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## THE FIELDMAN-DAVENPORT DEBATE.

### Socialist Workingman Clearly Vanquishes Employers' Noted Champion.

#### Earnest Eloquence and Plain Logic of our Speaker Rouses Enthusiasm of the Audience—Fieldman Shows What Capitalism Is and What Socialism Will Be, While Davenport Spins Romances.

BRIDGEPORT, Ct., April 3.—The debate between Sol Fieldman, Socialist speaker, and Daniel Davenport, prominent lawyer and politician, and counsel of the American Anti-Boycott Association, will undoubtedly result in great gain for the Socialist movement in Bridgeport.

Fieldman spoke effectively and eloquently and his arguments gained more applause than the efforts of his opponent, although the vast majority of the audience were non-Socialists. The newspapers of Bridgeport gave a great deal of space to the event both in announcement and report, publishing Fieldman's change in fact and pictures of the debate beforehand and extensive reports afterwards; the audience exceeded the capacity of the Opera House; the local comrades neglected nothing necessary to the comfort and the information of visiting Socialists and of the general public; the crowd was well managed and everything in regard to the meeting well arranged; the Socialist literature in the audience was well organized and a large number of subscriptions for The Worker were taken; and the whole affair was of great propaganda value, and reflected great credit on Comrade Fieldman and the Socialists of Bridgeport.

Half an hour before the time set for the opening of the debate the theatre was almost full, and when the meeting was called to order there was a standing room anywhere in the house from top to bottom. The crowd numbered 3,000, at the least, and almost all of those standing in the back of the hall remained patiently and attentively listening throughout the three hours of debate.

The resolution debated was: "Resolved, that Socialism is just, necessary and desirable." In accordance with the division of time agreed upon, Fieldman opened with a speech of 45 minutes duration. Mr. Davenport had an hour in which to reply, each speaker then had another half hour, and Fieldman then had 15 minutes in which to close the debate. Courtenay Lemca acted as chairman, and Comrades Sanford, Bartholomew, Clark, Steinmann and other New York comrades were present, as well as a number from Connecticut cities.

#### Earnest Eloquence and Polished Logic.

The earnest eloquence of the Socialist speaker stood out in striking contrast to the manner of his opponent. Mr. Davenport is a fluent and easy speaker with a comprehensive and ready command of the language, but having no cause at heart, having no high principle and no ideal to defend or advocate, untroubled by anything beyond the acceptance of things as they are. His air was that of politely suppressed boredom. He was typical of the capitalist class in its lack of any inspiring thought with which to appeal for support. As he talked one could imagine him saying to himself: "Oh, what's the use of my coming here, and its a dull waste of time to get worked up over this social problem." This attitude was strikingly and amusingly illustrated during his first speech; turning to the chairman and asking how much time he had left, he was told that half an hour still remained to him: "Yet!" exclaimed Mr. Davenport. In looking down at his watch as if he thought it a very dismal prospect to have to talk so much longer about the problems of poverty and the good of the race.

#### Capitalism Indicted.

In his opening speech Fieldman stated that just as we can tell hard and soft, hot and cold, good and bad, by contrast, so we may know that Socialism, the opposite of capitalism, is good if we can show capitalism to be bad. He then proceeded to analyze the effects of capitalism: Capitalism is bad because it divides up among the holders the wealth produced by the workers; Socialism would divide up the work. Capitalism breaks up the home by driving women and children into the factory; poverty drives women to prostitution and makes it impossible for men to marry. Capitalism makes men dishonest. As a lawyer, Mr. Davenport would not permit anyone to offer testimony without an oath and the fear of punishment for perjury. Even organized society cannot trust anyone on the witness stand to tell the truth to-day. Why? Because present conditions make the interests of men diametrically opposed and force them to lie and steal for a living. The present system destroys the incentives to invention by making it impossible for the inventor to derive benefit or honor from the work of his brain unless he has the capital to get a monopoly and to pay lawyers to keep capitalists from cheating him out of his invention. Under the present system genius is either crushed out or hired to serve the ruling class; the brains of the race are prostituted to the service of capitalism; religious minds are serving commercialism in the name of the God from the pulpit; just as the brains of writers are prostituted in the editorial room. Capitalism not only forces women to sell their bodies on the street for a price, but has made men prostitute their souls and minds for money. It is said that human nature must be changed before Socialism could be possible, but it is conditions that make human nature bad. Why do men never lie, and steal, and fight for a glass of water? Because if it is plentiful and everyone can have as much as

whether he is to have a new pair of shoes or not? It may be that this Ward Alderman is somebody that is to distribute these things will say: 'I don't think you need a pair of shoes.' The man replies: 'Why, the other fellow has a pair of shoes.' Who is going to decide in this new Utopia that is proposed?"

In speaking of his work before the Committee on Labor in Washington, Mr. Davenport said that the President of the American Federation of Labor indignantly denied the charge that the trade unions were honeycombed with Socialism. To the amusement of the Socialists present, Mr. Davenport then went on to say that he had read the constitution of a number of trade unions to Mr. Gompers to prove that many of them were Socialistic. Upon asking the trade unionists to state whether this was true or not and receiving many affirmative replies, Mr. Davenport then laid out for them as the opinion of a large number, although not the majority, of trade unionists at this meeting that they are what their representatives denied them to be—Socialists.

#### What Do You Mean by Christianity?

In the next half hour, taking up the question of Christianity, Fieldman said: "Does your Christianity say that it is just that a few men should live on the very heart's blood of your children? Does your Christianity say that little children should be sent to work in factories? Does your Christianity say that womanhood ought to be prostituted? Does your Christianity say that we must have masters and slaves? Then we are at war with your Christianity. But if your Christianity says: 'No unto others as ye would that they should do unto you.' Then we are not at war with Christianity, but we will make Christianity possible by making it easier for man to serve his fellow-man than to rob him." In regard to confiscation he pointed out that the capitalists are confiscating the products of the workers every day and that the confiscation proposed by Socialists will only be a restoration to the people of things which are rightfully theirs. The Socialist debater then pointed out as many more of the objections to Socialism as his time allowed, remarking that some of them were too childish to be expected from a grown man.

In his next turn, Mr. Davenport's arguments were on a par with those of his former opponent and ended with a condemnation of Socialism in the name of liberty and a warning that if it were ever established those who opposed it would be the architects of ruin.

