain antecedents certain consequences will follow...

SEVEN FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALISM.

By Peter E. Burrows.

The dissolution of society under capitalism into warring atoms in the most essential of its vitalities, labor, would seem indeed to threaten the race with a tremendous spiritual disaster by taking away the power and pride of the unit morally as organizationally to become "one of the others."

coming of the eclipse, waiting for the Maroon wavegroove; the open face of the sphinx, which is not a riddler's face nor a riddle, but a face of waiting frankly and fearlessly upon the blessed inevitable, without which life were but a hollow, without which life were but a rest of the human mind on a yawning void...

Every man will not always be separately called upon to start again for himself along the whole of the billion-trodden pathway of the mind. The connection of all things now with all things that have been and that will be, is an assurance deeply planted in the program and well seen of the Socialist vision.

breed in seasons that bread-eaters there might be; if for nothing more than more battle—even so; if slaves they must have, they must be released to the care of childhood. And in this release time was given for thee and us through thee to learn the sacred human art of caring for that which was artless and impotent, the apprenticeship and binding of strength to the wall and want of the little one who the human race so slowly hath learned its alphabet of moral life—the life that leans down to the life that lifts up and will not forget, and will not defraud the unarmed littleness of the world. This I take to be the soul and conscience of our cause.

National Platform of the Socialist Party

The Socialist Party of America in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Every Reader of The Worker should decorate his home with the

New Years Greeting of The Worker.

It is an effective allegorical picture, based on the heroic struggle through which the anthracite coal miners have passed, and pointing the way to the emancipation of the workers and the inauguration of a system under which such struggles will be unknown.

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A Watch Free to Everyone. Good American Movement, Nickel-Plated.

Advertisement for a pocket watch. Includes an image of the watch and text: "This watch will be presented to any person who sends us the amount for six yearly subscribers at 50 cents each and 14 cents for Registered Postage. For ten yearly subscribers, we will send you a good New Haven or other standard make, Stem-Winder and Setter free to your address."

SPECIAL NOTICE. THE SCANDINAVIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY of New York meets 1st Sunday every month, 10.30 a. m., and 3d Sunday every month, 7 p. m. Debate on Socialist questions, at 216 E. 41st St., N. Y. All Scandinavians are welcome.

TWO DAYS' LABOR FESTIVAL

to celebrate the SILVER JUBILEE of the

"New Yorker Volkszeitung"

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 22, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23,

at the GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, Forty-third St. and Lexington Ave.

SUNDAY: GRAND CONCERT.

Fifty Musicians Present the Following Program: Prelude, "The Marsellaise," Grand March from "Lohengrin," Overture to "Raymond," Concert-Waltz, "Artist's Life," A new flower-song, "Herzen und Blumen," Selections from "Tannhauser," etc.

Workingmen, Make This Festival a Great Demonstration for Your Press.

MONDAY: DRAMATIC PROGRAM.

PRESENTED BY CELEBRATED ARTISTS—LIVING PICTURES—SPLENDID FLOWER-BALLET BY ONE HUNDRED YOUNG WOMEN, UNDER DIRECTION OF MR. FRANZ JUNGE. BALL AFTER THE ENTERTAINMENT.

Workingmen, Make This Festival a Great Demonstration for Your Press. TICKETS IN ADVANCE: For both days, 40 cents; for either day separately, 25 cents. At the box, 35 cents admission.

Tickets for Sale at the Following Places: Office of The Worker, 184 William St., Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth St., Robt. L. Worm's Hall, 85 E. Fourth St., R. Modest's Liberty Hall, 50 First St., Winkelmann's Cafe, 367 Bowery, Languth's Halle, 385 Bowery, etc.

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