ents sending in subscriptions without remittang must state distinctly how long they are to run, Agents are personally charged and hold responsible for

unpaid subscriptions sent in by them. Only duly elected and approved agents asknowledged.

VOL. XIV.-NO. 5.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

THE HANFORD-DAVENPURT DEBATE.

Advocate.

Davenport's Side-Hanford Eloquently Exposes Infamics of Capitalism.

andience which filled Cooped Union heard a debate between Ben. Hanford and Daniel Davenport, in which the Socialist orator annihilated the noted counsel of the American Anti-Boycott Association in a way that set the

The resolution debated was: Resolved that Socialism stands for the inprogress of the race. The large hall

evidence of the fact that the Socialist movement has grown so steadily and assumed such national

Mr. Davenport used the same feeble there was the same striking contrast between the force and fire of the Socialist speaker, inspired by his great cause, and the lackadaisical indifference of the bored representative of an itworn but still all-powerful order

Socialism would doubless be as tireto a synopsis of some of the most strik-ing points in Hanford's eloquent ex-position of the infamies of capitalism and the p. onlike of Socialism.

Capital a Weapon.

This system has carried with it fts own religion, morality, and law. Bring Mr. Rockefeller into court—he Rible but to him the Bible is a ledger. Mr. Rockefeller believes in God, but he spells it with an 1-G-o-l-d-God. Ask Mr. Rockefeller what is omni-

agents, paid and unpaid. I do not mean that we will kill Mr. Rockefeller but we will take over to public use all the property of the Standard Oil company and make it ours. Note that I did not say mine; it will be yours as e and his as much as any. of chloroform, the bludgeon and the knife from a burglar at midnight.

In his reply Mr. Davenport did not attempt to disprove any of my statements regarding capitalism, but was very anxious to have a plan of the future Socialist state. are not foolish enough to pretend to have a detailed and exact plan of the future society, but I can give you a plan in a sentence: Plant an 'acorn not expect to know how many branches it will have or just how branches it will have or just how many leaves there will be on each branch. We do know, however, that the future society will be based on co-operation and common ownership of the means of producing wealth, and that this will bring harmony, liberty, and frateralty. Of course, this will not be a sufficient outline for Mr. Daven-ter but I home it will not revent him.

Ben Hanford Has Little Trouble in Crushing Capitalist

Nothing But Moth-Eaten Old "Objections to Socialism" Brought Up on Mr.

Who Will Pay?

My opponent raised religious object

tions to Socialism. The capitalists "steat the livery of Heaven to serve

the Devil in." If there should be a re

THE CAPITALIST PRESS.

It is true that as a rule respon-sible editors do not order "fakes"

as to encourage "faking" by reporters

porter learns that only "interesting news stories" are acceptable, he is apt

to take pains to make his news "inte

can be depended upon in emergencies to direct their course by journalistic considerations—not even by the low ideals of the business office; much less

by the higher but less profitable ones, it may be, of the editorial chair.

and correspondents. When the re

makes men enemies.

making the means of production

On Thursday evening, April 21, an what house he would live in, or what underse which filled Cooped Union train to take to get there. Mr. Davenport made a mistake to raise the question of compensation to the present owners. If the question of compensation is raised when their con-fiscation of our product is stopped by audience wild with delight.

mon property, then there, will be a counter-claim. Your clients will be lucky indeed if they make restitution terests of the working class and the and escape retribution. Thousands of workingmen are crippled and killed in order to continue this system, to was filled, notwithstanding that an provide luxuries for its beneficiaries ed, that the arrangement of the debate was ignored by the daily press, and that it was arranged too late to be definitely amounced in The Worker. Morris Hilliquit acted as chairman and stated that the debate was addiand to pay agents to perpetuate it. and to pay agents to perpetuate it. Who will pay for this confiscated capital? Let them raise the dead and make these cripples whole and then we'll pay. We do not want the personal property-of the rich, we want the means of production. Reggie Vanderbilt is said to have a thousand pairs of trousers, we would not take a

pairs of trousers—we would not take a buttom from one of them but if he owns a mill where cloth is made we importance that it can no longer be disregarded even by those who are opwill take it and make it social proper ty. You are fearful that we will rob some poor man of something that he hasn't got, but you support a system arguments as in his debate with Sol. Fieldman in Bridgeport and was even weaker than on that occasion; and which robs us of our very lives. capital which you demand compensation for has been taken from the work ers and the only labor performed by its owners is like to that of the thief, the pickpocket, and the midnight as-

outworn but still all-powerful order.

Machine seaport used once, nore, all case dust-covered and moch or n arguments which he had proviolly resurrected in the Bridgeport lebate, already reported in The Woder of April 10, and the repetition of these musty and long-discredited sujections to Socialism would doubless be as tire. figion under Socialism, a man would not join a certain church in order to sell groceries, a man wouldn't join a Bible class in order to be promoted in a Standard Oil clerkship. The which Christ preached cannot ome to readers of The Worker as they were to the Cooper Union audience. This report will therefore be confined In discussing incentive, our opponents speak as if all the great deeds of the past had been done for money. His-

tory can show many men who had money and did good but none who did good and made money. Milton received about \$74 for his great poem, "Para-Hanford stated that capitalism can best be defined by a correct definition of capital. Capital is not merely means of producing wealth, but is modern means of production owned privately, owned as the private property of non-producers. Under this system of private ownership by non-producers, wealth is produced by the labor of non-owners. Capital is really a weapon of robberty with which the capitalists hold up the workers. This robbery may be legal, but a legal wrong is ten thousand times worse than any other wrong.

Capital is like an octopus; it exists dise Lost." If money was the incentive why can't you get a greater poem from some one else by paying \$70. Poe was paid \$10 for the "Raven." Why not offer an \$11 incentive and get a better poem? Lincoln, our great statesman, died poor. He was a lawyer but he refused many cases and I um sure he would not have taken a brief from the American Anti-Boycott Association. My opponent invokes the name of Jesus Christ. Did Christ make money? Who does make money? Capitalists and counterfeiters!

only to suck the blood of its prey and wherever you cut off one of its ten-tacles two will grow. But the octopus has one vulnerable point—its eye. In overcome it you must cut out to The eye of the octopus of his the government. The work-lass can cut out its eye and renit heipless by capturing the powof government. The workers will the powers of government to make point property of that which is now

esting" whether the facts warrant it or not. When he learns that news stories so told as to harmonize with "the policy of the paper" yield laurels Mr. Rockefeller and God. to the writer, while the unvarialised truth is put to shame, he is apt to fall into the habit of writing up (or down) to "the policy of the paper." And in this tendency he is not discouraged provided he "turns in good copy." Again, it is true that only a few newspapers are run as adjuncts to stock-Bring Mr. Rockefeller: into court—he is on your side, not mine, Mr. Davenport. Mr. Rockefeller believes in the Rible, but his Bible is 'his ledger—you have all read in the newspapers how he brought his youthful ledger to his Rible class to show the scholars how to lead moral and successful lives. Certainly Mr. Rockefeller believes in the Nible but to him the Rible is a ledger. papers are run as adjuncts to stock-jobbing operations. But the more important fact is also true, that most newspapers can be influenced by subtle and secret though well known coercive methods to respond to the demands stock-jobbing whenever occasion re-quires. How many of the Chicago papers, for instance, could escape the ramifying "business" influences of the cience and he will tell you that it is who knows everything-about Chicago banks, if any stock-jobbing scheme in which the Chicago banks are interested were at stake? Yet only one who finds money everywhere pre-sent; omnipotent, one who can make money out of everything one Chicago paper is actually run by a banker. Deliberate lying news reports With 'the right to organize, the rinting press, and the ballot, we will o away with all capitalists and their for the purpose of misrepresentation is indeed not the practice of newspa-pers of standing. But it is the history of most newspapers of present stand-ing—and every newspaper man of ex-perience knows it—that they do promote policies and objects surreptitious ly by means of fanciful descriptions ingenious insinuations, and deliberate suppressions. There are very few newspapers in the United States that

No Man of the Future.

most any newspaper in the country must yield to influences entirely alien to the primary obligations which every newspaper owes to its readers.—The Public. THINK FOR YOURSELVES. You find willing slaves and hypo-crites in every organization. They it will get an oak-but you can is who make hell on earth a reality. Oh, you who wish to help bring peace on earth, dare to think for yourselves; then do your duty by word and deed; show the poor people that the way to real freedom lies in having a will of their own and making good use of it. When the truth is taught to the young, poverty and all hell conditions will be poverty and all hell conditions will be done away with, and heaven will be found right here. False teaching is what keeps us in hell here, and no one knows where such teaching will land us.—James Russell Lowell. port, but I hope it will not prevent him from joining our party, for he joined the church although they did not give him a map of heaven, nor tell him what wages he would be paid there, or

NEW YORK, MAY 1, 1904.

IS COLORADO IN AMERICA?



TO NEW YORK WORKINGMEN.

practiced under this system which May Day is at hand. Do you know what that means? Do you know what May Day stands for?

> This is the time set apart by the thinking, the struggling, the intelligently discontented workers of the world to express their discontent. their aspirations, their demands, their | ing, May 1. feeling of unity with their fellow workers of every land, their defiance

We have need of that spirit here in New York Here where organized all its abuses. capital rules with despotic sway, here where insolent wealth flaunts itself in the face of the poverty of the toilers apon which it lives, here where we have the richest mansions and the most miserable tenements in the world, here where we have millionand do try to keep them out of their papers. Nevertheless, 'the "spirit of the office" in every newspaper is such

FOR THE DAILY.

Fellow workingmen of New York, | alres and paupers, here where the exploiters are even now planning to reduce wages and enrich themselves still more by forcing the workers into still worse poverty-here and NOW we need to express that spirit.

> New York's May Day demonstration will be held at the Grand Central Palace on Sunday afternoon and eyen-

Workingmen, turn out. Gather in force. Show your loyalty to your to oppressors and oppression of every class, your enthusiasm for the great cause of Labor, by an impressive demonstration against capitalism and

Come in your organizations. Carry your flags. Bring your wives and children along-for the emancipation of Labor means even more to them than to you. Come in the spirit of contrades and fighters for freedom

and rally for another year's advance,

Interest in the Project Not Confined to upon this project.
"We therefore believe in doing all New York-Haverhar -vs a Socialist Daily Here Would Greatly Help Party in New England.

Perhaps there are many among those who will see The Worker for the first time this week who do not know that a serious movement is on foot to establish a Socialist daily in the English language in New York City. The undertaking is a difficult one, but the need for such a paper is very pressing. The good work which our German and Jewish dailies in this city-the "Volkszeitung" and the "For ward"-have done in their fields in dicates what a great addition to the equipment of our party will be the establishment of the "Call." About \$15. 000 has already been collected for this purpose and a strenuous effort is being made to raise the rest of the \$50,000 which is held to be necessary for a safe start, in time that the paper may appear on Sept. 1 of this year.

All contributions for this fund will be welcomed by Financial Secretary Julius Gerber, whose address is 64 E Fourth street, New York, and will be ten, for that matter-clamoring to b spent, is invited to put it to good us or the cause by co

The interest that is taken in the plan outside of New York is shown by the Haverhill, Mass.:

"The Haverhill local has decided that the time has arrived to give its undivided support towards the estab-lishment of a daily Socialist paper in "This action has been taken becaus we realize that a daily paper occupies a place in the ranks peculiarly its own —a place for which there is no substi-

fers the best field for the enterpris at this time, and that if a daily pape is started and conducted successfully there it will aid materially in starting

imilar papers elsewhere.

similar papers elsewhere.

"Wherever New York dailies go, on account of their immense circulation, covering a wide range of territory, our paper will go, shedding the light of truth upon the questions and affairs of the day while they are yet fresh in the public mind. This means much, especially to New England and also in view of the coming presidential campaign.

campaign.
"It appears that enough progress has tified to the contral already been made towards such a of the Association paper in New York to merit and de-Monday, May 9.

mand the support of every local in the entire country, and our hope is that they may realize the great need of concentrating their entire energies

in our power to make this movement a success and have adopted the follow-ing resolutions:

"Whereas, The situation confront-ing the Socialist movement demands a daily Socialist paper; and "Whereas, New York offers the best field for such a venture at this time,

having already succeeded in raising nearly enough money to start such paper; and
"Believing that with the proper co-

operation of the Socialist locals throughout the country the project will be carried to a successful issue The Haverhill local pledges undivided and loyal support to the

project of starting and maintaining the New York dally Socialist paper. the New York daily Socialist paper."

The Haverbill comrades have this week held an entertainment for the purpose of raising money to contributs for the daily.

The Board of Managers of the Worksingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association met last Monday evening. The committee on mass meetings re-

sociation her last anomaly evening. The committee on mass meetings reported that Cooper Union had been engaged for, May 17, and it is desired that all comrades interested set apart that date for the benefit of the "Cally" that date for the benefit of the "Call,"
The Conference in Queens County will
be in working order very soon, it is
expected, and the comrades in Queens
are asked to give it their support. The
committee on plant, it was reported,
would visit R. Hoe & Co. concerning a
press on Tuesday. The trade-union
committee is busy sending out circulars to the unions. The house-to-house canvass committee is having postals printed to be sent to the secretaries of the assembly districts, to be mailed to the members, Inviting them to attend a special meeting at which a speaker for the "Call" will bring the matter of a thorough canvass before

to the members, inviting them to attend a special meeting at which a speaker for the "Call" will bring the matter of a thorough canvass before them. Speakers are required for this purpose and any comrade possessing a little ability in that line and with a few open dates will please communicate with Otto Wegener, 11 Copper Square. Comrade Dahme of Philadel. phia has made a medallion for the "Call," and the printing committee was instructed to have an electrotype made of it for use on all future prints. was instructed to have an electrotype made of it for use on all future prine ed matter. The Fourth of July plesed in committee reported that all possible arrangements have been made up to the present time and that considerable enthusiasm is displayed in the project. Unless the members are nottiled to the contrary the next meeting of the Association will be held on

VOTE AS YOU STRIKE.

MAKE IT A GREAT SUCCESS.

benefit of The Worker and the "Volkszeltung" is now open in the Grand Central Palace, at Forty-third

street and Lexington avenue. Every workingman who appreciate the necessity of maintaining and strengthening our press, the organs of the Social Democratic Party and the trade-union movement, in order that they may tell the truths that other papers, for business reasons, suppresor distort, and to educate the work ers and inspire them for the struggle for economic freedom, will do all in

The Industrial Exposition for the | his power to make this enterprise a s cial and fluancial success.

Comrades and sympathizers, do not only come yourselves. Bring your wives and children. Invite your friends to accompany you. Make the Grand Central Palace during the coming week the rendezvous of the think ing men and women, the self-reliant, the lovers of liberty among the working class of New York.

Comrades, these are your papers. It is your gain if they do well, your less if they suffer. This exposition for their benemies your affair. It is for you to say how great its success shall

THE DIRTY WORK.

There would be no one to do the dirty and the menial work, says an other objector to Socialism. Under the Co-operative Commonwealth where economic equality prevails there would be no menial work. Labor be-comes menial only under conditions where wealth and poverty are found side by side,-where one individual has power over another through economic necessity for the means to support life. As to the dirty work, so called, we observe that sanitary appliances and machinery are in a large measure selv-

ing that problem.

However, we admit that there will be certain forms of work, such as build, which to day we leave to the socially inferior. Yet with the advent of the Co-operative Commonwealth, objection to this kind of labor would largely disappear. With human effort systematized and our prodigious waste eliminated so that we could supply abundantly our economic wants in two to four hours dally application, these arduous forms of labor would be reduced to a means for healthy exercise. Such labor to the extent required would not be drudgery for any healthy

It is the excess of work, the long hours of steady, unremitting toil to which most of mankind are obliged to submit, which makes labor Yet it must be conceded that there may be some forms of labor less de sirable than others. If there are not a sufficient number of individuals whose tastes naturally lead them to choose the forms of labor alluded to, such foll can be made attractive by sufficient reduction of the hours of ap-plication to these duties, until the equilibrium is found.

Thus it is, we claim, that with the menial nature of certain forms of labor seliminated through the economic equality of a people and drudgery abolished by a great reduction in the hours assigned to arduous forms of manual labor, our objectors are fully inswered,-Charles C. Hitchcock.

HOMES 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—and those who do are mostly of and so on, all over the land. Of all the sixteen million families in the United States, city and country together, less than one-third own their homes free, about one-seventh own them subject to mortgage, and a clear majority are tenants. And what is worse, the population of mortgaged homes and of tenants is increasing.

CORRUPTION AND SOCIALISM.

Corruption is also witnessed to-day in certain of our affairs which are aleady partially socialized. But what is the cause and what is the cure for this evil? First, as to the cause. corruption we witness surely is not owing to the principle of co-operation but rather to the cancer of capitalism which still encompasses our co-opera-tive form of effort.

This should be obvious to all, but we will illustrate by referring to our postal service. Here in this partially socialized enterprise we note certain features calling for severe criticism. We pay excessive rates to the railroads for transportation service. We pay to these same corporations scandalous ly exerbitant charges for rental of the postal cars—a larger yearly rental, it is said, than the cars cost when new. Certain frauds connected with the pur chase of postal supplies, etc., are also acknowledged. In each case either individual or corporate greed for gain

or profit is responsible for these evils.

Now what is the remedy? We find
it in two words: More Socialism. Exend our co-operative principle and take over to ownership of the people, people, the railroads, the car shops and the supply factories. This done, legislators and others would have no per sonal interest in railroad dividends of profits, and corruption in this quarter

Yes, our critics say, but there would still be many inducements to corrup-tion left. We acknowledge that corruption will doubtless continue manifest itself until the grasp of the octopus of capitalism is entirely re-moved. The remedy still is more Socialism, and thus until all industry is socialized. For provided ocialized. For recollect, we canno wealth until practically all industry is socialized.-Charles C. Hitchcock.

OUR PARTY NAME. What is called the Socialist Party in

nost states of the Union is called the Social Democratic Party in New York and Wisconsin-just as it is in Germany. The difference is one of name only. The Social Democratic Party which cast 33,000 votes in New York last fall, the Social Democratic Party which elected nine Aldermen in Mil-waukee this spring, is identical with the Socialist Party which cast 25,000 votes in Massachusetts last fall and which raised its vote in Chicago from 11,000 to 15,000 this spring. This So-11,000 to 15,000 this spring. This Socialist or Social Democratic Party cast a vote of 98,000 in its first national campaign of 1900 and raised this to a quarter of a million in the whole country in the state elections of 1902, and has made still further progress in many localities since that time. Its emblem in New York and Ohlo, where official emblems are used on the hallot, is the Arm and Torch. It will have a straight ticket, presidential, congressional, state, and local, this year as always, and it asks for the votes only of those who housetly wish to help in bringing in Socialism.