#### A Pile of a Doomed Order.

In closing, Fieldman said, in part: "Every oppressor in the past has asked for support in the name of liberty. The nobility, when it saw that it was about to crumble, that society would no longer tolerate it, said: 'Destroy the nobility and you will be the architects of ruin, you will destroy art and literature, for who will read and write, who will paint and who will own paintings?' So Mr. Davenport cries out in the name of property rights. If we were all property owners, coal kings and railroad magnates, then we would desire the same kind of government as Mr. Davenport. Mr. Davenport asked if trade unionists were Socialistic. Thousands of them are and those who are not are rapidly becoming so, as conditions force them to see for themselves that they can better the condition of their class by Socialist political action. They are learning that begging favors of the old political parties is futile, just as our revolutionary forefathers found that they could get nothing by petitioning King George. But when those revolutionary forefathers found that they could get nothing they declared in the Declaration of Independence that when a government becomes oppressive it is the right and duty of the governed to abolish it and set up a new and better form of government in its stead. Let the working class heed the lesson.

#### CONDITIONS IN TEXAS.

National Organizer Bigelow Says Farmers There Are Terribly Exploited and Ready to Accept Socialist Ideas.

National Organizer Bigelow, who has been for some weeks on a tour through Texas, writes of economic conditions there: "I find the Texas people as poor as they can be, it seems, both in town and country. At least half of the farmers are tenants and the majority of the others are struggling under a heavy burden of mortgages. The renters commonly pay a share of their crops equivalent to from \$2 to \$5 an acre for land. The merest shacks for houses and barns grace nearly all the tenant farms. The owner will make no improvements—replying, if besought to do so, that if the tenant doesn't want the place as it is he may go further, for there are plenty to take his place. These impoverished people are conscious of their wrongs and profoundly desirous of relief. They are earnest and loyal-hearted and are liberal with their scanty means in supporting our work as a really surprising degree. Very few are clear on the class struggle; but they are only beginners, and clearness is a matter of growth and will come in a few years."

—This is a world of compensation, and he would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves.—Ernest Crosby.

—A trade union that is satisfactory to capitalists will be useless to workmen.

—Nothing better than The Worker for propaganda. Get subscriptions or labor money for a bundle.

## HURRAH FOR MILWAUKEE!

### Social Democratic Party Polls 17,000 Votes and Elects Nine Aldermen.

#### No Mushroom Growth, but the Result of Years of Steady and Thoughtful Work—Good News from Montana, Too—Butto Elects a Second Socialist Alderman.

MILWAUKEE, Wis., April 5.—The candidate of the Social Democratic Party for Mayor, Victor L. Berger, gets 17,000 votes. We elect nine Aldermen and five Supervisors. The S. D. P. got a great many votes, which were intended for us, through confusion in the voters' minds. Voting machines were used for the first time in this city.

The result announced in the foregoing dispatch surpasses anything that the Milwaukee comrades dared to expect a hope for, though they felt confident of a good gain and worked hard to deserve it.

In the city election in the spring of 1888 the Social Democratic Party polled 2,430 votes in Milwaukee. In the city election of 1900 this was raised to 2,585. The national election that fall gave us 4,067. In the spring of 1900 the vote grew to 8,453, and in the state election in the fall of that year to 10,401. It will be seen, therefore, that this week's victory is not the result of a mushroom growth or mere temporary or personal enthusiasm.

During all this time, but more especially in the present year, a steady educational campaign has been carried on, many meetings being held, indoors and out, but the chief dependence being put on good literature systematically distributed. The "Social Democratic Herald," of which Frederick B. Heath is editor and Comrade Berger a regular contributor, and for which the comrades have built up a strong local circulation, has done much for the education of the working-class voters.

The trade unions of Milwaukee have become very thoroughly imbued with Socialist ideas and the relations existing between the unions and the party organization are uniformly cordial and mutually helpful.

Milwaukee news will be looked for with interest from now on, for nine Socialist Aldermen, though they be but a minority of the Board, may be expected to make things lively for the capitalists.

## GAIN IN MONTANA.

### The Socialist Party Elects a Second Alderman in the City of Butte.

BUTTE, Mont., April 5.—Comrade Wainwright, candidate for the Socialist Party, was elected to the Board of Aldermen to-day. This gives us two members of the Board. P. J. C.

We carried one ward in Butte a year ago, electing one Alderman, who has still a year to serve. His record as a straightforward and incorruptible representative of his class has been a good one, and still better results may be expected now that he is re-elected.

## ANOTHER VICTORY REPORTED FROM IOWA.

BOONE, Ia.—This little city now has two Socialist Aldermen instead of one, as in the past year. S. E. Murphy has been re-elected to represent the First Ward and A. Coates Johns him from the Fourth. There are five Aldermen—two Socialists, two Republicans and a Democrat.

## IN HARTFORD.

### Socialist Party Gains Official Standing—Labor Annex to Democratic Party is Knocked Out.

HARTFORD, Conn., April 4.—We have closed a memorable campaign to-day, the most stirring this city has ever seen.

The Republican Party was determined to defeat F. A. Sullivan, the "labor" Mayor, who was elected two years ago and who was renominated by the Democrats this year for a second term. Money was used freely by the old party politicians. For the first time, the Socialist Party was able to get a good deal of matter into the local dailies—two Republican and one Democratic. They had their own purposes in this, of course, but we used the opportunity for bringing Socialist ideas before the working people.

We challenged both old party candidates to debate with Ben Hanford. They both respectfully declined on the ostensible ground that outside men should not be brought into this municipal contest. It was very clear that they did not dare to meet a Socialist in debate.

We had Hanford here last Saturday, just the same, and he certainly did tell his audience plain truths about both "labor mayors" and corporation

## THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE AGAIN.

### "An Educational Movement to Oppose Socialism."

#### Like All Capitalist Movements, It is Partly Graft, but as Against the Workers It is "the Real Thing"—Two Questions for Workmen.

We have before us as we write the original of a letter recently sent from the office of the National Economic League to a business man in a neighboring city—similar letters evidently being sent to a great number of capitalists all over the country.

The falsehoods in the letter—the trotting of the Socialist vote and the exaggeration of the Federation's membership—indicate that there is an element of graft in the N. E. L. But that is not surprising. Every capitalist organization is permeated with graft and most capitalists are trying to clean each other as well as to exploit the workers. The Steel Trust promoters and directors have worked and are still working a big graft game on the N. E. L. But that does not prevent the Steel Trust from being "the real thing" as a labor-skinning machine. The promoters of the N. E. L. are undoubtedly grafting at the expense of capitalists in general; but that does not make it any the less a real capitalist organization as against the workers, and we find the letter worthy of intelligent workmen's thoughtful attention.

