The Worker.

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VOL. XIII-NO. L.

DEBS IN CINCINNATI.

Applauded by Enormous Cathering of Workingmen.

Creates a Sensation by His Exposur of the Inispectity of the Democratic

CINCINNATI, O., March '29,-The Socialist Party has scored another great success. Comrade Debs spoke in Music Hall last night to an audience of over two thousand persons. His address and the approval with which it was received have made a vertiable sensation. He disposed of the Republican party and its millionaire caudidate Fleischmann, briefly but very effectively. His especial attention directed to the other millionaire wants to be mayor, Democratic Rail-road President Ingalls.

While there have been larger politi-cal meetings in Music Hall, there has As Debs scored point after point for the cause he advocates, those two thousand men cheered with a spirit that showed they believed in their principles, that they knew what they wanted, that they could no longer be fooled with empty phrases and ante-election professions of friendship from the representatives of the class

that fleeces them all the year round.

The climax of the meeting came when Comrade Debs. passing from national to local questions, touched upon the election of next week, and in terms that left no doubt expressed himself on Mr. Ingalls and his \$1.12 idea of workingmen. When Debs said: "Mr. Ingalls ought to have to live on that Ingais ought to have to live on that \$1,12 for about six months," there was a roar of approval that showed Mr. Ingalls' evasion of the question put to him a hundred times since the campaign has not deceived those working-

The Cause of Corruption.

When, following up his remarks, the speaker said: "It is precisely the condition that such a pairry wage produces that generates the misery, the vice and crime that Mr. Ingalis so piously protests against and so patri-otically proboses to stamp out if en-trusted with political power," it was evident he again voiced the sentiment of those who heard bim, and loud ap-plance greeted the words: "If the working class of Cincinnati will take working class of Children and white this \$1.12 standard approved by Mr. Ingalis and compare it with the wage standard of the railroad president, and then take a photograph of the habitation of the \$1.12 serf and one of the widely walker. railroad president's palace, they will see at a glance what is the real issue of this campaign, and they will con-clude that they caused afford to forge the fetters more securely by casting their votes for Mr. Ingalls, of the Big

Four corporation, on election day."

F. E. Seeds of Covington acted as chairman. After the Herwegh Maen-

chairman. After the Herwegh Maen-nerchor had given some revolutionary songs, Comrade Seeds briefly intro-duced the speaker.

Debs was greeted with enthusiasm that must have been extremely gratify-ing, as showing that his long, self-sacrificing battle for the cause he espouses is appreciated by its follow-

In opening, Debs said: "There In opening, Debs said: "There is no darkness but ignorance.' The six simple words by Shakespeare embody a world of wissens." The converse of this proposition is likewise true. There is no light but intuitigance. It is my mission here this evening to dispel the darkness as far as possible and usher in the light of reason."

Then he sketches the history of the railroad strike in 1804 and the growth since then of the Socialist movement.

He summarized in vivid terms the principles of the Socialist Party, show-ing it to be the only one that repre-sents the interests of the working

No Purely Local Questions.

After exposing the Republican party as the organized agency of the great capitalists and trust magnates and showing the importance and inconsistency of the Democratic party in national politics, he passed to local affairs, saying in part:

"Every municipal, campaign has an important bearing on state and national politics. * * They will tell you that the trusts have nothing to do with

important to a substitute of the substitute of the substitute of the streets of Cincinatt. So long as these trusts exist there will be an ever-widening army there will be an ever-widening army who will be willing to clean the streets. Here a reform party has been organized whose high purpose, it is claimed, is to rescue the people from mismanagement. I don't live here, but it seems to r.e I recognize the same ald features of Democracy. I have read its platform and I must say that I am set temperaged by it.

pressed by it. Republicans also have a platn. The last paragraph says: 'We many promise to do these things if keep so in power.'—They want r votes, and want them badly. The rais so a step further. They illing to attach an affidavit to romise and are willing to add a

their promise and all the same their promise and all their same in the many six fentlemen known in your city as a Committee of Safety. They declare this is given he local camfine declare this is given he would not be iff that were so I would not be say the issues involve only
This is not true. The isse every city in the broad Capitalist politics are so cor-that every now and then it is any to call a halt and propose Cincinnati, it seems to me, reformed to ceath. One more

-

wave of reform and the city will be ready for the hospital. The reform party always happens to be the party out of power. When they get in then it is the other fellow.

"The Citizens' party (the present local alias of the Democrats) declares in the interest of reform and civic purity. They say what you want here is a business administration. That is what you have had here and that is what alls you. According to the mani-festo of the Citizens' movement their object is to purify the civic life. I deny this. If Mr. Ingalls and his con freres were elected on their platform there would be no change in affairs. Just so long as a comparatively small class own the means of production the class in power will administer affairs in its own interest.

An Incredible Claim.

"Mr. Ingalls, the principal representative of the Citizens' movement, is a millionaire and a capitalist, and, ac cording to the manifesto of his party, if entrusted with power, he will reform the politics and purify the civic life of the municipality. I do not hesitate to say that this is the merest bancombe. "Mr. Ingalls belongs to the owning

class, and, therefore, the ruling class. His politics is the expression of his working class. It will make precious little difference to them if Mr. Ingalls is Mayor of Cincinnati or simply presi-dent of the Big Four corporation. If dent of the Big Four corporation. If elected to office, he will serve his class, and the corporations will rule and corruption will follow as surely as the shadow does the substance. "When the means of production are

no longer private property there will he no incentive for corrupt politics. Not only this, but vice and crime will disappear, for the simple reason that it will no longer generate these de-moralizing and destroying forces."

ANTI-LABOR LAW IN OLD VIRGINIA.

Southern Capitalist Politicians' Plan Simpler and More Direct than the Connecticut One.

RICHMOND, Va., March 28 .- A bill has been introduced in the Legislature of this state making it a misdemeanor to "persuade or procure any servant who shall have contracted in writing, or orally, to serve his employer to un

ter or employer."

This method of striking at the labor This method of string at the most movement is simpler and more direct than that substituted in the Connecticity propositions, which The Worker has reported and condemned, but iff car-ried out it will be equally effective. What the capitalists do not count en however, is that such legislation will do more than any number of "agitat tors" to awaken the workers to the necessity of united and uncompromiing political action on the basis of their own class interests alone. The French Bourbons, it was said, never learned and never forgot. The brought on the deluge that destroyed them. Our capitalist Bourbons are of much the same type.

ANOTHER VIEW OF MILITIA OUESTION.

Organized Workingmen of Milwaukee Urra Maintenance of Right to Bear Arms.

In passing resolutions denunciatory of J ige Adams and his class injunc-tion prevent Wabash railway men from striking the Milwaukee Fed-erate Trades Council last week made erate use this innguage:

olved. That since no nation it the people are totally disarmed the end remain a free nation ore we urge all liberty-loving s and especially union men to ber and obey Amendment 2 of enstitution of the United States. while reads as follows: "The right of ople to keep and bear arms shall infringed."

WANT NO UNION MEN IN VIRGINIA MILITIA.

The higher officers of the state militia of Virginia recently-held a conference at which the use of the militia in strikes was discussed. The officers, being renerally of the "upper classes," conclered this a very important function of the service. They were faced, he ver, with the cold fact that the rain and file; composed of workinghave on several recent occasions open friendship for strikers csult of the officers' deliberation decision to prevent any more ers of trade unions from enlist-

ABOR AND WHAT IT DOES.

or is robbed by the politician, otes for the robber, or produces wealth and votes it

to those who don't labor. or produces everything to eat, to those who are not hungry, oes hungry itself.
or makes fine clothes for those

or builds fine carriages for or builds

or makes fine farms to mortgage or creates capital, and is tyran-

over by capital.
or invents machinery, and is
on out of employment by the inor feeds the world and goes hun-

Labor clothes the world, but wears ragged clothes.

THE LABOR WAR.

The Chicago "Inter-Ocean" Tells of New Preparations for Battle.

Employers Are More Thoroughly Organized to Resist Strikes and Boycotts than Ever Refore - Internal Disruption as Well as Open Attack a Part of the Program.

The Chicago "Inter-Ocean" gives at extended account of the lining up of forces on both sides in the conflict be ween Labor and Capital there, which with some changes of detail, will apply to any part of the country. The account given of capitalist organization methods is worthy of attention The "Inter-Ocean" says:

"Alarmed at the activity displayed by the employers of labor in forming associations, the labor unions of Chicago are forming alliances on the 'community-of-interest' plan, and preparing for the battle which, some of the leaders believe, will inevitably follow the organization of the employers.

"While none of the leaders will be quoted at this time as expressing alarm, it is known that they are watching the organization of the employer closely. They say they are not to be caught asleep, and if a struggle is forced upon them they will be in a position to startle the industrial world.

Employers' Association.

"The Employers' Association, which F. W. Job was lately appointed secretary, is known to be growing in strength rapidly; and from the fact that its membership, as well as its aims and objects, have been kept a atms and onjects, have been kep. a secret, the labor men say it is not or-ganized for any good purpose, so far as the interest of the workers are con-

"Every branch of employers of fabor n the city is said to be organized, and in some industries the employers have zone beyond the mere organization of associations, and formed a central body, in the same manner the unions have done. This is true especially of the lumber interests. While the Lum-bermen's Association was formerly composed of lumber dealers exclusively, it now has branches affiliated with it of the furniture manufacturers, the sash and door manufacturers, saloot and office fixtures manufacturers, des manufacturers, and manufacturers of

"There is a central council composes vhose principal duty is to keep a clos watch on the movements of the various labor unions connected with the lumber interests. The association is piedged to assist financially any of its members who may become involved in a strike. At the present time the wood workers are on strike in three desk manufacturing shops. Although a wheel has not turned in any of the establishments in the past six weeks, the manufacturers are making no effort to settle, believing they will starve out the strikers.

"The association is said to be pay ing each manufacturer \$500 a week to compensate himsfor the loss sustained in keeping his factory closed. A short time ago only \$200 a week was being paid, and the manufacturers whose plants were tied up threatened to treat with the strikers and sign an agree-ment. Through this threat the allow-ance was raised to \$500—a larger sum than would be realized in profits if the plants were in operation

Many Spies at Work.

"Another development the laboraders are watching with concern is the alleged employment of a large number of detectives who, they say, are secretly working in Chicago at the present time. They claim to have posi-tive information that two detective agencies, with headquarters in Cleveland O are furnishing spies to en ployers at the rate of \$150 a month less the amount the men can earn as mechanics. One of these agencies they say, has been in operation for years, and its workings have been ex-posed on several occasions. The other, known as the Employers' Auxiliary Company, has only recently come to the knowledge of the labor men.

"There is an agency here in this city, but its business is to furnish strike-breakers during a strike rather than spies. Recently, the labor leafers say, it got into trouble with the ers say, it got into trouble with the city police on account of the brutality of some of the men during a local strike of bill-posters, and it has not furnished men in local disputes since. "The recert visit in this city of David M. Parry, of Indianapolis, president of the National Manufacturers' Association, when he made a sensa ional attack on labor unions and their leaders, was part of the plan of the employers here to stir up agitation and induce employers to organize. Since that time John Kirby of Cleveland, a prototype of Parry, has been flooding the country with circulars showing manufacturers how easy it is to smaal

"Along with these circulars is a pamphiet, written by James H. Miller of Chicago, who has been chiefly instrumental in causing the strike now on here among the sheet metal workers. In the pamphiet Miller advocates appeals for injunctions in every case when a dispute arises, and he quotes a great many decisions of judges throughout the country to show that injunctions can be accured if applied for in the proper place.

"Mr. Kirby now proposes to publish a monthly magazine devoted to the interests of the non-union man, who, he says, is badly used and has no organ labor unions through the courts.

through which he can lay his case be-

Lining Up for Gigant's Conflict "Altogether it looks, according to the spinfons of even the most conservative labor men in the city, as if the con-tending forces were lining up for a gigantic conflict. The employers, labor nen say, are relying on the unituite capital behind them to bring them out victorious. It is known that one of the largest merchants in the city re-cently declared that he was willing to put up \$100,000 as his share of a fund

ers the only thing that is delaying the conflict now is the imperfect state of the organization of employers and the good times throughout the country. The former obstacle is being rapidly overcome, as the employers are joining associations by the score daily, and if a season of depression comes to the country the union men believe the con flict will begin."

The Socialist will object to the declaration that "a gigantic conflict is coming." The conflict is already here. For many years it has raged with varying fortunes but, on the whole, with ever increasing intensity, with in-creasing evidence that it is a conflict which cannot be compromised, which can end only in complete victory on one side or the other. On which side that will be, no student of history can doubt. By its own inherent weaknesses, as well as by the powers which it developes in its victims and enemies, capitalism is doomed. The conflict is on. New and sharper phases of it are impending. The day of decision ap-proaches—how closely, it is neither in our power nor is it our concern to try to guess. The conflict is on, that is all, and he is both false and foolish who delays to find his place in the ranks and fight for the cause that is his.

POWER OF ENVIRONMENT.

In the "Youth's Companion" of August 17 appear two items on the same page which seem to me rather inconsistent. The first is a conclusion of the editor, which is answered by the actual fact as narrated in the sec-ond item, which is also an answer to an objection that a great many people have against Socialism.

The first one is headed "The Prob-lem of Poverty," and, after discussing this question, it concludes as follows: "It is beyond human ingenuity to change the nature of man; to make the shiftless thrifty or the improvident provident; so it seems that the best w can do is to strive to relieve inmediate suffering and to let the radical cure proceed in the way that fate has ordained, if cure there is to be."

The other article is headed. "Saved by His Work," which I give in full:

"When, twenty-six years ago, Mr. Brockway began his famous prison re-form work at Elmira, he declared it as his belief that about 20 per cent not so sure about the 20 per cent,—he had then a list of ten whom he could send to Auburn, but he was giving them another chance. In a few weeks two of the men had shown decided improvement; a few weeks more and the entire list had disappeared. The story of one man is typical of many, and reveals the secret of his

"From the 600 men and boys Mr. Brockway selected 50 of the very low-est grade. He employed a professor from an art school to teach them. The teacher came and was met by abs lute indifference from the whole 5 He gave each one a pencil, ruler and a piece of paper tacked to a drawing board, and told him to draw a six inch square. Few of the men could go it; many were unable even to measure inches upon a ruler.