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

week have brought us word of the outbreak of a bitter struggle between Capital and Labor in Hungary and of he outrages committed by the ruling class in the attempt to crush the workers' resistance. State Capitalism prevails there in the railway world. The capitalistic government owns and runs the railways for the benefit of the capitalistic class. On those state railways, just as on the privately owned railways of the United States, the workers are poorly paid, over-tasked, and subjected to constant danger of life and limb, in order that big profits may be realized. They have at last gone on strike against the existing conditions. As soon as the strike was declared the government took measerres to break it and suppress the ex-pression of discontent. The latest news is that thirty or forty workers have been killed by the military (only one was killed on the other side-the dead are always on Labor's side in the class war), that a general strike in sympathy may be declared, and that the government proposes to put the whole of Hungary under martial law and establish the rule of "blood and

All this is herrible-in Hungary, But it is only another manifestation of the same universal class war that is be-ing waged here in the United States and all over the civilized worldwaged brutally, ruthlessly, relentlessly, murderously, by the capitalist class and, as yet, with too little vigor and self-assertion on the workers' side. We remember Homestead. We remember Pullman. We remember Buffalo. We remember Lattimer. We re-

member the Cour d'Alenes. The dead are ours. It is workingmen's blood that has stained the earth at all these places and many more, shed in the name of "law and order," shed under the shadow of the Stars and Stripes. During this same week the press dispatches have brought us news of

onditions at the coal-mining camp of Garrett in Pennsylvania. It is said that President Mitchell of the United Mine Workers—"safe" and conserva-tive John Mitchell, even—has found it necessary to advise the striking miners there to provide themselves with arms for self-defense against the private army of things whom the mineowners have imported. We do not know whether to believe this. We find it hard to imagine Mr. Mitchell taking bold a step under any provocation But so much is certain, that the capitalists have surrounded their mine with a stockade—THEIR mine, in which they never worked, THEIR mine, which the present strikers and other miners before them developed—have put in a gatling gun, have hired a band of armed guards, and are conducting themselves in all respects like some robber barons of the Middle Ages, with their "right of private war"—in all respects, that is, except that the medieval robber barons at least were brave while the modern profit barons

keep at a safe distance and hire others to do their fighting for them. This is peace and "law and order" as it exists in America to-day.

cord and Bunker Hill? Are we ashamed of the rebels who fought and the rebels who fell there, shot in the name of "law and order?" If we remember and are proud of them, how shall we express our shame at the deeds that have been committed behind that same hypocritical mask, for the same motive of greed and arrogance, under the flag that the men of '76 first

A state of war has existed for months Martial law prevails. The writ of habeas corpus is suspended. Arrests are made and prisoners held without trial, or even accusation at the arbitrary will of a military officer. Public me Houses are sear Public meetings are forbidden, ses are searched without warrant. The press is put under a militia colonel's censorship. Laws enacted by the elected legislators and orders the regularly constituted courts of justice-nay, the constitutions of state and nation, even-are contemptuously brushed aside. tary necessity," in Rough Rider Bell's phrase, is the one supreme authority.

neasures taken? Against foreign invaders? No. Against lawless brig-ands? No. Against rebels, even? No. Against THE MEN WHOSE LABOR HAS MADE THE STATE OF COLOvaders? No. Against lawless RADO WHAT IT IS: against the striking miners—miners striking for the enactment of an eight-hour law, which had been demanded by a mojor ity of 40,000 of the voters of the state And note how patriotism has been

used as a subterfuge, how the flag has been made a mask for the malign pur-The strikers in the Cripple Creek and Telluride districts belong to the Western Federation of Miners. In or-

western Federation of many der to der to disorganize them, in order to interfere with the work of the union in guiding and directing the strike, it was thought necessary to arrest and keep in confinement the two chief officers owned over 74 per cent, of the land they worked. In 1890 they owned less than 65 per cent. Even they ow

The authorites and the capitanists from whom they take orders did not dare to accuse Moyer and Haywood of committing or inciting or conniving at violence. They know that they could not prove such a charge. It will do very well to arrest a common striker arbitrarily and hold him without ac-

The press dispatches of the last cusation, or call it "vagrancy" or call have brought us word of the disorderly conduct." But the intendetbreak of a bitter struggle between ed victims being the heads of a great organization, it was thought necessary to get-some better pretext for their arrest. So they were arrested for DESE-CRATING THE FLAG-on the rest. So they were arrested for DESE-CRATING THE FLAG—on the ground that they had published a pos-ter on which was printed a picture of the American flag with inscriptions' telling what the capitalists and their political and military agents had been doing.

We reproduce in facsimile the pictures of the flag with the inscriptions by which it was "desecrated." Underneath the flag on this poster were printed the following remarks, signed by Charles Moyer, President of the W. F. of M., and Wm. D. Haywood, Secretary-Treasurer:

"These are absolute facts and are not the only outrages that have been perpetrated in Colorado in the name of law and order. It has been charged and never successfully denied that the corporations contributed \$15,000 to-wards the election of the present Republican administration, but Governor Peabody has been unable to "deliver

the goods."
"The unions have not been nor can they be abolished, and before the strikes in Colorado are settled, we will have demonstrated the right to organ-ize for mutual benefit. The eight our day as decreed by over forty thousand majority of the voters will be estab-

"If you desire to assist the striking miners, mill and smeltermen of the Western Federation of Miners of Colopolitical freedom, send donations to Wm. D. Haywood, secretary-treasurer, 625 Mining Exchange, Denver, Colo." Look at that flag. Read the thir-

teen sentences printed upon it. Read, them well. Put yourself in the place of the victims. YOU MAY FIND YOURSELF THERE IN FACT, if you don't think and act 800N. The truth of those thirteen accusa

and trout or those thereen accusa-tions against the political and military authorities and their capitalist back-ers is not denied. But in these days IT IS DESECRATION OF THE FLAG TO USE IT FOR THE PUR-POSES OF TRUTH.
What do you think of that flag, fel-

low workingmen?
Who do you think has descerated it—Moyer and Haywood or Bell and Peabody and Roosevelt and Rockefeller?

What do you think of the sort of

What do you think of the sort of patriotism that sanctions what has en done in Colorado?

Do you like it? Do you want more of it? If so, just wait. Just wait quietly. You will get it. Just say nothing; salute the flag; take off your hat to every rich man you meet; don't speak your mind; don't have a mind; don't think: let the eminent citizens do your thinking for you; just work and work and work and vote your old party ticket. Do this and you will get all you want of "law and order" and peace and patriotism—bayonet law and order, capitalist peace, the sort of patriotism that spells slave— But if you don't want that sort or

thing, THYNK. And if you are going to think, think NOW and think RIGHT.

And having thought, be a man Saw what you think and VOTE WHAT YOU THINK, regardless of old affi-

We Socialists want a change. We want a complete and radical ch of the ballot. We want YOU to help.

THE UNAFFILIATED SOCIALISTS. This is the age of organization. If

you wish to make your work effective, you should not remain isolated, but get into touch with others who have the same views and purposes as yourself and work in harmony and cooperation. It is pleasanter, as well as more effective. If you are a Socialist and not yet a party member, you should lose no time in joining. there is no local in your town bee your state organization in forming a local. If you don't know whom to address in your state for information, write to William Mailly, National Sec-retary, Room 300, 269 Dearborn street, Chicago, and he will promptly refer you to the right person

THE DIRTY WORK

"Who will do the dirty work under Seci-lism?" Who does it now? Those who are forced to it by their poverty. Do you think it is fair that the most repulsive work should be the worst said? Do you not think a democrace of workers could devise a juster plan than that which the autocracy

they owned less than 65 per cent. Even of this, about one-fifth is mortgaged. If this keeps on a little longer, the farm-ers won't be so easly scared away from Socialism by the cry of "confidence"

-Do it to-day. What? Get a sub-scriber for The Worker.

TION.

WHAT UNIONISM CANNOT DO.

Whatever Its Usefulness a as Means of Ameliorating the Workers' Wrongs, the Union Can Never, Without Socialist Action, Put an End to Exploita-

When the Socialist Party declares its ple trial of endurance would ensue, traternal sympathy with the trade and the capitalists would win.

If the workers were to receive the full value of the product of their labor, the control of the Socialist movement on the political field, is born of the natural and irrepressible antagonism between the interests of the owning class and those of the producing class. And it recogtoo that the trade unions have a useful work to do for the working class, not only for the immediate good that they can do, either in temperarily improving the conditions of labor for what forms a larger part of work, in resisting the aggressive at-tacks of the capitalist class upon the established standard of labor condias the fighting organization of the working class, organized on a basis of class interest, teaching class sness even when it does not know it, fighting and winning or fight-ing and losing but always fighting and fighting again, and training the working class in organization and class eeling.
As Socialists, understanding the phil-

osophy of the class struggle, we un-derstand this, and it is no mere form of words when we express our sym-pathy with the unions. Nevertheless, we know and it is necessary that we should on all possible occasions point out that the trade unions alone cannot go to the root of the labor ques-tion, that there are strict limits to their posibilities, that there is much that their members naturally and rightly aspire to but which they can-

never put an end to the exploitation of and the division of society into cess, according to circumstances and ording to their own wisdom and

Let us suppose a perfect trade union —a thing which does not and probably never will exist. Let us suppose, that is, a union which includes absolutely worker in the trade. Let us sut oroughly organized that, when this union goes on strike, it would be imssible for the capitalists, with all eir equipment of subsidized press. cy laws, militia, and so forth, to get

wage equal to the whole product their labor. What would happen? Here the question of the efficiency of

economic justice is brought to a clear test. What would happen?

THE SOCIALIST PRESS.

What It is, What It Ought to Be, What It Must Ba, and How the Reader Can

The usefulness of the party pres to the Socialist movement is perhaps fully realized by most of its adher-ents; but it is often taken too much as a matter of course and both its difdes and the possibilities for its

It is not an easy thing, either on the business side or on the editorial side, to publish a really good Socialist pa-per. Our capital is limited, the maper. Our capital is terial equipment of our papers often ridiculously inadequate to what they ist attempt to do. We are preve matters by our obligations ovement, in others by the vigance of the capitalist class, from re-orting to many methods which other apers use to "make both ends meet." apers use to "make both ends meet," "ew fifty-cent weeklies can live on circulation receipts alone; so narpapers a very large circulation is necessary to make this margin cover "operating expenses," even on the most bor press also and of the religious press and of the country weeklies. But all of these have resources of which Socialist papers cannot avail them-selves. They take advertisements of any sort; a Socialist paper is often discriminated against by advertisers on account of its politics; it cannot take advertisements of scab houses, though these are often the best paid; and it cannot take old-party campaign advertising, which is the mainstay of not a few pure-and-simple local labor papers. It follows that our party papers, if they are not to be run always at a deficit covered by donations and the proceeds of balls and picnics, must be given a very much larger circulation than most of them now have.

With few exceptions, our papers are owned-as is The Worker-by co-op-erative publishing associations composed exclusively of party members, and with provision in their charters forbidding the distribution of profitsin the unheard-of event of there being any profits to distribute—so that all in come must be devoted to the publica paper or other propaganda. Our editors are commonly

nuch more than the amount of work required of any one on the capitalist press and receiving considerably low-er wages than the printers that set up chanics who read the papers. They are glad to do it, because they are So-cialists, but they wish that they were able to get out better papers and they heartily wish that such as they do get out should be used to the best advantage by being given the largest possible circulation. eir copy or many of the other m

ble circulation.

Necessarily, a Socialist paper must depend chiefly upon its readers to act as volunteer agents to solicit new subscriptions. Many comrades fully realize this and work untiringly to carry the papers into new fields. The greater the amount of such work that is replaced by the proper into new fields. The greater the amount of such work that is replaced by the proper into new fields. The greater the amount of such work that is replaced by the proper into new fields.

full value of the product of their labor, there would be nothing left-for the capitalists' profit. The capitalists own the factories, the mines, the railways, case. They, as owners, have the lega right—and pure and simple unionism concedes them this right—to decide whether these factories or other means of production shall be used or not and, if used, upon what terms,

If the union should say to the capitalists, "You must pay to your work ers the full value of their product," the capitalists, who in that case would get ne profits whatever out of the industry, would reply by simply shutting down the works It would come, we say, to a plain

trial of endurance. And it would be a question of the capitalists' dollars against the workers' pennies. The capitalist has wealth stored up from past labor of the workers. kers have no such accumu The capitalist is not going to starve he is not going to suffer personally He can better afford to close his works weeks, for months, for years ever and live on his past accumulations, than to concede the workers' right to get the full value of their product

How long could the average worker even the skilled and well organized wages-not an individual, but a whole craft in a life-and-death struggle in which they would have to depend upor themselves? Could they endur themselves? Could they endure for years? Certainly not. For months? Hardly. For a few weeks, perhaps. Then the workers' savings would be exhausted, and they would have to decide, either to make some compromise, to go back to work and their labor, or else to go out of the sphere of pure-and-simple unionism, to take possession of the means of production—the factory, mine, rail-way, or whatever it might be—and operate it for themselves, regardless of will, and pay the former owners'

hemselves their full product.
But, as we say, to follow this latter course would be to go outside the ophere of trade-union action. It would be to adopt and put into practise the Socialist program. And only by the idoption of this program-the owner ship of the means of production by th producers—can the wor freed from exploitation.

Therefore it is that we call on our fellow workers of every trade, as of one way to their emancipation, and to

unite and work to bring it about, not ade unionism by itself to secure full through some blind and violent catas-sonomic justice is brought to a clear ist. What would happen? What would happen is this. A simdone, the sooner will our press be put in a position and condition to perforn well the functions that it now per

forms so imperfectly.

It is easy to tell the editors that it they would get out better papers their circulation would grow. The editors know the faults and failings of their papers better, than anyone can tell But unfortunately even a Sc cialist editor is a finite being, not gift ed with cumiscience and omnipres-ence, and has only twenty-four hours in his day and seven days in his week, like other mortals. When the income of the paper permits him to have an assistant and to buy books and magadnes and sometimes to pay for specia articles the preparation of which time and costs money, then he can make the paper better and its circula-

ion will become so much the easier. Thus there is a sort of reciprocitynake the paper better and its circula ion will grow, increase its circulation

Whenever you get a new subscrip tion for a Socialist paper, you do a double good: First, you bring the pa-per to some one who has not before read it-increasing- its usefulfies quantitatively; second, you contribut o much toward enabling those chargd with the publication of the paper to improve it-increasing its qualitative usefulness.

vice and some not so good—in his mail every day. This is a preachment in return, on behalf of the whole craft, to our comrades and readers, who are collectively our proper masters. We say to you, not especially for The Worker, but for the Socialist press at large, if you are an earnest Socialist you ought to try to do two things: First, for your own information as a Socialist, you ought to try to spare at least one dollar a year and subscribe for two party papers—one in your own part of the country and one in some other part, so as to get different views, when there are different ones; second, you ought to try resolutely to get at least one new subscription for some party paper every week—some do even more, but one a week is a good record. If each of the 250,000 Socialist voters

in the country-no. let us say even each of the 23,000 party members, would do this and keep it up for one year, we should not only see our papers reaching more than twice the number of readers they now reach, but we should see them so equipped, mechani-cally and editorially, as to challenge comparison, in every respect, with any weekly papers in the land and to com-mand, attention in quarters where they are now unnoticed.

It is proverbial that he is a benefac-tor to mankind who makes two blades of grass grow where one grew before. How much more does he deserve honor who makes two copies of a So-cialist paper go where one went he-fore.

LABOR POLITICS AND SOCIALIST POLITICS.

Why the Working Class Must Have a Party of Its Own - Why this Party Must Be Radical and Independent - In Other Words, Why Workingmen Should Join and Support the Socialist Party.

Until within the last few years, it was the almost unaninmous opin-ion of trade unionists that there must be "no politics in the union." The argued that workingmen differ in poli tics, and that to introduce political questions into the union would break up the union. They had not yet learned that the labor question is essentially a political question-that, as the mar ufacturing capitalists interest prompted them to be high-tariff Re publicans and the agricultural capit alists' interests prompted them to be workers' interests, being distinct from all others, required a distrinct course of political action. They have not all fully learned that yet. But they are

Two observations have helped to

Labor Leaders in Politics.

First, they have begun to observe the union leaders in politics"most ignorant, weak, or dishones leaders, at that. The capitalist poli in politics before the workingman saw it. They tried to buy Labor in advance by influencing or corrupting labor leaders. As soon as a man be-came prominent in the labor movement, the politicians cultivated his equaintance, put favors in his way ments. If he was weak or ignorant he fell into the snare. If he was dis est, he sold himself to the poll-ans. He became their tool. The politician is the tool of the capitalist The labor leader thus became THE TOOL OF THE TOOL OF THE VERY MEN HIS UNION WAS OR-GANIZED TO FIGHT. In politics the friend of the capitalist, how could be remain true to his own class in the shop or the union hall?

The labor leader was valuable to the capitalist politician just because there was "no politics in the union," BECAUSE THE UNION DID NOT DISCUSS AND AGREE UPON POL ITICAL QUESTIONS affecting La-bor's interests, and therefore had no control over the political action of

Cannot Escape from

the Political Power. Second, the workingmen have begun to observe that, though they may ig-nore politics, the political power-does not ignore them. It gives them very lively attention. Mayors send policemen to club strikers; governors and presidents send soldiers to shoot them or send them to jail and declare unconstitutional all laws really favora ble to Labor that legislatures may en-ma. The capitalists having begun to think about using political power against Labor, the workingmen hav begun to think about using politics power against Capital. And who place so proper for the discussion of political questions affecting Labor as the union, where workingmen meet the union, where workingmen meet in a class organization for attack and

defense? So it has become evident that the labor movement cannot be kept apart from politics. The workingmen must elther to have politics in the union for Labor's benefit or to have the irresponsible union leader in politics for the benefit of Capital.

We hear now another plea-too often the interested plea of ignorant, weak, or dishonest labor politicians. They say: "Yes, we must have politics in th union—but not partizan politics. must discuss the candidates of the ferent parties and pick out for our support the 'fairest' among these who have a chance of winning. We must parties, so as to influence both. must not be 'radical' in our demands We-must ask, rather than demand We must ask the candidate to pledge himself to some measure we want; w must petition legislatures or Congre end committees to lobby for the bills we favor."