The list of officers and advisors on the letterhead includes the names of Ludwig Nissen, former President of the Manufacturers' Association of New York; Silas B. Dutech, President of the Hamilton Trust Company; Richard W. James, President of the Oriental Bank; Henry L. Swords, Deputy Collector of the Port of New York; Gustav H. Schwab of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company; Charles A. Scherer, former Mayor of Brooklyn; and now Treasurer of the National Association of Manufacturers; Samuel Spencer, President of the South Railways Company; and John C. McGuire, former Surveyor of the Port of New York; together with two or three lawyers and A. H. Mattox, the "editorial manager."

We must, of course, withhold the name of the recipient of the letter, which reads as follows:

"Dear Sir—I beg to inform you that the National Economic League will render its services in an educational movement to oppose Socialism and class hatred. We do not believe that you can possibly be aware of the danger which lurks in the spread of Socialistic doctrines, nor to how great an extent these doctrines have spread. The recent elections in the various states of the Union show that the Socialist vote has increased from 98,000 in 1898 to 1,000,000 in the present year. In many localities the increase ranges from 50 per cent. to 400 per cent. and in some day in a period of general prosperity."

"It is only a few years ago that the financial and business centers of the whole country were aroused by a proposition to so change our standard of values as would have resulted in cutting our fixed investments in two, and 20,000 votes in the contested states would have accomplished this result while to-day the doctrines of the Socialist Party mean the taking of all our fixed investments with fiat money and all our property."

"As an evidence of the efforts of the Socialist Party to capture large bodies of organized labor, we refer to their attempts made at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, with its 2,400,000 members, held at New Orleans and Boston."

"The sincerity of purpose of the gentlemen connected with the National Economic League you will not doubt. Up to the present the public spirit of these men has been sufficient to put the workings of the League into operation at their own expense. We now ask for your support to a small extent, believing that you are willing to do your part."

"Will you kindly send names, addresses, and occupation of all your employees (to whom we will regularly send our publications), together with a subscription of \$25 towards the work."

"We would also like to have your 'ad.' for our new magazine 'Labor and Capital,' the first (March) number of which will reach 75,000 wage-earners, employers, teachers, college professors, ministers, and others and will be a very valuable medium to many advertisers, beside being devoted entirely to your interests, as enclosed prospectus will show. It will afford our Executive Committee great pleasure if you will become a member of its Board of Editorial Associates. This does not imply that any part of your valuable time is to be promised for this work. You may be requested at intervals to contribute an article on some topic in which you are personally interested. We earnestly urge you in this way to cooperate with and endorse the work of the League."

—Yours very respectfully, Ludwig Nissen, President."

"Not much comment is necessary—just these two questions: Workmen, when you see bankers and manufacturers and rich old-party politicians spending money to provide you with free literature against Socialism, do you think they do it out of pure good-will and good will to you, or do you think they have THEIR OWN AN AGENDA? And since these men, who will not permit their organization to perish—Foster Labor Association

## "WORTH THINKING OF," IT SEEMS.

In the New York "Times" of April 6, under the headline "Worth Thinking Of," we find this editorial article, founded upon a news report published in the same paper the preceding day:

"The case of Michael Farley is one which should give the intelligent wage earner a topic for profitable thought. He was a skilled workman" (forty years of age, according to the news report) "with special experience in operating the hoisting machinery for lifting steel shapes and other structural materials to the upper floors of high buildings. Three weeks ago he was 'pulled off his job' by a walking delegate. Every morning since then he has reported at the work he abandoned, hoping that some arrangement satisfactory to the arbiters of his destiny had been reached which would permit him to resume profitable industry. On Wednesday morning he received permission to go to work again, which he did gladly, since by his own admission he had not had other food for three days than such scraps as he could find in the street. He went to work with enthusiasm, rejoicing in the opportunity, but before his first day was finished he dropped dead. Privation had so enfeebled him that his vital powers failed under the strain of labor, and he was carried home to his hungry wife, for whom want and privation are thus made permanent."

"It should need no argument to show that there is something wrong with a system which imposes such sacrifices upon those obedient to its rules. If the wives of the mechanics connected with the building trades who are now planning to keep their homes and feed their children could be heard from in a mass meeting they might say some things which it would profit their husbands to ponder."

We do not ourselves vouch for the truth of this story. We give it in the authority of a reputable capitalist paper. If we find in it a most powerful argument against capitalism rather than against trade unionism, it would ill become the capitalist advocates to deny the facts they have just alleged. If it be true, we agree that it is well "worth thinking of"—and thinking of again.

Here we are told that an especially skilled mechanic, evidently an industrious and sober man (since lazy and drunken men do not get a good repute for skill), a man in the prime of life, who had been engaged during our late "period of unexampled prosperity" in doing useful and arduous and even dangerous work, was yet, with all his skill and industry and with all the blessings of capitalist prosperity, living on such a precarious tenure, so near to the verge of poverty, that eighteen days of unemployment rendered him so utterly destitute that he had nothing to eat during the three succeeding days but scraps picked up in the streets.

We are given to understand that this wages and raise the prices of your food, are also organized to fight Socialism, doesn't it seem likely that you can possibly be aware of the danger which lurks in the spread of Socialistic doctrines, nor to how great an extent these doctrines have spread. The recent elections in the various states of the Union show that the Socialist vote has increased from 98,000 in 1898 to 1,000,000 in the present year. In many localities the increase ranges from 50 per cent. to 400 per cent. and in some day in a period of general prosperity."

## INJUNCTION RECORD IS BROKEN.

### Justice Kavanaugh Issues Most Sweeping Injunctions to Date—Sixty Injunctions Issued in a Case Against Seven Different Unions.

CHICAGO, April 2.—The powers of the courts, hitherto used to the benefit of the "bet" between capital and labor in Chicago, this spring now will doubtless spread the labor news items Wednesday morning.

Four injunctions issued in one day in the interest of the different employers who are having trouble with their employees, forbidding them from doing anything and everything from walking on the street to going on a sympathetic strike is the record of one day. The report of Chief of Police O'Neil the same day is an eloquent commentary on the injunction record.

While the city is infested with thieves, hold-up men, second-story workers and all kinds of crooks, so that the lives of people are unsafe on the streets at night from this product of capitalism, Chief O'Neil reports that over ten per cent. of the entire police force of the city are continually on "duty" around some factory where there is a strike or one is expected. However, under capitalism and a capitalist administration that is what courts and police forces are for.

Whenever the workers grow tired of being injunctioned and clubbed by the authorities their votes have elected they know the remedy.

