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VOL. XII.—NO. 49.

NEW YORK, MARCH 8, 1903.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

RAMIFICATIONS OF TRUSTS.

Some Cold Facts Illustrating the Concentration of Capitalist Ownership.

Affiliations of Directors of Oil Trust, Steel Trust, and National City Bank Traced—Thirty-nine Men Are Directors of 385 Companies in Many Lines of Industry.

It is to be supposed that every thoughtful observer must realize that the concentration of the ownership and control of capital has gone much farther than appears upon the surface, that the facts of concentration are largely disguised by the organization of many companies to carry on the affairs of a single group of capitalists. It is doubtful, however, if any but a very few who have made a careful study of somewhat inaccessible sources of information have any adequate idea of the extent to which this is true. Still less is it generally recognized that, aside from the concentration in each branch of industry, the great combinations in the various industries are so interlinked that we are already justified in speaking of the existence of one great capitalist trust, rather than of the trusts as separate bodies.

To illustrate this fact we have made a study of the "Directory of Directors" for 1902 (the 1903 volume having not yet appeared) and here present some of the results.

A member of a Board of Directors of any company may fairly be assumed always to be either the owner of a large share of the stock or bonds of that company or (what for the purposes of this inquiry comes to the same thing) the direct representative and agent of some such large stockholder or bondholder. When, therefore, we find the same man or men acting as Directors of different companies we have a right to infer that the capital of those companies is largely owned by the same persons. We may even suppose that a study following this clue will not reveal the full extent of the concentration of ownership, because we know that very often comparatively obscure men, not known in connection with a given large interest, are deliberately chosen as its representatives on the Boards of smaller and ostensibly independent companies, for the purpose of masking the combination.

Three Companies Studied.

In the present case we have chosen for investigation three companies: The Standard Oil Company, already pretty generally recognized as the nucleus or center of the capitalist organization; the Steel Trust, notable as being far the largest corporation in existence; and the National City Bank, the favorite financial agency of the Standard Oil and other great capitalist interests. We propose to show, by a study of their Directorates, both how these institutions are connected with each other and also the immense ramification of their influence and presumably of their proprietary interests in other and most varied fields of industry.

The presentation of the evidence in detail is unavoidably somewhat tedious, but it will be found worthy of close attention.

The Standard Oil Company is linked to the National City Bank by already that William Rockefeller is Director of both corporations and that the bank is well known to be the regular financial agent of the Standard Oil Company; John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is also a Director of the bank. The Standard Oil Company is also linked to the United States Steel Corporation by the fact that John D. Rockefeller and H. H. Rogers are Directors of both corporations. The further fact that G. W. Perkins and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., are Directors of both the National City Bank and the Steel Corporation completes the connection, so far as the membership of the directorates is concerned.

The Standard Oil Company has thirteen Directors. We shall consider the affiliations of eight of these, a majority of the Board. These are: Archibald Henry M. Flagler, Charles W. Harkness, Oliver H. Payne, Charles M. Pratt, John D. Rockefeller, William Rockefeller, and Henry H. Rogers.

The National City Bank has twenty-one Directors. We shall trace the relations of nineteen of these not included in the Standard Oil list—Francis M. Bacon, Robert Bacon, Cleveland H. Dodge, Charles S. Fairchild, Edward H. Harriman, Henry O. Havemeyer, John A. McCall, Stephen S. Palmer, George W. Perkins, James H. Post, M. Taylor Payne, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., John W. Sterling, Jacob H. Schiff, Samuel Sloan, William D. Sloane, James Stillman, Henry A. C. Taylor, and Moses Taylor.

The United States Steel Corporation has twenty-four Directors. We shall observe its connections through twelve of these not in either of the other lists (including the principal officers and the most influential members—Edmund C. Converse, William E. Dodge, Albert H. Gary, Clement A. Griscom, Abram S. Hewitt, William H. Moore, J. Pierpont Morgan, Daniel G. Reid, Percival Roberts, Jr., Charles M. Schwab, Charles Steele, and P. A. B. Widener.)

"Since the publication of the lists upon a study of which this article is founded, Mr. Hewitt has died; this does not materially affect the results, however, as the individuals dealt with represent estates and interests which do not die with their possessors or representatives. It may also be noted that our information in regard to Mr. Widener's connections is incomplete. This, however, together with the fact that we have ignored the affiliations of fourteen of the less important Directors of the three companies studied,

A COALITION IN GERMANY.

Economic - Political Lines to Be Clearly Drawn.

All Capitalist Parties in Saxony Agree to Combine at Polls against Social Democracy—Coalition Will Probably Be General—Socialists Not Disturbed.

The dread with which all the capitalist elements of Germany regard the approval of the general elections, which are to be held in June, is shown by news received this week. A Berlin dispatch says:

"The text of an agreement signed by the leaders in Saxony of the Conservative, National-Liberal, Anti-Semite, and Agrarian parties, providing for mutual support at the forthcoming elections, was made public to-day. It is especially aimed at the Socialists, and its chief feature is a pledge not to nominate candidates against each other in districts already held by one of the parties concerned and assigning the several districts now represented by Socialists to one or other of the parties. It is expected at least to maintain the present ratio of representation in the Reichstag.

"A union of the parties is also being effected in other parts of the empire, and it is not unlikely that the elections will be a contest between the Socialists on the one side and all the other parties on the other, except the small Radical groups.

"The political events of the last two years have caused the conservative elements of the country much apprehension. The Socialists are generally supposed to have gained largely over their vote of 2,300,000 in 1898. Their leaders expected two months ago a gain of from fifteen to fifty seats, but the combination of the political parties has moderated these estimates, until now the best-informed men of the Social Democratic Party think they will do well if they gain ten seats."

"The open coalition of the capitalist parties will undoubtedly have the effect of still further increasing the popular strength of the Social Democratic Party, the conduct of whose deputies in the Reichstag has already made it certain that here will be a great gain over the vote of 1898. The reactionary coalition may succeed in preventing the Socialists from increasing in proportion to the popular vote, but the Socialists can afford to bide their time and may well be satisfied with forcing a clear drawing of the lines between the political representatives of the capitalist and the working classes.

TO PENALIZE STRIKES.

Dutch Government Proposes Draconic Measures to Govern Railway Employees—Illustrates Danger of Capitalist Public Ownership—Socialists Fight the Bills.

What a serious danger to the interests of the working people public ownership established by capitalist parties upon capitalist principles may be to the workers is shown by a study of the bills introduced this week from the Hague. Part of the railways of the Netherlands are owned by the government. The government, however, being in the control of the capitalist class, the state railways as well as those privately owned are operated in the capitalist interest and the employees on both are overworked and badly paid.

The workmen have been threatening a general railway strike to better their condition. How the government proposes to deal with the question is shown in this dispatch:

"The Premier, Dr. Kuiper, has introduced in the Second Chamber of the States General three bills in connection with the recent railroad strike.

"Dr. Kuiper explained that the government considered it necessary to oppose any unreasonable attack on society which would sacrifice the well-being of the people to the desire of a certain class for influence and to political tyranny. The government therefore proposed to form a railroad bridge to insure a regular service of trains in case of need. The just complaints of railroad employees would be adjusted by a royal commission, which would be intrusted with the general settlement of the situation from a legal standpoint as well as regarding the conditions of service of the employees. It would also have to decide what constituted criminal acts. The government did not desire to be reactionary. It only aimed at effecting social reforms.

