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The Worker.

NEW YORK, MAY 1, 1904.

AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittances must state distinctly how long they are to run.

VOL. XIV.—NO. 5.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

THE HANFORD-DAVENPORT DEBATE.

Ben Hanford Has Little Trouble in Crushing Capitalist Advocate.

Nothing But Mith-Eaten Old "Objections to Socialism" Brought Up on Mr. Davenport's Side—Hanford Eloquently Exposes Infamies of Capitalism.

On Thursday evening, April 21, an audience which filled Cooper Union heard a debate between Ben Hanford and Daniel Davenport.

The resolution debated was: Resolved that Socialism stands for the interests of the working class and the progress of the race.

Morris Hillquit acted as chairman and stated that the debate was additional evidence of the fact that the Socialist movement has grown so steadily and assumed such importance that it can no longer be disregarded even by those who are opposed to it.

Mr. Davenport used the same feeble arguments as in his debate with Sol. Feldman in Bridgeport and was even weaker than on that occasion.

Capital a Weapon. Hanford stated that capitalism is best defined by a correct definition of capital. Capital is not merely means of producing wealth.

Mr. Rockefeller and God. This system has carried with it its own religion, and with it Mr. Rockefeller into court.

No Map of the Future. In his reply Mr. Davenport did not attempt to disprove any of my statements regarding capitalism.

THINK FOR YOURSELVES. You find willing slaves and hypocrites in every organization.

WON'T FEAR CONFISCATION. In 1880 the farmers of the United States owned over 74 per cent of the land they worked.

IS COLORADO IN AMERICA? MARTIAL LAW DECLARED IN COLORADO! HABEAS CORPUS SUSPENDED IN COLORADO! FREE PRESS THROTTLED IN COLORADO! BULL-PENS FOR UNION MEN IN COLORADO! FREE SPEECH DENIED IN COLORADO! SOLDIERS DEFY THE COURTS IN COLORADO! WHOLESALE ARRESTS WITHOUT WARRANT IN COLORADO!

TO NEW YORK WORKINGMEN. MAKE IT A GREAT SUCCESS.

Fellow workingmen of New York, May Day is at hand. Do you know what that means? Do you know what May Day stands for?

THE DIRTY WORK. There would be no one to do the dirty and the menial work.

FOR THE DAILY. Interest in the Project Not Confined to New York—Haverhill Has a Socialist Daily Here Would Greatly Help Party in New England.

OUR PARTY NAME. What is called the Socialist Party in most states of the Union is called the Social Democratic Party in New York and Wisconsin.

HOUSES OF THE FREE. Of all the people in Greater New York, less than 5 per cent own (free of mortgage) the homes where they live.

VOZE AS YOU STRIKE. We believe that enough progress has already been made towards such a paper in New York to merit and deserve the support of every local in the entire country.

The Industrial Exposition for the benefit of The Worker and the "Volkszeitung" is now open in the Grand Central Palace.

THE DIRTY WORK. There would be no one to do the dirty and the menial work, says another objector to Socialism.

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THE WORLD-WIDE CLASS WAR.

Everywhere Capitalism Appeals to Brute Force to Maintain Its Rule.

How Patriotism is Perverted and the Flag Made a Mask for Class Oppression—Social Peace Impossible Till Socialism Comes.

The press dispatches of the last week have brought us word of the outbreak of a bitter struggle between Capital and Labor in Hungary.

When we reproduce in facsimile the pictures of the flag with the inscriptions which it was "desecrated," underneath the flag on this poster we printed the following remarks.

It is this is horrible—in Hungary. But it is only another manifestation of the same universal class war that is being waged here in the United States.

What do you think of that flag, fellow workingmen? What do you think of that flag, fellow workingmen? What do you think of that flag, fellow workingmen?

THE UNAFFILIATED SOCIALISTS. This is the age of organization. If you wish to make your work effective, you should not remain isolated.

THE DIRTY WORK. Who will do the dirty work under "Them"? Who does it now? Those who are forced to it by their poverty.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE TRUST.

What It Is, Its Good and Its Evil, Why It Cannot Be "Curbed" or "Smashed," and What Socialists Propose to Do With It.