#### WHY HE WAS FINED.

A Judge out in Montana has fined Copper King Helms \$20,000 for contempt of court for denying inspectors admission to his mine. This would be startling and pleasing news, if the inspectors' business had been to enforce labor laws. Such was not the case, however. The inspectors were sent to enforce a claim of Copper King Clark, Helms's successful business rival. Not till we get Socialist judges are we likely to see the capitalists punished for impeding the enforcement of labor laws.

#### TWO FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS.

This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.—Los Angeles Socialist.

## WAR ON UNIONS IN DETROIT.

DETROIT, Mich., April 5.—The Builders' Association has decided to make a campaign for the open shop. Detroit has for the last seven or eight years had the reputation of being one of the strongest union cities in the United States. The unions of the building trades will oppose the employers' move, but a general lockout is feared.

The Worker.

ORIGIN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY KNOWN IN NEW YORK STATE AS THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. PUBLISHED WEEKLY. AT 124 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK.

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In the State of New York, on account of certain provisions of the election laws, the Socialist Party is officially recognized under the name of Social Democratic Party, and its emblem is the Arm and Torch, as shown above.

The Socialist Party for Social Democratic Party in New York is not to be confused with the so-called Social Democratic Party. The latter is a small, ring-necked, unwhipped trade union and an avowed enemy of the workers' movement.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY (The Social Democratic Party of New York) has passed through its annual general convention. The following is indicated and its speedy victory fore-shadowed by the great increase of its vote as shown in these figures:

1900 (Presidential)..... 97,730
1902 (State and Congressional)..... 229,762

GAMBLING AND GAMBLING.

Gambling is immoral. That cannot be successfully denied. It is demoralizing. It undermines character and leads to yet worse evils. From matching pennies to shooting craps, from crap-shooting to playing the races, from the pool-room to the stock exchange, it is dangerous as a pastime and as an occupation.

But if all gambling is bad, there are yet degrees of worse and worst. The sort of gambling which affects only those who go into it of their own will and with open eyes, the sort of gambling that is conducted "honestly" according to the rules of the game, the sort of gambling in which the players risk only what is their own, is the least injurious. Yet it is on this sort of gambling that our "reformers" spend most of their efforts.

When Reggie Vanderbilt goes to Saratoga, he knows what he is doing and the risk he is taking and he could stay away if he chose. When two million stakes pennies on the street, can a pure game of chance and skill, to-day may be the winner full of it. When a six-dollar clerk thing sets himself an embryo capitalist, even the horses, he stands to lose his own miserable wages.

But what can business and especially that sort of business which is biggest and most "up to date" and which is reputed most respectable is, on all these three counts, the worst form of gambling. Sully and Lawson and Gates and Schwab and Morgan and Rockefeller, as well—play a game from which others cannot escape; yet they all they, when these industrial gamblers give the word, the cotton growers and textile workers must play, the copper miners must play, the iron workers and railway employees and all others must play—and play to lose. Again, the game is not a straight one. The cards are stacked, the dice are loaded—and if the men who run the game sometimes lose, in spite of all their tricks, the law allows them to "wech" and start a new game even.

Finally, the stakes with which these capitalist gamblers play are not their own. If they win, the winnings are theirs; but if they lose, it is the fruit of other people's labor that they squander. And wealth is not the only stake. An Allison gambles that the Darlington will stand till he has got the contract off his hands; he loses his bet—and twenty-seven workmen's lives are forfeit. The Vanderbilts gamble that their trains may run safely through their murky tunnel; they lose their bet—and a score of other men die for it. Clarke and Hines gamble for copper mines; and tens of thousands of Montana miners are kept in misery and poverty to await the decision of their game.

workers, it is always and everywhere a case of "heads we win, tails you lose." This sort of gambling, the respectable reformers will never try to suppress. They are themselves habitués and beneficiaries of the game and their crusades against the smaller and less dishonest games are like the thief's ruse of crying "Stop thief!" to divert attention from himself.

But let us add, if the capitalists are playing, for the time, a winning game against the workers, they are at the same time playing, in the long run, a hopelessly losing game against Fate—against the tremendous forces of human progress. Outside of the churches, outside of the schools, outside of the reformers' circles of awesomeness and light, outside of all those elements that hypocritically condemn the lesser evil while sharing in the greater, there is steadily arising a new social force that makes for honesty as well as freedom. The workers learn slowly, but they are learning; they have distrusted themselves too long, but they are coming to feel their power. If their words are not always gentle nor their ways full of elegance, their instincts are sound, setting service to mankind as the test of human worth and, when need is, roughly setting aside old forms and phrases to go to the substance of truth. The time is coming when they will say—not "We want a chance to get into this game" nor "We want this game played according to the ancient rules," but—"We are sick of this game and we will play it no longer; let it cease." They will not plead; they will command—and the worse for those who disobey. A social system founded on gambling, and dishonest gambling at that, cannot stand against the revolt of social honesty.

A DIALECTIC ANSWER TO A "CHOP-LOGIC" QUESTION.

A reader of The Worker submits to us the following question: "Comrade M. maintains that a workman who has saved a hundred dollars out of his wages and put it into a savings bank is not a capitalist. Comrade P. declares that he is as much a capitalist in proportion as is Morgan or Rockefeller. As there remains some division of opinion on this question among several comrades, I was requested to ask you for your decision."

Without any pretension to being an authoritative arbiter on such questions, we may try to throw a little light on what is, after all, we think, rather a difference between the two comrades in their use of words than in their conceptions on the subject. But first let us repeat and somewhat expand what we said about a month ago in replying to a correspondent who asked us to draw the line between individual production and social or collective production. As a preface to our reply we said, in effect:

It must be remembered that, we vary the field of pure mathematics, we vary often cannot draw absolute distinctions—least of all in those sciences which deal with the most complex subjects, such as the social sciences. We all know what we mean when we speak of animals and of plants; yet the biologist knows that in some of the lower forms of life the animal and vegetable kingdoms meet and overlap, so to speak, so that no hard-and-fast line can be drawn. We talk of wise and foolish men, of true and false beliefs, good and bad actions; yet we never find a man absolutely wise or altogether foolish, in any field of belief that we may analyze we can find elements of truth and of falsehood mingled in varying proportions, and no course of conduct is ever altogether good or utterly bad. As Engels points out in the introduction to his "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," we cannot say absolutely just at what point in its development the fetus in the mother's womb begins to have a separate individuality nor can we absolutely fix the moment which divides life from death—even death being actually a somewhat extended and gradual process; yet for scientific as well as practical purposes "the words 'living' and 'dead' have a sufficiently definite meaning."