"One of the bills provides for a modification of the Penal Code with the object of affording a surer guarantee for the personal freedom of labor and of preventing state officials or persons engaged in occupations affecting public interests from absconding themselves from their duties.

"The bill further provides that refusal to do duty on the part of employees of the railways or other public services may be punished by three months' imprisonment. If two or more persons rise in rebellion the penalty is increased to four years' imprisonment for the ringleaders or those guilty of criminal acts."

The phrase "rise in rebellion," in the last paragraph, includes a strike or concerted refusal to work.

The Socialist members of the Parliament will vigorously oppose the bills. They form only a minority as yet, however, and a combination of the capitalist parties may carry the measures through. In that case the next general elections will undoubtedly show a greater ratio of increase in the Socialist vote than did the last.

Only three weeks remain before the Daily Globe Fair.

ATTACK ON UNIONISM.

Connecticut Legislators Taking the Lead.

Text of the Tracy Incorporation Bill—If Passed It Will Put Trade Unionism Entirely Outside the Pale of the Law—A Movement That Will Bear Watching.

NEW HAVEN, Conn.,—Senator Tracy of Waterbury has introduced—"by request," as he says—a bill similar in its provisions to the one introduced by Hallock of Derby in the House, as reported in The Worker last week. The provisions of the bill are so drastic and there is so strong a possibility of similar legislation being introduced in other states that it will be worth the while of your readers to examine it carefully. The bill reads:

"Trade unions or guilds, to be composed of men engaged in similar occupations or professions, may be incorporated on the following conditions:

"Section 1. The incorporators shall consist of not less than five men, who shall present to the Secretary of State the petition for incorporation, stating therein the name and purpose of the proposed corporation, together with its methods of action and the duties of its several officers and the terms of admission to the same.

"Section 2. If the Secretary of State, upon consultation with the State Attorney, shall deem that the methods and purpose of the proposed corporation are not inconsistent with the public welfare, he shall issue the charter of incorporation desired, under the seal of the state.

"Section 3. Any employer of labor who shall discharge an employee because of membership in a union thus incorporated shall be subject to a fine of five hundred dollars or imprisonment in the county jail for three months, or both.

"Section 4. Any employer of labor who shall discharge an employee because not a member of a union shall be subject to the same penalty as above prescribed for each offense.

"Section 5. Any officer of any union or any member thereof delegated for the purpose who shall demand of any employer the discharge of any employee because not a member of a union, shall be subject to a fine of one thousand dollars or imprisonment in the county jail for six months, or both.

"Section 6. If any union in the employ of any corporation engaged in public service or the supply of any article of common necessity shall propose a simultaneous cessation of labor on the part of its members, said union shall give notice of said intention of not less than fourteen days, and in default thereof each member of said union shall be liable to a fine of not less than five dollars.

"Section 7. Any person who by violence, intimidation, threatening of social ostracism or other interference with the inviolable rights of free labor shall attempt to prevent the employment of service of any person in any place made vacant by striking laborers shall be subject to a fine of not less than one hundred dollars.

"Section 8. Any labor union not incorporated or any member thereof who shall be guilty of any of the offenses hereinabove indicated shall be liable to the penalties above prescribed for such several offenses, and in addition each individual member of such unincorporated union shall be liable in an action for trespass.

"Section 9. Any person who shall by force or deed encourage or abet any act of mob violence shall upon conviction, if a citizen, be deemed in addition to other penalties to have forfeited his civil rights, including suffrage, to be restored only by special act of the Legislature, and if not a citizen and over eighteen years of age, he shall not be admitted to civil rights except by special act of the Legislature."

DERBY, Conn., March 1.—In connection with the attack on trade unions embodied in bills introduced in the Connecticut Legislature, as noted in The Worker of this date, it is worth while to record that Representative Hallock of Derby, who introduced the incorporation bill, is a Republican, while Attorney Williams, also of this city, who drew the riot-damage bill, is a Democrat who voted for McKinley, but claims still to belong to the Democratic party. Senator Tracy is a Republican.

PROGRESS IN CLINTON.

Socialists Carry Important Measures in the Town Meeting.

CLINTON, Mass., March 3.—At yesterday's town election, out of 2,556 votes cast, the Socialist candidates received from 138 to 259—an average of 9, 183, or a little over 7 per cent. Numerically, this is about the same as at last election; but owing to special political conditions this year, it is considered as indicating an increase in our real strength.

We carried the town meeting for three important articles—including those formulated by the State Committee of the Socialist Party: One, moved by John F. Mullen, instructing the Selectmen to appear before the Legislature in behalf of a bill authorizing the establishment of municipal fuel yards; another, moved by Robert Lawrence, instructing the Representatives in favor of a memorial to Congress for national ownership of the coal mines; and a third to instruct the Selectmen to submit to popular vote their action as to the location of street railways.

FOR THE DAILY.

Enthusiasm for the Big Fair Is on the Increase.

Unions Buy Tickets by Thousands and Members Volunteer to Help in Work of the Fair—Last Session of Globe Conference the Best Yet Held.

Only three weeks remain before the opening of the Daily Globe Fair in Grand Central Palace—only three weeks more in which to sell tickets and collect for those sold, gather donations, distribute advertising matter, and do all the other necessary work.

Very encouraging reports were received at last Thursday's meeting of the Daily Globe Conference, which was the best attended session yet held. Among other things it may be noted that Carpenters' Union No. 309 reported that it had bought 1,000 tickets and would furnish fifteen men to work in preparing the hall free of charge. The delegate of the Upholsterers' Union reported that this body would supply 200 volunteers to decorate the booths and do other work of the sort. The delegate of the Suspender Makers reported that his union had bought 200 tickets and would donate a full line of union-made suspenders as prizes. The Franklin Pressmen's Association reported taking 500 tickets and Electrical Workers No. 3 asked for 1,000 tickets and believed they would all be sold. The Young People's Social Democratic Club of Yorkville has taken 300 tickets. The central body of the Bohemian workmen's societies has taken 3,000 tickets. These societies will also make an excellent contribution to the musical and other entertainments at the Fair. Many other organizations have shown a lively interest, but space forbids the mention of any but Typographical Union No. 6, which voted on Sunday to buy 5,000 tickets. A hundred thousand tickets have been put out by Secretary Butcher and a new supply is being printed.

All comrades and organizations holding tickets are urged to settle for them by March 15 if at all possible. Much trouble and confusion will be saved by making prompt collection and settlement.

Comrades should report to Secretary Butcher on the collection of presents, that they may be got to the store-rooms and listed without delay.

Comrade M. Tanner, who has full charge of the arrangements for entertainment at the Fair, is making good progress. He has already secured many attractive features, of which some account will be given next week, but he is eagerly looking for more. Any comrade who can give him information or assistance in procuring talent for the musical, dramatic, and vaudeville programs that are to be presented every night during the Fair is requested to communicate with him at once. He or Comrade Meyer, who is assisting him, may be seen every evening between 7:30 and 9:30 at 153 Second avenue or letters may be sent to him at this address.

The Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association meets at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, on Monday evening, March 9.