The Begging Policy.

This is what we have styled the "begging policy." It is a bad policy. It seldom effects its purpose; it often does nealculable harm.

There are more than 2,000,000 or-

ganized workingmen in the United States. All these, as well as the millions of unorganized workingmen. have a common political interest. To speak only of some measures of im mediate relief which Socialists advo-cate: All these men would profit by strict employers' liability laws; by laws providing for short hours and good pa on public work; by laws limiting th employment of women and children; by laws for the sanitation of workshops and the guarding of dangerous machinery; by laws granting pension to aged and disabled workers.

Trade unions, central bodies, state federations, and the American Feder federations, and the American Feder-ation of Labor have all tried to get such laws passed by city, state, and national legislatures. They have in-terviewen candidates, and got their promises; the promises have been brok-en. They have piled up petitions; the petitions have gone into the waste basket. They have sent committees to lobby; the lobbyists have been "joilled," told they were good fellows, given a hearing—and that ended the given a hearing-and that ended the

How It Works.

Labor bills are introduced with a great flourish; then they are referred to a committee—and most of them are Bever seen again. Sometimes a bill is passed by one house, WITH THE PRIVATE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE OTHER HOUSE WILL LET IT DIE.

Once in a while, a bill urgently in-sisted upon is finally enacted into law. Then what rejoichig among the advo-cates of the beging policy? What housting over the "practicalness" of this policy which "gets something now"!

cases it is found that the bill has bee so drawn that it cannot be enforced or that it means the very opposite of what was wished. Of the few that are correctly drawn, the most important are declared unconstitutional. Any labor law that escapes this fate generally remains a dead letter, beexecutive officials are capitalist politicians and cannot

Do you think the picture too strong ly drawn? Study the annual reports of the A. F. of L. See how many bills have been recommended by the conventions; what proportion have been ventions; what proportion have beet introduced in Congress; what proportion of those introduced have passed-and how long it took; what proportion of those passed were found to be defectively drawn or unconstitutions. or otherwise invalid; finally, how many of those supposed to be valid are en forced. Apply the same test to the history of labor lobbying at any state capital. You will find we have stated

expected to enforce laws against their

the facts moderately.

The Federation ought to be a power in national politics. It is big enough and well enough organized. But it is not a power. The most it dares to boast is that, while it has not secured the passage of any important good bills, it has secured the defeat of some bad ones. What a wonderful achieve The courts have played their part in

the game. Let us only remind the reader of the New York Prevailing Wages Law, declared unconstitutional; the Pennsylvania law forbidding employers to interfere with their employees right to organize, declared unconstitutional; the similar law in Illinois, declared unconstitutional: the Obio Eight-Hone Law declared unconstitutional; the Indiana law for payment of wages in cash, declared unconstitutional; the Maryland Anti-Sweatshop Law, declared uncon-stitutional; the Indiana Minimum Wage and Weekly /Wage-Payment Law, declared unconstitutional; so on, through a long list. These laws were the result of years of lobbying. The decisions wiping them off the statute books are so many monuments to the folly of the non-partizan begging

This is what your freedom amounts to so long as you continue to be afraid of independent, radical, partizan labor politics. This is the fruit of whatels currently called "labor politics."

neel of the capitalist parties, only asking them please not to crample it too hard. The apitalists have selzed their advantage and laughed at the

Worse Than Useless.

The begging policy is not merely useless. It is worse. Through it the money and time and energy of the labor organizations are worse than wasted—for, while virtually no good is accomplished, THE MOVEMENT IS MADE RIDICULOUS.

The beggar may inspire pity.

never inspires respect. The labor movement has put itself in the position of a beggar for favors. No won-der the politicians and their masters the capitalists, look on it with mingled feeling of pity, hatred, and contempt. They do not believe it possible for the working-class majority to demand and conquer its rights. They think it will always play part of the dog who begs for a bone and licks the hand that beats him. So they play fast and loose with the workers, giving with one hand and taking back with the other, confident that they are always to sit at the feast that Labor has prepared and that Labor will always be grateful for

the crumbs.

The policy of the labor movement has given them reason for this belief. Yet they are mistaken. A change is coming. Masses of men learn slowly; but they do learn. Even the politics of begging is an advance over the rule of "no politics in the union," for it at in their organizations, to discuss the labor question as a political question and the result of that is that a new policy is rapidly growing up, which is destined to put an end to petitioning and lobbying—the radical and partisan labor politics of Socialism.

The fault with the prevailing labor politics is that it is afraid to be radical and afraidate be partizan. It does not

We Socialists say to our fellow this, our class, being the majority and the socially necessary class, will

italists' injerest is to pay low wager; the interest of the workers is to get high wages. A question of hours'? The capitalists' interest is to lengthen the working day; the interest of the workers is to shorten it. Sanitation of workshops and guarding of dangerous machinery? The capitalists' interest is to keep down expenses; the interest of the workers is to protect their own health and lives. The uncumployed? The sapitalists' interest is to have a part of the producers overworked and the rast begging for employment; the workers' interest is to distribute work and carnings among

all. And if, on every special phase of the labor question, these interests alstion as a whole they must be ir

Treeoncifably opposed.

You cannot successfully work out the details of a problem unless you have a good view of the problem as a whole. If you want to go anywhere, 'you go "one step at a time," indeed; but your steps will be almiess and iconfused, some in the right direction. confused, some in the right direction and some in the wrong direction. UNLESS YOU KEEP IN MIND A CLEAR IDEA OF YOUR DESTINA

live by wages, which are but a part of their product; the capitalist live by profits, which are the ing part of the workers' product. The duct of labor, because they own the means of production, which the means of production, which the workers must use. So long as the means of production remain the property of a capitalist class, the worker have only one choice to give up a share of their product to those who lo not work or else to stand idle and starve. Therefore, there is a class struggle. The unions are organized to carry on this struggle, in its daily de tail, by such means as the strike, the boycott, the label, etc. The Socialist movement is organized to carry on the same struggle, in its larger aspect, upon the political field.

The Only Choice.

In these days of great machinery, you must choose, either to have a smal group of rich men hold as private property, for their own profit, the means of production used by millions of wage-workers, as is now the case or, as the Socialists propose, to havworkers collectively own and control the means of production they collectively use. You must choose be-tween Trusts and Socialism.

This is the goal—the COMPLETE

emancipation of Labor, through the social ownership of the means of production. You can reach that goal only by fighting out the class struggle; and it is folly to neglect the weapon of

politics in such a battle.

So the political labor movement must be radical. It must have a purpose that goes to the root of the matter If we try only to suppress the symp-toms of capitalist class rule—overwork, loms of capitalist class rule—overwork, child labor, unsafe and unsanitary conditions, petty tyranny of bosses, black-listing, and the like-without seeking o remove the cause, we shall surely fail. When we strike at that cause we shall find it easy to deal with the

symptoms.

This is where the advocates of "practical" labor politics (falsely so called) make one great mistake. But there is another. They want labor politics to be non-partizan.

Why We Must Be Partizan.

To accomplish anything your politics nust be partizan. IT IS PARTIES. NOT MEN, THAT COUNT, in politics; a man of average honesty and intelli-gence, elected by a good party, is better than the wisest and best of men elected by a bad party. The public official is not merely an individual who happens to be in office because he supports certain principles. He is a meni

ports certain principles. He is a mem-ber of a party organization, the crea-ture of a party machine. It is hard, often impossible, for him to act effec-tively, against the policy of his party. The old parties, being founded on capitalist principles, have a machine CONTROLLED FROM ABOVE. Their nominations are digtated from above Their campaign funds are supplied by above, by the Boss. An official elected by either of these parties owes his nomination and election and his hope of re-election and advancement to the Boss and the Capital Kings behind the Boss, It takes an unusually wis strong, and brave man, in such a position, to disobey the Boss in order to help the working class; in doing so he would sign his own political death

The Socialist Party has a machine, too-a party organization. But it is a democratic organization, like that of the unions, controlled by the rank and file. Its funds are made up by the valuntary contributions of thinking workers. An official elected by the and election and his hope of re-election and advancement to this organization It would take a very foolhardy man, in such a position, to betray the party of "no politics in the union," for it at and help the capitalists; in so doing cast makes it possible for the workers he would sign his own political deathwarrant.

Read the platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties. They have only vague phrases for you, while for the capitalists they have definite and weighty declarations of policy. Examine the records of their leader and afraidate be partizen. It does not one and candidates. For important of go to the root of the matter, but deals fices they nominate lawyers, bankers, only with results. It does not concentrate the property of the prope go to the root of the matter, our gears only with results. It does not concentrate the political power of the work-ing-class, but dissipates it in bargaining with its enemies over every petty places or where there is little chance of election that either of these parties chooses a plain workingman as its enadidate. Examine their records workers; If we are to use our chooses a plain workingman as its political power to any effect, OUR candidate. Examine their records POLICY MUST BE BOTH RADICAL when in power. So far as their treat-POLICY MUST BE BOTH RADICAL

AND PARTIZAN; we must have a guiding purpose, which can be no less than the complete emancipation of our class; we must unite our strength upon that purpose, never considering one as the other—WHICHEVER HAPP. class; we must unite our strength upon that purpose, never considering only as the other WHICHEVER HALL other question as an issue. So long as ENS TO BE IN POWER IS THE WORSE.

Now read the national and state and local platforms of the Socialist Party. They are based entirely on the Why We Must Be Radical.

The interests of capitalists and workers are opposed on every question. Is it a question of wages? The capitalists literest is to pay low wages. Their expiration of the workers is to pay low wages. Their expitalist opponents dare bring the interest of the workers is to get interests of the working class Their capitalist opponents dare bring no other charge against them than that they have honestly lived up to this Socialist rule in every matter; "Will the doption of this measure b' beneficial to the working class? If so, we are in favor of it. If not, we are opposed to it."

Causes of Failure.

We have shown that the works class needs a political organization of its own and that the Socialist Party

a reason for existence. That is why many so-called "independent labor parties" have failed. They are not really "independent," for they com-promise and exchange endersements with other parties; they are not really "labor" parties, for they are afraid openly to declare the antagonism be-tween the two classes; they are not really "parties," but only timid and spasmodic protests against special buses. Ti They promise a great deal, ish little or nothing, and quick

ly go to pleces. Your party must have a positive and consistent policy. In order to have a consistent policy it must have a final aim clearly in view. Such an aim, such a policy, the Socialist Party represents ore it grows.
Socialist Party MAKES NO

FUSIONS OR COMPROMISES. Its object is not to capture offices but to carry out principles. Fusion and compromise are good means for leaders to get boodle and jobs, but they kill the honesty of a party. That has been the fatal mistake of two or three national and many local "labor parties." That is the reason for the weakness of rather make a small real gain than a large gain that will turn into defeat. "Immediate Relief."

"But," says some critic, "we want something now-some immediate relief." You are quite right. The que tion is, how to get it. You have tried begging and you have tried halfhearted and compromising "lator politics." Both have falled. Whenver you think you have won some thing, it slips out of your hands, because you have not a strong and un-compromising party to support it. It s time to quit making faces and shaking your fists at the enemy and to go in to fight him to the finish.
You will get "measures of immedi-

ate relief" only when you demand all that is rightly yours and show your determination to take it. You can do that by voting and working for the only party which nominates candidates on a platform demanding for the workers the full product of their labor -the Socialist Party.

Even before you put your party in power, if you show a disposition to do so, you will get some relief. You do not get concessions by begging from enemies, but by fighting them. The harder you fight, the more ready they re to make concessions. Frighten the old-party politicians with a big Socialist vote, and they will hasten to pass ome laws to appease you. Frighten them again next year with a still bigger Socialist vote, and they will enforce those laws and pass others, IT IS NOT THE VOTES CAST FOR HIM, BUT THOSE INTELLIGENT. LY CAST AGAINST HIM, THAT THE CAPITALIST POLITICIAN RE-

He practical. Practical men find out what they want and go directly for it -unitedly, systematically, radically, uncompromisingly. They get it.

WHITE, BLACK, AND YELLOW UNITING.

South African Natives Join White Work ers in Opposing Importation of Coolios-Agitation in China Itself.

The chiefs of the Bechuana tribe of natives in South Africa, on behalf of their people, have protested to the British government against the proposed importation of Chinese contract inborers to work in the mines. The government levies a but-tax on the na tives in order to make it impossible for them to live in their own simple fashion, by the care of their fields and erds, and force them to become wageworkers in the mines. Now, the lives say, if the coolies are brought in, they will have little chance to work and, as the hut-tax will be collected just the same, they will be utterly ruined and driven to desperation. Some of the English papers declare he matter to be a serious one.

The growth of sympathy and good derstanding between British and Boer workingmen in South Africa and the natives, all victims of government for the mine owners' profit, is causing the financiers and their political agent some alarm. As Socialists, we find it orrespondingly pleasing.

In this connection it is interesting to note, too, that an agitation is being carried on in China to discourage Thinese from coming out as contract laborers to South Africa or elsewher so much is certain, that even in China an understanding of the inter national capitalist system of expicita-tion is taking root and that a Chinese division of the Socialist army of the world may be a thing of the compara lively near future.

IS THIS FREEDOM?

Here is a little story with a moral that a reader of The Worker in a Western state tells in sending in a "For some time I have been after

one of our section formen on the X. Y. & Z. R. R." [for obvious reasons we do not name the road] "to get him to subscribe for a Socialist paper, which he steadily refused to do. I wondered why, for he seemed to be interested in Socialism. So the other day I said to him: 'If you will give me 50 cents I will send you The Work-cr for a year.' 'No,' he replied. 'Well, friend,' said I, I'll tell you what I'll do. I will not have the paper sent to you by mail, but will deliver it to you personally, and nobody need know you get it.' It worked. He gave me the 50 cents and admitted that it was the fear of losing his job that prevent-ed him from subscribing directly. Comrades, there are many of this kind in this country, and when a man ha a family to support I must say, while I despise cowardice, we cannot blame them. So we must use this sly way more than we do. Had we all been in the Socialist movement in Germany afteen years, as I have been we would better realize what secrecy or discre-

ment."
There is the story—and a true story and, what is worse, a common one, What sort of freedom is if that we have, when honest workingmen are afraid of fetting their bosses know their political inclination? Is if not

CAPITALISTS ORGANIZING.

Why the Organized Working Class Need Have No

Our Ruling Class, Like All Others, Vaciliates Between Brutal Violence and Conciliation-The Workers, Though Too Timid Now, Grow Ever Wiser and Bolder.

In our May Day Number of a year ready to resort to any method that ago we gave some account of the or-ganizations of the capitalist class which, during the few months preceding that time, had grown up so remarkably and extended their activity

into so many fields.

We spoke of the Civic Federation, "which was to settle the labor ques-tion forever by the method of concilia-

tion." Of this we said:
"From the beginning it was a shallow enough farce, and it did not take long to make it evident to all who had eyes to see, that its real purpose o patronize and support the most conservative labor leaders, to throw discredit upon nggressive organizations, to alienate public sympathy from workingmen forced to strike." The history of the Civic Federation

since that time has quite justified our words. But what is still more to our satisfaction is the fact that evidently many "have eyes to see." Through their participation in this busin "crying 'Peace' when there is no peace," such labor leaders as Gompers and Mitchell and Shaffer have dis tinetly lost prestige in their respective organizations, Mr. Gompers has shown himself to be in a veritable panic over the growth of Socialism in the unions and has at times come near to the verge of hysteria in his protests. The rebuke which the Hillnois Mine Workers' convention gave to Mr. Mitchell in ture ing down his proposition that they ad-journ and call on all their constituents to stand idle for half an hour in honor of the deceased Senator Hanna was recent history of the labor movement. As for Mr. Shaffer, his pitiful equivocation at the Boston convention has been amply exposed and he has shown his conception of "industrial peace" in the steel industry, as has Mr. Mitchell in the coal-mining industry, by the tame acceptance of a reduced scale of wages, without even a manly protest on behalf of the exploited workers. On the whole the Civic Federation was a stillborn child, and we need not worry much about it. But, as we noted last year, simul-

taneously with these delusive apostles of peace came into the field capitalist organizations whose avowed purpose was to make war to the knife against First came the National Association

of Manufacturers with the redoubta-

ble Parry at its head and the virulent Job a close second. Out of this, apparently, as simply different phases of the same movement, have since spring the Citizens' Industrial Alliance of America and the American Anti-Boy-cott Association. Although in this, as in another organization of which we shall speak later, there seems to be an element of graft (the principle of graft being so ingrained in the capitalists that they cannot organize even for class purposes without trying to "do" each other), yet it certainly has strong backing and is doing all in its power to burt the labor movement by main taining a lobby for capitalist purposes at Washington and the state capitals, by running a press bureau to malign the workingmen's organizations and misrepresent facts concerning the lanew principle of "Taff Vale Law," and even, as may be suspected, by organ-izing such lawless outbreaks as that using lynch law against workingmen when established law will not serve the purpose. (These people, by the way, arrogate to themselves the title of "Citizens"—with a big C—as if to foreshadow their intention of depriving the workingmen of political rights and establishing an aristocracy in name as well as in fact.)

Next we mentioned the National Rec nomic League as an "impartial edu-cational movement to oppose Social-

ism and class-hatred." We have since said of this organization that it was certainly, in one aspect, a graft scheme for its promoters, but that it is nevertheless getting actual support from prominent capi-talists. Its "impartial campaign" is a The closer the lines, the sharper the talists. Its "impartial campaign" is a The closer the lines, the sharper the campaign of misrepresentation and fight, the sooner will it be over. And distortion of facts. The League constantly boasts of its impartiality and its readiness to present both sides. But in its publications the quotations from MANUFACTU Socialist writers are garbled and made to convey a meaning very different from the original; and when the Ma-chinists' Union of New York asked the Lengue to send speakers to reply to Socialist speakers before locals of the union, they were told that this was impossible, but were offered an abun-

As more formidable foes than these we mentioned the National Metal Trades Association and other organivations of the sort, whose purpo the raising of funds to assist affiliated employers in fighting the unions, the blacklisting of obnoxiously thoughtful and self-respecting workmen, the sys-tematic supply of scales to break strikes, and the putting of spies into the ranks of the labor organizations to betray their plans to the bosses.

dant supply of this dishonest litera-

Organizations of this sort have grown enormously within the year. In almost every industry we now see a powerful national association of employer Especially in the building trades is this notable. The unions of these tradus in New York City last summer felt the iron hand of the association "until hunger compels capitulation." Similar experiences have been made n many other cities. In all these varying forms the or-

the unions, to import seabs, to use the blacklist, to fight labor legislation, to subsidize the press, to misstate facts and slander unions and union men, to invoke the aid of the law against strikers or to organize moiss of "re-speciable citizens" to drive them from their homes—the capitalist class is that they will be good to scal."

will serve its purposes and is rapidly organizing to use these methods to the greatest effect.