In the national campaign twelve years ago the tariff was the ostensible issue between the two old parties. Eight years ago it had dropped to a secondary place and Free Coinage was the issue.

They have grown just as naturally as nettles bloom on the roadside and as nettles grow from nettleseed.

The tariff has helped the trusts to grow. Yes, the tariff has been a wet-nurse to the trusts, but not their father or their mother.

There was more truth than wit in the Josh Billings famous saying, "Party platforms are like the platforms of railroads cars—to get in by, not to ride on."

First, because IT IS NOT TAKEN UP IN GOOD FAITH. When we see trust magnates in both the old parties, when we see prominent Republican politicians sitting together with prominent Democratic politicians in the boards of directors of the great trusts and their financial agencies, and then when we hear both these parties declaiming about the interests of the "dear people" and promising to protect them from the wicked trusts, we may know that neither of those parties is acting in good faith.

Second, because this question CANNOT BE TAKEN UP IN GOOD FAITH CONSISTENTLY WITH THE AVOWED PRINCIPLES OF THE TWO OLD PARTIES. Both these parties stand for the right of private property in the means of production—the things that people use in the production of wealth.

What is the Trust? In the common use of that term, it means any business concern that controls a large part of an industry and is able, by its own size and other advantages, to dominate the rest and more or less to defy competition.

Competition in a Tank. The pike is a voracious fish. It is a competitive fish, a perfect type of the business man. "Each for himself and the Devil take the hindmost," is the pike's motto.

The trusts have not arisen out of a conspiracy of promoters. They have not arisen out of the misdeeds of legislators or the favor of corrupt officials.

"Illegitimate" Methods. "Illegitimate" methods—railway discrimination, bribery of public officials, special legislation, even more dangerous methods—have helped in the growth of the trusts.

Just One Great Trust. Let us understand: For the purposes of this discussion we should speak, not of the trusts, but of the Trust. Matters have already gone so far that, for all practical purposes—so far as great capital is concerned, that is to say, which dominates all the rest—we have really one great capitalist combine.

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The two old parties, having no real principles such as they dare to avow—even to themselves, much less to the masses for whose votes they bid—are forced to put forward false issues over which to fight sham battles for the confusing of the public mind and the dividing of the workers' votes.

It is possible for a little while, with brass bands and fireworks and free beer and cheap oratory, to keep the people from thinking. But it cannot be done indefinitely.

How the Leaders Lead. Such are the "leaders" of the old parties. It is said that Joseph Pulitzer, in a moment of confidence, once explained the art of a successful political leader somewhat as follows: He does not head the procession and cause it to turn down this corner or up that; he hangs back a little till he sees which way it is going to turn, then runs up quickly, takes a place in front, and leads the procession around the corner, and presents all the appearance of having directed its march.

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THE FIRST "FIRST OF MAY."

By Simon O. Pollock.

In 1880 the International Socialist and Trade Union Congress in Paris passed a resolution demanding the eight-hour day take place in all countries. The capitalist press was hardly represented at the Congress.

Under the eight-hour labor day, less physical strength is consumed, and life is therefore prolonged. Under the eight-hour labor day there is a greater demand for workmen, and unemployed will find employment.

Under the eight-hour labor day the wages increase, because the number of the competing unemployed decreases. Under the eight-hour labor day, day eight hours remain for rest and eight hours for recreation.

Under the eight-hour labor day the purchasing power of the worker increases, and therefore grows the number of employed in the industries which produce the necessities of life.

Under the eight-hour labor day the wages increase, and the children will therefore be sent to school, instead of to the factory.

Under the eight-hour labor day the demand for still shorter hours will develop. These demands were considered "middle stations" towards greater demands, but at the time they were the only "pla desideria" in the labor world.

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ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH YOUR HAT? IF THE SAME IS AS GOOD AS McCANN'S HATS, 210 BOWERY (Near Spring Street.) SPRING STYLES NOW READY.

CHAS. BOSSLER, Dealer in Fine Provisions. No. 5 SECOND AVENUE, Betw. Houston and First Sts. NEW YORK. Orders for Clubs, Restaurants, Parties, etc., promptly attended to and sent to any address free of charge. STRICTLY UNION.