Following is a statement of amounts pledged for the Socialist Daily Fund up to Feb. 23:

Alex. Fraser, Stapleton, S. I.	\$5.00
F. Schmidt, Stapleton, S. I.	3.00
Max Thelmer, Stapleton, S. I.	3.00
Wm. Veeck, Stapleton, S. I.	5.00
Julius Loos, Stapleton, S. I.	5.00
J. Muenke, Stapleton, S. I.	2.00
Thomalo, Stapleton, S. I.	6.00
Chris. Ward, Stapleton, S. I.	3.00
Previously acknowledged	7,605.50
Total pledged	\$7,638.50

The following amounts have been received as payments on pledges or as cash contributions:

PAID ON PLEDGES.	
Alex. Fraser, Brooklyn	\$10.00
John Gibbon, Brooklyn	1.00
Healey, Kearney	2.00
F. Ufert, West Hoboken	2.00
E. Ufert, West Hoboken	1.00
A. S. West Hoboken	1.00
Frank Ohmhusen, L. I. City	.50
Dr. Schwartz, city	5.00
Green, city	1.00
Dr. Casper, city	3.00
Max Diamond, city	1.00
Hugo Peters, Brooklyn	6.00
Henry Suppl, Glendale	.25
Aug. Thompson, Glendale	.25
Geo. Lochat, Glendale	.25
Chas. Kircher, Glendale	.25
Aug. Fless, Glendale	.25
W. G. Smith, Glendale	.25
John Mullen, city	1.00
Paul Jorgens, Haldeon, N. J.	.25
Alf. Petzold, Paterson, N. J.	.25
Robt. Streller, Paterson, N. J.	1.00
T. Podurgel, Passaic, N. J.	.50
T. Hurlerman, Haldeon, N. J.	2.75
E. Neppel, city	2.00
J. Bernard, city	.50
T. Zechnowitz, city	5.00
Wm. H. Brager, city	.50
E. Willronseeder, city	1.00
R. Wyssman, city	1.00
Gustave Linke, city	2.00
Dr. A. Levine, city	3.00
Jacob Levine, city	1.00
Emil Neppel, city	2.00
Thos. Birk, city	1.00
W. Detzsch, city	2.00
M. M. Bartholomew, city	1.00
N. S. Helchenst, city	1.00
M. Scher, city	1.00
C. McCullough, Summit, N. J.	1.00
W. Glanz, Paterson, N. J.	4.00
Dr. N. Booth, city	1.00
E. M. Braunn, city	1.00
M. Pine, city	2.00
P. Rousseau, Danville, Ill.	.50
A. M. Kaplan, city	1.00

INJUNCTIONS AND RIFLES.

Down in West Virginia the deputy marshals have been shooting miners for refusing to obey Judge Kellar's blanket injunction, reported in The Worker last summer, which forbade them even to hold meetings in the private hall that they had hired and paid for. Several miners were killed and some sixty others are now lying in prison, under charges of contempt of court, rioting, and heaven knows what other offenses, because they stood up for the right of free assemblage, guaranteed in the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. "What's the constitution between friends?" Judge Kellar and President Roosevelt and Boss Hanna are good friends to the men who own the mines.

And now it is the railway men's turn.

Eleven hundred employees of the Washab wanted an advance of wages to partly compensate for the increased cost of living and the enormous increase in the amount of work they are required to do in these days of prosperity.

The Washab has joined with other roads in advancing freight rates. But advancing wages is quite another question. President Ramsey decided to resist the employees' demand.

President Ramsey knows his business. He did not frankly refuse the demand. He asked the employees' committee for time to consider the question. They granted him time.

Within three hours, President Ramsey had applied for an injunction and got it.

President Ramsey is a pillar of respectable society and one of the trustees of our national prosperity. So is Judge Adams of the United States Circuit Court at St. Louis.

Judge Adams granted the injunction without hesitation. The order was already prepared by the Washab attorneys. Judge Adams signed it off-hand, and court officers rushed away to serve copies on all the officials of the various railway brotherhoods.

What's the constitution—law or decency or common sense—between such good friends as a railway president and a federal judge?

Judge Adams granted the injunction without hesitation.

Immediately after Judge Adams had signed the writ, President Ramsey sent a long letter which he had already prepared, flatly refusing the employees' demands.

This injunction is the most sweeping and the frankest that has ever been issued. Judge Adams does not confine himself to prohibiting the use of violence or of threats or of abusive language. He goes straight to the heart of the matter.

He addresses it to "you and each and every one of you, individually and as representatives of the Order or Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, your, and said organizations, representatives, clerks, agents, and attorneys, and all others who may be aiding and abetting you or them, or acting in concert with you or them, and under your or their direction."

He "strictly commands" all the men included in this verbose address "absolutely to desist and refrain from in any way or manner, ordering, coercing, persuading, inducing, or otherwise causing, directly or indirectly, the employees of the said, the Washab Railway Company, engaged in or about the operation of its trains within the United States, and brakemen, switchmen, or locomotive firemen to strike or quit the service of the said company," or to do any one of a large number of other perfectly lawful and peaceable acts involved in and connected with the carrying on of a strike.

Never before has a judge openly and directly forbidden men to strike. This is the limit.

The officers of the brotherhoods are reported as saying they will obey the injunction so long as it stands and desist from calling the strike their unions have instructed them to call. They say they "are legally embroiled, and must accept without protest, under penalty of imprisonment, the working conditions which he chooses to impose."

There are worse things than going to prison. Eugene V. Debs went to prison in 1894. A worse thing than the assassination of public liberty.

We have to see whether Judge Adams' order will stand and whether the railway men will bow to it. Meanwhile, the government is shooting miners in West Virginia.

LECTURE CALENDAR FOR NEW YORK CITY.

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

FRIDAY, MARCH 6.
Margaret Hall: "The Body and the Soul of Socialism." At the West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall, northwest corner of Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, second floor, 8 P. M.

S. Rosenzweig: "Socialism and Zionism." Social Democratic Educational Club, 84 Orchard street.

SATURDAY, MARCH 7.
Comrade Reches: "The French Government Under Napoleon Bonaparte." Social Democratic Educational Club, 84 Orchard street.

SUNDAY, MARCH 8.
George D. Herron: "The Present Opportunity of the Socialist Movement." Socialist Educational League, 953 Second avenue, 8 P. M.

N. S. Reberthal: "The Rise of the Proletariat." Zeltner's Morrisania Park, 170th street and Third avenue.

James N. Wood: "Socialism and Politics." Social Democratic Educational Club, 84 Orchard street.

Rev. Walter E. Bentley: "The Inter-Relationship of the Church and the State, and Their Relation to Socialism." Socialist Literary Society, 241 East Broadway, 3:30 P. M.

Margaret Hall: "Socialism and Individualism." Socialist Literary Society, 241 East Broadway, 8 P. M.

Dr. G. Fish Clark: "The Fallacious Foundation Columns Which Prop Up Modern Economic Conditions." Colonial Hall, 101st street and Columbus avenue, 8 P. M.

A good speaker will lecture at Dispensary Hall, Thirty-sixth street and Ninth avenue, 8 P. M.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11.
William Edlin: "How to Win at the Ballot-box." Social Democratic Educational Club, 84 Orchard street.

FRIDAY, MARCH 13.
Horace Traubel: "The Social Consciousness." West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall, northwest corner of Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, second floor.

IN BROOKLYN.
M. Winchevich: "The Socialist Movement in Russia." Socialist Propaganda Club, 315 Washington street, March 8, 8 P. M.