The contrast between the Civic Federation with its sweet phrases about the brotherhood of Capital and Labor (Capital first), on the one hand, and the Parryites and Economic Leaguers, on the other hand, with their open and savage hostility to the lab ment, represent the two policies of conciliation and suppression, between which the capitalist class wavers and

So it is and has been with every ruling class in dealing with the sub ect producing class.

A part of the rulers and exploiters A part of the rulers and exploiters are wise enough to see that they are living, so to speak, upon the crest of a social volcano, and they wish to be "good masters," or at least to have themselves accounted such, to make friends with the leaders of the subfriends with ject class, to do all in their power to conciliate the forces of revolt and put off the day of conflict. They are willing to make concessions—provided, of course, they do not have to give up too

course, they do not have to give up too much, in order to avoid open conflict. But these wiser ones of the ruling class are, fortunately, never able to carry out their program. There are carry out their program. There are always too many of the exploiters who are of the Parry order—open, direct, arrogant, bitter, violent. In one sense we may have more respect for these than for the Hanna type. They are our frank and avowed enemie while the others are false friends, And false friends are always both hateful and more dangerous than open But the one thing that pleases us is

this, that the capitalist class to-day, like the feudal class in the days of the French Revolution, is divided against itself-and we know that "a house dirided against itself cannot stand. vided against itself cannot stand."

The virials' the can of follow a consist policy. Now it tries to compromise conciliate, to make concessions. It could hold to this policy it might acceed in unnerving and emascuating the labor movement. But it cannot be consistent. Just at the critical moment, perhaps, the violent and arrogant vine of the capitalist. and arrogant wing of the capitalist class breaks in and spoils the sweet idyl by some outrageous attack upon the workers. Nor can it consistently follow the policy of violent repression.

If it could, it might succeed in crushing the labor movement outright. But

it cannot persist in this policy, either.

This is the thing that makes the final victory of the working class sure.

The capitalists have the advantage of money, of culture, of lelsure, of dadltional authority. But the workers have the one telling advantage that the pol-icy of their opponents is uncertain and vacillating, while their own, though slow and timid at first (still far too timid now) is clear and aggressive, that the working class grows ever

that the working class grows ever surer of its course and ever more resolute in pursuing it.

The future belongs to the workers. The present belongs to the capitalists. But still, the future belongs to the workers. We must be better organized. The organization of the capital-ists teaches us that. But we shall be better organized. The orga the capitalists will force in to it, if we cannot learn otherwise. We must be more cautious. The shrewlness of the Civic Federation teaches at stat. But we shall be more cautious. The chicanery of the Civic Federation. compel us to use our wits, if not be, else can. Above all, we must be in st bold, more determined, more aggre bold, more determined, more aggs, "sive. Mr. Parry teaches us that, Yabob shall have to learn to fight fire wifidly fire. But we shall learn, if only bellu cause ir. Parry drives us to it.

So in all carnestness The Worker re-

peats now what it said a year ago:
"We welcome the organization of the enemy's forces. We welcome everything that draws the lines clearer. We know that the marshalling of the capitalist powers against us will do more than our appeals could do to educate we have no doubt with which side

MANUFACTURERS'

ASSOCIATION. We have before us as we write a copy of Confidential Bulletin No. 125 of the National Association of Manufacturers, on the first page of which appears this note, signed by Secretary Cushing, to affiliated capitalists:

"I have the honor to send you un-der the Congressional frank of Hon. John J. Jenkins" (that is, at government expense) "a book containing the verbatim of the hearing arranged for and managed by the National Associa-tion of Manufacturers before the House Judiciary Committee in opposition to the Anti-Injunction Bill. lieve that it will prove to be of un common interest.

The Anti-Injunction Bill, along with the Eight-Hour Bill, both of them begged for by the American Federation of Labor, has been shelved and will, no doubt, come up again in the next session and in the next congress, to give the officers of the A. F. of L. another chance to put themselves on record and the old-party members of Congress another chance to show their fidelity to capitalist interests.

presided over by Mr. Eldlitz, the man | On the last page of the same bulletin who said the lockout would continue | we flud the following, which needs no

comment.

"Each member of the National Association of Manufacturers can perform a service of value to the country ganization of the capitalist class has made especially to the patriotic causes made great progress within the last twelve months. Whether it be to send the complex and strongly as possible to duce labor leaders, to send spics into any and all members of congress with whom he is acquainted or can get in

SUND ! AT LABOR

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.

years ago the Tariff was the ostensible issue between the two old parties. Eight years ago it had dropped to a ondary place and Free Coinage was the issue. Four years ago that was relegated to the rear and Imperialism was brought to the front. All three have now gone to the scrap-heap and, unless in the next two months, the old party managers change their minds, the nominal issue of 1904 will be the question of Trusts.

There was more truth than wit in Josh Billings' famous saying, "Party platforms are like the platforms of railways cars—to get in by, not to ride Yet the politicians, in maki their issues for each campaign, have to try to come as near to some real live question in the people's minds as they can safely come without touching it-just as the hunters' decoy ducks are as nearly like live ducks as they estion of the Trusts comes pretty question of the frust comes pendy near being a real question—but the politicians of both old parties will take precious good care that it only comes pretty near, not too near for their safety and the safety of their capi-

The Trust is a real thing-and a big thing—and, as it exists to day, a terri-ble thing. Why, then, do we say that the Trust Question as it will be taken up by the Republican and Democratic parties, is a fake question, no question at all for the working class?

First, because IT IS NOT TAKEN CP 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 those parties declaiming about the interests of the "dear people" and promising to pro-tect them from the wicked trusts, we may know that neither of those parties is acting in good faith. It is an old trick for the man that has the "swag" in his pocket to raise the cry of "Stop thief!" in order to divert attention from himself.

NOT BE TAKEN UP 'IN GOOD CONSISTENTLY THE AVOWED PRINCIPLES OF THE TWO OLD PARTIES, Both these parties stand for the right of private property in the means of produngs that people use in the f wealth. Both of these production of wealth. Both of these parties stand for the right of the own er to make an income-profit, interest. or rent-out of the worker through the mere fact of owning the things the worker needs to use. No party which recognizes this as right can consistent ly or honestly take up any policy that will harm what we call the trusts or protect the mass of the people from their aggressions. Let us make this

What Is the Trust?

What is a 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 com-petition. Whether it is an ordinary joint-stock corporation like the Stand-ard Oil Company, or a corporation holding the stock of several other cor-porations, like the United States Steel Corporation or the Tobacco Trust, or a group of legally separate concerns, vol-untarily acting together or a mere un-incorporated partnership like some of the great financial houses, does not matter. If a single individual owned the property now owned by the Stand-ard Oil or the Steel Trust, the effect would still be the same. Nor does it matter whether the trust arose by the erging of several formerly competi a mortgage on their plants or by one outgrowing the others and crowding them out of the field; nor whether it was by the aid of tariff laws or of grants of public lands or of public conone got the advantage over its competitors, or whether it was simply by the original possession of larger capital, enabling it to use better machinery and to buy materials and sell product at more favorable prices, thus ever in-creasing the preponderance of its capi-tal. By whichever one or more of these methods the trust arose, there it is and the question is. What to do

Competition in a Tank.

The pike is a voracious fish. It is competitive fish, a perfect type of business man. "Each for himself the pike's motto. If you put a lot of pike, big and middle-sized and little, into a tank together, you have a pic-ture of capitalist society in its earlier stage, in the time when competition still prevailed. Your pike will compete freely, each one getting all he can by the "legitimate business methods" of pike society. The big and middle-sized pike will eat the little ones. "The weaklings must go," as Mr. Roosevelt strenuously maintains. The big lke will cat the middle-sized ones. "It a law of nature and a law of God." as young Mr. Rockefeller with the unctuously assures us. Finalwings so unctuously assures us. Finally, if we let the process of free competition go on long enough, the biggest pike will eat those not quite so big. "Vae victis." Our one big. prospereus, and eminently respectable pike remaining, if he were sufficiently human, would render thanks to Divine Providence for having so abundantly blessed. dence for having so abundantly blessed him and would endow a free fish-hatchery in a corner of the tank.

This imagined experiment exactly Blustrates how, in the capitalist sys-tem, FREE COMPETITION NOR-MALLY AND INEVITABLY TENDS TO DESTROY ITSELF AND PRO-

The frusts have not arisen by acci-dent. They have not arisen out of a conspiracy of promoters. They have not arisen out of the mistakes of legis-lators or the favor of corrupt officials.

In the national campaign twelve They have grown just as naturally as roses bloom on the rosebush and nettles grow from nettle-seed.

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. The trusts have grown in free-trade England as well as The trusts are international now. The Rockefellers have profitable invest-ments in Europe and Asia. The Roth-schilds are partners with our own in fleecing American labor. They are not afraid of free

"Illegitimate" Methods.

"Illegitimate" methods-railway discrimination, bribery of public officials, special legislation, even more dangerous methods—have helped in the growth of the trusts. But these methods are only accessory, only minor fac-tors in their growth. Could all of these been prevented-and at any rate, it is like "crying over spilt milk" to talk of them now-but could they have been prevented and free and fair competition assured, still some competitors would have been able to make better profits than others and so to increase their plant and reduce their excess of profits and so again to extend their trade at the other competi-tors' expense and so ultimately to drive those others to the wall.

The trust is here, then. What are you going to do with it. Tariff reduction will not touch it—though twenty years ago free trade might have reits growth a little. Laws against rebates will not overcome itwould not, even if they could be en-

Just One Great Trust.

Let us understand: For the purposes of this discussion we should speak, not of the trusts, but of the Trust. Mat-ters 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 The accumulations of Standard Oil magnates are invested in stocks and bonds of every sort. The big men of the American Sugar- Refining Comthe American Sugar- Refining C pany hold stock also in the Condated Tobacco Company; lords of the Tobacco Trust hold stock in the Amalgamated Copper Company; coppe kings are in the gas and trolley con panies of the great cities and there touch elbows with leaders of the United State Steel Corporation; and so of Directors" and you will find tha the thirty men who constitute the boards of directors of the Standard Oli Company and of its financial agency, the National City Bank, sit also, one or more of them, in the boards of over 225 other corporations, including all the great industrial trusts, all the great railway and mining companies, and all the great banks, brokers' houses, and trust and insurance companies. These financial houses, from J. P. Morgan & Co. and the New York Life down to the smallest savings bank or nickel-aweek insurance concern, form a sort of exchange for the work of the indus-trial and rallway corporations, the inn-chinery by which their unnused profits are invested and their power extende and by which, at the same time, such savings as the workers and the little business men may make are put at the disposal of the lords of finance and

captains of industry. Nor is this ramification of capitalist bounded by the two seas. Among the 225 corporations just re-ferred to are the greatest steamship lines of the world. Among them are companies that own plantations and mines and railways in Cuba, in Mexi-co, in South America, in Canada, in Hawali, in China and Japan, and in Russia, too. In a score of the big companies you will find August Belmont, accredited representative of the Rothschilds, sitting at the same coun-cil board with one of the Rockefellers.

Must Strike at All.

We have not to deal with a few isolated trusts, then, nor even with a few separate trusts in conspiracy. We are face to face with nothing less than the great capitalist class in its, com and manifold organizations-and WE CANNOT STRIKE EFFEC-TIVELY AT ONE TRUST WITH-OUT STRIKING BOLDLY AT ALL.

Once the reader fully realizes this fact of the interlinking of the great capitalist interests—not by conspiracy, not by contract, but by actual ownership of stocks and bonds—he will at once see the folly, or, rather, the fallacy of the cry against the "crin-inal" trusts. The distinction which both Roosevelt and Hearst make. which all the Republican and Democratic politicians make who dare speak of this question, between "preda-tory" or "criminal" trusts and "legitibusiness combinations," is a false distinction. The whole great cor geries of trusts, ever growing richer and better organized, is the legitimate outcome of our business system. And the whole system is predatory, is built on the ruin of competitors in the past and the exploitation of the workers, past and present. The whole system is criminal from the Socialist point of , because the wealth of the clas view, because the wealth of the class that it represents grows out of the overwork and poverty of the mass of overwork and poverty of the mass of the people and the continued rule of that class must doom the workers still to weary toll and hopeless poverty. But if it is legitimate for one man to own the things which another man needs in order to work and live and get a profit out of that other's labor by such ownership, if capitalism itself is legitimate, as the old parties maintain, then it is empty rant to talk of two or three coffporations as predatory and criminal. The system is one great whole and as one whole it must be judged.

defend the Trust? Do we see no such

A Good Thing-for Whom?

Far from it. But we do say that the Trust problem is a part of the great question of Labor and Capital. We say that the Trust is good, yes-FOR ITS is the quality that made it "fittest t

How has the Trust grown up? What survive" in the competitive struggle The answer comes in one word-

Conomy. Organization is always more efficien than anarchy, co-operation than com-petition. Where small competitor must waste time and energy an-money in squabbling for the market the combine, having the market so cure, can turn them to the cheapening of production. THE TRUST IS THE GREATEST OF LABOR-SAVING DEVICES. That is why it has triumphed. It is a step in human

The One Thing Needful.

But we must take another step. The Trust saves inbor—that is, it reduce vaste and makes labor more produ tive. But it saves labor FOR THE BENEFIT OF THOSE WHO DO NOT LABOR. The Socialist solution of the Trust problem follows this statement as plainly as B after A

We would keep what is good in the Trust and make it good for all. We do not talk about "criminal" and "legitimate" combines—"splitting a hair 'twixt south and southwest side."

We do not talk about "curbing" the trusts—a convenient phrase for those who wish to say something and do

We do not talk of "smashing" the trusts—a thing that on one but a despot more powerful than earth has ever seen could do, that would not stay done even then, and that it would be foolish to do even if it were practicable, because it would be going back instead of forward and throwing away one of the great results of modern

No, we say: The prosperity of trustified capitalism shows us that it is wise and feasible to have the control of mines and railways and factories conneans more food and clothing and fue and other good things can be produced and transported with less labor. But we see that it is very foolish to leave this centralized control in private hands. So we call on all our fellows working class-the class that of production and transportation rse their political power to make these is the joint property of their crea-Instead of having the Trust over us, instead of trying to curl combat at Trust, LET US VOTE TO BE THE TRUST.

WHAT RIGHT HAVE OBITING WOU TO OBJECT?

By Wm. H. Leffingwell.

What right have you, Mr. Workingnan, to kick against Socialism?

Every once in awhile I hear you make some foolish remark about So-cialists wanting to "divide up." Well, suppose that were true (which it isn't), would it hurt you? What have you to divide? You haven't a cent. Now, e that were true (which it isn't), honest, have you?

You own nothing but your laborpower. If your ability to work for sirkes you, you are done for.

What would it mean, for instance, if while operating that machine you should lose your right arm, or your eyesight? It would mean starvation, wonldn't it?

What will you do when you get old, provided your children are as poor as you are? Ever think about that? No, my friend, you never think ex-

Now let me specify one of those "special occasions." Suppose you are a union man. Wages are too low or hours too long. Your union goes on strike. You do your best to w.n the strike, which means that you do your best to keep the other fellows, "the scabs," from taking your job. judge issues an injunction forbidding you to walk or talk in the neighborood of the factory. You override the injunction. The police club you ever the head a little. Perhaps it is even too have some fun with you, maybe try the effect of those new riot car-tridges on you. That makes YOU think, doesn't it? THEN YOU begin to realize that the man behind the ice or militia is the judge who was either elected by your votes or appointed by some man who was. THEN YOU suddenly learn that this man has been acting in the interests of your boss instead of you.

But, did you ever stop to think a few thoughts when this same thing was happening to SOME OTHER WORKINGMEN?

Did you think during the Pennsyl-

Do you think now, during the Colorado strike? These things are happening to OTH-ER workingmen every day! Do they

worry YOU?
The Socialists suggest that you join the party of the working class and, taking a lesson from the capitalists, cepture the governmental powers and

xercise them in YOUR interests. The Socialists suggest that ev The Socialists suggest that every-body should EARN what they get, not that somebody should get what others

earn, as now.

The Socialists suggest that every-body should get ALL they earn, not a

miserable portion of it.

The Socialists suggest that the class that works should control and that there should be but one class—the class that works—which means that there should be no classes at all. What right have YOU to object to

Socialism? The man who lives by the sweat of YOUR brow might ob-ject-I can understand that—but why

of course, these are merely sug-gestions. You are a "free" man.

The Socialists can't compel you to adopt them, but—possibly the capitalists will.

Think a little, even if it does hurt.

It may do you good.

THE TWO OLD PARTIES.

Always Getting Up New "Issues," Begause They Dare Not Avow Their Real Principles-One Stands for Big Capitalists, the Other for Little Capitalists, Both for Capital as Against Labor.

The two old parties, having no real | either for Labor against Capital or for 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. the trouble with a lie is that it is so likely to be found out. The disadvantage of a fake issue in politics is that it does not wear well. Like a rouge complexion, it has to be renewed pret-

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

When the noisy enthusiasm of campaign has passed over, the people begin calmly to consider the matter and soon discover that, for them, at least, there was nothing in the issue on which they have divided their votes; that, in fact, they are in the position of the two foolish boys who, position of the two foolish boys who, having quarreled over a nut they had found and referred the dispute to onsser-by to decide, were dismayed to see him calmly take the kernel as his fee and award each of them half the

So it is necessary for the old-party politicians continually to make new is sues as fast as the old ones are ren-dered useless by the voters' tardy thought: This is such a well established rule that we have more than heard some prominent political "Until the convention meets. I cannot know what is going to be the paramount issue in this campaign."

How the Leaders Lead.