"The next evening there was slightly more interest shown, and in a short time the whole company could measure and draw squares. Then the teacher taught them lines and simple scrolls. A few weeks later he was seen out on the lawn, gathering and distributing leaves for the next lesson, the making of a design for a tile.

"In the class was one pupil—a man not a boy—who was considered one of the most difficult cases in the reformatory. He had eyery appearance of a criminal, and had been subjected to prison discipline. Nothing apparently had been able to touch his better nature.

"This man, at that lesson, made a design both original and beautiful. The teacher told him so. He was wholly unprepared for the effect of his praise, for suddenly, at his words, the hard, dull face changed, and he saw to his amazement that the man's eyes were dim with tears. The convict, low, hardened, indifferent, had found some-thing beautiful that he could do, and in the finding he had discovered him-

"There was no need of forcing him "There was no need of forcing him to his task after that. He became an expert designer, and with his work came the longing to earn his freedom. Three years later he had accomplished his difficult purpose. When he passed from the records he was foreman in a foundry, had married, and was living a happy and useful life."

This is an eloquent proof of the

a happy and sectual ric.

This is an eloquent proof of the claim of Socialists that the lack of opportunity and environments make the tramp and the criminal. Equal opportunity and proper environments make tunity and proper environment the true man.—The New Time.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Branches of Local Hudson Co Branches of Local Hudson County, New Jersey, are urgently requested to settle Fair tickets with Fred't Kraft at the County Committee meeting Sun-day morping. Presents collected should be forwarded immediately and colle-tion books handed in to above named by Sunday. Now for a great Jersey Dayl

THE NATIONAL BLACKLIST PLAN.

How Capitalists Respect the "Right to Work."

Some Datalls of Methods by Which Mational Metal Trades Association Plans to Hound to Earth Workman Who Dare Be True to Their Class.

The "Social Democratic Herald" of Milwaukee in its last issue exposes some details of a system by which the national organization of employers, in the metal trades proposes to hound down every workman who dares to be true to his class and does not humbly bow to every dictate of his employer.

An O en Admission.

Attention was called to the matter s few days ago by the publication in the Milwaukee "Free Press" of the following Racine dispatch:

"Manufacturers of this city will per-fect an organization similar to the Foundrymen's Association formed in many cities throughout the country, to fight against the egitators of labor unionism and get rid of employees who create trouble among other employees. A leading manufacturer to-day stated that already twelve manufacturers had signified their willingness to join the new association and would deposit \$1,000 each to bind themselves to the rules of the association. Every manufacturer in the city is to be called on, and if the present plans are perfected every employee, 8,000 in number, will have his name listed in the office of the secretary of the association. The manufacturers who join the association are to present a list containing the names of all their employees and when an employee is discharged the name of such employee and the cause of his discharge is to be reported to the secretary of the association. Then the sec retary is to pass to all members the report given of the discharged employee and if reasons are sufficient the discharged man WILL BE UNABLE TO SECURE EMPLOYMENT in the factories of the members of the asso-ciation. When the plan of the manufacturers became public to-day it recented quite a stir among all em-ployees, union as well as non-union, and all declare that the move is

unfair." The "Social Democratic Herald" says that when this dispatch was printed—through the injudicious en thusinsm of a young reporter, proba-bly, who honestly supposed it was his business to get in all the news, and the sundvertence of the editor who knew the ropes—"there was wrath of the keenest kind felt by the big men of the metal trades in this and other cities."

Details of the Scheme.

The employees in the metal trades are required to fill out and sign an ap-plication blank—as is common in many other trades-stating name, addre age, nationality, condition as married or single, trade and specialty, time of apprenticeship and experience, pre-vious places of employment, and

This blank is ostensibly designed lar employer to whom the application is made. But that this is not its rea is made. But that this is not its real purpose was made certain by a discovery made by a workman in a Milwaukee foundry. Some papers were accidentally dropped and the workmen, picking them up, found a number of the application forms each accompanied with another document that employees were not supposed to see-as panied with another occurrent that employees were not supposed to see—a letter to one Wm. J. Fairbairn in the Hathaway Building, notifying him that "the employee named below has this day left our service," with name and other particulars and statement of

the manner and cause of his leaving.
"A representative of the 'Social ocratic Herald' called at the office of Mr. Fairbaira," says that paper.
"The name on the door is innocent
enough. It reads: 'Metal Trades and
Founders' Bureau.' Inside, there was a row of chairs round three sides of m. making it look like an intel the room, making it look like an intelligence office, and down at the end, near the windows overlooking the street, was a roll-top desk and a man behind it using a typewriter. This was Mr. Fairbairn himsel, a darkhaired, innocent-looking gentleman, who looked more like a nice young who looked more like a nice young capitalistic Sunday school superintend-ent than a man crusher and conspirer against the interests of the workers. But when he was shown one of the blanks and asked what it meant, his smile faded out and he began to look

his part.
"I cannot say a word about the matter—you'h have to see Mr. Wat-kins, at the Christianson Manufactur-

his mouth a little. He denied that there was any blacklist back of the blanks and said the association was nerely a sort of employment bureau. Only a "Clearing House."

"'Yes, it's a sort of clearing house, ne said, cautiously, 'it is to get men to work without losing time—it isn't a blacklist, we need all the men we can

"And then he became a clam again.

"Now, it happens that S. W. Wat-kins is the president of the national or-ganization and that more than one of he association's crew of strike-break-ng detectives has been given teming detectives has been given tem-perary shelter there. These men are supplied with a certain card which ad-mits them to any foundry or machine shop to which they are gent. It is a secret sign of their having been sent by the national association. The asso-ciation extends its operations all over the country and is so effective that the manufacturers can afford to been. high-salaried secretary in each of the various districts. * * *

"Efforts are being made to get hold of the rosters of the labor unions, but the manufacturers have had to go at it very slyly. Recently a local small dealer offered 7 per cent. reduction on goods purchased by union men under goods purchased by union heat accept the coupon system, the percentage to go to the union treasury. In connec-tion with this was a request for the roster of the union, which was, of course, refused."

The plan is, of course, not a new one out there is reason to believe that it is etter organized, on a larger scale and with greater secrecy and certainty, now than ever before. Several states have laws against blacklisting, but they have as little effect as the multitudinous anti-trust laws. With all the machinery of law and government in the hands of members or hangers-on of the capitalist class, passively voted into office by the unthinking workers. the existence of such laws on the statute books gives no alarm to the blacklisters, because they know they can be violated with impunity,

PROGRESS IN NEW JERSEY.

RIDGEFIELD PARK, N. J .- At the spring election held here the Socialist Party succeeded in putting in three of its candidates-Charles Turrian for Village Trustee, Walter Kleisrath for Commissioner of Appeals, and A. Freude, Jr., for School Trustee. Two years ago we had 10 votes; last year we had 35; now we have about 180. The party local here has been in existence for about a year.

IN PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA, March 30.—The State Committee held its usual meeting to-day. A charter was granted to a new local at Utahville in Clearfield County. B. T. Strunk is the secretary, Communications received showed that Organizer Collins is "hustling" with great energy and success. He has formed a Socialist club at Shamo-kin. At Williamsport he has put in a strenuous week. On successive even-ings he addressed meetings of the Wood Workers' Union, the West End Local, the Plasterers' Union, the Team Owners' Union, and the Machinists' Union. He also held public meetings in Newberry and at Montgomery Station. The comrades are highly pleased

tion. The comrades are nightly pleased with his work and expect good results. The State Committee is making ar-rangements to hold a grand interna-tional concert in Philadelphia to raise

ecessary funds. Next Sunday. April 5, a debate is billed for Darby between Comrade Moore, editor of the "New Era," and Mr. Strothers, a noted politician and debater and at present a member of

City Council.

A club was recent to formed in Darby to oppose Sociatism. It has turned out to be a dismal failure. Eight of its members have already oined our Socialist local there and the rest have organized a "speak-er

KENTUCKY CONVENTION.

GOVINGTON, Ky., March 23.—The Socialist Party held its state convention at Liberty Hall on Sunday and nonrinated a state ticket. There were present about 160 delegates. F. L. Robinson of Louisville, acted as chair man; J. M. Dial, Jr., of Newport was secretary. The ticket nominated was

For Governor-Adam Nagel of New-

ort. For Lieutenant Governor—F. R. Markert of Louisville. For State Treasurer—James Pocock

For State

of Bellevue.

For Auditor of Public Accounts—J.

C. Wells of Louisville.

For Secretary of State—Olaf Pear-

on of Ashland. For Superintendent of Public In-truction—Daniel Bond of Science Hill. For Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor Statistics-A. A. Lewis of

The nomination for Attorney Gen eral was left open, the State Co tee being given authority to fill this place on the ticket. A new State Committee was elected and a platform the reading of which aroused much enth

MORE "INDEPENDENTS."

A society with headquarters at An-erson has just been incorporated in Indiana, under the name of the Inde endent American Mechanics' Union Its purposes are described as follows in its constitution: "This association shall encourage in-

dustry, economy, thrift, and hones among its members; maintain amic ble relations between employees and employers of labor; to assist its memers in obtaining the highest wage consistent with the general good of all concerned; to promote all forms of productive industry and increase the employment of labor at good wages; to prevent unjust and unreasonable discrimination against any of its mem bers by any person, combination, or conspiracy to prevent such member from securing employment in any branch of industry, and to protect an lefend its members against any and all attempts by any person or combina-tion of persons to abridge the inaliena-ble right of all mankind to work for such wages as shall be mutually satisfactory to the individual workman and his employer."

his employer."

Workingmen who have learned to think will know how to read between the lines.

my foundry or machine they are gent. It is a their having been sent association. The association. The association association as of the supply its operations all over its so effective that the can afford to keep a pany, 184 William street, New York.

FOUR MORE DAYS OF THE BIG FAIR.

Crowds at Grand Central Palace Grow in Numbers and Interest from Day to Day.

This is Not an Attempt to Describe the Fair, for Space and the Editor's Lack of Gorgeous Phrases Forbid It-The Only Way to Find Out About It Is to

Four days remain, after this issue | after they have examined the one they of The Worker goes to press, in which to complete the success of the Daily Globe Fair at Grand Central Palace. Until-Sunday midnight, that is the one thing that should command the attention of every workingman in New York City or the vincinity who realizes the evil done by the capitalist press and the proportionate good that will ished by the workers' news-

paper which the proceeds of this Fair are to help in establishing. Doing the Impossible.

Next week we shall be able to say something definite of the result of all the hard work that has been done in past months of preparation and the still more strenuous labors of the volunteers now on duty at Grand Cen-tral Palace. At present, judging from the first four days—necessarily the hardest and the least fruitful of visible results—we may say it will fulfill all reasonable expectations; and if it fulfils some unreasonable ones, all the better. It is the nature of Socialists to be unreasonable in their expecta-tions, to set their standards high, and by sheer force of enthusiasm and will to do what the paragons of common sense call the impossible.

The Last Four Days.

Thursday, April 2, is to be Brook-lyn and Brewery Workers' Day and it is probable that the attendance will be larger than on any previous day. Fri-day, Bohemian and Tobacco Workers' Day, will hardly be second to it. Saturday will be East Side Day, with special and appropriate features. The ast day, Sunday, and in all likelihood the best day of the nine, will be New Jersey Day.

The space at our disposal forbids any attempt to tell what the Fair is like or to enumerate the various feat-ures that interest or amuse the crowds. All tastes can be suited. To hear Spargo or Fieldman turning their elo quence to account as "barkers," to see Phillips presiding at the Funny Mueum, to watch the girls going about with chance-books on the many handwith chance-books on the many hand-some donations—just to watch is as good as to go to a play. But if you prefer the stage of art to the stage of life for a while, there it is in the Globe Theater, with nightly dramatic and vaudeville performances. There is must of pretire nearly every sort is music of pretty nearly every sort that the world has yet heard. There are things to buy—anywhere from 5 cents to as many dollars—and you can think of plenty of friends for whom you should get some souvenir. Then there is dancing. Between whiles there is eating and drinking. In fact, there is everything you can think of.

The Voting Contests.

The voting contests began to get lively Tuesday evening. When the doors closed the Social Democratic Educational Club was in the lead as the most popular party organization; but there are others, and they say their innings are to come. In the roll of popular trace union secretaries, B. Gregor of Carpenters' No. 497 was well ahead, with H. E. Richards of the Building Trades Section, Victor Wey-rauch of the Wagon Makers, P. Reicoenbacher of the Bartenders, M. Rosenhain and Geo. Bowman of Cigar Packers No. 25' as competitors. Wm. Koenig of the Wood Carvers led the list of union presidents, but Dan Harris of Cigar Makers No. 144 will give him a race. Among the business rgents Emil Weiss of the Wagon Makers seeme most popular; others being Chas. Gali and H. Hand of the Wagon Makers, J. Hatch of the Upholsterers. Feeney of the Bartenders, and Oscar Haase of the Structural Iron Workers Ben Hanford and John Weir are run ning a close race on general popularity among trade unionists.

Equally interesting is the question of who is to be counted the favorite among the many ladles who are doing such excellent work at the Fair. So far the list stood, in order of popular-ity, as follows: Miss Meyer, Mrs. Halpern, Miss Lee, Miss Dahme, Mrs. Fraser, Mrs. Hillquit, Miss Ibsen, and

Beautiful prizes await the winners in these various contests, most of them donated by labor organizations.