As someone has well put it, definitions must generally be made by centers and not by circumferences. That is to say, we may define different classes of things by observing their typical and well-marked forms, although between any two clearly distinct types there may be an almost infinite gradation so that a sharp line of division can only be an arbitrary one.

The occasion for this rather extended preface will, we hope, be evident. Indeed, the preface involves our answer to the question; for what our correspondent asks is, in effect, that we draw a hard-and-fast line between the working class and the capitalist class, and we must reply that this cannot be done, but that this fact does not at all negative the existence of classes and a class struggle.

A wage-worker or proletarian is a person who sells his labor-power to a capitalist and gets wages in return. A capitalist is a person who owns the means of production which other people must use, who buys their labor-power and gets profit out of it. But the two classes may and do overlap. Many people who live chiefly upon wages and who could not live without working for wages have also some additional income in the form of profit; and some who live chiefly upon profits do some kind of work and get wages therefor.

Comrade P. recognizes this when he uses the words "in proportion." The man with the hundred dollars in a savings bank is getting profits out of the labor of others—to the extent of perhaps \$3.50 a year, which may be 1 per

cent of his income. If one wishes to say he is a capitalist to the extent of \$3.50 a year, he is free to do so, of course—or to say that he is 1 per cent. capitalist and 99 per cent. wage-worker. But it is evident that this man is dependent on wages for a living; that his proletarian interests so completely outweigh his capitalist interests that it is not worth while to consider the latter. For all practical purposes and for all purposes except that of fine-spun and rather fruitless argument, the man is a wage-worker.

But suppose the man has a larger capital; suppose his profit-income is a tenth of his whole income, or a third, or half, or two-thirds, and the rest is the wages of his own labor. What then? Where shall we draw the line and begin to call him a small capitalist? And if he does not work for wages at all, at what amount shall we draw the line and call him a large capitalist instead of a small one? At \$1,000 a year? At \$2,000? At \$10,000?

We reply that we shall not try to draw the line. Any line we might draw would be arbitrary. There is no need of trying to draw such lines.

We are not concerned to decide whether John Doe is a wage-worker or a capitalist nor whether Richard Roe is a small capitalist or a large one. We know that there is a great mass of men who are dependent on wages for their living, either entirely or to such an overwhelming degree that their profit-interests do not count. We know that there is a small class of men who do not need to work for wages at all and most of whom do not work for wages at all and who enjoy enormous wealth and enormous power. We know that there is a borderland where these two classes run together and overlap. We know, too, that there are some men who do not altogether fit into this classification. But we know, finally—and this is the important point—that what counts in economics and politics and history is, not that vague borderland nor those doubtful aberrant types, but the conflicting class interests and class instinct and class consciousness of the two great and growing classes—the one great in numbers and in social usefulness and in latent power, the other great in present power and in social injuriousness.

Our answer, then, to the question put to us is this: Comrade P. is right in a certain verbal sense; but Comrade M. is right on the vital point; and the question is as fruitless as the "chop-logic" problems the medieval theologians used to discuss so earnestly—whether or not God's omnipotence was equal to the task of making Mary Magdalene a virgin again and whether a hungry ass placed exactly midway between two absolutely equal bundles of hay would ever decide which way to turn for his dinner.

"TOUJOURS, L'AUDACE."

From time to time we observe within our party in one quarter or another a sort of timidity which comports ill with our aims and principles and with the nature of the enemy we have to fight. To illustrate, in a certain large Eastern city—it is not necessary that we should name it—a prominent New York speaker who had been engaged to address a large meeting was called, on the platform and begged please not to say anything that would offend this or that "respectable" element of society; it was decided in a committee of the same local not to invite another speaker—a propagandist of large experience and of national reputation—whom some of the local comrades wished to engage, on the ground that he was "too violent" and was likely to say things that would give the papers and the clergy a chance to criticize us; in the same local objection is always raised, and generally with success, against putting forward German or Jewish comrades as speakers, on the ground that we should not give our opponents any excuse for saying that Socialism is a foreign movement—and important organizations are neglected rather than allowed foreign-born comrades to represent the party.

The general tone of the party in the place of which we speak is a negative one; the minds of those who are guiding its affairs are not occupied chiefly in devising things to be done, but in avoiding things which, so they think, should not be done. The natural result of this timid policy is that there is less propaganda work going on than in many a city having a population and a party membership not one-fifth as large, that the organization is lax and the membership cold and listless, that the party is out of touch with the labor movement, on the one hand, and is treated with scant respect by the press, the clergy, and other "respectable" organs of public opinion, on the other.

This is all wrong. Socialists may well bear in mind as a maxim of conduct the words of one of the revolutionary giants of an earlier age: "We must dare, and again dare, and always dare." We have nothing to fear. We have no business to fear any one or anything. It is our business to make others fear us.

Should we try to hide our conduct by a negative rule, by trying to avoid giving offense? Shall we avoid doing this lest some one call us atheists, and avoid doing that lest some one call us foreigners and avoid doing something else lest some one say we are

attacking the home or stirring up the passions of envy and hatred? Let us be well assured that we shall not escape these reproaches unless by utterly disavowing all our principles and abandoning all activity. No matter how circumspect we may be, so long as organized capital considers us in the least dangerous, so long the subsidized agents' and mouthpieces of capital will continue to hurl against us every accusation by which they may hope to injure our cause, regardless whether or not their charges have the slightest foundation in fact.

If we are active, if our rule of conduct is positive and not negative, if we are uncompromising and fearless and aggressive, false accusations will have little effect upon our credit with thinking people. If we insist on making ourselves heard, the public will hear us, will know us for what we are, and will learn to distinguish between what we really advocate and what our enemies accuse us of advocating. If we are silent, if we try to avoid the issue, if we refrain from speaking lest our words be misconstrued, then the public will have good reason for taking as truth the misrepresentation of our position set before them by those who do speak against us.

Socialists should never be on the defensive. It is our part to bring an indictment against capitalism and all its multifarious agencies and with relentless vigor to press that indictment to a trial at the bar of public thought and public interest and public conscience. We are the accusers and we do ourselves wrong and are recreant to our trust if we waste our time and humble our cause by demurring to any counter-charges that may be trumped up against us.