—If you get a bundle of sample copies of The Worker, you will understand that you are requested to distribute them among your fellow workers. We need the help of many hands to spread the light.

—The Worker helps to make Socialist voters out of people who are now opposed to the movement and active party members out of those who are now only passive Socialist voters. Circulate The Worker.

How many presents have YOU collected for the Daily Globe Fair?
—We wish to double the circulation of The Worker in the next six months. Will you help us?

The Worker. ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY. PUBLISHED WEEKLY. Telephone Calls 302 John.

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS. One year in advance \$5.00. Six months in advance \$3.00. Single copies 10c.

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Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y. Post Office on April 15, 1902.



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

You should not think you have done your duty if you vote the Socialist ticket, subscribe for a party paper, and even now and then give a dollar to a party fund.

AS TO HEADQUARTERS.

The Worker desires above all things to be fair, believing that only by the hearing of both sides can a wise decision on any question be reached.

WHY THIS SILENCE AND DELAY?

In our editorial last week entitled "Comrade Goebel's Surprising Claim" we summed up his position, on which he seemed to speak for the majority in the National Committee.

"First, they say the National Committee cannot initiate a referendum on the question of headquarters.

"Second, they say the National Committee can remove headquarters without a referendum.

"Third, they say the membership cannot initiate a referendum to overrule the decision of the National Committee."

We then asked the plain question: "Does Comrade Goebel speak only for himself or for the Omaha majority?"

serves what it may regard as a dignified silence. It is not the business of the Quorum to decide whether the referendum is a wise one.

The Worker is not informed how matters stand, what action, if any, the National Secretary or the Quorum or the National Committee may have taken.

Our party has never found it necessary to transact its business behind closed doors. It is not well that it should begin now.

The way in which the Democratic politicians join in naming John Mitchell as a vice-presidential candidate must be highly amusing to the nine workers' leader.

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rect legislation must remain inviolate in order to build up a strong working-class political party based upon Socialist philosophy; therefore be it resolved, That we condemn the action taken by the majority of said National Committee; and be it further more.

"Resolved, That we demand that the selection of location for said Local Quorum (either Chicago or Indianapolis, according to minority report) be referred to the membership of the party to be voted upon.

"And as we believe that the emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the working class itself, we request other locals to take similar action."

Comrade Victor L. Berger, National Committeeman for Wisconsin, writes as follows in the last number of the "Social Democratic Herald":

"We must have a referendum on the action taken by the National Committee removing the headquarters of the party from Omaha, Neb."

"First, According to the new make-up of the Local Quorum the National Committee of the states in the neighborhood of the headquarters serve as the Local Quorum. This involves a change in the constitution of the party.

"Second, The transfer of the headquarters from St. Louis to Omaha involves a change of basis for our operations and to some extent even a change of our policy. This cannot be otherwise. No man can get out of his skin.

"Omaha is too far away from the manufacturing centers of the United States and the new Quorum cannot feel the heart beat of the modern city proletariat, which the Socialist Party must win before all things.

"The Liberator" of Portland, Oregon, and "The Socialist" of Seattle, Wash., print the resolution, demanding a referendum on Chicago as national headquarters, recommended by The Worker.

At the last meeting of Local Rochester, N. Y., it was voted to request the national organization to submit to referendum the following propositions:

"1. That the headquarters of the party should be removed to Chicago.

"2. That the Local Quorum until the next national convention be composed of members of the National Committee from the states of Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Iowa, and Kentucky.

"3. That the National Committee at its last annual session in conflict with the above provisions be rejected and declared incompetent."

Starved and frozen together they lie, Mother and babe in their key sleep; But, stronger in death than life, they cry.

Are you strong in the fight 'gainst (Great and Godless) Mammon?—John Spargo, in the Whim.

Few people have realized the tremendous value of the labor movement as a factor in the education of the masses.

Local Everett, Mass., at a special meeting on Feb. 23, adopted the following resolutions and ordered copies be sent to the "Appeal to Reason" and The Worker for publication and to State Secretary White and National Secretary Mallory.

THE SPIRITUALITY OF BREAD AND BUTTER.

By Peter E. Burrows.

How is it that we Americans, shrewdest of all citizens, keen, alert, and with almost brutal commonsense, do nevertheless content ourselves with ancient empty windy words as to the things of Better Life.

This slipshodness which does not inquire into the meaning of words that actually cost so much in hard cash is the miracle of American society.

"We must have a referendum on the action taken by the National Committee removing the headquarters of the party from Omaha, Neb."

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hastening back from over the trackless wastes to rest upon the fingers, and come into the cupboard of plain John Smith. It is plainly no longer by running away from himself that mankind can experience the spiritual life.

Rational selfishness on the first analysis yields a cry for morality. This cry for morality calls back the winged fugitives from celestial considerations to plain questions of collectivism, labor, property and duty.

The more thinker, has been always an over-valued man among us, the man I mean who lives all the time in his own head, or the head of the college, whence he comes with his butterfly wings as substitutes for the shoulders of the field oxen.

We opine a few things about the soul, but with a very weak voiced perhaps, to the clergy, not because we think of ourselves as foolish and them as wise, but because we scent an incompatibility between the old-fashioned soul and the soul of the twentieth century.

"Omaha is too far away from the manufacturing centers of the United States and the new Quorum cannot feel the heart beat of the modern city proletariat, which the Socialist Party must win before all things.

"The Liberator" of Portland, Oregon, and "The Socialist" of Seattle, Wash., print the resolution, demanding a referendum on Chicago as national headquarters, recommended by The Worker.

At the last meeting of Local Rochester, N. Y., it was voted to request the national organization to submit to referendum the following propositions:

"1. That the headquarters of the party should be removed to Chicago.

"2. That the Local Quorum until the next national convention be composed of members of the National Committee from the states of Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Iowa, and Kentucky.

"3. That the National Committee at its last annual session in conflict with the above provisions be rejected and declared incompetent."

Starved and frozen together they lie, Mother and babe in their key sleep; But, stronger in death than life, they cry.

Are you strong in the fight 'gainst (Great and Godless) Mammon?—John Spargo, in the Whim.

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ganzins with industry which in all nations and ages constitutes the normal and necessary life of the world; therefore it attacks classes and aristocracies in order to maintain the integrity of the mass life; it attacks the unsocial and ruthless capitalists of the property sword whose crimes have caused the disintegration of farmer nations and the suspension of social life.

FIGHT.

By Horace Traubel.

Do not apologize for your client. Do not shuffle and shrink when labor sins. Labor has sinned greatly. Labor will sin some more. Labor hates the half slave. It looks to you in the thick and thin of battle. You are to be in the right place at the right time.

Labor is not making a demand based on superiorities or virtues. It is making a demand based on addition, subtraction and division. It is building its demand on the multiplication table.

We will meet you with any weapon of your choice. We will meet you way up where the clouds clash. We will meet you way down where the roots fasten themselves in the soil.

We are going to make mistakes. We are going to be hot. We are going to do you some injustice. We are going to be stern. We are going to use words that overshoot and words that undershoot the mark.

Fight. It is a mirrored word. Its root is love. Its fruit is love. Fight. Not fist. Not gun. Not knife. None of these are fight. Only love is fight. These destroy. Love saves.

Fight. No fool apologies. No misanthropies. No retreats. No attempts to mend a mistake by surrender. No retreats to turn away wrath. None bigger. None smaller. None softer. None harder. None more. None less. None other. None but.