Comrade Taenzer is working night and day, managing the entertainment He appreciates the gravity of the que tion asked by Sir Boyle Roche; can a man be in two places at once Mr. Speaker—unless he were a bird?' But it is almost invidious to name any of the workers, because there are so many we cannot mention all as they

And that is true of the whole affair If you are wise you will go and see and hear and enjoy everything a: the Fair for yourself. When you have been there you will be ready to ap-pland what has been done this time and to help do it still better next time

THE FAIR JOURNAL

Feature of the Globe Fair in Which Comrades All Over the Country Can

wins unanimous approval is the Fair Journal. It is certainly a credit to the comrades who prepared it, and its quality is attested by the number of people who come back for extra copies

bought at the de

The Journal is on sale at the Fair for 10 cents a copy. Mail orders should be addressed to the Comrade Publishing Co., 11 Cooper square. The mail price is 15 cents a copy, or two

for 25 cents. In this part of the enterprise comrades in all parts of the country can co-operate. The literature agent of every local should at once order a supply. They will sell well, and the proeeds will help toward starting Globe

Besides the program of the Fair, the Besides the program of the Fair, the Journal includes articles as follows: "The Globe," a joem by Peter E. Burrowes; "Our Fair," by William Butscher; "The Misinformation of the World," by George D. Herron; "The Power of a Daily," by Algernon Lee; "History of the English Labor Press in New York," by H. L. S.; "The Needs of the Hour," by William Mailly; "An Agitator's Call," by Sol Fleidman; "The Force of Composite Action," by "The Force of Composite Action," by H. Gaylord Wilshire; "Race Suicide and Socialism," by Dr. Anna Inger-mann; "The Hope of a Higher Civilization," by William 'hurston Brown;
"Keep the Roots in the Soil," by Herman Schlueter; "The Straight and
Narrow Path," by Alexander Jonas;
"The Intellectuals and the Socialist Movement," by Dr. S. Ingermann; "Reminiscences of a Pioneer," by Theodore Cuno; "Labor's Triple Alli-ance," by Morris Hillquit; "The American Trade-Union Movement," by Max Hayes; "The Taff Vale Decision," by John Spargo; "Woman, Workman, and Socialism," by Johanna Dahme; "Our Only Hope and Promise," by Leonard D. Abbott; a poem by William L. Benessi; together with the national platform, report of the vote, informa-tion about the party and about unions, etc., with portraits of writers and a beautiful cover design by Ryan Walker.

INTERNATIONALISM IS OUR ONLY HOPE.

Workingmen of Southern California Learning that Mexican and Japanese Laborers May Become Loyal Brothers

lestead of Enemies. LOS ANGELES, Cal., March 20.--One of the greatest difficulties with which the workingmen of Southern California have had to contend is the systematic flooding of the country with more workers than can get employment, so as to keep up keen com-petition for jobs and paralyze the ef-forts of the working class to protect itself by organization. The Southern Pacific Railway Company, which directly or indirectly dominates almost all industry in this part of the country, is the great sinner in this respect. By procuring the publication in Eastern papers and magazines, not of advertisements-oh, no-of well written and richly illustrated articles setting forth the delights of life in Southern Call-fornia, the good wages and ease of getting employment, the certainty of any industrious workingman soon becom-ing independently wealthy here, they induce Eastern mechanics and artizans to spend their little savings and mortgage their future in order to get here, only to find themselves stranded, out of a job for months at a time, and forced to beg for permission to work

at miserably low wages. other industries, Mexicans and Japanese are enticed here by similar meth-ods. They come in under contract and in debt to the contractors, and are carefully kept in debt and if they complain are turned off to starve, scab,

beg, or steal, as best they may.
On account of the difference of language, customs, and standard of living, it has heretofore been almost im-possible for the American workmen to get into louch with these imported laborers, and bitter hatred has been the feeling generally entertained in re gard to the

gins to change a little. A start has been made in organizing the Mexican laborers here and it is hoped they will soon develop the idea of united action for their own defense and work in harmony with the American organiza tions for the common good. The success of the United Mine Workers in the East in organizing the Italians, Hungarians, and Slavs who were im ported as strike-breakers and the fact that these have become staunch unionsts gives us hope of similar success

Further reason for hope is given by the strike of some three hundred Mexicans and seven hundred Japanese employed-or, rather, enslaved-in the best-sugar industry at Oxnard, who are making a brave and sturdy fight against the extreme conditions of overwork and underpay and eternal indebtedness to the contractor.

Internationalism is the word for the workers. So long as we allow ourselves to be divided by national or racial prejudice, so long the workers of each race can be played off against those of another, to the detriment of both and the great profit of the hoses. both and the great profit of the boss. As we learn to understand and trust and be loyal to our fellow tollers what-ever their language or religion, we multiply our strength and begin to deThat was a cruel and shameful lie folsted by the pristocracy of America on this people when they gave us for

a political economy the notion that

everybody is to help himself and where government (the organized force of society) is only a policeman to pre-

vent some people from using brass knuckles. It was a democracy of tomahawks, scalps and other savage

will ever come to our race through any single mind or by the use of broker

human speech and thought. The ego sociologist may as well make his mind up to it that Darwin has one sphere

Social science is a strictly human

science and there is plenty of it at that for even a greater than Darwin. There

is nothing very fantastic, deep, or far-fetched about it. It begins with the subordination of the thinker to society

it is externo egoistic; the science of

quity between the individual and so

its own expression in acts, by its own reduction to the art of economically living wisely and well together with the next man, and with him as we go

step by step we shall flow into society that social soul, that ONE whose voice

the collective life? The factory, in all

competition, and all things which arm the private against the public life; all

the limitations, and each one of them

set upon the time and ability of child-hood, wemanhood, manhood by the

hood, womanhood, manhood by the present organizations of the value

monger; all the devices that enslave men to be value makers for any other

than society as a whole; all needless unsanitarinesses and sicknesses; all

edless restraints, the needless wast-

ngs of labor and of life. Where are

shall press our inquiries towards a real

and study its forces, valuing no pheno

mena save as the effect of a force be-hind it. The end of external science has been ever and ever towards

minimizing and correlating her forces

until in time it is possible that all the

forces of nature shall be reduced to a very small few. In sociology we may accept a hint from that experience and

commence by assuming only one force until others come clearly in view; and that is the force of the social soul, the

gravity which draws mankind from

the heterogenous to the homogenous

Call it class-consciousness, call it rel gien, call it-public spirit. Call it th

desire to please, call it shame, call it

fear, call it public conscience—but best of all call it rebellion against wrong

it is the voice of the race as ONE cry-

ing in the wilderness of the private

in invasion of the truth realm, trying

nethod of ferreting out truth. Truth

ivader, truth is the immanent soul f us all. Truth like a flood is lapping

is knocking at the door, truth is your

the foundations of capitalism's socia

ciety. The first facts you have to look for are the keys hidden about your own personal life. Your own resist-

nncies, your own interests, your own mistrust of and ungenerosity to the public life. To reconcile these is the

scanned, smite them well, this is life

this is truth. The facts of society it

such action. To the single person, the

be of this sociology is the cultivation

of ego into a resistant, of social wrong, a training of our many ears

nto hearing the voice of the wrong

ONE crying as if there was also but

NOT BREAD ALONE.

Not Bread sione! In thunder tone The voice of Labor mounts and

grows.

These all had thralls since earth be

gan,
And pampered slaves far more have
known;
Now man indignant calls to man;
Not bread alone! Not life alone!

But more than life! The grace of life

Its crown and glory which denie Makes vain the centuries of strife, And all for which all heroes died.

The product of the brain and heart, For man and woman, girl and boy.

Great Equity! the last and best!

Come soon with leisure and light

-We are glad to send san

copies of The Worker gratts to all wh request them. If you know some per sons who ought to be acquainted with

And love and henor, to invest

Equal amid the free to stand.

your wrongs known and well repul

lie-competitive individualistic

extort from that truth realm

them all is damn self.

its parts and all the instruc

, a science which can develop and instrate itself from day to day, by

of great usefulness and the Socia

itable beyond us

appurtenances newly christened.

No law of the illi

ocracy is but a great hustle where

The Worker. IN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY nown in New York State as the Social Democratic Party.)

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THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.



The Worker will issue a special eight-page number in celebration of May Day. Articles by well known Socishst writers, brief reviews of the progress of the movement in different parts of the country, and other features will make it an especially good number for general distribution. Needless to say, it will be devoted wholly to propaganda, with no discus internal party questions. Although emble the usual size the price will be the same as for a regular issue.

THE COAL-STRIKE DECISION.

The tone of the labor press in con menting upon the decision of the coalstrike arbitrators is most significant. Two or three years ago, such a decision would have been heralded as a wreat victory for Labor, not only by those who had an interest in so interpreting it, but sincerely by the great body of workingmen who had not yet begun to conceive the possibility of

their emancipation from wage-slavery. To-day it is different: Mery effort was made to prepare a demonstration of rejoicing over the decision, but the demonstration did not come. Presi dent Mitchell and the other officers of the United Mine Workers have, indeed, said that they regarded the decision a victory, and their words have been echoed in many quarters. But the declaration has been cold, unimpressive, purely perfunctory. On the other hand, many labor papers have clearly pointed out how fallacious is the claim of victory, calmly facing the fact that arbitration is no solution of the labor question, and urging the necessity of aggressive action.

It should not, indeed, require a very shrowd man to see that the mine workers have got nothing by the arbitration that they had not actually wor by the strike and that they have lost not a little that they might have

saved. The increase in their pay is no more than that granted since November to the workers of many other trades with out the services of distinguished arbitrators. As has often been pointed out such an apparent gain is most deceptive. The necessities of life are in the hands of the organized capitalists They advance the prices of commodities and the cost of the workers' Mving always faster than the wages of labo The cost of living has been increased in the last six years at least twice as much as money wages have been vance for the miners. At the same time the intensity and the productive power of labor is being steadily increased by the introduction of new methods and by the pressure of com

petition among the workers. reduction of hours for men employed by the day, and the ruling in regard to child labor might be counted as me by the day, and the ruling in regard to child labor might be counted as material points gained by the mine work. Will you help us?

ers, if there were the slightest assurance that they would be observed. There is no such assurance. The

mine workers are pledged not to attempt to force the unionizing of the mines. The owners are to "run their own business." Their promise that they will not discriminate against union men is worth as much as their statements that they have not so discriminated in the past—and no more. So long as the union cannot insist on the employment of union men exclu sively and so long as there are unen ployed men whose competition for permission to work threatens those who are employed, the employers have it in their power to violate their promises when they see fit and to punish those who protest. The decision expressly guarantees the employers the right of exercising "reasonable discipline," with none but themselves to judge of its reasonableness, and expressly denies any such right to the workers.

The decision is not worse than was o be expected. Perhaps it is not so bad as might have been expected. The great strike is still remembered, the support it had from the workers of all rades, and, along with it, the immense increase of the Socialist vote is borne n mind. These things have taught ome of the capitalists a little caution. And that is, indeed, the kernel of the whole matter. The "operators" sub nitted to arbitration of any sort only ecause they were impressed by the strike and by the spirit whose expres sion at the polls they already foresaw with alarm. They have not learned to love their employees nor to love justice. They will not learn any such lesson. The lesson they must be taught is to fear the working class And it will be taught.

THE REFERENDUM ON HEAD QUARTERS.

The question of location of head quarters and composition of the Quorum of the National Committee is now before the party for general vote. It is to be regretted that the dual and alternative form in which it is sub mitted is not as clear as it might be made, the National Committee not having been able to agree in the very simple matter of fairly and concisely formulating the propositions. In order, therefore, to assist in ensuring a full and intelligent vote. The Worker reprints the questions with a few remarks, and will continue to do so until

Beferendum No. 1 (moved by Locals Toledo, Akron, Findlay, Fremont, Massilion, Springfield, and Branch 1 of Cleveland, O.; Lynn, Lawrence, Natick, Malden, Chelsen, Salem, Worcester, Haverbill, and Everett, Mass.; Portland, Me.; Rochester and New York, N. Y.; Bevier and Poplar Bluff, Mo.: Indianapolis, Marion, and Terre Haute, Ind.; Minneapolis, Minn.; and Arlington and North Yakima, Wash.)

"First-That the headquarters of th party be removed to Chicago.

"Second—That the Local Quorum until the next national convention becomposed of the members of the National Committee from the states of Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Iowa and

Kentucky.
"Third—That all acts of the National Committee at its last annual session in conflict with the above provisions be

Referendum No. 2 (moved by Locals Omaha, South Omaha, Grand Island, and Plattsmouth, Neb.; Kansas City and Pleasant Hill, Mo.; Franklin Heights, Kan.; and Sloux City, Ia.) embodies the following questions:

"First-Shall the action of the Na tional Committee in removing the Lo cal Quorum be approved?
"Second—Shall the old Local Quo-

rum be re-instated if vote stands rainst.

"Third—Shall the action of the Naonal Committee in removing the Naonal Headquarters to Chanks Nab against

tional Headquarters to Omaha, Neb., be approved? "Fourth-Shall the national head-

quarters be returned to St. Louis if vote stands against approval of removal to Omaha, Neb.?"

Every party member in good standing on April 1 has a right to vote and should exercise it.

The vote closes on May I. It is the duty of the officers of each local, on receiving blanks for the referendum, to see that the matter is submitted at the next regular-meeting or at a special meeting called for the purpose if neces sary, that members are notified and have a chance to give their votes, and that the result is properly recorded, attested, and returned before May 1 to the National Secretary. It will not do to report that "the local votes unanimously so-and-so." The number of votes for and against each proposition

must be clearly stated. Those who wish to locate the headquarters at Chicago, with Illinois, Wisonsin, Indiana, Iowa, and Kentucky at the basis of the Quorum will vote "Yes" on Referendum No. 1 and on the first clause of No. 2, and "No" on the other three clauses of No. 2. This is the proposition which The Worker has advecated throughout.

Those who wish to locate the headuarters at Omaba, with South Dakota, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, and Missouri as the basis of the Qu will vote "Yes" on the first and third clauses of Referendum No. 2 and "No" on the others.

THE VOICE OF ONE CRYING IN THE WILDERNESS

By Peter E. Burrowes.