Do these hirelings falsely accuse us of attacking the home, of undermining domestic virtue, of planning the suppression of religion, of advocating lawless and violent sedition? To such slanders we should scorn to plead, but should expose them by driving home our true and demonstrable charge against the capitalist system which they defend and by which their masters profit—that it robs children of their childhood joys and dooms them to ignorance; that it breaks up homes by driving wives to the factory and throwing husbands into the army of the unemployed; that it yearly forces multitudes of women to the alternative of destitution or a life of shame; that it makes widows and orphans for its profit and then exploits them for its further profit; that it, setting up the desire for wealth and the fear of poverty as the most imperative motives of conduct, fosters envy and arrogance, servile hypocrisy and cynical indifference to all high ideals; that it daily blasphemes against the creeds it professes to honor and daily outrages the laws and principles of civil order it affects to defend.

And do they venture to sneer at us as "ignorant foreigners" unacquainted with "the genius of American institutions"? Our best answer is to rebuke their degenerate patriotism and combat the stupid prejudices they seek to foster by our own consistent practice, refusing to make any distinctions, open or tacit, in word or deed, between native and foreign-born, between Jew and Gentile, or white and black, harmoniously joining all our forces in attack upon a regime that disgraces the memories of patriot heroes and depends on race hatred and sectarian bigotry to divide and subvert its victims.

We have nothing to apologize for, nothing to dissemble, nothing to fear, if we are but true to ourselves. As all men, we are liable to error. We have need to use judgment and tact. But our judgment should be exercised in conforming our conduct to our own principles and purposes, not in vainly striving to evade our opponents' censure. And our tact should never carry us near to the verge of timid or ambiguous diplomacy. It is better for us to be active at the risk of making many blunders than to avoid indiscretions at the cost of inactivity.

There can be no doubt that the Grand Jury did right in holding Eugene Allison primarily and chiefly responsible for the Darlington crime, for he was the capitalist highest in power in the affair. But to let off the contractors, Pole and Schwandtner, on the ground of their alleged stupidity is a rather queer proceeding. What justification, what plea, what excuse for existence, can the capitalist have, if it is not that he directs and controls industry? Of course we know very well—we, mind you—that the capitalists do not do the work of direction, but only exercise the power of control for their own benefit, while hired men do the thinking for them. But can "the powers that be" permit this confession of the fact that the contractor is a mere parasite, a creature who knows not how to do anything useful, but only how to mismanage affairs. The verdict condemns the Socialist contention that capitalists are not only slaves, but positively pernicious, to society.

The bricklayers and helpers of New York have had some object lessons in capitalist journalism of late. They have found that there was not one English daily in the city that would publish truthfully their side of the story in regard to the strike. Many had expected that the Hearst papers at least would take up their cause. They

FOREVER FIRST OF ALL.

By Horace Traubel.

Forever first of all is justice. Is love. Not the food you eat. Not the clothes you wear. Not the luxuries you enjoy. But justice. Everything must stand aside for justice. You have a trade and you think your trade comes before justice. You are a man of business and you think that business comes before justice. Yes, before love. You practice a profession. Your profession comes before justice. Fatal fallacy. Justice stands first. Justice precedes all the witnesses of life. Justice is the only final witness to life. You may satisfy every other claim. But nothing is done for life until justice is satisfied. You have ordered your life. But you have left no room for justice. You have taken all the details into account. But you have not taken the whole into account. You have forgotten or forewarned justice. And justice is forever first of all.

Justice is the only thing that takes care of all. Justice speaks the only universal tongue. Anything short of justice is parley, apology and surrender. The human spirit owes itself a supreme debt. The debt of justice. Justice is the common providence. Logic for justice. When you see justice you do not see the paralytic of the logic of conscience bearing interest. You do not see hands paying rent. You do not see the storekeeper pocketing profits. You see men refusing margins and bounties. You see men refusing to take advantage of their talents. Justice does not decree that talent shall invade. It tasks talent with its surrender. Talent does not belong to the individual. It belongs to the justice. It is first of all. It starts man with man on the square. It keeps the race on loyal terms with itself. It gives life general not special sanctions. What is best your own is more than best the inheritance of the race. I cannot separate my personal gifts from the impersonal treasure. From justice. For justice is forever first of all.

I know what the professional logicians say. Justice is not logic. What the preacher says when he faces the money in his parish. Justice is not religion. What the statesman says in his cabinet. Justice is not politics. And when the doctor is filling me with drugs he says justice is not medicine. And when the painter is painting a picture for fame or for money he says on the private sector of justice is not the bite of the economic north wind. Logic finds room for all the wrongs. But logic finds no room for the rebel. No room for protest. No room for the sentiment of a universal love. For justice. And yet your love is forever first of all.

I have thought that justice is the only logic. That the landlords and the money lords and the profit lords are not logical. That the priests and the poets and the suborners anywhere are not logical. That only the cryer for justice is at last logical. That though my brain may not weigh so many ounces and my body measure so many inches I am built in noble proportions if I am the size and make of justice. That men may not admire me. That men may hate my cry. My cry as I go forth crying for justice is heard in all hearts. Logic is the cry of the righteous. And when I come along crying for justice, weeping for justice, my heart filled with sorrow seeing the lack of justice. Filled with feeling seeing the inevitability of justice. They are all at my heels deprecating my logic. The priest is at my heels. The statesman is at my heels. The poet is at my heels. The artist is at my heels. Logic is the cry of the just. Even the wage-men, the innocents transgressed, are at my heels. And I barely escape with my life. And yet justice is forever first of all.

I am an alarmist for justice. I am an assessor of justice. You come to me bringing tribute. Science comes bringing tribute. Art comes with its dreams of justice. This is what the world calls logic. This is what the world calls righteousness. And when I come along crying for justice, weeping for justice, my heart filled with sorrow seeing the lack of justice. Filled with feeling seeing the inevitability of justice. They are all at my heels deprecating my logic. The priest is at my heels. The statesman is at my heels. The poet is at my heels. The artist is at my heels. Logic is the cry of the just. Even the wage-men, the innocents transgressed, are at my heels. And I barely escape with my life. And yet justice is forever first of all.

So Mr. Hearst has won a great victory for "the dear people" against the Coal Trust? We are not so sure. "We want to be shown." We observe that while this alleged victory is being heralded under big headlines, there are dispatches tucked away in obscure corners of the paper regarding the fact that the Coal Barons have forced a great part of their miners to accept a reduction of wages and locked out many others for refusing to submit.

We note that this "death blow" to the Coal Trust is just about as effective as the "one Knox gave to the Northern Securities. Let us watch and see if the Coal Trust is really hurt.

SOCIALIST PLATE MATTER.