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The Worker.

AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY (Known in New York State as the Social Democratic Party.) PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY 184 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 the Social Democratic Party.

The Socialist Party (Social Democratic Party in New York) should not be confused with the so-called Social Labor Party.

The Socialist Party (Social Democratic Party in New York) has passed through its second general election. Its growing power is shown by the great increase of its vote in 1902.

1902 (Presidential) 97,730. 1902 (State and Congressional) 229,763.

OUR IDEAL OF DEMOCRACY.

It often happens that what is an ideal of progress or of revolution in one age becomes a conservative or a reactionary ideal in the next.

So it has fared with the word "democracy," especially in American political development. We are generally agreed that democracy was a good thing as championed by such men as Thomas Jefferson a century ago.

In Jefferson's time, the greater part of the people, the vitally useful class of that age, were the small independent producers—men who individually owned the things necessary for carrying on their various industries.

eternal" only in the sense that it is forever growing, not that it is fixed and unchangeable. The consistent Jeffersonian of to-day is the Anarchist and this is where Socialism differs fundamentally from Anarchism.

To-day the vitally useful class is the proletariat, the class of wage-workers (with the farmers, whose position is a mixed one, but growing ever more like that of the wage-workers).

These remarks have an application within our movement, too. We boast—and truly—that our party is democratic. We keep good watch that it shall remain so.

This is Social Democracy and this is the ideal which we must apply both in the internal affairs of our party and in our activity in the field of general politics.

A PRESENT NEED. If there is any one need of the Socialist movement in this country the importance of which we would urge especially upon the younger adherents of the party, it is that of earnest, well directed, and patiently continued study.

earlier days, just because the movement was small and obscure and subject to greater persecution than now, it attracted few but the intellectually elite of the working class of its sympathizers.

But it is none the less important that we should realize this need now and strive to fill it. The capitalist class is awakening to a sense of its dangers.

These remarks have an application within our movement, too. We boast—and truly—that our party is democratic. We keep good watch that it shall remain so.

It is not disobedience. The good Socialist, the democratic Socialist, is the one who stands for the utmost publicity and freedom of discussion in an orderly and intelligible manner.

What we would urge, then, and urge especially upon the younger comrades, is that each should consider himself personally responsible, to the extent of his abilities and opportunities, for the equipment of our party to meet all these responsibilities.

This is not at all surprising. It is very easily applicable. First, in these

extent and the causes and effects of pauperism and methods for its relief, or child and female labor and its effects, or the housing of the working class and its relation to public health.

No one man, be he editor or speaker devoting his whole time to the party's service can hope to know all of these subjects, any one of which we may at any time be called upon to discuss.

There are many false trails crossing our path, many snares laid for our feet, as well as many strong barriers erected in our way, partly by mere force of circumstances, partly by the purposeful craft of the ruling class.

We make propaganda for public ownership. At times a part of the working class as yet unorganized and undisciplined in our revolutionary tactics, and partially influenced by our propaganda, will throw the weight of their votes, not for Socialism, but for capitalist public ownership.

Again, Socialism will inevitably and reasonably be held responsible for the words and deeds of every freakish dreamer or unscrupulous adventurer who may declare himself a Socialist.

The conflict between Socialism and capitalism is not a mere conflict of ideas. It is primarily a conflict of interests, a conflict of classes whose divergent material conditions and whose opposite material interests are the roots of these conflicting ideas.

for the poor and oppressed; but the Lords and masters of the Roman world, in accepting the Gospel, turned it into a new sanction for class rule.

We are very sure that this is not going to happen. But we are sure of it just because we are sure that the Socialist Party is not going to sacrifice its discipline and tactics to mere unguided propaganda.

There are many false trails crossing our path, many snares laid for our feet, as well as many strong barriers erected in our way, partly by mere force of circumstances, partly by the purposeful craft of the ruling class.

Public ownership is not Socialism; it may or may not be socialistic. Labor politics is not Socialism; it may or may not be socialistic. Both of these and more, indissolubly united, is Socialism.

Again, Socialism will inevitably and reasonably be held responsible for the words and deeds of every freakish dreamer or unscrupulous adventurer who may declare himself a Socialist.