The working people of the world are I waiting to be pushed over, for neither not able to keep the capitalists in such claw nor custom can long postpone profit-making employment as will suit their final going with a nation's restapitalism all the time; theref majority of the world's people must go without work and their share, or any decent share, of the affluence and culture of the century. They must, from year to year, be made the beneficiaries of monster charity donations out of the private reserves of those who have gone between them and the social organtam, who own the means of com-mon, work and enjoy by law the mon work and enjoy by law the privilege of keeping people out of employment, who can make more for themselves by permitting mankind only partly to use itself and therefore make idle machinery, idle operatives, unused and universalized properties. unused and unbuyable commodities, foverty, rags and degradation, to be the enforced conditions of the world, to naintain the private ownership of pube machinery, until panics, strikes, ig-orance, anger and revolt threaten the

very existence of civilization itself.
"The progress of mankind," says the private owner, "must now stand still. Science must be arrested." Indeed, science should be arrested for under the private régime men are neither fit nor able to know more of her, having proved so abundantly unfit to wield what they know. Any new light of science now given can only light up the pathway of more destruction for the common people's life. Any new powers of production now developed can only choke up the already surplusattored markets of the world. Nature's great volume must be sealed up for a senson, the race must go asleep, or go to hospital until the private capitalist is forced to let go his grip of the pub-lic employment and grows a com-

We all have been at a loss to know why social science should so long have continued to be the will-o-thewisp of sciences, why its teachers con-tinue in the world to this day contradicting each other. It seems to me that the cause of this international farce between the scholars is not far to seek. Social science must be the science of society as a great unit, and scholars, therefore, who set out with the resolution of accentuating the private life and interest above the pul ic and with the object of accomplish ing what they deem to be the goal of civilization, the high excellence and lignity of the individual life first; can never have, nor teach a social science. This science wanes as the private life iscends before the philosopher's eye in importance; and as the private life is let go, this science rises. The one hand of a scholar cannot hold these two handfuls of nuts at present vate life later on, we must now b ent to drop it, until we ascertain first what constitutes its inclusive science—the science of the public life science—the science of the public me.
Theoretic Socialism is this attempt.
We are not anti-individualists, we are
impersonal philosophers only pro tem,
until the discovery of a true public untile the discovery of a true public busis for the true personal life. The word Socialism, is just that, no more. We have no government on this earth now 20 set up against yours. We have no establishment. We are at present but The Voice of One crying in the wilderness for an armistice on the side wilderness for an armistice on the side of the individual life that the public of the individual the that the parties of the individual comes to this task with the gun of ego in one hand, the pistor of ego in the other, and the sword of ego be tween the teeth, how can he know? How shall this property ego of mine acquire the judicial mind necessary for a science which must at least externalize me to my own mind while I am pursuing the study, and make of but one among millions of equal units in a general study? How I shelve my ego long enough to make a social scientist of me? That is the question. Not that I desire or believe that ego will be shelved ultimately as the result of Socialist studies. On the contrary, I believe that ego will be greatly exalted by Socialis a minor; this is a far is a family cour we are met to discuss the inte

be a fit member of the family, must be willing to go. The difficulty in the way of social science is of much the same nature as that which lies in the way of the old-fashioned revivalist. "It is not God, they cry, "who is unable to save you; it is you who are standing in his way." Other sciences find only dead and disposable matter in their way of satisfying and convincing the mind this science finds the sin of human property egoism entrenched behind the very eyes that are called upon by the Socialist philosopher to see. How much, therefore, in its difficulties of advance, is bocialism like to religiou How much like the revivalist in the fibre of his heart and brain should the Socialist agitator be?

The economic business of a true so ciety is the humanization of force for its individual lives, to initiate, to direct and to use it on matter for them. The economic relation between society and each person is that of a plus, or reater than ego's will, pro power. Whatever token or thing em-bedies or certifies that plus to a person, as being now attainable, is money If society does not mean to every man within its borders a plus per sonni, making him also a potential somal, making him also a potential unit to exchange something with society, if it does not stand for more also than he could possibly under the most favorable conditions do for himself; then society is to that man a thief and a robber, except where, by some crims of his own, he has made it apparent that his power to help himself was a power dangerous to the life and dignity of others. It is not the workers of the world alone whose power of self-help his passed out since our economic production became machinised; for every individual in the community has been lost as self-helper. Even those who retain, in the form of riches, the wherewithel, are cridently only flourishing on the edge of a precipice,

COLLECTIVE CONSCIOUSNESS.

The Philosophy of Association—Different Forms of Collective Consciousness-Class-Consciousness Its Only Vital Form To-Day, Patriotism Being Anti-Social and Complete Social Consciousness Impossible—The Social Source of Morals.

BY COURTENAY LEMON.

Wherever, and in whatever way, hen are drawn into association and cound together by common interests and co-operate for common ends they come under the influence of ideals brighnating in the interests of the county heavens subject to moral have troup, become subject to moral laws ive body of which they are members and develop a collective consciousnes usness of their interests b ing bound up with the interests of the it; duties which are fulfilled because the interests of the individual and of the group usually coincide and because the group will punish the individual which is harmful to it and because these two circumstances create a conscience, a sense of duty, by which the individual is irresistibly impelled to act for the interests of the group even at a personal sacrifice, and in the satisfaction of which he finds One individual may be allied with a

number of different groups such as a family, a club, a fraternal society, voluntary association, political party, a church, a particu-lar race, and a social class; his thoughts and ideals will be moulded to some extent by the interests of each of these groups and he will have duty to, each group. The strength of in each group will be determined by the size and vitality of the group. There are thus within society innumerab minor social groups, each with its own little social consciousness and its own ethical code, always based, however, on the great universal moral principle of loyalty to the group. Even a friendship between two individuals constitutes a little society within society, a little eddy in the vast ocean of social being which has, within and for itself, to some extent, all the quali-ties of the social organism. It is beour facts? Everywhere. We are not building a reservoir but pulling down dams to let a mighty flood of life into as the social organism. It is be-active there are such a multitude of athor social groups or collectivities that I denominate the group feeling collective consciousness. This general ferm can be used to cover all the mani-fold manifestations of group feeling. our lives and we are assails—the facts that hinder it. W: are pulling down drain, indeed, and the first and biggest Now if we have elected to make the human race itself the field whereon we fold manifestations of group feeling. The term "social consciousness" should be reserved for that last and greatest progress in sociology, we shall be com-celled to take human nature, as the scientists have taken Mother Nature, form of collective consciousness in which individual feeling is determined

by the interests of the entire social body, the whole of Humanity.

As the economic basis of society has hanged different forms of col consciousness have predominated, and those group feelings which were most directly determined by economic con-ditions and in accord with the most vital social needs have prevalled over all minor social groupings.

group allegiance, collective conscious based upon kinship. The solidarity and social consciousness of the gens or tribe was based upon descent from common ancestors.

This primitive kin-consciousness was down by the growth of private property and the consequent rise of the state or nation based upon territory and property, which made conscious-ness of nationality, or patriotism, the dominant form of the collective con-

The appeal to patriotism is still made by the supporters of the existing social system of capitalism, but patri otism is passing. National divisions are giving away to class divisions. The nternational investments of the capifallsts, the progress of intercommuni-cation, and the growing intensity of the struggle between the two classes, are obliterating national divisions and making the conflict between the inter-national labor movement and the in-ternational capitalist class the para-mount and international issue of the present time. The rapidly developing public life. To reconcile these is the science of society.

Every day's Ffe in a city will give you, in plain view, the hideous counter facts that stand in the way of civilization. When these are all well-senned, smite them well, this is life;

however processes and social evolution. human progress and social evolution but now that capitalism has performed its function of organizing industry and fulfilled its mission of bringing the ends of the earth together and inter wining the interests of all nations by commerce and the intercourse and in-termingling which follows in its wake, stands in the way of arther social advance and the patriot

ism which supports the capitalist directed governments of capitalist med nations in their work of infam; and hate is anti-social, and therefor ecause it makes only for the perpetuation of profit-sucking para At one time patriotism held men to gether while there was no sufficient basis for a greater union than that founded upon residence in a certain territory and citizenship in a certain

state. The lines that divided and united men were then geographico-economic, but the vital division between men now is the world-wide and ever more pronounced division into-economic classes. The class division has existed ever since man emerged from barbarism, but only after capital sm had practically obliterated na-tional divisions could the division into a ruling class and a working class be a ruing case and a working class be-come clearly visible and fully assert itself. Now that this point in social evolution has been reached, patriciam can no longer be said to hold men to-gether, since a wider solidarity upon the basis of class has become possible and necessary but is delayed by patrithe basis of class has become possible and necessary but is delayed by patri-otism which keeps the working classes of different lands apart and antago-nistic under false geographical divi-sions and fage that only symbol their slavery.

Whatever brings men nearer to uni-rerest brotherhood by increasing the circle of common material interest and collective consciousness must conquer by very reason of the power which in-greased inclusiveness gives; the greater

solidarity is mighty and will prevail. But no widening of the sphere of solidarity and collective consciousness can come unless it is an outgrowth of economic conditions and based upon actual common interests. It is for this reason that, so long as the present economic system exists, an appeal to "universal brotherhood" or "the social consciousness" is so futile and con-fusing as to be actually harmful and anti-social. The present system of private ownership divides society into two classes—those who draw profit from their ownership of the means of producing wealth and those who sell their labor-power to the owners of capital—the profit-drawing capitalist class and the wage-working prole-tariat. The interests of these two classes are so antagonistic as to be ab-solutely irreconcilable and there is consequently a constant class struggle between them. This struggle between the capitalist class and the working class is inherent in the present social system; it is an irrepressible conflict which must be fought out to its in-evitable end in the ultimate and complete victory of the world's workers. So long as there are classes ar rayed against each other by economic forces which are greater than senti ment because they color and create sentiment, so long will complete social consciousness be impossible. Uni-versal human brotherhood cannot be realized in a social system in which class antagonisms are inherent. Broth rhood and social solidarity must based upon the common material inter-est of all and this does not exist in a

social system under which one class of men make a profit out of the labor of another class. The solidarity of all humanity will be possible only under the future system of commen owner ship of the means of production and the return to the workers of their full product which is the goal of the Socialist movement. The material interests of the working class against exploitation give that class the mission of abolishing the profit system and bringing in the common ownership of the instruments of production, while the material interests and class training of the capitalist class make it or posed, as a class, to that change which is necessary to make brotherhood possible by giving it a sound material basis. Any attempt to preach brother-hood between Capital and Labor, therefore, only confuses the issue and delays the change by leading the workers away from their true interests and their moral mission. The dynamic of the Socialist movement is the interests of the working class. The recognition of the brotherhood of humanity will be not the cause but the result of the coming of Socialism. Brotherhood will esult not from a change of heart but from a change of the system which is the only thing that will make a change of heart possible. The individuals composing the capitalist class will betalism, with its classes and class strugress and perpetuate the existence

erests. The class-consciousness of the workng class, therefore, is the widest form of the "social" or collective conscious ness possible in the present stage of social evolution, patriotism having become anti-social and complete social consciousness being as yet impossible the instrumentality of which the soli-darity of the whole human race will be achieved, is the one vital, g, moral force of the pr present crying need for social re-Some men there have been and are who not only battle for a higher social

developed under such a future social system. This ultimate kind of men, prophets and seers, project themselve nto that future which already exist in their ideals and is to them, if the aradox of the phrase may be parfound, a subjective reality, and in en-deavoring to lead the rest of humanity resent struggle towards that future. These preachers of brotherhood, indis ate love and immediate social consciousness, attempt to superimpo an abstract or future ethic upon the movement toward that future. men are never safe social guides; they are often almost as dan-gerous, in their power of confusion, as those who support only what is not down in the midst of the sweat and fight of the present struggle toward the future solidarity are sure social guides and these are of the working-

The ascending forms of the collect

vival which are to be seen in the he ing together of antinals. No man live and man has never lived unto himse alone; an isolate life is not possible t him; he is a social being and a social product. The human race, which is first distinguished from the lower ani-mals by self-consciousness, has now passed through kin-consciousness and nation-consciousness and is rapidly reaching class-consciousness which will finally lead to social consciousness -a sort of social Nirvana in which the individual is exalted by being merged into society; as the Eastern devotes dreams of being merged in God, and finds a sufficient substitute for the idea of immortality in the persistence and progress of the race. Social con-sciousness would seem to be the ultimate extension of consciousness, un ess there be beyond that some sort of realization of the identity of all exist ence and the essential unity of the

That group feeling, that collective consciousness coming out of co-opera-tion for social survival is the source of rals and the secret of all prog ress. The realization of its full sig the future pinned to frail and uncer-tain individual greatness but finds it bound up in the general average. Some individuals may go astray all the time and all individuals may go astray som of the time but the whole class or the manently. Individuals may come a go but the group, if it be not an anti social group—and, therefore, society whose survival the most social group represents goes on forever, because the spirit, the ideals, the standard of collectivity are passed on and per though the individual perisher And when this social psychology is un derstood hero-worship is abandoned and in its place comes an abiding faith in the collective human spirit, and trust in the Collectivity.

Our » Exteemed Contemporaries BBB (and OTHERS) BBB

Boston Globe.