In reprinting the verses on "Federalism" from the "Wall Street Journal" last week we should have noted the source from which we directly took them. We would now make amends. A project is on foot to issue, through the agency of the American Press Association a page of Socialist plate matter for the use of weekly papers. The plan is to issue a six-column page once in three weeks for the present—offense in future, if the project is successful—at a cost to each paper of \$1 a page. The matter, according to the prospectus, "will be purely educational, political only as touching fundamental theories and practices of government and organization, leaving you to draw your own lessons of partisanship" and "is especially suited to independent, labor, and reform journalism." Margaret M. Geibel of 14 Bridge Street, Newark, N. J., is secretary of the editorial committee. A first or sample page has been sent to the "Worker" which we took the "Federalism" verses from. You also

contains one of T. N. Richardson's "Pinegar's clear story" sketches, an article by Carl D. Thompson, Frances Willard's declaration in favor of Socialism, "The Satisfied Socialist," and a number of other articles, long and short. We understand that so far something over thirty papers have subscribed for the service.

—The prejudice against the merger may move the magnates to get together again and rename the transaction.—Washington Star.

—Write to your Senator for a copy of the Colorado miners' statement submitted by Senator Patterson. It is designated as Congressional Record, Vol. 38, No. 50.

—Fraud ever sticketh between buyers and sellers as mortar between stones.—Jesus the Son of Strach.

—Inequality is the source of all revolutions, for no compensation can make amends for inequality.—Aristotle.

—ASK FOR UNION LABEL BRAND.

THE CONSOLIDATED POISONERS' COMBINE.

During the year 1903 the coroners of New York City reported 288 deaths resulting from poisoning by illuminating gas. Of these, 139 were alleged to be suicidal and 258 accidental. In the present months the frequency of this sort of fatal accidents has been still greater.

Ought these deaths to be counted as accidents? So far as the victims were concerned they were such, of course. But was no one responsible? Could not these hundreds of lives have been saved? Is the reason for these fatalities unknown? Is no one responsible for their occurrence?

The reason for such accidents is not obscure. It is well known and understood. It consists in two facts: First, the use of water-gas in place of coal-gas; second, the low and very uneven pressure in the pipes. For both of these conditions the corporations who control the gas supply and make enormous profits upon it are directly and, in our opinion, criminally responsible.

At many times during the past winter the pressure has been so low that jets turned on full would flicker and nearly go out. With proper pressure an even pressure sufficient to give a good light when the jet is turned on full—a jet may be turned half off without danger, with assurance that it will continue to burn with a dim flame, consuming all the gas that comes through. In many cases it is convenient and often—when, for instance, there is sickness in the house—it is almost necessary to leave one jet burning low at night, so that a light may be had at a moment's notice. But with a low and fluctuating pressure, such as our gas lords choose to supply, a jet so turned low is likely to go out unnoticed and then, the pressure again increasing a little, gradually to permeate the air of the house with unconsumed gas.

The danger from such a condition would be great, even were coal-gas in use. But for the sake of cheapness and of consequent greater profits, the capitalists in control have seen fit to substitute water-gas, which contains from four to five times as much carbon monoxide—one of the most deadly poisons known to science. The danger to the consumers' lives has thus been greatly multiplied, solely in order to swell the profits of a little group of men who do none of the labor necessary to supply the city with gas, but who, by right of property, control the means of supplying it and dictate how it shall be done.

Taking no account, then, of cases of gas-poisoning that have not been detected, or cases where death has not immediately ensued, 288 human lives have been the price of one year's extra profits for the gas capitalists. THE COMMON PEOPLE PAY THE PRICE. "EMINENT CITIZENS" REAP THE PROFIT.

During the years 1902 and 1903, Mr. Low's Republican-Reform Administration made not the slightest effort to remedy the industry for public service in place of poisoning for profit. Mr. McClellan's Democratic Administration has now been in complete control

for three months, and it has been the first step toward stopping the family; if anything, it has done what was in its power to prevent any steps being taken to that end. The District Attorney has, through his whole term of office, received almost daily official reports of deaths caused by the deleteriously adopted business policy of the Gas Combine, but he has not lifted a finger to bring the criminals to justice. He has spent much time and money in a spectacular "crusade" on gambling—an attack from which no one expects any results except advancement for Mr. Jerome—but he has no leisure to prosecute a gang of monopolists who levy tribute of FIVE HUMAN LIVES EVERY WEEK to maintain their princely luxury.

Why this apathy? Or is it apathy at all? Is it merely neglect? No, it is not. Low and McClellan and Jerome know well what they are doing and DELIBERATELY abstain from attacking the Gas Combine.

Why, then, this criminal complicity on the part of both Republican and Democratic public officials? Because both those parties are pledged to the maintenance of the capitalist system—the system of private ownership for private profit. Because this murderous practice of the Gas Combine is only one of the incidents of that system—along with adulteration of foods and drugs, along with "jerry" building, along with preventable railway collisions, along with preventable factory and trolley accidents, along with these incidental horrors grow out of the fundamental wrong of capitalism and cannot be attacked without endangering capitalist power and profit. Because the Republican and Democratic parties, pledged to the maintenance of capitalism, are financed and controlled by capitalists and managed from above by capitalist agents. Because gas capitalists, along with railway and trolley capitalists, factory capitalists, bankers, landlords, and contractors, sit in the highest councils of both Republican and Democratic parties of city, state, and nation and see to it that while their political henchmen fight a sham battle in public over trivial issues, they act together in all that concerns capitalist interests. Finally, because the masses of the people—their whole lives are at the disposal of the profits and whose health and very lives are at the capitalists' mercy—allow themselves to be DELUDED BY THAT SHAM BATTLE of the politicians. ALLOW THEMSELVES TO BE DIVIDED ON ISSUES THAT TOUCH NOT THEIR VITAL INTERESTS, and vote into power now this set and now that set of the agents of Capital.

There is but one way to vote against the murderous Gas Combine. It is the same as to vote against high rents and miserable tenements and high prices and adulterated food. It is the same as to vote against lockouts and blacklists and injunctions and club-and-bayonet law. The only way is to vote for Labor against Capital, to vote in favor of public ownership and operation of industry for public service in place of poisoning for profit, and to vote for private profit—to vote for Socialism under the Arm and Torch.

—You have defended an entire scheme of political economy on what you have stated to be the constant instinct of man—the desire to defraud his neighbor.—John Rankin.

THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

By John Davidson.