Do you think we are out for your body? No. No. We are out for that idea at large. We will never rest with that idea at large. We will never rest with that idea at large. We will never rest with that idea at large.

Never was such war. War not to the knife. War to justice. War to the ideal. War not to shed blood. War to stop the blood that starves the slaves. War to stop the wasting blood of the children. War upon luxury. War for life. War for clothes, food, leisure. War without traces. War without paroles and spies. War direct and cruel. War without malice. War without concession. War of strong men. War that sends its weaklings and wordmongers to the rear.

War that does not fight a stomach battle to-day and beg your pardon for it to-morrow. War that is not for babes and sucklings. War. War. War. When you meet us you meet the

greatest army that ever arrayed itself against a crime. It is an army that weeps when it fights. Though it fights, therefore it would rather pay you a compliment than hurt your feelings. An army to which the business of fighting is hateful. But an army which for this very reason fights harder than ever. An army not bargained for at so much per head. An army which love has sent to the field and which only a superior love can defeat. It will be scored. But it will interplay. But it will not fly. This army, so full of love. This fight so full of love. Brutal with love. The army of the oppressed. The army of the fighting democracy.

There is no feeble advantage among us. But do not let them deceive you. We are not as weak as our weakest corporal. We are as strong as our strongest corporal. Keep out all your guards. You will need them all. For we never sleep. We have some tenderfeet of our own. But they count for nothing against our veteran hosts. We are liable to be strongest when you think your opportunity has come. We have our grammarians. We do not find much use for them. We are trying to get a little of their stiff English into their backbones. But if they remain must we still have the best part of us left. We have the plain people. The people who are unspelled by the grammarians. The people who fight. The nasty, dirty, narrow people. The ordinary, every-day people. The crowd-mongers who are dragged over rough roads by the scattering few. The people, conservative, slow, lethargic, patient, only dreamers of a revolution when every other dream is gone. The people who will not fight until they must but who when they must fight, fight as Captain Bluntschli says, like the devil. These are left. And these will always return. No matter what the terror of the rout. These will report next day as usual. For the people and this fight are of one stuff. You can only get rid of the fight by getting rid of the people. You cannot get rid of the people.

When we say fight the world refuses to revolve on its axis. The sun goes out. The stars no longer wink. The graves give up their dead. Everything gives up everything except the millionaire. He gives up nothing. And yet fight is said. And fight we mean. Fight of many retreats. Fight of more defeats than victories for us. But fight. We expect no victory until the final victory. We only fight. We fight not knowing whether we have won or are whipped. We fight the same fight. We hear the voice ahead. We see the light. We fight on. The voice is silent. The light is gone out. We fight on. That is all we have to do. Fight. We are cowards. We fight on. We are heroes. We fight on. That is all we have to do. Fight. God up there somewhere cries: Fight! Fight down here somewhere cries: God!

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themselves a better wage and a juster master." After stating the fact that wages from 1850 to 1881 increased about 60 per cent, Bishop Potter refers to the fact that the "rate of interest has decreased" to show that labor gets an increasing part from capital, and sets this up in favor of capital. But he omits to mention the watering of stock, the ever increasing value of franchises owned by private corporations, the steady increasing capitalization of railroads, and the increasing ratio of capital to labor. All these and other facts show that the total amount which the capital class receives from society increases faster than the total wage of the producing class increases. But, however, after setting forth in many places the capitalist side, the Bishop, on page 89, says:

"The workman insists that notwithstanding all that can be urged as to the rise of wages in recent years, the condition under which the workman labors makes his position increasingly unsatisfactory and precarious, and in every real sense he is right."

The objections of the Bishop to Socialism may be briefly stated. 1. "The corruption and waste incident to public government and administration."

2. "In the process of creating a social order that transfers responsibility from the individual to the state you have provided a sure and certain method of annihilating through its persistent enervation (i. e., the weakening of individual initiative and talent because of want of practice), that only and supreme force by which states live at all * * * and common control without the motive of self-interest can only satisfy the needs of the place of sectional control for private gain when public opinion has reached a higher level of morality, and the inducement to discharge one's duties in a manly fashion and from a point of honor is sufficiently strong as an incentive to industry."

It would seem that the first and last clauses of the above quotation involve a contradiction. But if they do not, the first shows that the Bishop, notwithstanding the church to which he may belong and the creed he professes to believe and the God he thinks he worships, is in truth, in fact, and in practice what Ruskin calls a worshipper and sole believer in the Goddess of "Getting-on."

Socialists believe in competition for honor, respect, fame, emulation in the use of talent for the service of humanity, but not competition to obtain the necessities of life. The Socialist can give the individual no less than the place of sectional control for private gain when public opinion has reached a higher level of morality, and the inducement to discharge one's duties in a manly fashion and from a point of honor is sufficiently strong as an incentive to industry."

Our present barbarous competition for the necessities of life consigns unselfish and noble feeling to neglect and shame and gives honor, dignity, and social power to the mere possession of gold.

The Socialists hope a civilization which will cause industrial duty to be honored (as the army honors duty), faithful work to be rewarded, instead of the bondholder, and honor and dignity to the producers of wealth, instead of to the holders of gold. In short, we lay down Bishop Potter's book with a wonder after saying so much that he expresses his belief in a system which, as Matthew Arnold says, "materializes the upper classes, vulgarizes the middle classes, and brutalizes the lower classes." Instead of a belief in Socialism, a system which will cause duty to be honored, labor to be respected, and moral character to be appreciated in this world.

EDWARD W. SEARING.

Current Literature

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

YALE LECTURES: THE CITIZEN IN HIS RELATION TO THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM. By Henry C. Potter, Bishop of New York. Scribner's.

When first glancing at these lectures which the Scribners publish in book form a Socialist is reminded, before he opens the volume, of a scene in one of Flaubert's novels, where an old maid-servant is introduced who has been snubbed at a meeting of the Agricultural Union in order to receive for faithful service on a farm, a silver medal of the value of seventy-five cents. After glancing at the title, knotted joints, back bent, thin, brain stunted with unremitting labor, her blunted feelings benumbed to everything except her daily toil—Flaubert condenses the whole picture into one sentence: "Thus stood in the presence of these well-to-do old fogies this half-century of slavery."

From sad experience a workingman or labor student expects superciliousness when reading college lectures on the industrial situation. But it would be an error to dismiss this book with this spirit. The Bishop of New York is not an "old fogey," but endeavoring to be "representative of all classes," not to look with supercilious criticism at the complaints of a thousand years of labor. He tries to make a fair comparison of the past with the present, and to look fairly at the present opposing class ideas of labor and capital. His thought still shows the echo of the trumpet blast of Saint Simon, that the mercantile, professional, literary and governing class exist as agents only, and should be as servants merely to the great producing class. The labored consideration which the Bishop endeavors to show and give to the claims of the working class deserves to be respectfully considered by them.

As many of the readers of The Worker will not have opportunity to read these "Yale Lectures," we will give some extracts to show the trend of the book. On the industrial situation the Bishop tells the Yale students (p. 11): "It is doubtful whether the average human happiness (among serfs and slaves) was not as high as, if not sometimes higher, than that of the average life of the toiler or artisan in the foul and over-crowded homes of the poor to-day. The uncertainties of the wage-earner, the fierce strife for bread of the modern miner or agricultural laborer—these were misdeeds out of which * * * former systems were substantially derived." Again, on another page: "As machinery went on becoming more complex and competent, the individual sank unceasingly in significance and value." * * *

"It is undoubtedly true that the individual in those classes and callings which are at the bottom of the social scale, have to-day much more of a certain kind of freedom, but it is scarcely less certain that he has much less, so far as those above him are concerned, of any kind of personal consideration."