Such are the "leaders" of the old It is said that Joseph Pulltexplained the art of a successful p litical 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. Such a leader is a contemptible specimen of humanity, no doubt. But let it be observed, this is the only sort of leader ship that is possible in the old parties, for the simple reason that, as we have said, those parties have no principles of progress, that their function is either to keep things as they are or else to try to go backward, while they are compelled to make the pretense of wishing to advance. Such leadership wishing to advance. Such leadership that leads nowhere, that continually turns this way and that to avoid real leadership for the old parties, because it serves their purpose

Political Heirlooms.

Because each of the old parties has the party of the past.

The Republican party stands a tradition, a fine historic herricout, a capitalist collectivism—industrial tocracy. The Democratic party stands ness and because these traditions haves some influence on even intelligent men, is because many voters imagine that Jefferson's greatness of a century ago is? a good reason for voting the Demo-cratic ticket now or that Lincoln's greatness of forty years ago is a good reason for supporting the Republican party to-day, it is worth while for us to try to analyze the real principles of these two parties as they exist at the present time and see what they have of good or ill to offer the working class. They have principles—only, as we said in opening, principles that they

dare not openly avow. . Partly the two ostensibly warring to some extent they differ.

The point upon which they agree is little to say. But it is an essential point, the essential point, for the working class.

Both Are for Capitalism.

The two old parties agree in upholding the economic system under which it is possible for one man to live without doing useful work, by drawing an income from the ownership of the things that another man works with This is what we call capitalism. This both the old parties support. They agree in upholding what they call the "sacred right of property." They agree in considering the promotion of "business prosperity" as the primary consideration—that is, in putting first the interest of the propertied class, of the class that lives off the labor of the working class by owning the land and mines and railways and factories and other things which the working class operates. They agree in putting this first; the workingman's prosperity, they pretend, depends on the prosperity of the non-workers. They are quite naïve about this. They take it for granted and expect the workingmen yoters to accept it without question.
They propose a high tariff in order to
make business for the manufacturers
and assure the workingmen that this
will give them a better chance to work will give them a better chance to work and so to live. Or they propose free trade in order to promote agricultural and commercial interests—and tell the workingmen that if the farmers and merchants prosper he will get cheaper food and ciothing. Or they propose free sliver or expansion or an isthmian canal as being good for this or that business interest—and expect the workingman, who has no business interests, to be forever satisfied with the hope that, if the business man's table is well spread, mere crusts and crumbs will fall off for him. Both Have Outraged Labor.

Yes, both these parties exist primarily for the maintenance of business interests and both of them are officered and directed and financed by the propertied class. And when it cames to a test, when either of these parties being in power, is unable to dedge the

Capital against Labor, their- records against Labor are like as two peas. It is Republican Governor Peabody, backed by Republican President Roosevelt, who has overturned the consti tution and defled the law and built a bull-pen and set up bayonet-rule over whole counties in Colorado, in the ef fort to break a miners' strike this year But he had a model to follow. years ago it was Democratic Governor Steunenberg, backed by Republican President McKiniey, who did exactly the same thing in Idaho, It was Re-publican Governor Stone who sent troops to break the Pennsylvania coal miners' strike in 1902; but it was miners' strike in 1902; but it was Democratic Governor Pattison who sent them to break the steel workers strike in the same state eleven years ngo—and the Democratic party renom-insted him in 1902. It was Democratic who repudiates its every plank. President Cleveland who crushed the A. R. U. strike with military force in 1804—and the Republican Senators in

One Point of Disagreement.

open session applauded his act. Go

against trade unions and of decisions holding labor laws unconstitutional

holding labor laws unconstitutional and you will find Democratic and Re

publican judges running a close race which should most zeniously serve

Yet, while the fight between the old parties is only a sham battle so far as working-class interests are concerned they are really fighting each other, in a way, and there is some real difference between them.

They fight sincerely, fight a real battle for the spoils of office. As Lincoln Steffens says, "Graft is non-partizan." Both parties live in glass houses on that score. If Jackson earned a Democratic halo by making the division of spoils a system, if Cleveland illustrated in practise the parodied version of his fine phrase-"A public office is a private simp"-Theodore Roosevelt, the "clean Platt while in Albany and at Washington has been just as complaisant to Addicks and Quay as any frank and outspoken spoilsman. The spoils sys-tem-postal scandals, glove contracts, Indian land frauds, and all-is an incidental matter. The two political or-ganizations are there to do certain work for business interests. Business nterests, organized capitalism, pays them partly in campaign contributions. It pays them still more in bribes and the chance to loot. Both sets of mercenaries want the job. Either set, be ing in, do Capital's work and see that they get well paid for it. That is part of the system-part of the business system, which controls the political system. Business is graft.

A Deeper Difference.

But aside even from this sincer conflict for spoils, there is some real difference between the parties. The Republican party is the party of

the present. The Democratic party is

tocracy. The Democratic party stands for capitalist individualism-industrial triumphant great-capitalist class. The

Democratic party tries, in a futile and vacillating way, to represent the dying middle class or small-capitalist class. The Republican party is conserva tive: it wants things kept as they are The Democratic party is reactionary it wants things put back as they used to be. The Republican party wants

The Democratic party wants it to flow up hill, back to Lake Itasca. The Socialist Party is against both The Socialist Party is the party of the future. It stands for the collectivism of Labor-for industrial democracy. It represents the working class. It is

the water in the Mississippi to stand

ogressive. It wants the river to go on flowing, floating boats for human use, turning mills to serve mankind, fertilizing every field of healthy social

Yes, we are against both-against both equally. We have no choice. If we find the Republican party more hateful, we find the Democratic party more ridiculous. If we shall rejoice in the fitter break-down of the Demo-cratic party, that is only because the Democratic party is a confusing ana chronism, because it is in the way, be-cause its destruction would draw the lines clearer on the real issue of Labor against Capital, Freedom against Class

We know pretty well what the Re-publican party stands for. The gen-eral lines of its policy are clear and positive. If the late Senator Hanna had lived and carried out his plan of unborsing the Rough Rider, or if the scheme to boom Speaker Cannon in Roosevelt's place had succeeded, it would not make much difference. We can tell without much guess-work what the Republican convention is go-ing to do. We know what we are dealing with in this quarter, know what to expect, because the Republican party is homogeneous and has a pretty defin-ite positive policy.

The Dying Democracy.

The Dying Democracy.

But the Democratic party is a hasbeen. It is like a very old man, who broods over his past, who mixes up the memories of his infancy, his youth, and his manhood, who childishly repeats empty phrases, whe only now and then for a moment gets an impression of the present world about him and cannot hold it but falls back at once into his fantastic reveries. So, for instance, the Democratic party mixes up the traditions of Jefferson and Jackson, mixes them both patron saints, though the career of the latter was in utter contradiction of the ideas of the former. So it tries in vain to reconcile its pretended anti-imperialist doctrines of to-day with its record of aggressive imperialism in the days of its great power, before the War. So it wanders and wavers and contradicts itself again and again—now talking free trade, now formulating a high-tariff wilson bill, new exclaiming against the conquest of the Fhilip-

pines, now applauding the dismember-ment of Colombia, now talking of an income tax and denouncing the trusts, now through its judges and its lawyer-leaders overthrowing the income tax and emasculating such anti-trust legislation as there is. So, above all, legislation as there is. So, above all, il ke a doting greybeard, it looks to the past for what ideals it has, and idly dreams of bringing back the conditions of half a century ago, the day of the independent producer and the small business man, the day of capitalism, now irrevocably gone by.

The Democratic national convention to the best of the product of the pr

is only two months off. Yet no one can safely guess what it will do, whom it will nominate, whether it will adopt free-trade plank or not, whether I will adopt a free-silver plank or not whether it will adopt an anti-imperial-ist plank or not, whether it will adopt an anti-trust plank or not, whether it will propose an income tax or not, whether it will propose government ownership of railways or not—on all these and many more things it is ut erly in the clouds. The wise men and leaders of the Democratic party will have to count noses at St. Louis—and weigh pocketbooks—before they will know for sure where they stand on any of these things. And if they adopt a "radical" platform, they are just as likely as not to nominate on it a mar

The Democratic party used to stand for something definite. It stood for decentralization of government once It stood for free trade once. It stoo for chattel slavery once. Now it wab-bles-because the middle class, the small capitalist class, on which it is founded, is in a very shaky condition s disintegrating and giving away, is shifting, part of it this way, part that and does not itself know what it wants except that it wants something that

was once and can never be again.

Unless the Democratic party should be definitely captured by the "conservative" element and become a mere replica, twin, or understudy of the Republican party, just as ready and fit to serve great capitalist interests willing and able, so to speak, to scab on the Republicans' job now and then -unless this happens, it will go on maundering and driveling in its second childhood until it falls into the grave that already vawns for it.

Because a good many simple people take this dotard's fancies for the wis-dom of age and experience, and are misled thereby, we shall be glad to see it disappear. Then will come the straight and open conflict that we long for, the life-and-death battle between the Socialist party of the wage-work ers and the Republican party of the profit-takers. When the sham battle ends, the final real battle will be on.

THE COMRADE "COMMONWEALTH."

May the day be soon.

By Roland Cnwood (Copyright, 1904, by The Dawn Co.)

Ye sons of toil, awake to duty! Every high motive bids you rise-Your wives' fond truth, your sweet-

hearts' beauty, greed-crushed earth, the glad free skies, Toli's bitter past, its hope's upspring-

ing.
Your burdens upon sea and land,
Your great deliverance, just at hand.
Risel Liberty's glad anthem singing.

CHORUS. Awake! Arouse! Upstand! The ballot in your hand, March on! March on! All hearts

To win your liberty. Leave all the bitter past behind you— Its wrongs, its strifes, its misery,—

Wreak no revenge on those who bind But yield them equal liberty Of studio, office, shop or soil,

and hold all others con Chorus: Awake, etc. O Justice, loved of seers and sages!

To cat the bread of happy toil,

O Peace, with white dove's circling wings! O Freedom, dream of all the ages, Reign evermore, Earth's only kings! Life's richest gifts on man bestowing, toll and leisure, beauty, health— The gladsome Comrade Common-

wealth. it of all the ages' sowing

OUR RESPONSIBILITY.

There has never been such a stundous and significant moment in human history as that which the world is now approaching. There has never been such responsibility in human hands as that which the Socialist holds in his. The destiny of the world for generations to come trembles on the word and the ballot, the character and the fidelity, of the obscurest proletaire I for one am not at all of those who hold that Socialism is inevitable mere-

ly because the collapse of capitalism is inevitable. Because an old world breaks up, it does not at all follow that a better world shall immediately take its place. The progress of the world has been by no means a steady ascent. The human race has had periods of collapse, of darkness and los of extinguished civilization.

Socialism will come upon the ruins of capitalism only if the Socialist has come. The co-operative world will ar-rive when the co-operative hands of the working class shall bring it in. We the working class shall bring it in. We shall have economic freedom only when we are worthy and brave enough to take it. We shall have the good and the free world, fit for a risen humanity to live in, only if the Socialist movement shall be prepared to go into the capitalist crisis as the better world's creator. We shall have, after capitalism, just the kind of a world that we are nurse and strong enough capitalism, just the kind of a world that we are pure and strong enough to make. It is therefore time that the Socialist movement look to itself, to its own coherency and quality, and see what manner of movement it be; see whether it may stand in the nearing judgment day, and prove mighty to make the new world wherein dwelleth opportunity and abundance of life for every man—George D. Herron.

-If you don't read The Worke

THE FIRST "FIRST OF MAY."

By Simon O. Pollock.

In 1889 the International Socialist and Trade Union Congress in Paris passed a resolution demanding the eight-hour labor day, and also decided that on the First of May of each year a demonstration in favor of the eight-hour day take place in all countries. The capitalistic press was hardly rep-resented at the Congress. The upper classes manifested very little interest in the deliberations of the labor congress, and it seemed that the Congress, with all its resolutions, was for-gotten and drowned in the noise of the universal exposition and official and unofficial festivities which then took

place in Paris. The hopes for the eight-hour labor day and for the good results therefrom were deeply rooted in the labor world. A labor

A labor paper then expressed these hopes in the following manner: "Under the eight-hour labor day, less physical strength is consumed, and life "Under the eight-hour labor day there is a greater demand for work-

men, and unemployed will find employ-"Under the eight-hour labor day the wages increase, because the number of the competing unemployed decreases. "Under the eight-hour labor

eight hours remain for rest and eight hours for recreation. "Under the eight-hour labor day the purchasing power of the worker in-creases, and therefore grows the num-ber of employed in the industries which produce the necessaries of life "Under the eight-hour labor day the workmen achieve greater political lib-erfies and independence. "Under the eight-bour 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 de-

These demands were considered 'middle stations" towards greater de nands, but at the time they were the One year passed and the first First of May was approaching. The Social ist press recalled the resolution of 1889, and preparations for the demonstrations began. The workmen were ge ting ready for the "holiday." The eight-hour labor question was on the lips of thousands all over Europe. But what was being done by the

of these quiet preparations? They were getting ready for a revolution in Madrid, in Berlin, in Paris, in Vienna, in Rome, and all over, soldiers were concentrated. In Austria the army was ready in many centers. The aristocrats gave up their "May par-ties," bank deposits were withdrawn, household goods were packed together for removal. Some banks even failed in the panic. In Vienna the army was placed in the principal streets and parks. The great capitalists found it even necessary to remind the laborers that they had "no right" to stop work on that day. Many business houses, factories and banks were closed-all feared a revolution. In Prussia not only the regular army so proven by the first First of May

was held in readiness, but even the reserves were called out. In Bavaria, Saxony and other places—the same state of affairs. The rallway employees received an order not to dem-onstrate, under the penalty of losing their bread. Other workmen were

threatened likewise. In Italy the same military preparations and prohibitions and—on the First of May—bloodshed. The police shot at the demonstrants. In Austria bloodshed occurred even before the First of May as an experiment and as an object lesson. And in Spain? There the government simply arrested all Socialist leaders prior to the First of May. In France, Paris looked as on the eye of a revolution. The Hotel de Ville (City Hall) was guarded by soldiers and carrisons were brought from

other towns to guard the capital.

And notwithstanding all preparations made by the ruling classes, the demonstrations in all countries were imposing and successful. The solidar-ity of the workers of all countries has me a historical fact. The revolution in the hearts and minds of workingmen and workingwomen was com-plete. The threats of the governments had no effect, and notwithstanding the manifest anxiety to shoot at the "rebels," the demonstrants everywhere so conducted themselves and were so disciplined that the generals regretted. having lost an opportunity for another "bloody joke." The May demonstration was to be a revolutionary day, and not a day of revolution. That was the original plan, and the workingmen carried out this plan most effectually.

And to complete this situation and

to emphasize the international character of the demonstrations, the work-ingmen of London held a meeting in Hyde Park, where almost a half a nillion men gathered for that purpose The English workingman thus broke away from his seclusion and became a part of all. The Polish workers in Warsaw, Russia, and elsewhere, open-ly celebrated this day, notwithstanding the prosecutions and hundreds of ar-rests that were made before and on

the First of May.

This is how the first international But was it for the eight-hour labor But was it for the class of the upper classes and its governments proved that beyond the "eight hours" stood classes and its governments proved that beyond the "eight hours" stood Socialism, the Social Democracy with its powerful influence over the labor and this caused their fear; and he workingmen, feeling that the eighthour labor day is not more than a "middle station," a means for a greater ideal, a stepping stone towards the abolition of capitalism, poured forth on the First of May their greatest inspiration, exerted their best efforts, the

soldiers, cannons and bullets around them notwithstanding. The "eight hours" labor question became an insignificant demand, when compared with the emancipating ideal of Socialism. The First of May is therefore not only the festival of labor, it is a revolutionary day. It is a day, of the revolution of the future—the liberty day of the pro

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NEW YORK.

The Worker.

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

PUBLISHED WEEKLY 184 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK, By the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Associatio P. O. BOX 1512

Telephone Call: 302 John

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS.	
tuverlably in Advance.	
One year	,
Less tinn 100 copies, per copy	
5 per week, one year 1. 10 per week, one year 2. 15 per week, one year 1. 20 per week, one year 12.	

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above.

The Socialist Party for Social Democratification in New York) should not be confined to the confined t

THE SOCIALIST VOTE. The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic Party of New York) has passed through its second general election. Its growing power is indicated and its speedy victory for-shadowed by the great increase of its vote as shown in these figures:



OUR IDEAL OF DEMOCRACY.

It often happens that what is an ideal of progres or of revolution in one nge becomes a conservative or a re actionary ideal in the next. It ofter happens, too, that the forward move ment of one age takes up the watchword of revolutionists of an age b fore and, just because it uses the sam word, fails to see that, if that word is to have a vital meaning to-day, it must not be just the same meaning that it had yesterday.

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. We are generally agreed-at least most hold the view sincerely and few oper ly question it-that democracy is good thing to-day. But we do not always clearly see that the democracy which is good to-day is radically dis ferent from that which was good Princer years ago, that the older form ent conditions and is a reactionar

We cannot always safely define word by going to the dictionary and finding its etymology; but etymology may help, if used with judgment, De morracy, the dictionaries tell us. means rule by the people, as distin-It means self-government. But in different ages and under different social guditions self-government may and, in fact, must assume quite different forms. Such politeal instintions and methods as would effectually ensure self-government at the end of th eighteenth century might prove guite unworkable at the beginning of the twentieth and, if adopted, might have no other result than to create genera confusion and give an opportunity for despotism in disguise. Such, we hold,

In Jefferson's time, the greater par of the people, the vitally useful class of that age, were the small independent producers-men who individually owned the things necessary for carry ing on their various industries, con trolled their own opportunities of em ployment, owned their whole produc individually and, in a word, were eco etily free as individuals. It was the interest of this class to have a corresponding indivdualism in govern They felt amply able, each to take care of himself, and neither hoped for help nor willingly brooked interference from the organized pow ers of society. Government was essary evil, from their point of view. They must have government to sh crime and enforce contracts and to protect them from foreign invasion and do a few other things. But they were jealous of any extension of its functions and held to the maxim that "The people is governed best which is governed least."