Since the recent town election throughout the state the result of the big gains made by the Socialist Party has been clearly felt at the state house and the representatives of the Socialist party have been given undivided at-

Since the town elections Socialism

come the brothers of the workers only when, through Socialism, they are ab-sorbed into the working class and are no longer capitalists. So long as capi gle, continues complete social con-sciousness will be impossible and all cant about brotherhood between capitalists and workers and all futile ap-peals to the good will or heart of the capitalist class will only retard progclasses by temporarily concealing the irreconcilable opposition of their in-

order but are, in personal character, the very kind of men who would be attempt to inject the feelings and standards which would be developed by a future ideal social order into the resent need and consider only what without regard to what ought to be and must be next, for it is almost as futile to be entirely too far ahead as it is to be behind. Only those who are

tion has brought forth have tended allectivity in each successive stage and a consequent ultimate expansion of personality. It seems certain that man could not even have become self-conscious, in other words man could not have risen out of the brute state and become man, except by the develop-ment in his pre-human state of a col-lective instinct springing from the first rude attempts at co-operation for sur-

recent town elections

tention almost on every occasion on which they have spoken and its gaining strength in this state have become somewhat of a spectre to the legislators. In committee hear-ings, when petitions for various mat-ters have been heard and opposition appeared, in a number of instances the committeemen have been threatened that if they did not report favorably upon the matters heard the Socialis vote would increase, not 10 per cent. but 1,000 per cent., at the fall elec-tions. The same sort of talk has been mide in the sessions of the lower brouch, and not always by So members. At the hearing granted the infor organizations upon the referen agitta in evidence in the argument, an the Socialist members of the house mive not failed to hold it forth upon

Toronto Globe. Among the signs of the times are the growing strength of the Socialists in national legislatures; the concessions of various sorts they have been able to secure or extort, and the recognition of some of their most prominent members by their election or appointment to high public positions. A well known Socialist is now the leading

spirit in the Italian ministry. One sequally well known has been chosen second vice-president by the Chamber of Deputies in France. No such incident has yet taken place in Germany, but the Socialist leader in the Reichs-tag is by far toe ablest statesman in that chamber, and he has a following too numerous to be either flouted or ignored, as was done in the time of Bismarck's chancellorship. One of the inauspicious omens in Germany is the trequency and fearlessness with which the Emperor himself is now referred to in debate by hostile members of the to in debate by hostile members of the keichstag. For this he has himself to blame. So long as he indulges in political speech-making, just so long will his divine right to a monopoly of political speech-making be disputed. Unfortunately for him, his Socialist critics are philosophically right in the main. They are opposed to war, while he persists in strengthening both army and navy. They are opposed to exce sive protection, while gests it or yields to it. They are Germans with a tendency to cosmopolitanisni; he is German with a bias toward chauvinism. ameliorate social conditions and rem edy social evils; he is so taken up with world-politics and the great role of Germany therein that he is not deterred from his purposes by the crush ing burdens he imposes on his sub Students of current events jects. Students of current ever should keep an eye on the Socialists.

New York Mail and Express. It is to be hoped that the report which comes from campaign is to be begun against & correct, and that it will be conducted with intelligence and vigor As outlined, the campaign is to begin at once, it is to be educational in it. character and it is to be prosecuted steadily through this and next year The plan is the result of many con sultations among leading Repul including such men as Senator Hanns Secretary of the Navy Moody, Pest master-General Payne, and Senato Spooner of Wisconsin. They propos make an earnest and comprehen effort to check the spread of Socialistic ideas and to supplant them with sound, conservative opinions on industrial questions, governmental policie and all subjects affecting society and the individual. The scheme is oughly commendable one, and it receive the support not only of all Re-publicans, but of all intelligent and dis-

publican victory in the elections fall was the large vote polled by the candidates nominated by Socialist and Social Labor parties. This vote

showed a phenomenal increase in nearly every Northern State, total Socialist vote cast was about 400,000. In the Presidential election of 1900 the two distinctively Socialistic candidates polled only 127,553 votes

• • • The present is a good time to begin a campaign against Socialism. The public mind is in a state to receive and assimilate traths and is not prejudiced, as it will be when the Presiand assimilate trains and is not prejudiced, as it will be when the Presidential campaign of 1904 is well under way. Help will come from other sources also. In Chicago, for instance, the German Catholic societies have be-gun to organize labor unions within the ranks of the church, but an indispensable qualification to membership is an exclusion of all Socialistic ideas. Similar movements will doubtless be egun elsewhere, and they will prove valuable helps in combating Soci If, in addition, the campaign of educafrom Washington, is systematically and vigorously pressed, there need be no fear that Socialistic ideas will become a menace to the peace and stability of society in this country.

Philadelphia Public Ledger. When Senator Hanna, Chairman of

the Republican National Committee, F his party in Massachusetts in their ef-forts to stay the tide of Socialism, which has so rapidly and alarmingly risen in not only that Commonwealth, but throughout the New England states, he showed how little he understood the movement. It is evident that he regards it wholly from the practical politician's point of view and with the eyes of one. If he perceived aright the Inspiring and inciting causes of it he would similarly perceive that of all men he is among the least qualified to assume the leadership of the forces or posed to it.

It is true that the Socialists on ising political methods and the ballot as means to the accomplishment of their object, but they are not politi-Hanna is one. **

* * Mr. Hanna should not be extra-

ordinarily astate 'fo' perceive that one of the chief upholders of trusts, not only their apologists but champion, is scarcely qualified to lead his party successfully against a popular movement which partakes more of the character of a religious crusade than a political uprising. The merely declared an tagonism of such men as the Chairman of the National Committee will bring hosts of earnest recruits to the Socialistic ranks, which already show such dangerous strength in New England and elsewhere. Let Mr. Hanna and all his kind keep out of this grave busi ness, and let our publicists, sociologists and economists unite in a common and resolute purpose to confute the here-sies of our latter day Socialists, who are so industriously and effectively minating the only half true and wholly pernicious cry that the rich are growing richer and the poor growing poorer. Let it be recognized that the leaders of the movement are not sordial politicians, but zealous propagandists of what they call a great social reform, and let it also be recognized that in their successes some of the most distinguished teachers in the colleges. newspaper offices, and even in the pulpit, have been during the last de-

cade most mischlevous and powerful aiders and abettors of the propaganda. Los Angeles Union Labor News Insincerity is the leading character-istic of these non-union unions. If they came into being with the real and

apparent motive of trying to adjust labor differences without friction, and with labor's interest and welfare at heart, there could be no objection offered to them. But in every instance, the wires that control the body, and as they can manipulate them only in self-interest, the workers take no interest in the movement, and it dies because it lacks the spirit that every labor or nat have-that of striving ranization m in a united effort to improve the con-dition of all. As evidence in support of the statement that employers con trol these non-union unions, is the clause that always appears in the pre-amble of the constitution to the effect that the workingmen are independent and therefore must treat with em-ployers as individuals and not as a body. Take away from a trade union body. Take away from a trade union the power to act as a body for its members, and its life is destroyed. It is for the purpose of acting together for the good of all that men organize, and the mere fact that every tra union substitute lacks this essential is the cause of its unpopularity with sensible workingmen, and its conse-

quent decay and death. The path leading to industrial freedom is strewn with many wrecks. The trade union movement has seen many failures. But the saddest wrecks and the greatest failures are those of or-ganizations and leaders who have gone istray in listening to the blandishments of employers with a trade-union substitute.

Pueblo Courier.

The Commission, after many grunis and a bundle of groans, has produced and handed to the anthracite coal miners a gold brick and its labors have served this purpose;-it has, at the ex pense of paying to the miners what they would have secured anyhow had the strike been held on, saved the life of the Coal Trust so that both the miners and the American people will still have the exquisite ple feeling the grip of its claws. It has secured to the members of the afore said commission the pleasure of posing in the public eye tat the public exin the public eye (at the public ex-pense) for a good, long time and has again demonstrated the fact that the trust magnates can give Labor four aces and half the other points in the rame and still be in at the winning with a straight flush and rake in the with a straight flush and rake in the pot. It has given the enemy a chance to deal Labor a double-handed swat in the solar plexus on the boycost question and a kiek on the boycost question. Summed up, Labor for once was Samban had been a feet and boycost and boycost and boycost a labor for once was Samban had been a feet and boycost son, but like ...m it let the so of cunning shear off its locks : now again the long-eared ass brays loud-and kicks holes in t

BUY UNION MADE GOO

shall certainly not countenance any steps that will tend to discourage in-

dividual agitation, as long as the party is as weak and unsettled as it is now.

The fact that it is so is largely due

with the official spokesmen. In fact, the greatest source of trouble for the move

ment has not come from individual out-siders, but from the party machinery itself. I do not blame the membership

at large for standing off and watching

at large for as we have not given them, sufficient proofs that they will fare better with us than they did with the

others. Therefore, I do not favor a too pronounced desire for centralization at

present. We cannot force people to

trust us. We can only act so as to gain

co-operation. Such a co-operation, perfectly agree with you, would be highly desirable. But it must be the

result of voluntary association, not of

The National Secretary replied on

nese points under date March 25:
"Point 5. I pledged support to Ne-

braska before consulting Quorum be

ruse immediate action was necessar;

ized States into as good condition as possible so as to form a base of sup-plies for further operations in unorgan-ized States. It is our duty, I believe,

hat their future work can be assured

As our finances warrant I shall try to

the appeal for contributions to a special

it and its issuance should not be de

ayed.
"If you will read over my statement

again you will see that I did not say

you voted 'against the submission of referendums No. 1 and No. 2.' What I

sald was: "Comrade Untermann votes

against their submission, as worded,

drawn up by the National Secretary

submitted to the Committee, his rea

on contains your explanation. I think this was fair, does not misrepresent

you, and will not be misunderstood by

anyone who reads the full statement. was particularly careful not to mis

quote you, above all others, in view

column 6, will show that Comrade

"I withdrew my referendum proposition in order not to cause more confusion. I so advised the members of

the National Committee who voted for

t and informed them that, unless other

wise notified. I would consider them a

mit these to a referendum. Comrade

Lovett was the only one that notified

he referendum as being authorized by

the National Committee. This, I be

aside a vote of the National Committee

"I fixed April 1 as the date upon which members should be in good standing before voting on the referen-

dum because I believed it due the

membership at large that those voting on such an important matter should be

at least thirty days members before

the vote closed. It was so apparent to

me that a time limit should be set that

to submit the matter to the National

Committee, I had no hesitancy in

to the present I have heard no objec-

"Point 14. I have no desire to throw

old water on individual initiative.

do maintain, however, that the nationa

party shall have charge of the organi-

tation work in unorganized States and Territories, as the national constitu-

tion provides. If the 'private Social-ists' were responsible for the locals they

organize, the case might be different; but they are not. The mational party becomes responsible and the national party must take the initiative, or else

there will be nothing but confusion and disorder. I have written to Comrade

Ricker on this point and he can show

"It is misleading to infer that the

national office is trying to grasp power to use it against individuals. We are

simply trying to work in a systematic and orderly manner. And the party is not weak and and unsettled. Far from

it. The correspondence received at this

office shows that there never was more

nament and effective than at the pre

sent time. We have a strong party, Comrade Untermann, and if it is not stronger it is partly because a lack of

co-ordination among its members has prevented its being kuit together into

fighting machine that can meet capi-

talism on its own ground. And I be-lieve that this is the time for every party member to co-operate with this office in bringing this about.

"Nothing in my letters to Comrade

there never was a more unanim sire to make the party machinery per-

you my letters if he desires

framing the instructions as I did.

tions from any other quarter.

Mailly is correct,-Ed.)

The third paragraph further

after.'

hough no other member has reque

ization fund to the Quorum, al-

sirable. But it must be the

PARTY NOTES.

-----Local charter has been issued to Payetteville, Ark.

Comrade George D. Herron has placed the entire arrangements of his lectures for the Socialist Party, after his rearn from Europe this summer, under the control of the astional head-

Plans are being developed at na-tional headquarters by which every part of the United States can be covered by organizers and speakers for the Socialist Party.

Requests for organizing material relative to the organization of new lo-cals have been received by the National Secretary from various places in Arkansas, Georgia, Idaho, Indian Ter-ritory, Kansos, Kentucky, Maryland, Nebraska, Oklahoma, and Vermont.

Comrade Frederick G. Strickland will probably make a lecturing and er-ganizing tour of the middle western states during the summer months un-der the direction of the National Lecre Bureau of the Socialist Party.

Comrade John W. Slayton begins his tour under the auspices of national headquarters at Eric, Pa., April 7, speaking for the Carpenters' Union. The Central Labor Union of Warren, Ohio, will have it of or a big demonstration on the 9th, and carpenters of Washington, Pa., on the 17th. The in-tervening dates will be filled with meetings among Ohio locals. Slayton spoke at Tolede, March 24, with "Mother" Jones, at a big Socia'st meeting and the Toledo "Times" said his address was "masterly and the clearest exposition of the Socialist poever heard in Toledo."

State Secretary Critchlow of Ohio, who is managing the Socialist lecture tours of Fathers McGrady and Hag-erly, states that it has been ascertained that there is a permanently or-ganized lecture bureau, which is send-ing Jesuit speakers, in the wake of ing Jesuit speakers, in the wake of Father McGrady with the avowed in-tention of undoing his work for So-

A state organization has been formed in Vermont, with John Ander-son, Barre, Vt., as State Secretary.

The County Committee of the So-cialist Party of Luzerne County, Pa., will meet at the new headquarters, 16 South Main street (second floor, rear). Wilkes-Barre, on Tuesday, April 7, at 8 p.m. The new county constitution will then be ready for distribution, copies being run off on the mimeo-graph, which was kindly loaned to the organization by Comrade D. O. Cougt lan, the only Socialist lawyer in East ern Pennsylvania. County Secretary C. F. Quinn was unanimously re-elected Secretary-Treasurer of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor'at the recert annual convention in Harrisburg. Healthy activity is re-ported from Locals Wilkes-Barre, Duryea, and Edwardsville. Courade Byrne of Massachusetts is in Luzerne County doing good work in the inter-est of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

A Polish paper in Toledo, Ohlo, printed part of our campaign circular giving the address of the Central Committee of that city, and this brought letters from Connecticut, Massachu-setts, Wiscopsin, and Minnesota, in-quiring for copies of constitution and applications for membership. These letters have been forwarded to the re-

The state convention of Utah will be held in Federation of Labor Hall, 76 South Second street, Salt Lake City, Tuesday, April 7, 1903. Among the business to be transacted will be an-nual election of officers, establishing of official state paper and consideration of municipal platforms and lecture courses for propaganda work.