And in order that the propaganda of ideas may bear fruit in vigorous and fitting action, it is necessary that hand in hand with unceasing propaganda should go through organization, a vigilant regard for party tactics, and a discipline at once democratic in its source and rigid in its enforcement.

and in order that the propaganda of ideas may bear fruit in vigorous and fitting action, it is necessary that hand in hand with unceasing propaganda should go through organization, a vigilant regard for party tactics, and a discipline at once democratic in its source and rigid in its enforcement.

Propaganda and discipline are not opposing nor even independent interests in our movement. They are like the heart and the brain of a body or the propeller and the rudder of a ship, together of which avails without the other.

ANVILS AND HAMMERS.

(To the Colorado miners.) When you are a hammer, strike! Old proverb, stand like an anvil! Ignadino St. Polycarp in expectation of the revolution.

When you are an anvil, be ready! When you are a hammer, strike! Old proverb, stand like an anvil! Ignadino St. Polycarp in expectation of the revolution.

TO PRESENT ANVILS WHEN THEY SHALL BE HAMMERS.

Now, as I've said, is your stern avenger-day. When you can, wisely, but give back clear ring. Of calm, unquenched hearts to hammer.

A NICE NEW PLATFORM FOR BOTH OLD PARTIES.

Oscar Ameringer, an increased radical Democrat, writing in the Columbus "Press-Post" against the more conservative element of Mr. Cleveland's advice is: "There must be two parties, so that if one party is voted out of power and office, there is another party to fill the vacancies made by the first party; but both parties must be alike so as not to change the existing order of things or conditions."

Current Literature

SIXTEEN YEARS IN SIBERIA. By Leo Deutsch. Translated by Helen Chisholm. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1904. Cloth; 372 pp.; with index, portrait of the author, and many illustrations. Price, 85c.

This is one of those few books of autobiography which, while as fascinating as romance, yet constitute a real contribution to history. Leo Deutsch tells quite simply and straightforwardly the story of his own adventures and personal observations, with occasional explanatory reminiscences and digressions, from his arrest at Freiburg in Germany in 1884 to his escape from the penal servitude settlement at Blagovestchensk in Eastern Siberia in 1900.

More impressive yet is the account of the conduct of the revolutionists in prison and especially the extraordinary means which they were forced to use to defend their personal dignity and rebuke or resist a regular army or the gross brutalities of the officials.

Such a book as "Sixteen Years in Siberia" cannot but be both interesting and instructive to every Socialist in the United States as well as in any other country. We heartily commend Deutsch's book to our readers.

the suicides of Maria Kovalivskaya, Maria Kalynahina, Nadyezhda Sushnikskaya, Sergius Bobohov and Alexander Kalynshin (not as seeking refuge in death, but with deliberate intent as a demonstration of protest)—whoever can read this bitter history without tears at once of admiration pity for the victims and of rage against one first may find it not at all surprising that all our oppressors have a stronger or duller than our own.

When Deutsch was arrested twenty years ago, the Terrorist movement was nearing its end. In a conflict carried on by such methods as it used against so powerful an autocracy, no amount of intelligent and courageous self-devotion would make up for the advantage of the existing government.

The difference between Terrorism as it flourished in Russia twenty-five years ago and Socialism as it so extends and grows strong there to-day is not that the Socialist Democrats have any sentimental repugnance to the use of physical force.

THE ETHICS OF LITERATURE. By William A. Kersey. New York: Twentieth Century Press, 1904. Cloth, 572 pp. Price, \$1.50.





THE SOCIETY OF MANY MINDS.

By Peter E. Burrows.

The slavery of man has created a new thing upon the earth, the society of many minds; for whatever else civilization may seem to be this is what it is. And I confess it does or may seem to be many other things which it cannot be.

It is socially self-created, and since it has become social it is self-sufficient. What, then, does economic determinism determine? Silently it determines a great subworld of half formed thoughts or sentiments which have not yet broken into dictionaries or phrases on laws.

political organization of the working class, and the unions, as its economic organization, should work fraternally though independently in their separate fields. The De Leonists maintained that "it was necessary to 'annihilate' all existing unions.

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