They were quite right, in their tim fersonian or Roussellian ideas were once vital truth, they are still so, serious mistake, "Truth is

eternal" only in the sense that it is forever growing, not that it is fixed and unchangable. 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 clas sof wage-workers (with the farmers, whose position is a mixed one, but growing ever more like to that of the wage-wokers). The wage-workers do not own the things with which they work. They do not work and produce individually, but socially. Economically—that is, in making their living, which they must do by selling their services to capitalists they are helpless as individuals. They show their conscious ness of this by voluntarily associating themselves in unions to regulate the conditions of their employment. The

capitalists show their consciousness of it by seeking niways to deal with the workers as individuals. The workers, even when they do not clearly understand the matter in theory, yet wish for legislation that shall protect them as a class, even by limiting their action as individuals. They are right in this; for the action of the individual worker-as, for instance, his acceptance of lower wages or longer hours of labor-does not affect him alone, but all his fellow workers. The capitalists, on the other hands, oppose such legislation and wish for laws that shall prevent the workers from combining and compel them to act as individuals. And the capitalists are quite right-from the point of view of their own interests; they wish to force the Jeffersonian sort of democracy, the democracy of "each for himself" upon the workers, while they tend ever more and more to abandon it as

applied to their own affairs. In a word because economic individualism is a thing of the past, it follows that political individualism or democracy of the Jeffersonian type should become a thing of the past that it is reactionary-that, in fact, political in- the labor movement are beginning to dividualism is no longer a means to study Socialism and to collect ammudemocracy or self-government, but a means to anarchy.

That is why we Socialists oppos the so-called "radical" Democrats just as firmly as we oppose the conserva tive Democrats and the Republicans. These remarks have an application

within our movement, too. We boast

-and truly-that our party is demo

cratic. We keep good watch that it shall

remain so. The most telling argument that can be brought against any proposed party action is that it is un lemocratic. This as it should be. But let us never mistake the sort of de mocracy that befits the political or ganization of the working class in the twentieth century. Let us never think that it is democratic for each party member to do as he pleases, to follow his own personal inclinations or whims in any affair at all concerning the party and to resent interference or censure. Let us nevel think that de mocracy in our party constitution necessarily means decentralization. liberating the state organizations from national control and the local organizations from state control. How fa the party ought to go in controlling its members and how far the higher organizations ought to control the lower ones is always a question to be decided by judging what course will give the greatest vigor of action consistently with the greatest correctness of action. Centralization may be car ried far enough, but neither centralization nor the reverse is of the essence of democracy. And one thing absolutely democracy in our movement in not. 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; who insists on all questions being decided on their merits, not by personal influence or the methods of intrigue who stands for absolutely equal suffrage in making such decisions; and who, when the decision is made, if he finds himself in the minority, not only submits to it, but heartily co-operates In putting it into effect-reserving to himself the right still to persuade oth-

This is Social Democreay 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

ers if he can and make his minority a

majority.

A PRESENT NEED.

If there is any one need of the Se cialist movement in this country the importance of which we would urge especially upon the younger adherent. of the party, it is that of earnest, well directed, and patiently continued study. Our party is already strong in numbers and growing both rapidly and steadily in nearly all parts of the country. We have energy and enthudasm and sincere devotion, and there is no reason to fear that we shall have less of these excellent qualities in the future. But it may be doubted whether our progress in point of thorough selfeducation has quite kept pace with our numerical increase, whether have quite so large a proportion of really well-grounded So so high an average of knowledge and cental discipline as we had a few years ago when our party was still ery small.

This is not at all surprising very easily explicable. First, in the earfier days, just because the move ment was small and obscure and sui ject to greater persecution than now it attracted few but the intellectuality elite of the working class of its syl pathizers. Second, as we have grow and as, in consequence, our purely political work has called for a large proportion of our time and attentio in proportion to our work of propa ganda in the stricter sense, we have had proportionately less leisure an less incentive to thorough study.

The reasons for this condition being understood, it becomes evident that the condition is only temporary, only a passing phase like the periods of comparative mental inertia which are likely to occur in the life of an indi vidual at times when physical needs or emotional interests become for time predeminant As our movemen grows still more and assumes greate political importance, it will again at tract especially the elite of the work ers and the other lovers of liberty. As our party grows, also, the burden o routine work on the individual mem bers, will become proportionately less and we shall have more leisure fo self-education. Finally, as it assume greater importance in the political world and in the general labor move ment, it will be put to severer tests will have to meet more formidable an tagonists and to bear more weighty responsibilities, and the incentive to the members to examine deeply into the foundations of their political faith and to equip themselves for its de fense and for its application in practice will become greater.

But it is none the less important that we should realize this need nov and strive to fill it.

The capitalist class is awakening to sense of its dangers. It has the reat means of education in its hands It is able to a great extent to subsidize the forces of culture and mobilize them against us. Its politicians, its lawyers, its college professors, its bishops, its editors, and its hirelings in nition for the attack upon our move ment. So far it may be said that we have not had to meet "the real thing." There are few Socialists who could not make a stronger argument against Socialism than Hanna or Elliott or Parry or Davenport or Quigley or Matz or Casson or Gompers has yet made. We are ready for more formidable enemies; but we ought to be still better prepared than we are.

Again, we are beginning to capture numerous public offices and shall undoubtedly soon be in control in many city councils, boards of education an other local governing bodies and shall. onsequently, be in a position of un ually grave responsibility. We shall need abundant knowledge and good judgment-knowledge of Socialist theory, knowledge of men, and detailed knoweldge of the public affairs we shall have to deal with-not only in the men whom we elect to office, but quite as much in the rank and file who are to advise and control and suppor them.

And even in our general campaigns

while we are still only fighting for political power, not yet exercising it, if we are to command the respect and confidence of the mass of the voters. we must be able, not only to expound our general principles and make clear our final aims, not only to criticize the capitalist administrations, but also to speak intelligently and intelligibly upon the specific conditions and measure ures which form what are called "question of the day"; intelligently and intelligibly-that is, in thoroug consistence with Socialist theory and at the same time in a way easily understandable and convincing to "the man in the street." We must know what we intend to do, if given author ity, in maters of immediate legislation and administration-labor legisla tion, the action of municipal or other authorities in regard to labor disputes, the relief of poverty, the housing ques tion, public education, taxation, the treatment of franchise companies, and so forth. These issues, much as we insist on their temporary and partial nature, fully as we realize that "measures of immediate relief" are infinitesimally small in comparison with the strictly revolutionary measures that must be taken sooner or later, are yet issues that we cannot shirk without deservedly ferfeiting public confidence. We have to be ready to deal with them and ready to tell how we shall deal with them; and we canno dispets them lightly or count ou following, in these matters in the wake of the "reformers," for the reason that our method of dealing with such ques tions must often be radically different

What we would urge, then, and urge specially upon the younger comrades, is that each should consider himse,f personally responsible, to the extent of his abilities and opportunities, for the equipment of our party to meet all these responsibilities. Some great eduentor has said that the ideal of culture is that each man should be both broad and deep, know something about ex erything and a great deal about som rade should try to get a good general knowledge of Socialist theory and his-tory and also to make himself an au-

extent and the causes and effects at for the poor and oppressed; but the pauperism and methods for its relief. or child and female labor and its of fects, or the housing of the working class and its relation to public health? or history and present condition and shortcomings and possibilities of the rade unions, or the records of the capitalist parties and their present leaders and "coming men" and their more bscure backers and directors, or the history and present condition and personnel of the trusts, or of the franchise corporations and legisla on concerning them, or any one of a number of other subjects which will readily suggest themselves.

No one man, be he editor or speaker levoting his whole time to the party' service can hope to know all of these subjects, any one of which we may at any time be called upon to discuss But if we have a sufficient body of earnest students in our ranks, each or whom is devoting what time and energy he can to a thorough study of ome one of them-not satisfied with a general knowledge of it, but making himself familiar with all the literature of that subject (and there is a great deal already available to the student) and keeping up with the times in regard to it and always ready, not with phrases, but with definite facts and names and dates and figures and the authorities for them-then our party will always know to whom it should turn for an article or a leaflet or pamphiet or a lecture on whatever matter it may have to take up, with the assurance that it will have a champion competent to meet any representative whom the enemy may put forward.

DISCIPLINE AND PROPAGANDA

No large and growing movementno movement that is more than a sect. dominated by blind tradition or fanatical submission to some personal leader-can be expected to be absolutely agreed in its views. Just as well as in any other body of men assaciated for a comomn purpose is this true of the Socialist Party in this and in other countries. There are internal differences of opinion, of feeling, and of viewpoint. It is well that this should be so. *The capacity for progress, the power of a movement grow and adapt itself to changing conditions and seize upon new opportunities, depends more than upon anythin; else upon the existence of such internal differences and the interaction of the various elements, each of which may be supposed to possess some part of the truth and no one to pes

sess the whole. The divergence of opinion and judgment within our party very often shows itself in the discussion of what may be called the case of "Propaganda vs. Discipline.". Our purpos: here is to show that this is a wrong putting of the question, that the supposed antagon'sm between propagan da and discipline does not exist, that the real question is that of defining the best methods of propaganda and the best forms of discipline so that each shall guide and strengthen the da," not "Discipline or Propaganda,"

should be the question of discussion The truth of this statement is perhaps instinctively realized and is certainly acknowledged in action by very many comrades who do not open'y recognize it. Yet there are many who cry out against all consideration of tacties and all insistence on discipine on the ground that it weakens our propaganda; and there are some who atof tactics and discipline and attend so exclusively to them that they go far to justify the opposite extreme.

No one who has well studied the history of our own and of other rocal that the merepropaganda of an idea in the abstract is sufficient to ensure the realization of that idea in practice. All through history-and now more than ever before-the ruling classes and their agents have been on the alert to pervert where they could not suppress popular tendencies that threatened their domination, ostensibly to adopt new and revolutionary ideas and in adopting to adapt them to the pur poses of class rule. The history of early Christianity, that of the Reformation, certain phases of the history of the French Revolution, certain facts in the current history of the trade-union movement-all illustrate this truth. The "agent provocateur plays an important part-he who work in the movement of discontent is to excite it to indiscreet action that give a pretext for violent suppression; but more subtle and dange ous yet is the "agent seducte.:r, whose mission is by the affectation of ultra-practicality or of ultra-tolerat or both to neutralize the fighting spiri of the movement, to relax its mo enthusiasm, to obscure its vision the real world, and to cause it to los itself in aimless wanderings and idle dreams.

ideas. It is primarily a conflict of interests, a conflict of classes whose difsts of those conflicting ideas. If w

lords and masters of the Roman world, in accepting the Gospel, turned it into a new sanction for class rule "Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality," the beautiful motto of 1789, came to be the hollow cant of a new aristoc racy meaner than the old, came to mean nothing for the "poorest and most numerous class" which had most numerous borne the greatest burden of the Revolution, because that class had not yet a clear consciousness of its own separate interests, had as yet little power of organization, and so allowed itself to be divided and deluded by the rising class of employers and merchants and financiers and their hireling spokesmen. If it should happen, in the present struggle between Capital and Labor, that the workers, to whom and for whom Socialism speaks, should prove deficient in self-consci and self-confidence or in the power of self-reliant organized action, then, no matter how generally the principles of Socialism might be known and accepted in the abstract, our movement would prove abortive and, instead international Social Democracy, we should see international State Capital-

ism enthroned. 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 un guided propaganda. And we are surof this because we see in the present condition and the recent development of the working class, whose mind and soul is the Socialist Party, a growing power of organization and a growing sense of its importance.

There are many false trails crossing ir path, many snares hid for ou 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 Neither the individual wisdom of a few leaders nor the individual wisdom of the units in an untrained multitude can be depended on to guide us aright or to direct our forces most effectively in overcoming obstacles, but only the collective wisdom of a party which combines all the freedom of a primary democracy with all the unity of a army in the field.

Socialism is a whole. It has differ ent phases, which may be spoken of separately. But in action, it can no more be taken apart without ceasing to be Socialism than a man can be cut to pieces without censing to be a man Public ownership is not Socialism; i may or may not be socialistic. Labor politics is not Socialism; it may or may not be socialistic. Both of there and more, indissolubly united, is So cialism. And this indissoluble union is to be maintained only by discipline democratic organization.

We make propaganda for public ownership. At times a part of the working class as yet unorganized and undisciplined in our revolutionary tac ties, but partially influenced by our propaganda, will throw the weight of their votes, not for Socialism, but for other, that "Discipline and Propagan- capitalist public ownership, Exp. rience will bring distillusion. But in or der that disillusion may not bring de spair, it is necessary that we should have held together at least a nucleus of trained and active Socialists, con sistently and continuously and aggressively opposing the false start around whose tanner the dislinsioned ones may gather with new courage and clearer vision when they have made their unavoldable experience tach so much importance to questions | The same thing may happen - nay, has happened and will probably happen again and again-in the matter of s called independent labor parties. If we lack the organized strength to resist such futile movements, our cause swept away by the impulse of the moment, if we hold to the right line of march, and in proportion as we have a strong force advancing on that right line, the strauglers will aga'n fall in and the movement as a whole will suffer no barm.

Again, Socialism will inevitably and easonably be held responsible for the words and deeds of every freakish dreamer or unscrupious adventures who may declare himself a Socialist and we have and shall have many such seeking to attach themselves, to the movement-unless we have a strong and well defined organization which can clearly formulate its own doctrines and control those whom it authorizes to speak and act in its mme and repudiate those who woul niserpresent it before the world. Tolerance is a virtue, so long as it mean willingness to hear the other side. But es a vice—and a vice especial ly fatal to such a movement as oursif it degenerates into mere easy-going good nature, superficiality and Inexactness of thought, williagness tha each should go as he please and take thances that things will come out right. "Jesting Pliate who said 'What is truth?' and would not stay for an answer" and the Laodiceans who were "lukewarm and neither ho nor cold" are types of this false tolerance," which might seem consistent with the doctrines of the "philosophi fortable do-nothing "reform out is utterly at variance with the

may be clear and well directed, in or-fer that its results may not be per-certed to the service of capitalism,

and in order that the propagands of ideas may bear fruit in vigorous and fitting action, it is necessary hand in hand with unceasing pro paganda should go through organiza tion, a vigilant regard for party tactics, and a discipline at once demo cratic in its source and rigid in its en forcement.

On the other hand, of course, the in portance of rightly directed propaganda is not to be underestimated. To invade every field, to challenge every opponent, to arouse every dormant force, to attack every abuse, to give voice to every discontent, to turn every event into a text for our prenching, to enlist every recruit for the making of more recruits, to make Socialism everywhere the chief theme of discussion-this must be our aim. He makes a mistake and defeats his own good purpose who insists on discip'in and sound tactics in such a way (we do not say "so strongly," for they cannot be too strongly insisted on as to neglect propaganda himself or avoidably to hamper others in the work.

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 sh p. neither of which avails without the other.

ANVILS AND HAMMERS.

"When you are an anvil, hear! When you are a hammer, strike"—old proverb.
"Stand like an anvil!"—St. Ignatius to St Polycarp in expectation of his martyrdom TO PHESENT ANVILS.
"Stand like an anvil." this brave message

went From an heroic brother of his soul To martyr Polycarp, doomed to the stake Because he'd not recant what he deeme And, anvii-like, he stood amidst the flames. Till from charred body his brave spirit soared
To join the regal souls close by God's
throne,
Who, seeming vanquished, loftlest victry
won, won, caim, brave death for truth, e'en though they died veriest shreds of truth, hast'ning a Ench o For When, for opinion's sake, none burned at stakes. "Stand like an anvil!" This high word of strength Rings down the ages, speaks to you to-So deeply wronged for weary years on wife, parents, children-dearer And all, to-day, wronged still more griev Because you've dared demand a shred of

After coduring immemorial wrongs.
I honor all your present self-command,
But charge you, once again, like anvile But charge stand! Each added ed wrong to your dear wives and abes, hammer-blow upon your sturdy Each ves, aste your wrongers utter over-Shall I throw, e to bring in great Justice's endless TO PRESENT ANVILS WHEN

THEY SHALL BE HAMMERS Now, as I've said, is your stern anvil-day, When you can, wisely, but give back clear When you can, wheely, one at the hammer-blows.
But a day hastes when ye may hammera be.
And smite so strongly, so compellingly.
That nevermore shall the Centennial state Wreak such foul shames upon the age and

As now besmirch her once fair name and fame. fame.
When from your frowning mountains, white and pure.
Glides down November's keen, but bracing with hammer-ballots-your birthregular with nammer-ballots-your bletther light, and safeguard of your liberties-Ye may so sturdily and strongly bent I pon your spellers, they will lear and fee-lers. He low traffickers from temple.

When chased by flaming zent or the Christ,
Christ,
They'll-My your temples of the Law and
State,
Thus may your lofty, gold-veined state
lead on,
And point the way which other states will lead on.

And point the way which other states whate

To wak in, for the good of humankind. TO ANVILS EVERYWHERE.

TO ANVILS EVERYWHERE, anvils, hammer-worn' where'er ye t a sleep, m.he, factory, in office dark, a field or forest, on the land or sea, dury your menty and day for pittances every borne the hand of the pittance every borne the handledge for the patience kin to that of Calvary; it your stern anvie-day hastes to as e of there shall dawn for you an blee it ye, yourselves, must the chief at he. he In leading up the charlots of that dawn. Firm grasp the hammer bailots in your t grasp the hamner bands hands! hands! to tirced's low traffickers in blood and Diris

tout your temples of the Law and State! State!

No back, long-frighted-off, the white dove, Peace!

throng-Justice in the forum, shop and mart!

Town ordered Freedom and same Liberty!

and usher thus, forever to ablice.

Carth's fushed state—the Commade Commentation and monwealth!

LENVOI

Dawn, fair and soon, to bless all any l-Thou juster, sweeter, nobler Golden Age Than seer bath yet beheld or poet dreamed! -Roland Onwood, in the Miners' Mag zine.

A NICE NEW PLATFORM FOR BOTH OLD PARTIES

Oscar Ameringer, an incensed radical Democrat, writing in the Colum-bus "Press-Post" against the more conservative element of his own party, says that the substance of Mr. Cleveand's advice is: "There must be fur parties, so that if one party is vote ! out of power and offices, 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." This dissatisfied Democrat then pro-

ses a platform for his party, sh Mr. Cleveland's views prevail, contain-ing, among others, the following "We sympathize with the heroic

struggles of anybody.
"We believe in a uniform income tax, incomes over \$10,000 to be exempt.
"We affirm our undying devotion to

the sacredness of property, the divini ty of vested rights and the immortal ity of franchises.

"We are greatly moved by the spien-did growth of labor organizations and advocate the purchase of more Gatling guns for the state militia. We advocate the return of th great Democratic party to its 'origina principle,' modifying the fugitive rinciple," modifying the fugitive lave law to fit modern labor condi-tons as exemplified in Colorado and

"We stand for anything the Rep lican party stands for, with a ten cent. increase."