Socialists of Chicago held the larges public demonstration in their history on Thursday, March 26, in the interest of the Socialist Party municipal ticket. The Auditorium, the largest hall in the city, was packed to the doors, at ad-mission of 25 cents to \$1. "Mother" Jones and Father McGrady were the principal speakers and both were principal speakers and greeted with enthusiasm. In begin-ning her address, "Mother" Jones said: "I feel that we are nearing the end of our fight, because this magnificent gathering tells me the workers are at last awakening to a sense of their duty. It is only when our masters see us politically organized that they fear us, and realize our power. As long as we are content with an industrial organization the capitalists can get in-junctions against us and can send troops to shoot us down. But when we gain control of the government they will not have the power to shoot us. We will be the government."

The "Social Democratic Herald" The "Social Democratic Herald" says of the movement in Wisconshi:
"The city campaigns over the state are keeping the comrades in Janesville, Kenosha, Sheboygan, Racine, and Appleton busy just now. Neenah and Two Rivers are also in line with their usual hustle in the spring campaign. Janesville has been doing well this white. Comrada Thompson was there winter. Comrade Thompson was there twice and Organizer Gaylord was given an opportunity to address the union labor mass convention of the city early in March. They have multicity enriy in March. They have multi-plied their membership several times during the last few months. This lat-ter has come from the organization of new ward branches. Racine has done very well within the last three months. Comrade Thompson's meeting was the signal for an advance all along the lime theer. First came the organizasignal for an advance all along the line there. First came the organiza-tion of the new branch in the south of the city. Then follow the putting up of the city ticket this spring, with a well attended meeting addressed by Comrade Berger, and now plans are being made and carried out for a red-hot campaign. Port Washington feels so good over the Thompson meetings that it wants to keep the ball a-rolling and has asked for the State Organizer. This is a good field, and while the com-rades have the common experience of

financial poverty they are rich in that the end. The State Organizer will start for a Northern tour, extending to Marinette, immediately after the spring elections, and hopes to be able to report some new branches from that territory on his return."

Harry M. McKee is making a tour of Iowa for the Socialist Party. Com-rade McKee was formerly an instruc-tor in Lenox College and is said to be both a pleasant and a forcible speaker

of Udall, Kan., has taken up the advocacy of Socialism.

Oragnizer Waldhorst of Local Birm ingham, Ala., writes us in great enthu-siasm of Comrade Chase's two success-ful meetings there and two in Besse-mer. He says the results surpass all expectations. A state convention of the party will be held in Birmingham in the first week of May, a state com-mittee formed and probably an organ-izer put in the field. A city election is to be held in May and the Socialist Party has a ticket in the field, headed by C. W. Love, a muon machinist, as candidate for Mayor.

Secretary Miller of Local Norfolk Va., reports steady growth in member-ship and that Socialism is becoming popular in Norfolk. He says: "When the Dixle boys are aroused and know hey are right there will be no stopping hem. Come what may, you will fin them on the skirmish line, to stay there until we are in the capitalist stronghold, which is the seat of the

In Ningara Falls, Ne. Y., at Conver tion Hall, on Friday evening, April 3. Comrade Matthew Kirsch and Mr. L. . Malone will debate the question "Are the laboring men of to-day as far advanced as a half-century ago?" Mr. Malone will take the affirmative and Comrade Kirsch the negative.

Comrade James N. Wood, who wa to give a lecture at the headquarters of Local New Rochelle, N. Y., last Friday, being unable to keep his engagement sent Comrade Frank P. O'Hare to take his place. Although the meeting was well advertised an audience lid not appear. Comrade O'Hare de clared that if the people would not come to hear him he would go out to them and thereupon walked out in front of the City Hall, mounted a chair and in a few minutes had an audience that for size and attention gave him entire satisfaction and to which he talked for an hour and a

The discussion which was to be held ast Friday by the 6th and 10th A. D. was postponed to the next meeting, which will take place at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, Friday vening, April 10, where Comrade W J. F. Hannemann will open the dis-cussion of "The Socialist Solution of the Liquor Problems" at 9 p. m., after the business meeting has closed. On Friday, April 24, Comrade Edward W. Searing will speak on "The Influence of Socialism on Literature."

The members of the Brooklyn Socialat the clubhouse, Fulton street and Ralph avenue, on Saturday, April 4, at 7 p. m., for the purpose of proceeding in a body to the Globe Fair at the Grand Central Palace, in Manhattan Borough. Members are requested to be prompt in reaching the club at the hour named. Comrade Feigenbaum speaks on "Revolutionary Socialism" next Sunday at the Socialist Cub.

Purpose of Life" at the Socialist Pro-paganda Club, Wurzler's Hall, 315 Washington street, Brooklyn, on Sun-day evening, April 5.

The Young People's Social Demo-cratic Club of Brooklyn, which meets every Thursday evening in the Labor Lyceum at 949 Willoughby avenue, h having great success. The club now has thirty members in good standing and is gaining more every week. At the last meeting six new members were admitted—Elsie Eberhardt, Min-nie Henne, Fred Duere, Adelaide Schildmiller, Lillie Seegers, and Fred Mieske. Comrade Jander was the speaker of the evening. Good prog-ress is being made in the preparations for the picnic of May 17 and no pains are being spared to carry it through with credit to the organization. It has been decided to donate half the pro-ceeds to the Labor Lyceum. The young men and women of the club are showing abundant energy and good sense, and this should assure the hearty co-operation of the older com-

FROM HEADQUARTERS.

National Secretary's Correspondence with Comrades Untermann and Ricker on Party Organization and Finances.

The Worker is requested to print, for the information of party members, several letters that have recently passed between National Secretary Mailly and Ernest Untermann, mem-ber of the Quorum, and between Mailly and A. W. Ricker of the "Appeal to Reason." (Comrade Untermann, it may be noted, is also employed on the "Appeal" at present.) ployed on the "Appear at present.)
The correspondence is too voluminous
for us to give complete, but we present
in full those portions dealing with certain important questions of party organization and financés which, it
seems to us ought to be laid before
the party members.

Following are three paragraphs from the National Secretary's circular to the Quorum of date Omaha, March 21 (L. Q. No. 6), which makes clear the subjects under consideration:

"Par. 5. The condition of the Nebraska state organization is such that I assumed the responsibility rending

I assumed the responsibility, pending hearing from the Quorum, of pledging \$30 from the national organization to-ward the first month's expenses of Sec-retary J. Edward Morgan, as organizer retary J. Edward Morgan, as organizer in the state. The locals in Nebraska need attention, and as the State Committee was unable to bear the expense of keeping Comrade Morgan in the make such a rule and enforce it, we

field I pledged our assistance. I trust this will be satisfactory to the Quoin, and that I shall be empowered so my discretion in the matter of co

empowered to issue an appeal to the party at large for contributions to a special organizing fund to be used by the national organization for the purpose of promoting organization wherever the same is needed. The appeal tional campaign, pointing out the op-portunities opening up to us on all sides for crystallizing the Socialist sentiment at the ballot box in 1904 and what can be done from this office in the line of organization with a com-paratively small sum of money. I am confident that if \$500 was placed at the disposal of this office for organ izing purposes, in six months the in-creased revenue would compensate for the outlay and give us a great organization, besides enabling us to clear our debts. At present I am helpless to put the time is ripe for such an appeal and that the membership will respond wiitingly.

"Par. 14. In reply to a request from Comrade Ricter, of the 'Appeal to Reason,' for organizing cards to be sent out from that office, I suggested that all applications regarding organi-zation be referred to this office. When applications from organized states are received here, they are referred to the respective state committees and those from unorganized states are handled directly from this office. I believe the national organization should have the prior right to enter unorganized states or organizing purposes, otherwise here would be anarchy and confusion. I also suggested to Comrade Ricket that the 'Appeal to Reason' turn over the organizing fund now being raised through its columns, to the national organization for the benefit of the party at large." (The Mailly-Ricker ndence is given below.—Ed.)

II. On these points Comrade Untermann replied as follows under date Girard, Kan., March 23:

"Point 5. I should have preferred to have been consulted before you pledged money to Nebraska, because you thus establish a precedent that may become troublesome in the future. Not having been given an opportunity to ascertain for myself the condition of the Nebraska state organization. I annot act, and must, therefore, cline to assume any responsibility for your pledge.

"Point 12. I like the idea of issuing an appeal for contributions to a special organization fund. But I should like to know more about the way this fund is to be handled, and how the appent is to be worded. If we knew one another better, I should not hesitate to give you carte blanche in this matter. But as I shall have to bear my share of the responsibility for anything going out from headquarters, I prefer to see a draft of the appeal be fore I commit myself any further Now, don't regard this as a sign of un just suspicion on my part. I should be only too glad to simplify our offi-cial intercourse as much as possible. At the same time I feel that I would not be doing my duty, if I endorsed anything without exactly knowing what it purports. Besides, there are a few things in your letter and in your statement given out for publication that require an explanation. In the first place, in this statement you again say that I voted 'against submission of Referendums 1 and 2, although I had called your attention to the same error once before and you declared that it was a mistake on your part. I have already been severely attacked and misrepresented by The Worker and the Seattle 'Socialist,' and this statemen will give them a new opening. In the will give them a new opening. In the second place, I do not think that you had a right to withdraw your proposi-tion after a majority of the National Committee had voted in favor of it The vote on Referendum 1 stood 6 to 6; on Referendum 2 it was 8 yes, and 3 no; while on your proposition it was 8 for and 7 against or, with my own vote, 9 for and 7 against; that is, more votes were cast on your proposition than on any of the others. It is plain that if you submitted Referendum 1. which was practically voted down, and which New York and Massachusetts

which New York and Massachusetts themselves had dropped, you should have so much more submitted your set aside a vote of the National Committee. In the third place, you have printed on the referendum blank the vords 'by authority of the National Committee.' From the foregoing it follows that the National Committee gave you no authority to submit Referenm 1, while they gave you authority to submit your proposition which you cast aside. Besides, the Quorum at cast asign. resides, the Quorum at least has not voted on your 'instruc-tions to state secretaries,' and I for one would have been glad to know what the other comrades of the Quo-rum and the National Committee rum and the National Committee thought of the paragraph that 'no persons shall vote upon the foregoing resolutions who are not members in good standing of the Socialist Party on April 1, 1903.' I have no share in framing those instructions, and must leave the responsibility for them to you, or to those who made them.

Ricker can be construed as attempting to use clubbing methods—methods that I have always opposed in the Socialist "Point 14. I am unfortunately so ovement. He expressed a desire to Toint 14. I am antorumacy so situated that anything I may say on this point is liable to interpreted as being inspired by my position on the 'Appeal.' Hints of this kind have been mide in public articles and in private o-operate with me in organization and I suggested to him how in my opinion that could best be done. If the national party cannot secure anyone's co-oper-ation by the use of reason, then we cer-tainly could not succeed by using other methods." leiters. I shall ignore them, however, and state my position plainly and un-reservedly. It is this: The party reservedly. It is this: The party ought to be glad to get assistance in organizing, and not throw cold water on individual initiative. That is the same method observed in Colorado It is further noted that Comrades Work, Roe, and Turner, forming a ma jority of the Quorum, concurred in the National Secretary's circular under disagainst the Social Crusaders, and I am against the Social Crusaders, and I am opposed to it. Your suggestion to turn over all applications for organization to mational heacquarters is perfectly proper and will certainly be accepted, if I understand Comrade Ricker right. But the suggestion to turn over the funds raised by Ricker's work simply amounts to this, that the party should dictate to relyate Socialists how to as.

The correspondence between the Na-tional Secretary and Comrade Ricker of the "Appeal," referred to above, is (A.) Ricker to Mailly, Girard,

March 16:
"I am enclosing you a letter from
Comrade Hunt of Gatewood, W. Va.,
who I believe had better have your
attention, I have been answering many

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LANDLORDISM RAMPANT.

By Horace Traubel.

A great deal is being said about Ed- 1 ward's abolition of Irish landlordism There is only one way to get rid of Irish landlordism. You must get rid of the Irish landlord. The Irish landlord is like new other

tandlord. He is not worse. He is not better. The Irish landlord squeezes all the substance out of the land, via the tenant, that the can," He limits himself only by the limit of necessity. He squeezes until no more can be

Is an American landlord any way different from an Irish landlord? What is it that limits the gonge of the American landlord? Is it humanity? No. It is the land market. The Amer ican landlord has length, breadth thickness, ears, taste, and sight, much like an Irish landlord. Give him rope and he bleeds you to Not the landlord the person. The landlord the system.

Do you really care whether you

parasite. He may be a good fellow. He may be a scholar. He may be a man of superior virtue. But insofar as he is landiord he is parasite. The parasite must be destroyed. The man ust be left unharmed.

The problems of the world are in-trinsically the same. Locality may spell you different geographical name and strange persons. But the law of pervert life is one law, operate where it may. The American may call it on The German may call it an-But its good and ill when oosened in society result in about the same product.

All the nations are struggling with the forces of democracy; Democracy is pushing itself up through every soll In some cases it encounters strong ground. But it keeps right on pushing. In one place it must abolish a czar. In another it must abolish a president. In one place it is resisted by what is called an autocracy. In ahother it is resisted by what is called a republic. But it works on. Its seed time is authenticated by the most sacred con-junction of the stars. It may be wer getting through one soil than other. But it will get through.

When democracy breaks loose from its encumbering debris it will remake our average man in the image of an average man in the image of an average real personality. No type great or small, so far known in his tory, in full round synchronizes the unborn democrat. To the democrat there is no absentee landlord and no fireside landlord. There is only the landlord. To the democrat there is no villain capitalist and no saint capital-ist. There is only the capitalist, Just

discovers that there is no true religion or false religion but religion.

Democracy does not busy itself trying to find where the nations are differ-

not find German conquest different from English. It finds all conquests from English. It mads all conquests conquest. It finds that when the imperial spirit breaks loose it amounts to the same thing, whether sent to Africa in the name of a constitutional monarchy or sent to the Pacific in the name of a constitutional name of a republic.