On page 174 the Bishop says: "I think that the guild of other ages gave the world better work, and the men

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Socialistic sentiment is plainly growing among labor unionists throughout the country, but it is still wanting a majority of the votes in large representative assemblies of organized labor. One of a principal cause is that the union laborer has no status quo for reasons of regard for their own interests. They have built up great fighting machines which give them power, prominence before the public and a livelihood. The whole reason for their existence depends upon the maintenance of warlike conditions in the field of industry. They do not stand necessarily for the competitive system; in fact, their aim is to establish a monopoly in the labor force; and to be able to dictate to employers, the terms upon which work can be had. Employers may remain in competition if they choose, but if monopoly is established here through combination, then labor monopoly will join with capital monopoly in taking from the public at large what they may both receive. This is not a return, no matter how the same may appear on the public at large. This is a situation and prospect which appeals strongly to men who have fought their way up in the strife and organization of labor and now possess a leadership which commands powers and dignities, if not ennoblements, unapproached in the world of industry save only by the great captains of capital. Accordingly they do not care lightly to entertain proposals of industrial change which promise to cut the ground under the feet of a militarist labor regime, and their influence in the representative assemblies of the labor orders is, of course, very great. Their feelings in regard to Socialistic projects must resemble closely those with which the professional soldier looks upon such a proposal. He is not likely to put an end to war.

FOR MUNICIPAL BAKERIES IN ITALY. The city of Catania in Sicily has carried by a heavy majority a referendum proposed by the Socialists in favor of the establishment of municipal bakeries. The announcement of the result was celebrated by a great parade, 20,000 persons marching with torches and red flags. The parade was followed by a public meeting at which the Socialists appeared and delivered an eloquent address.

PARTY NOTES.

Local Hartford, Conn., of the Socialist Party meets every Friday evening in Room 10, 284 Asylum street.

Father Thomas Hagerty is contemplating a tour of the East under the direction of W. G. Critchlow, 50 Pruden Building, Dayton, O.

George D. Herron will be the orator of the occasion at the Commune celebration, concert and ball, to be given by Local Philadelphia on March 18, at Labor Lyceum, Sixth and Brown streets.

All locals in Luzerne County, Pa., are hereby notified that all due stamps and supplies will be hereafter issued to them by the Treasurer of the County Committee, Comrade Fred Schade, Sr., 457 South Grant street, Wilkes-Barre.

Youngstown, Ohio, has reorganized with fifteen members and work has now been started for an active campaign for the municipal election.

The discussion meetings of the 30th A. D. are proving very interesting and valuable. "The Right of Private Property" was the subject at last month's meeting and at the meeting of March 11 the question "What is Liberty?" will be taken up.

George D. Herron will speak on "Socialism and Liberty" in New Haven, Conn., on Tuesday evening, March 10, at Warner Hall.

A general meeting of all party members in Boston, Mass., is called for Tuesday, March 10, 8 p. m. sharp, at 1515 Park, 724 Washington street.

The fourth annual ball and basket party of the West End Branch of the Socialist Party of Boston, Mass., will be held at Minor Hall, 18 West Springfield street, on Wednesday evening, March 18; ticket, admitting lady and gentleman, 50 cents; ticket, admitting one, 35 cents; ladies bringing a basket will be admitted free.

Charters have been granted to new locals in Huntington, Hardy, and Diamond, Ark.; Asheville, N. C.; Litcher, La., and Huntington, W. Va.

The Chicago comrades ordered 10,000 copies of the national platform from national headquarters for the municipal campaign.

Comrade John C. Chase's tour in the Southern states has been remarkably successful. He will spend March in Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana.

An enthusiastic report from Butte, Montana, is to the effect that the Socialists expect to carry the city on the first Monday in April.

The National Secretary is sending out a letter to Socialists in unorganized places, urging them to organize.

A referendum of the locals of Arkansas for a state convention to form a state organization has been initiated by the National Secretary.

Requests are coming in to the national headquarters daily from unorganized places in all parts of the country for materials and information on organization.

Columbus, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Ohio,

and South Dakota have led in the orders for supplies and organizing materials from the national headquarters during the month of February.

The capitalist politicians of Columbus, O., have been trying to get endorsements from the Trades and Labor Council, some of them even attempting to create the impression that such endorsements had been given, though such was not the case.

Comrade William Gottschalk, a member of the West Hoboken branch of the Socialist Party and of the Silk Workers' Union, and the Arbeiter Maennerchor, died last week after many years of good service in the cause of his class.

The Yorkville Agitation Committee is establishing a bureau to give instruction and assistance to foreign-born workmen wishing to become citizens.

The Yorkville Agitation Committee is arranging for two big mass meetings on May 1, one at Bohemian National Hall and the other at Old Homestead Garden.

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Comrade Herbert presided at the last meeting of the Young People's Socialist Democratic Club of Yorkville. Miss Nichols was admitted to membership.

A large and attentive audience was present at the debate between Sol Fieldman and H. W. Wilbur which took place at Colonial Hall last Sunday evening.

The regular meeting of the 21st A. D. will be held in Colonial Hall, 101st street and Columbus avenue, Friday evening, March 6.

A special meeting of the 6-10th A. D. will be held Friday, March 6. At the meeting on Friday, March 27, Comrade Hanemann will open a discussion on the Socialist Solution of the Liquor Problem.

On Saturday, March 7, and thereafter, the 7-9-25th A. D. will meet at Comrade Solomon's new home, 292 Seventh avenue, instead of 249 West Twenty-sixth street as formerly.

Speeches in English and German will be made by Comrades Morris Hillquit and Julius Valthelet at the Commune celebration of the 19-20th A. D. of Brooklyn and the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum Association which will be held on Friday, March 20, at 8 p. m., in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 940-955 Willoughby avenue.

Branches 1, 2 and 3 of the Social Democratic Women's Society will have a booth at the Daily Globe Fair and all the other branches have been asked to contribute articles or money to make the undertaking a success.

Dr. Anna Ingermann lectures in German Sunday evening, March 8, at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, on "Religion and Wissenschaft." Admission is free for members of the

Veren für Volksbildung and for others five cents will be charged.

The meeting of the Young People's Socialist Democratic Club at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum was held in the usual unexcused manner.

The Young People's Club Ball. The Young People's Socialist Democratic Club of Yorkville will hold an entertainment and ball on Saturday evening, March 14, at the W. E. A. Clubhouse, 206 East Eighty-sixth street.

The Financial Secretary of the State Committee acknowledges the receipt of 50 cents from John Gels of Manchester, and 50 cents from Phil Brunel of the 30th A. D., on List 199 for the Campaign Fund of 1902.

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against it, and when a caucus comprises a majority of the delegates it declares the all questions in camera and reduces the proceedings on the floor of the Committee to a mere farce.

Comrade Goebel again says that this was done "after Comrade Hillquit and his followers so many amendments, substitutes, etc." that it would have puzzled a Philadelphia lawyer to know how to vote in order to get the result he wished.