Above the mists that veil the future  
Oft my fancy takes its flight  
And I see a wondrous prospect  
Spread before my inward sight.  
I see a world by war unruined  
Unshaken by want, unweakened by fear;  
A world of love, of peace, of plenty,  
Where all are brothers, all are free.  
Yet these visions are no fleeting  
Day-dreams of a mystic's mind,  
But fair fore-gleams of a morning  
Bright with promise for mankind.  
Then work and watch and wait, my comrades,  
Grim Mammon's might is waning fast.  
The dreary night draws near an end—  
Inge;

A better day will come at last,  
Unnumbered millions watch with you  
The rising light to herald  
The rulers, they of that new day—  
The Workers of the World.

Backward glance across the ages  
What a scene is there enrolled,  
See the blood on history's pages,  
Mark the greed for land and gold,  
Yet each merciless resistor  
Sought one end, pursued one aim,  
The right to rob the helpless toiler  
Was the goal of every game.  
Slaves, the workers were, for ages,  
Ages charred in serfdom's chains,  
And though now in name they're free men,  
Still the servitude remains.  
Yet in spite of all oppression,  
Spite of all the calling loud,  
Society, woe, woe, woe,  
They have come an upward road,  
And now to gain the nearing goal  
They march with flags unfurled,  
While hope of victory cheers their souls—  
The Workers of the World.

Not through grace of greed repeating  
Will the new time come to pass  
(Futile to expect releasing  
Of a nobler ruling class,  
Only when the awakened workers  
Realize their powers and rights  
Will they break the bonds which make them  
Slaves of social parasites,  
There will be no place for shirkers  
In the new Society,  
Of, and for, and with the Workers  
All government must be done,  
Candidates shall we be and neighbors,  
Priest nor plutocrat nor king  
Shall live in luxury on our labors  
In the days of which we sing.  
Then, comrades, speed our cause  
sublime,  
And let us proudly herald  
The destined heirs of Earth and  
Time.  
The Workers of the World,  
Claude Vista, Cal.

—Inequality is the source of all revolutions, for no compensation can make amends for inequality.—Aristotle.

—ASK FOR UNION LABEL BRAND.



2,000 EVICTIONS IN A WEEK.

Some fifteen hundred eviction warrants were issued by the various courts of New York City during the first three days of the present week, and the number for the week will undoubtedly run far above two thousand.

The lower East Side is at the fever pitch of excitement, and well it may.

Here live hundreds of thousands of the city's poorest toilers. They work from morning till night and from childhood to the old age—and live in misery under the iron hand of capitalism.

Their dwellings are perhaps the most miserable on the face of the earth. It is sufficient to note that, according to the official report of Tenement House Commissioner DeForest, there are in the city 350,000 "dark rooms"—rooms without any window whatever—and most of these in the East Side.

And these poor victims of capitalism, no dwell in dark, foul, disease-breeding, fire-trap tenements and who pay up a quarter to a third of their meager wages for the privilege of even such shelter—they have been served with notice of increases of rental in many cases of as much as 30 per cent.

The increase is general, affecting all parts of the city, but most bitterly affecting the poorest and hardest-worked and most helpless of the workers. Uptown rates of 10 per cent. are common—and even that is keenly felt.

For a large part of the East Side tenants—what with low wages, what with high prices of food, what with unwilling idleness by the employers' orders—it is simply a matter of impossibility to pay the increased rates.

It must be said that these people have shown a fine spirit of resistance and solidarity—a spirit that the workers of other parts of the city, who sometimes pride themselves on their fancied superiority to the East Side Jews, might well imitate. "House strikes" are numerous—the whole population of a great tenement, thirty or forty or fifty families, with one accord refusing to pay more rent, holding their ground as long as possible, and then allowing themselves to be put on the street altogether.

There is talk of rioting. It is not the victims of oppression who talk of violence, but the cowardly and heartless class that exploit and oppress them. Their consciences accuse them. They know that they have done everything to provoke their tenants to violence, and if riots should break out, they will have only themselves to blame. It is proverbial that "even a worm will turn," and the tears of the landlords may prove to be well founded.

The pretense that a raise of rents is justified by the increase of taxes is, to use plain English, a lie out of the whole cloth. Real-estate assessments, in general, have not been raised, and especially is this true of tenement properties. "Reform" and Tammany administrations alike, having rich city landlords among their leaders, have been careful not to increase their taxes.

An example of this is found in the great Klinefelter estate. Orders have been given that no ten: more than ten should pay 10 per cent. more rent after May 1 and the agents allege that the raise is due to an increase of taxes. As a matter of fact, the total amount of taxes paid by this estate under the last assessment is about \$900 LESS than under the assessment of the year before. Such is the general rule.

Of course there will be no solution of this problem, there can be no real solution, so long as the homes of the masses of the people remain the private property of a few of the people. On the one side is toll and need; on the other side is power and greed. The solution will come only when the class whose labor feeds all and clothes all and houses all and does all the useful work of the world shall decide to own the homes where they live and the shops where they work and no longer to pay tribute to idle misers.

Socialism alone will put an end to the war between landlord and tenant as well as to the war between employer and wage-worker.

Yet, for its immediate effect, it is to be wished that the other workingmen tenants of all parts of New York City would follow the example of united resistance offered by the East Side Jews. If next week, not two thousand, but twenty thousand dispossession orders should be necessary, on the West side, in Yorkville, in Harlem and the Bronx, and wherever the attempt is being made to raise rents—if the tenants would stand together and refuse to bow to an arbitrary dictation of the landlords, it is likely that for the time the concerted movement of the proprietors to push rents up would be defeated and they would be glad to see for peace.

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An example of this is found in the great Klinefelter estate. Orders have been given that no ten: more than ten should pay 10 per cent. more rent after May 1 and the agents allege that the raise is due to an increase of taxes. As a matter of fact, the total amount of taxes paid by this estate under the last assessment is about \$900 LESS than under the assessment of the year before. Such is the general rule.

Of course there will be no solution of this problem, there can be no real solution, so long as the homes of the masses of the people remain the private property of a few of the people. On the one side is toll and need; on the other side is power and greed. The solution will come only when the class whose labor feeds all and clothes all and houses all and does all the useful work of the world shall decide to own the homes where they live and the shops where they work and no longer to pay tribute to idle misers.

Socialism alone will put an end to the war between landlord and tenant as well as to the war between employer and wage-worker.

Yet, for its immediate effect, it is to be wished that the other workingmen tenants of all parts of New York City would follow the example of united resistance offered by the East Side Jews. If next week, not two thousand, but twenty thousand dispossession orders should be necessary, on the West side, in Yorkville, in Harlem and the Bronx, and wherever the attempt is being made to raise rents—if the tenants would stand together and refuse to bow to an arbitrary dictation of the landlords, it is likely that for the time the concerted movement of the proprietors to push rents up would be defeated and they would be glad to see for peace.

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