When the English Parliament dis cusses the Irish land question we con lole with Ireland and condemn Eng this nation which engles its doctrine

the law of a province but of the earth. It starts and finishes in about the same conditions, whether under equatorial suns or arctic ice. It is not a law of persons or a law of place. It is a law back of history and foreshadowing the ideal. Draw your local weapons against it. It is impregnable. But quote against it the general dissent. It is prepared to capitulate.

abroad. I would not keep him at home. I would eliminate the landlord. I do not see why one landlorded coun-try should make faces at another. To the mirror landlordism is landlordism it challenges reflection There is no reason why we should not push along Edward or anybody else who is pushing along landlordism to-wards the abyss. But we must not push with our heads in the air. We must push with humility. For when our day comes we must be prepared to ask good for good. England does not need us to-day more than we shall need England when our battle royal comes. We are staking our democracy upon the same issues. We are drifting towards the same cataclysm. We will survive. But our particular experiwill threaten the race. We are moving along at a pace that seems like suicide. We will stop in time. We will hold ourselves up before it is too late. But we are stubbornly contend ing against a profound historic lesson We do not seem willing to accept the experience of prior days. We demand experience for ourselves. This is the spirit of youth rather than the spirit of wisdom. And only youth will save us. Youth has so much time to spare. Youth has so much strength to

THE INCENTIVE.

By J. W. Brown.

It is claimed by the upholders of the present system (that is, the capitalist system, in which production is carried for profit) that if it were destroyed there would be no incentive to work It is not an exaggeration to say that persons entertaining such notions do not think. They imagine they think, but in reality they are simply repeating what has already become curren thought. As some fellow very wit-"They think the same as their fathers thought, and their fathe thought the same as the grandfather thought, and the grandfather thought the same as the great-grandfather thought, and the great-grandfather did not think at all."

All progress is brought about as the result of the development of new ideas, and it naturally follows that if we think only the thoughts of dead men we will never progress beyond the conditions of the past. The develpment of new ideas is a slow process ut as the tree rises from a seed, s ideas develop from a germ, from an embryo as it were, and gradually, branch after branch and leaf after leaf sprouts forth until the whole truth stands out as evidence of human prog-They grow out of new conditions. Ideas reflect the environment of a grow out of changing economic condi-tions. people at a given time, and new ideas

A few centuries ago a considerable mber of people conceived the idea establishing religious democracy. The conservative element, those wh were still revolving over and over in their minds the thoughts and ideas of their ancestors, were horrified. "If the people forsake the ways and teachings of their fathers they will all go to Hell," they said. And Hell was de-pleted as anything but a desirable place in which to stop over night. Today, nobody talks such nonsense, and for aught we care the bottom may have dropped out of the bottomless pit, so long as human progress is ever upward and onward.

Less than two centuries ago we were admonished that if the people should break away from the old regime of monarchy the human race would run wild. Experience gives them the lie in both cases. It is no longer neces-sary to preach "hell-fire and brimstone" to keep people in subjection, and the capitalist, with the aid of the politician has proven himself capable of skinning the workers without the ald of his royal majesty.

aid of his royal majesty.

In the march of industrial evolution new conditions have cvolved themselves out of the old, and these changed and changing economic factors reflect themselves in the world of thought, producing new feas; Out of the changed economic conditions has come this new idea: That if the progress of the human race is to be ever onward, if the future citizens are to be free citizens instead of economic wage slaves, if all are to enjoy the blessings of life, liberty, and happiness, then all must have equal access of the necessaries of life, which means that the people themselves must, in e necessaries of life, which means the people themselves must, in collective capacity, swn and conent but where they are alike. It does not find one nation all good for one virtue and all bad for one vice. It does

land in the haughty manner of a vir tuous innocent. But no nation in history has more thoroughly and prodigally thrown away its lands than of liberty over the valleys of the earth. We have from the start been doing all-we can to provide for ourselves the problem which we are superciliously volunteering to help the older nations.

straighten out.

The natural law of the land is no

trol all the means for the production and distribution of wealth.

And right here we are confronted with the bugaboo that if the capitalist should disappear (as has Hell with its fire and brimstone, the king with his hangman, and the slave-driver with his lash), there would be no incentive

Suppose you are working in my factory to-day and I offer to double your wages, would you go on strike and re-fuse to work because I offered to pay you a fraction more of the product of your labor than on an average you are now receiving? Or suppose I turn my plant into a co-operative stock com-pany, and I give you an equal share with every other stockholder, every other man working in the factory, and that thenceforth we are going to share equally in the product of the plant, would that destroy your incentive to

The advocates of this theory that under Socialism there would be no incentive to work are laboring under a n, based upon a false conception delusion, based upon a false conce of political economy which claim the only motive of human action is greed. It is the ambition of the hog to ent all the swill in the trough, whether his stomach has the capacity to digest it or not. We can imagine th big hog pushing the little ones away from the trough until he has devoured its contents, and then, with refined hypocritical cant, admonishing the little ones that the reason they too have not got a big round full belly, is

have not got a big round rall belly, is because they lack incentive.
"But," you say, "this is the nature of the hog." Yes, and it has become the practice of a great many men. And it is these very same men who have not the intelligence to discern the difference between human nature and the nature of a hog who keep up this sense-less prattle about the incentive to less prattle about the incentive to

work.

The incentive that Socialism would destroy is that incentive on the part of the workers to stand back until the human hog has devoured everything in sight. Socialism would destroy that incentive which compels men, women, and children to toll from early morn until dewy eve in factories, milis, mines, stores, and polluted sweatshops in order that the human hog may revel in wealth and luxury-himself a prey to indigestion and gout, diseases brought on by his own hoggish incentive. It would destroy the incentive which takes from the producers four-fifths of the product of their labor and fifths of the product of their labor and gives it to those who do not labor. It would destroy the incentive of the workers to support in luxurious idle-ness our army of non-producing tax-consuming loafers, insurance companies, commission merchants, specupanies, commission merchants, specu-iators, bankers, lawyers, politicians and their stoolpigeons and ward heel-ers, whose very existence depends uopn whether or not they can forever cram down the throats of the tollers this efroneous idea that the only in-centive to human activity is that of His Royal Majesty the capitalistic physocratic Hor.

lutocratic Hog.

It is the mistake of a blockhend to suppose that this hog-incentive which is so strongly exemplified in our present capitalist system is the only motive of human action. "For the sake of love, for the sake of pity, for the sake love, for the sake of pity, for the sake of truth, for the sake of religion men and women have consigned their bodies to the flames, have suffered im-prisonment, diagrace, torture, starya-

tion, and death." Would any of our tion, and death." Would any of our capitalistic logs, or those who advo-cate this hog-incentive as the only mo-tive of human action, do as much for all the swill in the capitalistic swill-trough? No. The hog was never known to make a martyr of himself, and the only time he ever showed any desire to become a leader even of his own class was when according to biblical lore, he made that headlong rush for the sea-mistaking it, of course, for swill. Nor is this to the hog's credit, as the act is excused to-day on the ground that the hogs were possessed of a devil. Let us hope that possessed of a devil. Let us not our capitalistic hogs may also become possessed with the same kind of a

"They say you are foolish," was remarked to a poor fellow who had very little to show for many years' hard labor; "tell us something you know." "I know the miller's hogs are fat," replied Foolish. "Very good. Now tell us something you don't know." "I don't know whose corn fattens them.' The United States has developed a wonderful facility for hog raising Say, you smart fellow, can you tell me whose corn fattens them?

FROM HEADQUARTERS.

(Continued from 3d page.)

such letters from here, but I have run out of the slips explaining how to or ganize local branches. If you have supply of these on hand I wish you would send me a few so that I can care for communications like these. "Our Georgia fund is moving along

rapidly and I believe we will be able to care for the South from this office expense. I am arranging now to take Comrade Morgan out to Nebraska and send him to Georgia. I want to send men who have been Populists and who have a clear understanding of classconscious Socialism Although a for believe I am so class-conscious that I am like the individual who wanted to stand so straight that he leaned back ward. I want the Populists, but want to make Socialists, not allies of

(B.) Mailiy to Ricker, Omaha, March 18:

"I have your favor of March 16, enclosing letter from Comrade Hunt of Gatewood, W. Va., which I shall have attended to right away. I would suggest that in the future you send all such letters here, as I can manage them much beter directly than I think you can from your office. I am re ceiving constant inquiries for information how to organize, and wherever State committees exist I turn these in quiries over to the State committee

In this way the State committees are given freedom to work their respective fields in their own way and we are able to co-operate more effectively in the general work of organization. You can readily see that confusion is likely to result through your acting as a organizing agency separate and apart from the national office, as the most of our State committees will object to any outside party interfering with the work of organization in their respective

localities. I am desirous of giving every State as much autonomy as pos-sible and for this reason I recognize the State committees as the logical re-presentatives of the party organiza-tion in their States.

"I appreciate what you are doing

in the line of raising an organization fund, but I must say that this is liable also to cause a conflict in arrangements which this office will probably make in the near future. I am formulating a plan now by which we can send organizers through every section, and where organizers do not go directly from this office, I hope I shall be able to assist state committees in keeping organizers in the field. I am now devising a plan by which one or two men will be able to go through the South following in Chase's footsteps and take advantage of the work tha he has done. If the 'Appeal' should send out organizers it is bound to cause confusion. In my opinion the national office should have sole power to send organizers into unorganized territories. Otherwise there will be

chaos. "Something like the same difficulty confronts me in the organization of a National Lecture Bureau as outlined by the National Committee The speakers that we would like to have upon our list, we find, are either making their own dates or running bureaus of their own, and this office cannot have them under its absolute control, which is necessary if we are going to carry on a systematic agitation. Just now the national office is made to play second fiddle to a great many indivi-dual enterprises of all kinds in the field. I believe that the National Committee has one position to fill, that of directing the agitation and organization of the Socialist Party in this coun try. If it is not, then it has no reason for existence. I would suggest to you that the fund being raised by the 'Appeal' be turned over to the Nationa Committee to be used for the benefit of the whole movement. I am con-templating proposing to the Local Quorum and National Committee that an appeal be issued for an organization fund. If I had \$1,000 in this office, I would be able to do an amount of work that would astonish our own people and give us an organization within six months that would yield a revenue of that amount every month. I say all this because I appreciate your efforts for the organization and I am hopeful that you wish to work in har-mony with us and help bring about

the very best results."
(C) Ricker to Mailly, March 20;
"Regarding the requests for organization material, I will very gladly turn

zation material, I will very gladly turn them over to you just as rapidly as they come to this office. This will save me a great deal of trouble and time. "Now. regarding your communication mildly criticising my organization plans. I confess that I would feel a little irritated did I not know that you fully misunderstood my intentions. You will notice that I have explicitly tasted in one articles that the money. stated in my articles that the money being raised in the organization fund is for the agitation and organization in unorganised states and in places where there are no subscribers to our paper. Now, please note that as Na-tional Secretary you will not under-take a work of this kind. Your organ-

izers will be sent where there is material to organize, while I am going to send our agitator and subscription-taker to places where there are no So-cialists at all, not even a man to dis-tribute a bill. We have a two-fold ob-ject in doing this; one is to extend our circulation and she other is to extend circulation and the other is to extend the Socialist movement.

"If you will carefully read my ar-If you win carginary read my ar-ticle in the coming issue of the paper, a proof of which I will enclose if it is inished in time, you will at once see that my work will be of great assist-ance to you and not of interference.

"I wish to offer a suggestion con-

cerning which I would like your opinion. Having been actively engaged in organization work in my native state I know how difficult it is native state I know now dimedit it is to get locals to pay their dues regularly and it occurs to me that if we adopt a uniform system and an organized method of paying dues we would greatly systemize this whole matter. Let us suggest that dues be paid on the fifteenth of every month and that local secretaries adont the system of local secretaries adopt the system of collecting said dues with the members I am about to write an article on the necessity of paying dues. You must understand that we have a larger body of actual workers and subscriptiontakers than you have members enrolled

in the Socialist Party.
"We desire to co-operate with the
National Committee, but under no circumstances will we surrender this organization and become subsidiary to the party machinery."
(D) Mailly to Ricker, March 23:

"I have your favor of March 20 and note that you will turn requests for organization material over to me as rapidly as they reach your office. I shall be glad to give them prompt at-

"Regarding your organization plans, will say that a certainly have no objections to your sending an agent any-where to collect subscriptions for the 'Appeal' and to premote its circulation. Every paper has a right to do that and does it when possible. What I do ob-ject to, however, is your sending out an organizer to organize party locals on your own responsibility. This I be lieve is the function of the national or ganization where no state committee are in existence. Where state organi zations exist the respective state com-mittees direct this work, co-operating

with this office when necessary.
"I am surprised that you think the National Secretary should not undertake to organize in unorganized states. I certainly claim that to be one of my most important duties. This is actual ly what I am here for, what I am expected to do, and what the national party has always done heretofore. We would have had no party otherwise.

"Cannot you see, Comrade Ricker, that your organizing efforts are liable to conflict with the plans of this office? Cannot you see that your sending out party organizers usurps a function of the national organization? Since I as-sumed this position I have been developing plans whereby more organ-izers can be placed in the field and if these plans have not materialized, it was simply because other matters re-quired immediate attention. I know of no other Socialist paper in the coun-try that would attempt to do what you propose that is, send out party organzers regardless of the plans or wishes of the national or state organizations

as the case might be.
"I do not know what you mean when you say: 'Under no circumstances will we surrender this organization and be-come subsidiary to the party machin-ery.' Do you mean that you will make the national par y's work of organization subsidiary to your plans? If so, that is a proposition which I am sure would be resented by the comrades everywhere, even a large number of

encouragement through the co-opera-tion and support given me by the So-cialist press in all parts of the coun-try. I believe they all desire the work of organizing advanced. But I also believe that none of them would expec the national party to yield its priority in the directing of organization to any one of them. They recognize that the national party has a certain field to work and they co-operate in cultivat-ing the field.

"All I ask is that the 'Appeal,' o any other paper, confine itself to edu-cating, agitating, promoting organiza-tion, and advance its circulation in its own way, and that the national office be allowed to fulfill the purpose for which it is organized. Unless this is which it is organized. Chees must be confusion, and there must be a conflict of plans that will only mean a waste of money and energy. This is what I wish to avoid and this is what I trust you will do

your utmost to avoid.