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"deeply marked my views on fusion," I can appreciate, although it is not quite clear to my mind, whether the alleged influence was in favor of or against fusion.

FRANK BOWERS, Executor. L. D. MAYES, Attorney for the Executor, 245 Broadway, New York City.

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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 there- of to the undersigned, 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.

FRANK BOWERS, Executor. L. D. MAYES, Attorney for the Executor, 245 Broadway, New York City.

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NO TRUSTS! NO PRISONS! NO SWEAT SHOPS! Shirts, Waists, Collars or Cuffs. BEARING THIS LABEL ARE O. K. This label is sewed on Shirts and Waists just below the tab or bowtie and is stamped in miniature on Collars and Cuffs.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS. Standing advertisements of Trade Unions and other societies will be inserted under the heading at the rate of \$1 per line per annum.

CGAMMAKERS' REGULATIVE INTERNATIONAL UNION No. 25, Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 42nd Street, District 1 (Bohemian), 231 East 11st Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (German), at 50 E. First Street; District III, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III, meets at the Clubhouse, 206 East 86th Street, every Saturday at 7:30 p. m.—District IV, meets at 842 West 42d Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District V, meets at 547 East 157th Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District VII, meets every Tuesday evening at 1432 Second Avenue—District VIII, meets every Tuesday at Faubus's Hall, 1551 Second Avenue, at 8 p. m.

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. Fiesler, 522 East Eighty-fifth street, New York.

Arbeiter-Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse fuer die Ver. Staaten von Amerika. WORKMENS Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

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Musicians' Co-operative Union, Local No. 273, A. L. U. of Hudson and Bergen Counties. Meets every Friday, at 11 a. m., at headquarters, Zibette's Hall, cor. Bleecker St. and Central Ave., Jersey City, N. J.

INT. JEWELRY WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA, Local No. 1. Meets every 2nd and 4th Thursday in 67-69 St. Marks 1st. Executive Meeting every 1st & 3rd Thursdays.

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OLD-PARTY POLITICIANS CANNOT UNDERSTAND IT.

The old-party politicians wonder how the Socialists carry on their party work, not having the opportunities which the Republicans and Democrats have to draw on the great capitalists for funds.

No one works for either of the old parties without expecting to be paid for it—paid with five glasses of beer, perhaps, or with five dollars on election day, or with a nomination or an appointment to some office, little or big, according to the services rendered.

Considering the individualistic capitalist principles for which the old parties stand, there is no reason why anyone should work for them gratis.

With our party it is quite otherwise. Where the old parties declare individual gain to be the ideal and aim of life and regard the man who gets something for nothing as the type of the successful man, our party's aim is the social good and our ideal of the life that is worthy of a manly man or a womanly woman is the life of enthusiastic thought and action in the service of common interests.

We have some paid men in the service of our party. To men who give up their whole time to the service of the party as secretaries, organizers, editors, or speakers, we pay mechanics' wages out of funds provided by the dues and voluntary contributions of the mass of working people who democratically select these men as their agents.

For the greater part of the work of education and organization which the party carries on is done by volunteers, without reward or even praise or recognition. We have many who serve the cause for meager pay as writers and speakers who could live in luxury by selling their talents to the service of capitalism.

It is doubtful if ever in the world's history there has been anything to equal the devotion of the militant rank and file of the Socialist movement of to-day. It is doubtful if even the history of the Christian church in the early centuries of its persecuted propaganda has anything finer to offer.

If the leaders of capitalist politics wonder at the amount of work that we succeed in doing with our small membership and our slender funds, still more do they wonder at the solidity and the incorruptibility of our movement.

From time to time they see disagreements arising in the Socialist ranks, see Socialists violently opposing one another on questions that seem to outsiders to be of very little moment, see our forces apparently rent into warring factions. But experience has

taught them not to hope that such dissensions will destroy or even retard the Socialist movement. Rather does it seem as if these internal conflicts only generated new energy to be used in the battle against capitalism.

Again, these politicians are skilled in corrupting movements that they cannot control. They well know the power of money, of political honors or official patronage, and the still more subtle power of flattery and pretended friendship, and are adepts in using all these influences to seduce or to discredit the leaders or to raise up misleaders in a party that threatens their supremacy.

They have used such methods long and with great success. But only the young and inexperienced among them expect to be able to corrupt the Socialist movement or to direct it from its course. Those who have turned their efforts in that direction have learned that they were only wasting time and money. A few—very few, indeed, but still some—individuals they have found in our ranks who were susceptible to their influences. But if they could buy here and there a member of our party, they found that they had bought him alone, that his influence ceased with his defection, that the man who bargained to "sell out" the Socialist Party could never "deliver the goods."

The capitalists and their agents cannot understand these differences between their parties and ours. Yet there is nothing mysterious about them. The difference in practise between capitalist politics and Socialist politics are the natural outcome of the difference in aims, in principle, in spirit. The old parties, standing for the perpetuation of present conditions and for the continued rule of one class at the expense of another, necessarily depend upon apathy or personal interest to hold the allegiance of their rank and file; the typical Republican or Democrat is either one who passively accepts the politics of his father and grandfather without ever thinking for himself, or one who, however clearly he may see the truth, is held to the cause of falsehood by the hope of individual profit or advancement. The Socialist is one who has learned to question traditions and dogmas, to think for himself, and think for and with his fellow-sufferers as well as for himself; one who wishes to rise with his class, rather than to rise above it. Otherwise he could not be a Socialist. Moreover, the Socialist movement is not a mere vague expression of protest, not a negative movement, not a force of destruction. A merely destructive movement is inherently short-lived. The Socialist movement denies error only that it may affirm truth, destroys the evil only that it may construct the good. It is grounded in a scientific understanding of the actual world, in knowledge and reason, not in phrase and formula. It has a positive and definite program.

In a word, the rank and file of the Socialist movement are men who know what they want, know why they want it, know how they are going to get it. Because they are men who know, not men who acquiesce or who merely doubt or deny, they do not grow weary in their work, they can fight out minor or incidental questions to a settlement without losing sight of their central purpose, they can choose and loyally support their leaders and yet ever be ready to detect and repudiate misleaders.

This is the character of the Socialist Party in Europe and here and all over the world, all through the years of its growth. Because of this it has nothing to regret and nothing to fear. Because of this it has a right to call upon all who recognize the truth of its principles and who would be held as brave and earnest men to join its ranks and take part in framing its counsels and in bearing its burdens.

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(Continued from page 1.)

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sidary companies, and with over a score of nominally independent and competing companies engaged in the same or closely related industries; the United States Steel Corporation already directly controls over 60 per cent of the iron and steel production of this country and indirectly, as shown, controls a large part of the remainder; its capital is nearly \$1,400,000,000 and it distributes over \$100,000,000 among its stockholders each year.

The Copper Trust, with its subsidizing companies, and with a number of nominally independent and competing ones closely connected with it, are the companies controlling a large part of the silver and lead production and the marketing of the product, as well as the mining and smelting, are in the same hands; this trust is capitalized at \$155,000,000.

The Zinc Trust, not openly organized, but shown by a study of the list to be an established fact; the Copper Trust, with its subsidizing companies, and with a number of nominally independent sugar producing and refining companies, as well as some in other industries more or less closely connected with this, including the ownership of sugar plantations and mills in Cuba and Hawaii and steamship lines running to both islands.