Don't worry about what So will do. Get together and l

Current # # Literature

SIXTEEEN YEARS IN SIBERIA. By Leo Deutsch, Translated by Heleu Chisholm, New York, E. P. Dutton & Co. 1904. Cloth; 372 pp.; with in dex, portrait of the author, and many illustrations. Price, \$3.

This is one of those few books of utobiography which, while as fascing ating as romance, yet constitute a reacontribution to history. Leo Deutsch ells quite simply and straightforward y the story of his own adventures and personal observations, with occas explanatory reminiscences and disions, from his arrest at Freiburg in Germany in 1884 to his escape from the penal servitude settlement at Bla-govestchensk in Eastern Siberia in But in this personal narrative of arrests, trials, prison and exile ex periences, meetings and partings with other "politicals," smuggling of forbidcommunications under the officials' noses, amusements and occupations of the prisoners, their revolts against official brutality, "hunger strikes" and protest by suicide, atempts at escape, someting ful, oftener resulting only in new hard-ships—in all this we have a vivid picof the suffering side of the Russian revolutionary movement, and in it we get also-imperfectly and by snatches duly, indeed, and yet very intelligibly-a reflex of its active side at ome and outside the walls. It is hard for us to read the pages

Deutsen-as of Stepnink-calmis and with a feeling that it is of accura-daily life somewhere on this earth and in our own times that we are reading, and not of the conflicts of epic heroes against superhuman powers of the conflict of the and with a feeling that it is of actual against superhuman powers of the ness-and the more quietly is the tale told, the stronger is this impression. owhere can one better learn the falseness of the common cheap plati-tudes that "Human nature is always the same" and that "Human nature is nean and base" than in this contem porary history, where we see excep-tional circumstances—the impact of a revolutionary ideal against a huge sysem of reaction and obscurantism taking hold of young students, tender girls, uneducated workingmen, peasants even, and refashioning them into such molds of heroism, fitting them for such aspirations, such achievements, and such endurance, equipping them audacity, such resourcefulless, such persistence, such mastery of mind as well as body, such a lofty sense of the dignity of their task, and sense of the dignity of their task, and such fortitude and faithfulness unto death and worse, as neither the au-nals of the early Christians nor any other historic period can match. There have been weaklings among them, it true, and there have been traitors But when we come to the traitors, who most strikes us is the sort of im-promptu discipline that had developed even twenty years ago and that enabled the revolutionists, though with out any complete organization and with very great difficulty in exchangng information and opinions, to deal with scoundrels. Take the case of Degalev, for instance, as told on p. 43 of Deutsch. This man, army officer, became prominent in the Narodnaia Volya or Terrorist movement in the later seventies; in 1880, being arrested, he saved himself by turning in-former and become a regular spy for Colonel Soudyèhkin of the secret police and betrayed a number of his comrades; in 1983, either through reough fear, he offered to make amends by helping to assess'nate the cruel Soudychkin, which was done: two faithful revolutionists went to the Schlüsselberg for life to pay for his success, but Degliev escaped from the country; and on p. 82 we read how Deutsch, in prison in St. Petersburg. he well known revolutionists then Hving in Paris. Peter Lavrov. Lopatin. and Tihomirov, had held a council tron the conduct of Degalev and had come to the conclusion that though certainly, in assisting to 'remove' Sandyenkin, Degaley had rendered a service to the revolutionary cause, yet he must refra'n unconditionally from any further restleightion in our movement and from associating in any way with revolutionists"—a decision with which he found it wisest to comply.

More impressive yet is the account of the conduct of the revolutionists in prison and especially the and rebuke or resist the petty tyranny 133, 137, where the prisoner passact vitch gives a lesson in politeness to vitch gives a lesson in politeness to necessary to remove his hat on enter-ing a prisoner's cell on his rounds of inspection. Dashkiëvitch, "a man of before the Social Democracy co permeated to an uncommon degree and generous devotion neither one can with the instinct of justice and fair- be set above the other. ness," hearing of Vrascky's manner, felt it incumbent on him to heard this haughty official, who had scarcely be gim the stereotyped question, Have you any complaints to make? when Dashklevitch interrupted him, saying it to our readers. It is the sort of quietly: 'It is very impolite of you, book that one wishes to have in his sir, to enter my apartment without re-moving your hat.' Gaikin Vrassky reddened to the roots of his hair, turned on his heel, and left the cell, the whole company (of minor officials) following him in silence. * * He visited the est of us, holding his hat in his hand." Of course he did not fail to take a mean revenge and got the intrepid prisoner's exile sentence made more severe; but the demonstration of selfspect was considered worth what i est. If this incident is as amusing a t is admirable, tragic beyond all expression is the story of events in the women's prison at Kara in 1888 and 1889, as told in the twenty-sixth to the The story is foo long for us even to summarise here. Governor-General Korf's vindictive spite against Eliza-beth Kovaiskaya for a slight breach of etiquette, his order for her removal a worse prison. Commandant Masyukov's stupid and wanton bru sality in the execution of the order, the protest of the "politicals" of both sexes, the demand for his removal, the in strike" to back the demand, iy hda Sigida's splendid but dis-cinted sacrifice, the flogging of the old Sigida and her speedy death,

the suicides of Maria Kovaldvskaya, Marla Kalyashnnya, Nadyèshda Smir-nitskaya, Sergius Bobohov and Alex-ander Kalyashny (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 admiring pity for the victims and of rage against their oppressors and all oppressors has a stronger or duller soul than ours. "Against all oppressors," we say.

For if Deutsch tells us of horrors and heroisms strange to our ears, they are different in degree only, not in kind, from what may be found in every and, not excepting the United States Who can say that the events of the past few months in Colorado, for in-stance, may not point to a near future when we under the Stars and Stripes shall have our Vera Zassalltch and our Kravtshinsky? If not, it will not be that our Rockefellers and our Roosevelts are either wiser or more merciful than Russian tyrants, but only that the revolt against oppression has, by historical circumstances, got here a more favorable start. We cannot say. We can only guess and hope that our fight may not be quite so hardour fight may not be quite so hard-hope, and profit by the experience our Russian brothers and sisters have made.

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 agains so powerful an autocracy, no amount of intelligent and courageous self-devotion would make up for the advantage of men and money on the govern-ment side. The White Terror out-weighed the Red and the Narodnala Volya went out of existence through a process of literal extermination. A period of comparative inactivity and of apparently hopeless reaction followed. co-operated with George Plechanoff, Vera Zassülitch, and Axelrod in forming the League for the Emancipation of Labor, out of which has grown the Russian Social Democratic Party, of

whose present condition we may the best idea from our author's page: "The publications issued by our secret press and distributed through out the length and breadth of the Rus sian Empire, calling on the people to rise against the existing despotism meet with energetic response among the population of large towns and fac-tory districts. Werkmen collect in great crowds in the streets along with the students and by means of monster demonstrations they voice their de-mand for, political freedom and the abolition of autocratic government. The Tsar and his reinisters endeavor by the most cruel and severe measures to quench the torch that has been kin Russia has been placed under martial law; the prisons can hardly contain the number of their captives; those who protest against such a régime are sent to Siberia by the trainload. But noth ing can stem the tide of the movement; it will rise higher and higher, embracing ever wider circles of the people, and the hour is not far off when autocracy will be laid low, as it was in Western Europe so many gen-erations ago." And when that day comes, Russin will take her place among constitutional states ready provided with an indigenous, powerful, and well disciplined Social Democratic tional liberties as weapons to be used in the Kurther battle for economic lib erty and solidarity, shoulder to shoulder with their comrades in Germany, in France, and in every other land The difference between Terrorism as it flourished in Russia twenty-five years

that the Social Democrats have any sentimental repugnance or any unqual-ified practical objection to the use of physical force. They are ready for surrection, if (or when) insurrection may be timely; in Russia, at least, it could not be otherwise. They do not always condeinn the use of assassina tion as a method of revolutionary ac tion—especially as an occasional and spontaneous protest against exception-al tyranny; the shooting of Bogdan-Switch, the Governor of Ufa, last year for instance, was an act, which, it seems to us, every one must approve. The difference consists in the founda-tion of the later and more effective retis the necount movement on the firm basis of Marx-revolutionists in theory, economic and historical, and in the collectivist policy which reary means which they were forced to suits from that theory. Terrorism was use to defend their personal dignite essentially a movement of conspirators and rebuke or resist the petry tyranny and necessarily confined within naror the gress brutalities of the official.

A small example of this is found at pp. tially a movement of popular masses 133, 137, where the prisoner Dashkie and has long since spread from the students to the industrial workingmen Cotonel Vrassky, one of the high-est officials of the whole Russian pris-on system. This great man felt it unmixed. It did its work and probably inspection. Dashkiëvitch, "a man of before the Social Democracy could be alm but unyielding temperament and gin its task; and in point of heroisis

ago and Socialism as it

and grows strong there to-day is not

Such a book as "Sixteen Years in Si-beria" canont but be both interesting berin" canont but be both interesting and instructive to every Socialist, in the United States as well as in any private library; but as many Socialist workingmen may find it a serious mat-ter to spend three dollars for a book, however much coveted, we would suggest that it should have an honored and useful place in the headquarters of every local, branch, or Socialist club.

THE ETHICS OF LITERATURE BY William A. Kersey, New York. Twentieth Century Press, 1904.

Cloth, 572 pp. Price, \$1.50.

We can imagine a very valuable book—or any one of half a dozen valuable books that might be written-to which the title, "The Ethics of Litera-ture," would be appropriate. To Mr. Kersey's book we find it not at all so. Kersey's book we find it not at all so. The fact is, its nearly 600 pages are occupied with a rambling and generally pretty prolix expression of the author's personal judgments or his personal likes and dislikes in the field of literature—only this and nothing more. He says a good many obvious, it true things, some which are not quite so obvious, and a good many which impress us only as petty and not worth printing. To "pull down the mighty from their seats" is his chief

FINANCING A PARTY.

"Who Pays the Piper May Call the Tune"-The Class that Supplies a Party's Campaign Fund Controls Its Policy-How Socialist Methods Differ from Those of the Old Parties.

We assume, reader, that you are or, in the recent past, have been a Repullican or a Democrat. We ask you! Did you ever think who paid the campaign expenses of those two parties?
Also we ask: Has it ever occurred to
you that you can tell whom a/party
really represents by finding out who
pays its bills?

Probably neither of these question Probably neither of these questions has ever occurred to your mird. They are worth considering. The second question will find its answer as soon as you think of it, for a few minutes. You will remember the old proverb: "Who pays the paper may call the tune." You will reflect that any organization which depends on certain men to pay its expenses is sure to serve the interests of those men. It may serve them consciously or it may serve them unconsciously, but serve them it does and must. For if it does serve them the movement must er go down or find other men

A General Rule.

This is a general rule. It is so even in churches, which are supposed to be devoted to the preaching of certain doctrines and to worship a God "is no respecter of persons." It is so semination of truth, regardless whon it may please or offend. Every yearchair or some clergyman driven from his pulpit because his utterances were starteful to some wealthy persons were to be expected. If this is the within which there is still a large body of men sincerely devoted to religion or to science, how much mor must it be true in political parties. which dool chiefly with matters of

Who Finances Old Parties?

Now to the first question: Who pays distribute literature; and it costs still more money to provide brass bands and fireworks and to set up the drinks fore each election. If you have been at all active in old-party politics, you will realize that whole fortunes are parties. 'Who provides the funds?

You know that the rank and file of Republican voters do not provide the funds for their party and that the rank and file of Democratic voters do not provide the funds for theirs—not ctly and voluntarily, that is, office-you never were asked to contribute to the campaign fund. On the contrary, in all probability, you got something out of it—efther money personal favors (taelt pemission to violate some law, perhaps) or, at least, several free "blow-outs." And you never got any accounting from the men in charge of the party's cam paign as to the money they had spent or whence it came. You never asked. You would have been laughed at if you had asked and told that it was

only you never realized it. You gave your vote to the party cammuntes and to the party organization which cot trols those candidates—your vot vote to the party candidates and which means your consent, your proxy, your authorization, your power-of-attorney, that they should adminis-ter affairs of city, state, and nation which vitally effect your daily life. It was your business to know how your party was run, but you never thought of it—and your party managers and the men back of them counted on your thoughtlessness. If you got to think-ing they tried either to buy you or to bar you out. Probably that is why you happen to be reading this Socialist paper—because they tried to buy you and found you too honest and manly to be bought and therefore barred you

you will come to the Socialist Party—the Social Democratic Party, as we call it in some states—and you will find something surprising. You will find a party organization that charges you dues, charges you 25 cents a week for membership and right of participation in its councils. If you are sick or out of work, it gladly re mits the dues; but if you are well and earning a living, it expects you to pay a thoroughly good Socialist unless you do so. It expects even more, though it does not demand more. It expects you to contribute according to your ability-be it a nickel or a quarter or a dollar or ten dollars—from time to time to special funds, for campaigns, for the support of the party press, for special efforts in propagating the

It is a queer party, isn't it? A party that is not satisfied with your blind and passive adherence, but asks you for money—not much money, but a little every month. Yes, it is a queer party, judged by comparison with others. It is a unique party. It does things on a plan of its own. It is proud of that dues-system. It

policy, as a guarantee of its good faith. If a millionaire should come along next week and propose to the national convention of the Socialist Party that it should abolish the dues-Party that it should abolish the duea-gystem and desist from all appeals to the membership for funds and offer, in compensation, to give double or treble the amount of all that the party redlected last year—if such an impos-sible thing should happen, the nation-al convention of the Socialist Party proud reject the proposition with

But it isn't so queer, if you think of

Who "pays the piper" for the old

Well, the candidates always have to make good big contributions—they or their friends. Do you think they lie? No. They expect to get it all back with good interest—not in the salaries of the offices they aspire to but in perquisites, to put it mildly—in "graft" or "loot," to use the vulgar phrase—in bribery, direct or indirect.

-from saloon-keepers, keepers of gam-bling houses, keepers of brothels, even from prosecution in case of that part winning. Sometimes they think they can "pick the winner" and contribute to only one party—and if they make a mistake, a "wave of reform" follows fix" both parties.

These Fill the "Barrel."

But both these are small matters, not come from candidates "on the make" nor from little law-bleakers, but brokers and promoters, from rich franchise-holding corporations, from con-tractors who wish to be safe in commit-Theater or the Darlington Hotel, from landlords who desire practical exemp who thus pay in advance for permis sion to disregard labor laws and for the assistance of police and judges in

Jay Gould at a time when Eric was his leading interest, being asked about his political convictions, replied: "In a Republican state I'm à Republican; in Democratic state I'm a Democrat; but I'm for Eric all the time." The head of the Sugar Trust is officially on record as saying that his corporation nds, and contributed impai tially to whichever might be expected to win. It is a notorious fact that the late Mr. McKinley was "syndicated" him, just as they would promote a trust and float its bonds; and now anyne who has read the New Yor same men who put up McKinley as a

Politics as Business.

Now, if candidates' contributions ar the bankers, the employers, the fran-chise holders, and the landlords. Their ome of them are not individually in-erested in iniquitous legislation and maladministration and perversion of justice, their class-the capitalist class is so interested, and they act with

It is these who provide the funds for the Republican and the Demo-cratic parties. Accordingly, it is these who control these parties—who choose their candidates (or defeat them if the candidates are unsatisfactory), we dictate the platforms, and who tell elected officials whether or not to carry those platforms into effect after they are in office. In some degree, it is the professional politicians who rule; in a greater degree, it is the vulgar law-breakers; chiefly, however, it is the capitalist class

Why Shouldn't They Rule?

And why shouldn't they rule? If short-sighted, dull-witted, small-souled fool enough-to give your vote in exchange for their cajolery or their little two-penny favors, why shouldn't they rule your party and use it, when wer, to exploit you and get back. f your toil and poverty, ten-fold out of your toll and po what they have spent?

The Socialist Plan.

The Socialist Party sees all this. The Socialist Party desires to preserve democracy and purity in its organization. Therefore the Socialist Party so orders its affairs that it shall de on its rank and file, and not wealthy individuals, for its funds.

The Socialist Party has very few wealthy members or adherents. It has a few-sincere and intelligent and godo-licarted men who have but loose from their class to advance the cause of humanity through the party of the working class, the class which in this age of the world stands for progress and human happiness. It has a few such. But it does not expect them to such. But it does not expect them to bear the expenses of its campaigns. Nor does it give them special honor or influence. Perhaps it is too jealous sometimes and is unjustly suspicious of them, unwisely slow to honor or to trust them. That is unfortunate, when it happens. But it is better than the reverse would be. The rich man who is both an honest and a well informed Socialist is willing to be watched and held to strict accountability.

William Morris was a wealthy man and a Socialist. During his life he

and a Socialist. During his life he gave liberally to the cause, but not havishly-never enough to relieve the party from the necessity of depending on the shillings and pence of its rank and file. When he died, he left his fortune to his relatives, not to the party. Capitalist spokesmen—who could not understand, and did not wish to, anyhow—criticised him and said his act was inconsistent with his arowed principles. Sosialits said that Morris did quite right and that he showed his consistency and the and a Socialist.

oundness of his understanding of So-

The Socialist Party does not wish be endowed. It does not wish to be subsidized. To be endowed or subsi-dized would be to take a great chance

A Recent Warning.

We have seen how the Prohibitionist party was unconnsciously bought and sold. At one time it began to take up the economic question, the labor ques-tion. It showed strong radical tenden-John T. Wardwell of the Standard O tive. He gave money abundantly for party purposes. Good and sincere bu-easy and guileless Prohibitionists re orced. They saw no harm and great good in this acquisition. Then when Mr. Wardweil recommended a certain man for secretary of the national cam paign committee, his recommendation were chosen; when he expressed : certain opinion as to the platform and pretty soon the Standard Oil Company owned the Prohibition party-and if could be made dutiable, the

How About You?

We don't wish to follow in such path. Therefore we stick to the dues system and we ask YOU, if you be lieve in Socialism, to come in and pay little dues and take your full pa in the management of party affairs and keep the party pure while build ing it up into a mighty-power for the emancipation of Labor and the ad-vancement of Humanity.

FLEISCHMANN'S VEGETABLE VEACO COMPRESSED I UND HAS NO EQUAL.

BY THE RIVER YALU,

Scene.-On the banks of the Yalu A. serene, star-lit night. Towards the ast are massed the sombre ridges of the Korean mountains. At the bottom of the precipice the river roars among

the snow, their frosted rifles clutches mittened hands, are on guard SACHA: Nothing, except the water M.: Nothing stirring.