"Regarding the paying of dues, why not promote the adopting of the stamp system through which the party now gets its principal revenue? All the best organized states are run on this plan. This office sells stamps at five cents each to the state committees, who sell them in turn for ten cents each to the local secretaries, who sell them again to members for the amount of the monthly dues. The stamps are affixed to the due cards and show the standing of members. Comrade Unter-mann can probably explain the system to you in full." hem again to members for the amount

(E.) Ricker to Mailly, March 25: (E.) Ricker to Mailly, March 25:
"I am at a loss to know whether your failure to understand me or my work here is due to my inability to give you a fair exposition of the same or your absolute failure to comprehend what I have so plainly tried to explain to you. First, let us understand that the agitation work undertaken by the 'Appeal' will be prosecuted with diligence and vigor. Our plans are fully made to send a man to every state in the Union, who will become an agitathe Union, who will become an agita-tor and subscription-taker, and ,when it can be done without friction, an or-ganizer. That you should object to so

versies. The 'Appeal' will go on even though the Socialist Party shoul' go though the Socialist Party shoul' go out of existence. We have fully de-cided at this office that our circulation shall reach one million copies weekly, and this within twelve months. We have a band of deveted workers fully twenty-five thousand strong who al ways respond with their money when we 'start something,' because they know that the 'Appeal' is the greatest Socialist propaganda machine on this earth. We propose to make the 'Ap-peal' greater even than anything that can be produced by capitalism. Every-thing that this office does in the way of agitation will ducrease the party ar agitation was discussed party atrength, and because this is true all of our undertakings so long as we feach the philosophy of the class struggle, which is the corner-stone of Socialism, should have your unquali-

fied endorsement.
"You say: 'I am surprised that you think the National Secretary she had I said or implied any such thing. I certainly believe that to be your specific function, but I have first to be convinced that you will do the party any injury by taking advantage of anything that we may do to assist you. You will bear in mind, Comrade Mailly, that we have not asked you for anything. I suspect that behind your antagonism is another motive. You comrades of the East seem to have great fear of the revolutionary farm ers of the West and South. There is no use to deny this, because Barne and Carey both defined their position to me in specific terms. I consider such views as very short-sighted and unstatesmanlike, likewise un-American. I will not deny that we are mak ing a great effort to enroll the Populists under the Socialist banner, and are succeeding.
"I hope that I have made myself

clear in this letter and that we will not henceforth misunderstand each other.

"Comrade J. Edw. Morgan will start for Georgia next week. I am schedul-ing him through Arkansas making dates with men who belong to the 'Appeal' Army. I have not bothered you official organization in that state. We shall advise Comrade Morgan to organize a local in each place he visits where such organization is possible For that purpose I would like to have a supply of organizing material. All that Comrade Morgan can do along this line is to take the application for charter which must of necessity go t you and the Quorum for approval."

(F.) Mailly to Ricker, March 26: "I have your favor of March 25 and same is fully and carefully noted. I have only this to say in reply. If the 'Appeal to Reason' sends out an organizer it does so on its own responsibility and the national headquarter has absolutely no connection with the undertaking and assumes no respons bility therefor. When this office is ready to send out organizers into any unorganized territory we shall do so regardless of anyone else's plans or

with you as to the motives which you presume to charge have inspired m during my present correspondence. You have a right to think what you please and charge what you please, but that shall have nothing to do with me performing my duty as I see it. I know where Comrade Carey stands and I know he is too much of a Social ist to be bothered by any nightmare concerning the workers in any part of

the country.
"I will insist during my occupancy of my present position that no Social ist paper shall have advantage over an other so far as the work of organiza tion is concerned."

A CORRECTION.

Editor of The Worker:—I have just noted for the first time the omission of National Committeeman Milis' vote on Demand No. 2 from my statement or mit No. 2, and should have been so recorded. Early publication of this correction will oblige.

Fraternally yours,
WILIAM MAILLY. National Secretary

THE INDEPENDENT LABOR LEAGUE.

plies to Criticisms Made by The Worker. [In the issues of Jan. 11 and Feb. 1

The Worker made some adverse com-ment upon the National League of Independent Workingmen of America then being organized by Rev. E. M. Fairchild of Albany and now incorporated under the name of Independent Labor League of America. Mr Fairchild asked for space in our colmans to reply to the criticisms. We may later make some editorial com-ment upon Mr. Fairchild's letter, which is here printed in full.]

Editor of The Worker:—It will be difficult to preserve proper courtesy in the discussion of this new labor organiation, the National League of Inde-pendent Workmen of America, be-cause personal interests are involved in the outcome. "Whom the gods de stroy, they first make mad," and it would be poor policy for the Socialists to indulge in anything but courteous reference to those connected with this new labor organization, because most people lose confidence in those who use vituperation for argument. No recent utterance of Mr. Gompers has injured the American Federation of Labor so seriously as his denunciation at New Orleans of President Eliot's his opinion, and those who indulge in vituperation against an opponent is debate transgress against liberty of opinion, and against the conduct becoming a gentleman in debate. The movement to organize a national league on the lines marked. ganizer. That you should object to so valuable and intensely practical an undertaking causes me a greal deal of wonder and astonishment. If there is any conflict between your office and this I wish to assure you in the most emphatic terms that the blame will lie at national headquarters and not in the editorial rooms of the 'Appeal.'

"The 'Appeal' commenced business before there was a Socialist Party worthy of the name. It has moved steadily forward as a propaganda paper and has taken practically no part in the factional and ally party control.

struggle to be done away; and the love of truth and righteousness should pre-serve us from excited display of tem-per, from which can result nothing but confusion. I certainly advise the independents to keep cool, and to treat their opponents courteously in debate. If the Socialists in dulge in slander, so If the much the worse for them, so much the ensier the victory for the independ-My relation to this N. L. I. W. A. is that of one called in for consultation as representing the interests of the general public. For ten years I have been interested in the workingman.

been interested in the workingman. I have earned money as a carpenter; have worked many a day ten hours with the thermometer at 120 degrees where I was working. Most of my life has been that of a student and preacher, but I know what physical labor is. Your Mr. MacCartney and I were classmates in Andover Theo-logical Seminary, but we differed then and differ more widely now in our convictions as to the social order likely to produce in practice the greatest good to the greatest number. My graduating address was in advocacy of a shorter workday, and an effort to utilize more of the workingman's strength for intellectual and spiritual culture. Since then my attention to the well-being of the working people has never flagged, and for the last two and a half years I have made a ousiness of understanding labor organ izations. I have inside knowledge and am not dependent on the informa tion given out by press committees which is "ex parte." In view of these new labor organization should use me in consultation. I am not the organizer of this League and I give word of honor that a bona fide v ingman originally suggested the or-ganization, and that workmen will perfect it and control it. It is true, how-ever, that it has already gained many expressions of good will from employ ers. I understand why the Socialists do not like this. Harmony between workmen and employers will perpetuate the wage system, but those organ izing the League are not convinced that the industrial state which the Socialists propose will prove satisfactory to the laboring people, and they con-sider this harmony between employers and employees desirable and advan-tageous to the laboring people themselves. This League is also a move on their part to co-operate with employ-ers in what seems proper regard for the rights of the general public. Public opinion seems to me ripe for such an organization. Employers are not likely to endure being forced to take the risks of business when the unions insist on doing the managing; the general public resents being played for "suckers," as a union leader lately remarked. There must be some rules of the game of industry which are fair to all concerned, and on these the workmen interested hope to found the Lengue.

onor that this League is not likely to become an agency for strike-breakingo If this filthy word "scab" means al workman who is not a union meniberio of course, all Lengue men will be ap-propriate recipients of this name; but if union men apply this name to Lengue; men the name will lose its horrors. and have no influence. We had better keep the word "scab" to designate the loafer who is out for "easy money" during labor disputes. If a workman who is making for himself a workman's career according to his convic-tion that the League of Independent Workmen stands for the best interests of the laboring classes is to be called "scab" then to be a "scab" will be to be what most men approve, an in-dependent, self-directive, self-respecting citizen of a nation which guards as sacred the independence in which this "scab" believes.

There are four classes:

(1) The "professional strike-break-ers" who are on call as their chosen ousiness in life to break strikes.

(2) The "scabs" who are bums by profession, and simply take a chance at high wages during a strike to loaf inside a shop to keep up appearances. (3) Then there are the independent workmen, who believe in making the most of themselves according to their opportunities without dictation from ome labor organization officer.

(4) There is the union workman. who believes it wise to relinquish his rights as an individual, and work under the direction of a manager elected tions established by general vote. The independent workman and the union workman are men of equal re spectability; each regards what he be lieves to be the good of the laboring people, but they differ in their convic-tions.

These independents are not cowards, and I do not see why they should do any running. Each man has the right of self-defense, and a right to carry the weapons of defense. The "profes-sional strike-breaker" is not allowed to carry fire-arms; if he insisted on pro ecting himself, he would not be hired by his agency; but the self-respecting independent workman must fight it independent workman must fight it seems to me in his own defense or be the subject of general contempt as a coward. I know of instances where "thugs" have been hired to "do" a so-called "scab." In the case of inde-pendent workmen worthy of the League, I hope the "thugs" will have to do murder from ambush, and with-out warning, or suffer the pangs of death and hell for a season.

Mobbing and rioting in the interests of the unions is cowardly, and I wonder that union workmen tolerate it. I anticipate the general public will stand behind the League in their de-

League.
I am, Sirs, your truly. E. M. FAIRCHILD.

If you have an extra copy of The Worker please pass it on to a neighbor or shopmate with the request that he give it a candid reading. THE GREATEST LABOR FAIR

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National Platform of the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party of America in national onvention assembled, reaffirms its adher

The Socialist Party of America in national convention assembled, realitims its adherence to the principles of international Section of the principles of international Section of the principles of international Section of the working class and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of consuering 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 imported and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine, which is but an imported and more developed tool and not provided the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers. This ownership cnables 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 once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the milli of competition. The state of the production 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 workingen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The occommic interests of the capitalist

feriority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

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

lan abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

Just the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class said, the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. As dother classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are allie interested in the uphalding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic Republican, the 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.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

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 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 monopoles, trusts, and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries controlled by monopoles, trusts, and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist crease 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 worker in the Jabor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the worker in the Jabor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the Jabor and the increase the share of the worker in the Jabor and the lacense of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the capitalist of the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, and to

ment, 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. 8. 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 Cooperative Commonwealth, we warn the working class against

the so-called public ownership move as an attempt of the capitalist class cure governmental control of public ut for the purpose of obtaining greater as in the exploitation of other industrie not for the amelioration of the conditi the working class.

SOCIALISM AND TRADE UNIONISM. The following resolution was adopted, along with the fategoing platform, by the National Copyantion at Indianapolis, July,

along with the feeegoing platform, by the National Copyraction, at Indianapolis, July, 1861;

The trade-ubisic movement and independent political action are the chief enancipation political action are the chief enancipation political action are the chief enancipation of capitalist production, and represent an of capitalist production, and represent the economic side pt the working-class movement. We consider it they are the following the total the unions of their respective trades and assist in building up and unifying the trade-union and the same and being organizations. We recognize the same appropriate to the fact that the class struggle so nobly waged by the trade-union forces to-day, while it may result in lessening the exploitation of how, can never abolish that exploitation in the control of the conference of the conferen exploitation. The exploitation of table will only coine to an end when society takes possession of all the means of production for the benefit of all the people. It is the duty the benefit of all the people is the theory trade-uniouist to realize the necessity results to the political action on Society and the state of the way to the citalist lines, to four political acts of the results of the ways working class, when movement of the wage-working class, when ultimate alm and object must be the abolition of wage-slavery and the establishment of a co-operative state of society, based on the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution.

The two following resolutions were unani-mously adopted by the National Committee at its annual meeting at St. Louis, January, 1903:

RELATIONS OF PARTY AND UNIONS.

RELATIONS OF PARTY AND UNIONS.

The National Committee of the Socialist Party in annual session assembled, hereby reaffirms the attitude of the party toward the trade-union movement as expressed in the resolution on the subject adopted by the Indianapolis convention of 1901.

We consider the trade-union movement by the Indianapolis convention of 1901.

We consider the trade-union movement parts of the general content of the parts of the general content of the two movements has its own special mission to perform in the structure of the content of the two movements has its own special mission to perform in the structure of the content of the two movements has its own special mission to conduct the economic structures of the working characteristic content of the c the affiliation of the trade unions engaged in the struggle, and will take no sides in any dissensions or strifes within the trade-union movement. The party will also continue to solicit the sympathy and support of all trade organizations of labor without allowing itself to be made the ally of any one division of the trade-union movement as against another.

We also dechire that we deem it unwise to invite trade unions as such to be represented in the political conventions of our party.

ANTE LETE TOWN PROOF LETE ONLY STATES.

ANTI-PUSION RESOLUTIONS. ANTI-FUSION RESOLUTIONS.
Whereas, The history of the labor movement of the world has conclusively demonstrated that a [Secialist Party is the only political organization able to adequately and consistently coinfact the political struggles of the working class, and
Whereas, All "radical and reform" parties, including the so-called "Union Labor form, and the property and the prop

formly succumbed to the influence of the old political parties and have proven dis-astrois to the ultimate end of the labor movement, and ultimate, direct or tudirect, with such parties is dangerous to the politi-earth such parties is dangerous to the politi-stic parties and the very existence of the Socialist movement, and its last year to be socialist movement,

md
Whereas, At the present stage of development of the Socialist movement of the scounand of the Socialist movement of the scoun-y there is neither necessity nor excuse r such alliance, therefore he it tessived. That no state or local organiza-tion, or member of the party shall, under y effective states, combine or com-yricumestances, fusic, combine or com-tion, or refrail from the party or organi-tion, or refrail profit in the party of candi-tes of such parties or organisation.



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