The Tobacco Trust, controlling far the greater part of the manufacture of smoking and chewing tobacco, snuff, cigars, and cigarettes in this country, Canada and Great Britain and with good foothold on the European continent; owning vast tracts of tobacco land in the United States and Cuba; controlling the manufacture of cigar machinery; and, since the compilation of the lists on which this article is founded, well established in the retail trade through its subsidiary United Cigar Stores Company; this trust is capitalized at over \$225,000,000.

The Anthracite Coal Trust, composed of a number of coal mining and railway companies held together partly by leases and agreements and still more firmly by the common ownership of a large part of their stocks; nearly all the great railway lines of the United States and some in Canada and Mexico, together with many of the smaller ones, together with a large proportion of the ocean steamship lines; the railway companies, together with the so-called "industrials" and are a great source of power to them; what is equally important to be noted, they virtually control the agriculture of the country, especially the production of breadstuffs, to the extent of almost absolutely and arbitrarily determining the prices to be received by the farmers; on these two points, among others, Lloyd's "Wheat" against the Company, "Wheat" and "Sinnons" "The American Farmer" may be read with advantage.

The whole lighting and transit systems of New York and of several other great centers of population; the largest shipbuilding and machinery-manufacturing establishments of America, if not of the world, and a great number of smaller companies in various branches of manufacturing industries.

There are two types of Socialists who need to be educated. They are equally dangerous to the work the party has in hand. One thinks that any one who calls himself a Socialist and votes the ticket is all right and perfectly safe as an organizer or teacher for the party. The other is forever scolding heresy and fighting personal battle in the name of party discipline. The former is the sort of Socialist who would welcome a victory in city, state or nation by the party regardless of whether the voters understood what they were doing or not.

A victory won by some accidental enthusiasm or thoughtless contagion would be a calamity. Socialism can successfully use a victory only when it comes as the result of intelligent knowledge of the Socialist position and a clear-cut recognition of the fact that the party is lining up for a revolution with which the masses are to be the state in complete control of the working class.

To win on any other condition would be to capture a fort without being sure of the fighting quality or loyalty of the men in your ranks. We have before us a revolution to be won by force of ballots backed by stern, determined, unyielding members of the dispossessed class and their loyal supporters. Revolution is not chivalry's play. Our revolution will have to overturn a power tremendously entrenched. No holiday parade will prepare for standing like a stone wall behind the workers, whatever comes.

Hence the necessity of guarding the movement. The best way to guard it, however, is to push aggressively the kind of Socialism which properly educates and labor in season and out to make such workers as members of our party fully realize the meaning of our platform awake to its vital importance.

One thing Socialists need to learn from the churches, and that is "how not to do it." The church fought heresy a good many centuries, while every martyr it has disciplined. The national thought of the world heresy has flourished the more with the rank in its reform tendencies. It has depended on truth to make its own way and its converts are filling the world.

Socialism is founded on such absolute bedrock of truth and principle that thinkers, giving the subject attention the world over, have reached practically the same conclusion. We are pretty safe in letting this work go to the minds of all who think themselves Socialists, providing the scientific propaganda and discussion is vigorously pushed and all half-baked Socialism given unflinching if generous criticism.

For example, a year ago the scientific Socialist had little to suit him in the "Appeal to Reason." It was always cloudy in its teaching and somewhat rank in its reform tendencies. All the clear-cut Socialist press raked it fore and aft. The drubbings it got from all sides were something terrific. The result, however, was wholesome. At last the idea has struck the "Appeal" and it has employed several scientific staff writers and via with

the other papers in "straight" Socialism. Now the class struggle is on every page—almost in every paragraph of this sheet. No doubt it will show spots of weakness for some time, here and there, but it is trying to reform—that is evident.

Again, an example: Some time last year a young speaker passed through Denver who thought he was a Socialist. He was not, as all the locals he struck gave him to understand with emphasis by the vigorous discussion following all his talks. He saw the point and proceeded to find out what Socialism really is. He emerged after six months a good, theoretic Socialist and has, in the estimation of some of our strictest workers, done remarkably good work the past six months. Perhaps there is more for him to learn, still, but the movement can well afford to continue his education.

Now, had the "liberals" had their way, the "Appeal" would have been indiscriminately commended, the single tax "Socialist" would have been received with calm approval and the movement been weakened instead of strengthened by agencies which should have been powerful aids. On the contrary, frank, even fierce, criticism has done great good.

Suppose, however, somebody had had the autocratic power and read Wayland out of the party; suppose the party had been able to suppress the young speaker. Would the movement be so well off to-day?

The party must be kept clean-cut. Its platforms and conditions of membership must be uncompromising. Official activity should be reserved for those in sympathy with the full revolutionary program and uncompromising tactics, but the main dependence must be upon the educational power of the truth and free discussion.

Even when serious mistakes are made, as California's fusion with the Union Labor party, the wisest policy is that which has been generally pursued, namely, kindly criticism and argument. Under this policy the California comrades are nearly all back in line and could not again be persuaded to make such a mistake.

When a party has back of its principles absolute science, the logic of events and the mass of the literature, it need not resort to the methods of old-fashioned theology to keep its members true to those principles.

The other type of Socialist mentioned is the sort which has disrupted the party into a thousand fragments. It assumes in the name of a "clear movement" the right of personal censorship, or animosities may, by using the scientific phrases, find a righteous screen for his own pettiness and be supported by a certain group who are always ready for a fight in the name of "a working class movement." "How do you keep the effort to educate in class-consciousness from degenerating into petty personalities and suspicion?" the writer asked probably the labor party member of the Socialist Labor Party in Colorado. "It is hard to tell," answered; "that has always been the curse of our party."

There is little danger that it will permanently curse the Socialist Party, but the first show of it should be duly rebuked.

The importance of a clear-cut Socialism is too great to have it identified with unworthy suspicions and the narrowness of personalities.—Colorado Chronicle.

HOW TO ORGANIZE LOCALS. 1. Five or more persons may organize a local branch, provided they subscribe to the platform and constitution of the Socialist Party, and sever their relations with all other political parties.

2. The officers to be elected are: (a) A Chairman at each meeting. (b) Recording Secretary. (c) Financial Secretary. (d) Organizer. (e) Literary Agent. (f) Reading of the minutes. (g) Admission of new members. (h) Communications and bills. (i) Report of Organizer. (j) Reports of committees. (k) Unfinished business.

3. A monthly payment, computed on a basis of five cents for each member, for the maintenance of the National organization, shall be paid to the National Secretary. Local branches may levy dues if they so choose, or may raise funds altogether through voluntary contributions and pay National dues out of their general funds.

4. A full report of the meeting in which organization was decided on, the names of persons participating, together with five cents for each member, should be sent with application for charter; after receipt of which, upon approval of National Committee, charter will be granted.

5. Each local branch should hold a meeting at least once a week, for the discussion of business or the discussion of political and economic questions.

6. Semi-annual reports of the membership and the financial condition of each local branch, as well as upon the progress made by the Party and its prospects in the locality, shall be sent regularly to the National Secretary.

7. Any person living in a city or locality where no local branch exists may apply directly to the National Secretary for admission to the Party, enclosing one month's dues, and will be enrolled as a member-at-large.

National Platform of the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party of America in a 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.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers.

The powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the use of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit, and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profits, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism and led to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage-workers, and the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate: 1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts, and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, and to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing, and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

National Platform of the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party of America in a 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.

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