S.: Nothing except the water.
M.: What time is it?

M.: What time is it?
S.: I don't know. Let us hope that
we shall soon be relieved. We'll go back to the camp, drink tea, and sleep M. (after a pause): Do you com

from far, brother?
S.: I don't know. I have travelled thirty-four days on a wingon. We had to walk across a frozen lake. I am from the Petrovsky village in the Ria

M.: I am from Perm. S.: In the Petrovsky village, Rins Government, there is a girl called Na tasha. Her hair is done in two fair

ded to her by the priest.

M.: And I-I have an old mother have served in a regiment in Siberia or two years. At Christmas she sent me a rouble in an envelope. We had vodka to drink then. I should like t my old mother again.

You will see her again, brother. What are we?

S.: I don't know. M.: What are those mountains over

I don't know. They are just

M.: Why are we here? S.: I don't know. To make war, no oult, brother. The officers say so. M.: They have, it is 'true. But against whom are we going to fight? S.: I don't know. Against foreign

M.: But aren't we abroad, since w

are so far from our homes?
S.: (sadly): So far. . . I wish
I could see Natasha again.
M.: But for whom are we going to (after reflecting): It must be

for God-for the Orthodox faith.

M.: How can it be for God? Bein: they pay for the campaign and if you almighty, God has no need of us to de-S. Yes, you are right. It can't co

M.: Then for whom can it be?

S .: It must be for Holy Russia. M.: But if Russia is holy, God will defend her. Holy Russia has no need

S.: (after reflecting again): I know

S.: Yes, no doubt the Tsar is mighty . . . but he is mighty because of us. . . There are thousands and hundreds of thousands like us—in uni-form and with guns. . . That's

why the Tsar is mighty.

M.: Ah, yes yes

I understand . . . It must be for the Tsar. [A Japanese bullet whistles across from the other side of the river Micha fa.is, with a hole in his chest,

M. (trying to rise): I am glad the Tsar . . . is mighty. (Dies.) S. (in tears): His old mother . . his old mother . . . [A Manchurian bullet, coming from the right bank of the river, strikes his forehead. He falls.] (Trying to rise): I should like

so much . . . to see Natasha . . again. (Dies.) A red spot spreads over the snow In the distance the mysterious Koren mountains rise. The Yalu roars in the depth. The moon rises between two peaks.—Translated from L'Européen.

FREEDOM FOR ALL.

They tell me, Liberty, that in thy name I may not plead for all the human race; That some are born to bondage and dis grace, Some to a heritage of wee and shame. And some to power and to glorious fan With my whole soul I spura the doctor

SOCIALISM AND PERSONAL LIBERTY.

Not Public Control of Private Life, but Public Own ership of the Means of Production, is the Aim of Socialists-Whereas Capitalism Interferes with the Personal Liberty of All but a Few, Socialism Will Give It the Widest Scope.

tandings or misrepresentations of modern Socialism consists in failing to distinguish between communism in

ectivism in production. How often do we hear it alleged that what the Socialists proposes is that the poor should seize upon the property of the rich and divide it equally among themselves. If this were our program, we should deserve abundant ridicule. It is evident that railways, factories, and mansions could not be divided without destroying them; and it is evident that, so far as the money, jewers, furniture, horses, and other personal belonginge of the rich are concerned, even if they month or so, to maintain anything like equality. Persons who have never at-tended a Socialist meeting or read a Socialist book or paper may urge such objections in good faith, taking it for granted, on the work of our enemies orable men"-that this dividing-up is what we advocate. But even those who honestly believe this are not excusable; for no one has a right to condemn a movement as fool-ish and even criminally foolish with-out at least trying to inform himself. at first hand as to its character and purposes, and anyone who really wishes to find out what Socialists believe and work for can easily do so. But sometimes the misunderstand-ing takes another form, which is a lit-

The common objections to Socialism, that in practice it would destroy the family, repress individuality, re-duce all to a dead level of likeness, as well as of equality, and tyranno clinations, are based chiefly on wha we have spoken of in our opening par-agraph—the failure to distinguish between communism in production and communism in the use or consumption of the things produced.

tle more excusable.

This is more excusable, we say, beause many attempts have been made with more or less success, in modern and in earlier times, to establish communal ownership and use of sumption goods"-communal life, that is-either with or without con ommunism, as an ideal and as a practice, has existed, there is some excuse for those who confuse with it the ver-different theory and movement o

Some exense, yes; but not much. after all, For we Socialists are very careful to say, not that we wish the abolition of private property, but that we strive to do away with private Those words, "of the means of pr duction" tell the whole story. It is not to the homes of the rich and of the poor that the Socialist turns his attention, but to the mines and factoris and railways and other instruments of

private ownership of which keeps the one class in idle luxury and the other in toilsome and anxious poverty. It is in the process of production that the workers are wronged, not in the use of things after they are produced. The cause of undeserved erry and of uncarned wealth is in private ownership of the things which the workers must jointly use in car rying on industry. And modern So-cialism, instead of concerning itself cialism, instead of concerning itself with effects, instead of trying arbitrarily to correct resultant evils, seeks to prevent those evils by removing their

Common ownership of the means of production and their administration for the common good under demo-cratic control is what Socialists advocate and deciare to be economically necessary if society is to be saved from decay and disruption.

Old-Fashioned Communism.

This idea is distinctly a modern one. It could not be otherwise. In ancient and medieval days men worked with as individuals, each carrying on his industry independently. With a spin-ning-wheel, a hand-toom, and a few other simple implements such as one man could handle, the worker of earlier times might, by himself, take the raw wool from the sheep's back and make it into finished cloth or even into corments ready for use. Today it is quite different. Not only is the trade of the dyer and the cloth-sponger and the tailor, but no man can practically himself. The weaver must work in a huge mill, where there are hundreds on hundreds of power-looms; he tends several of these looms; but his indi-vidual labor does not un even one loom, for the labor of the firemen, the engineers, the machinists, and various other mechanics is necessary to keep the mill going. Whereas, in the old days, every article was the product of each steel rail, each harrel of flour each table, each cup, is a part of the product of the joint labor of many workers, no one of whom has made anything complete as his individual

Thus production has already become a social affair, instead of an individua a social distriction of an individual affair. But the means of production—the woolen mill, for instance, operated by the joint inbor of thousands of wage-workers,—is owned as private property by one or a few men, who own the whole product and are able, by virtue solely of their ownership of the mill and control of the opportunity for employment, to keep for themselves a surplus out of the vast product of labor after naying the workers' wages, and thus the workers are kept in poverty while the owner, without haying to work, grows ever richer. Priate ownership of the means of production was fitted to those times when small production with simple tools and individual labor was the affair. But the means of production

time, when large production with con sive machinery and plex and exper

erty side by side with wealth-though poverty by other means-by chatte slavery, by the feudal ownership of land, by the blackmail of priests who were supposed to hold the k Heaven and collected the adu fees on earth, or by the open violence minunism as a refuge from the evil of poverty, it was naturally in the nmunal life. The tion of wealth being a matter of individual labor, they could not think, a we do, of common ownership of the things with which they worked. The prime causes of poverty then being different one. They associated them selves in gilds or fraternities or semi selves from the aggressions of king and lords and churchmen and bandits to help each other in sickness or other misfortune, to get more good out of their product by the economics of joint housekeeping. In order to me and hold the community together, they often forbade or discountenanced mar riage, as the marriage of number would mean the establishment of fam-illes within the community and would tend to introduce causes of dissension around the common tables.

This sort of communism has existed sporadically in all ages. It has its ad vantages and its disadvantages. are not concerned with either. It has never, since the stage of barbarism, been practiced or practicable as the rule of life for a whole people, bu only for a small part of the Whitever there is of good or it, it has little or nothing to do wit

What Socialism Is Not.

We Socialists do not propose nor de sire nor expect that people shall cease to live by familles in separate homes that they shall ent at public tables o sleep in public dormitories or spentheir leisure hours in public parlors How people shall order their private under Socialism, be a matte so-actually for all, as it now is theoret ically for all and practically only for the well-to-do. The rich now such liberty of choice, and so them choose the semi-public life or the hotel, while others prefer to have private dwellings. The poor, the m the workers, have such choice only in theory. at boarding-houses or cheap restau rants, because the wife as well as the factory. They must live in such smal and dingy tenements that their only chance for recreation is in the street refuge is in the noisy wards of the public hospitals. If they would bathe, they must go to the public baths, and even the decency of a private tollet is denied to hundreds of thousands working-class families. It is the bitable moralists to inveigh against the Socialists as "enemies of the home and the family," considering that under capitalism millions of workers are necssarily shut out altogether from fam ily life and millions more live in such homes as those comfortable moralists would not deem fit for horses or dogs.

We Socialists do not propose nor de-sire nor expect that people shall cease to own their clothes and furniture and books and other articles of personal use nor do we see any reason why should be required to dress uniform or to eat all the same kind of food. What we do propose and desire and expect is that, by the abolition of capitalist exploitation, all shall be guaranteed the full value of the pro-duct of their labor and that thus all should then be enabled to enjoy more and better food and clothing and hous ing and other of the material goods of life, as well as to have more leisure for recreation and self-culture, than the great majority possibly hope for today. Under capitalism the personal tastes and inclinations of the workers are constantly thwarted, not only in a general way by their poverty, but di rectly and wantonly by the interest or the caprices of the master class Railway men, waiters, domestics, and other classes of workers are obliged to wear certain uniforms or liveries-in order to hold their jobs. Many railway and other companies make rules that men in their employ must go clean-shaven or must cut their beards in this or that designated fashion. Some banks and merchants forbid their clerks to marry and others re-quire them to do so. Always the will of the employer is supreme, if he chooses to interfere in the employee's private life, because he has power over the employee's job. Thronghout history—and now more than ever be-fore—when private life and personal liberty have been interfered with it has been directly or indirectly for the sake of the private interests of the ruiing and exploiting class, not by the collective will of the people.

Liberty in the Future.

We Socialists do propose and desire and expect that, by the establishment of public ownership of the means of production which are erected and op-erated by the social labor of the workcrated by the social labor of the work-ing class, the workers collectively shall become the masters of their own jobs. When no man has the power to deny another man opportunity to work and when, accordingly, no man can draw an income out of the product of an-other's labor, then none will have pow-er and none will have any motive to interfere or dictate in the private life of others. Then we shall all be work-ern and shall work together for the

general good instead of working at boses. Then we shall all receive the value that our labor creates. And the each of us will be free to use his earn ings according to his personal inclina-tions—this one perhaps preferring fine ciothing and that one delicate food and another books and music and yet another outdoor sports or the study of

If it be once clearly understood that the cause of poverty is in the private ownership of the means with which labor produces wealth and that it is at this cause of evil that Socialism liberty and will promote a greater diversity of human activity than the

THE STRIKER.

By Ida Crouch Hazlett. He stands within the mill. Its glow ing forge is cold, and silenced is its mighty roar Its clanging steel is voiceless and th Of labor still. Knotted his furrowed

brows, And set the pale, stern lips. The muscles stand Like iron rods upon his idle arms. Without, the mutterings of men

him, His comrades, fill the air with sullen gloom. And through the fierceness of that discontent There swells a solemn undertone of

The voices of sad women with the joy Of youth and hope crushed out; the stifled cries
Of new-born babes, unbidden ushered

To crime and ignorance and brutal want; The groans of helpless childhood crushed beneath
The fron monster of the vast machine The prayers of maidens, doomed to

Fair and virgin bodies to eke out their wage; The death-dirge of ambitions; cherish-

ed hopes
Trailed in the mire of the gold man's lust; The sweet song of the poet; music's strain Of harmony divine; art's beautiful And undimmed glory of expression

rare; Deep buried in the grave of hopeless And gnawing care and dread anxiety.

All this the Striker hears; and through his brain It vibrates with a mad'ning me Frim resolution lifts his brow on high

And squares his shoulders to heroi-The earth is ours. We've conquered it," he said. "Its glory, beauty, triumph, all are

No more the tyrant master's heartless greed Shall take our all and leave us with

the beasts.
Aye, let them come. We're ready.
Court and gun
And armed battallous, blacklist, bull pen, curse, What are they all beside this death in

That crushes manhood, bars the doors He turns upon his heel-the die is cast— And goes to lead the horror of the

WHO IS TO BLAME -FOR CHILD LABOR?

The Child Labor Bill was defeated by the Legislature of the State of Iowa, and the labor press of that state teems with burning indignation against the fifty-three representatives who recorded their votes in favor of capitalism grinding profits from the labor of children. The representatives in the Iowa Legislature do not belong the wrongs which burden the child of the poverty-stricken projetariat. The dering loyal service to the class to which they belong, and it is about time that the labor press should load its editorial columns with denuncia-tions of the numbskulls in the ranks of labor who with ballots in their hands deposit the same to elect the class who profit on the labor of children whose school life is confiscated to satiate the rapacious appetite of greed. When the working people elect their own class to the Legislture, there will be laws enacted which will prohibit the child from becoming a convict of

the factory and mine. Corporation lawyers, wealthy merchants, captains of industry, and men owning empires of land, are moved by what they conceive to be their material interests, and are not suffering from sleepless nights over the out rages that are being committed against the child of tender age, whose necessities make it a slave. Dividends are more sacred in this civilization than human life, and as long as the would the "sacred rights" of property, he is practically giving his political sanction to every law that fastens its chains upon the wealth producers of the world.—The Miners' Magazine.

POSITION OF RULING CLASSES.

POSITION OF RULING CLASSES.

Political convulsions work in a groove, the direction of which varies little in any age or country. Institutions, once sufficient and saintary become unadapted to a change of circumstances. The traditionary holders of power see their interests threatened. They are jealous of innovations. They look on agitators for reform as felonious persons desiring to appropriate what does not belong to them.

The one idea of the conservatives is to part with nothing, pretending that the stability of the state depends on adherence to the principles which have placed them in the position which they hold; and as various interests are threatened, and as various necessities arise, those who are one day enculse are frightened the next into usuatural conditions, and the next after into more embittered dissensions.—James Anthony Froude, in "Cassar."

THE FALSE GOSPEL OF "THRIFT."

If All or Most of the Workers Should Try to Escape Poverty by Living Frugally and Saving Out of Their Wages, the Only Result Would Be to Lower that F Standard of Living and Reduce Wages.

The smug defenders of capitalism lose no opportunity to tell us that the cause of the general poverty of the corkers is their extravagance and Rockefeller, a Morgan, or a Carnegie have been accumulated by careful saving out of the wealth that their own labor has produced.

How Not to Get a Million.

We can refute this last theory by simply pointing out—what anyone may verify by doing a little sum in -that if Jesus Christ or one of his fellow carpenters had been gifted with immortality on earth and had worked stendily at his trade to the present day, laying away ten dollars out of every week's pay, never getting sick, never being laid off, never going on strike, never getting robbed or defrauded out of his wages, he

An Impudent Indictment.

To the statement that the poverty of the working class is due to lazin or drunkenness or unthrift form, we may reply with words in his famous speech in the Brit-ish Parliament in behalf of the rebellious Americans—"Sir, I have no knowledge how to frame an indictment against a whole nation." He who assumes to indict a whole class, sweepingly to condemn helf the popu-lation of a great country on charges of culpable extravagance or indolence exhibits such arrogance and such dis-regard for truth that he hardly de serves a civil rejoinder.

Not for the sake of civility toward ach opponents, however, but because their argument, by simple force of much iteration, has come to be accept ed by many who would know better if they would but think boldly for themelves-because "The downcast eyes of fimid acquiescence have paid to impudent authority the tribute of a pudent authority the tribute of a thoughtless 'Yes,'" in this, as in so many other matters-it is necessary to expose the utter fallney of the thrift ng-class poverty, to show that it is the veriest quack recipe, such as, if generally followed, WOULD AGGRA-VATE THE DISEASE INSTEAD OF

A Modern Parable.

In "Puck,' 'a few months ago, appeared a modern parable that puts the true theory in a nutshell. In sub-stance, this was the story: Once upon a time there was a thrifty

young man who worked in a big pickle factory. He and his wife thought that it would be very nice to thought that it would be very nice to have a home of their own and decided to live very frugally in order to realize \$7 a week to buy a little house and lo in the course of seventeen years and six months. So they cut out all luxurics from their menu-pickles among the rest. But it happened that all the other employees in this pickle factory got the same idea at the same time and all started to economize. And at the end of six months the superintendent called them together one said that he greatly regretted to in-form them that the demand for pickles had so fallen off that the factory was to be closed and the force discharged. Whereupon the thrifty young man and his wife, being disillusioned, went out and blew their savings on an oyster

supper. of escaping from actual poverty, in-dustry and frugality serve very well for an individual workingman or for a few workingmen out of many-PRO-VIDED IT IS NOT THE GENERAL PRACTICE. If the rule of thrift-of always saving up a little out of each week's earnings-should be fol lowed by all or by most of the working class, it would not relieve them from poverty but, on the contrary, would plunge them into still deeper poverty. Let us see how:

Workingmen cannot save unless they get wages. They cannot get wages unless they are working. They cannot work unless the capitalists employ them. The capitalists will emplo them only if a profit is to be made or ket for the commodities that their la-bor produces. And the workers, spending their wages, constitute a part of the market, and if they do not spend their wages -they reduce the market.

Suppose I resolve to quit smoking, never to take a glass of beer, to eat meat only once a day instead of twice, to make my clothes and shoes last a little longer than heretofore, and never to go to the theater nor buy a book or magazine. If I alone adopt this plan of frugality, I may still practise the twin virtue of industry and the scheme may work. I may save a hun-dred dollars a year, by living a bare and narrow life, and may eccumulate four or five thousand dollars before I

Suppose All Were Thrifty.

But suppose I am not alone in follow this "Poor Richard" plan. Suppose all my neighbors, all my shop mates, all the wage-workers in the land, also take the advice of the smug spostles of thrift. What happen All workingmen cease snicking 'Th

demand for cigars and tobacco is re-duced. Inevitably the cigar and tobaces manufacturers, finding no suffi-cient market for their product, disclent market for their product, dis-charge a part of the cigarmakers and tobacco workers. Similarly, as all workingmen have quit drinking beer, a part of the brewery workers lose their jobs. In the same way, a part of the stockyard and packing-house-employees and of the butcher work-men and a part of the garment work-ers and shoemakers and a part of th-actors and stage hands and a part of the paper-mill workers and printers and pressmen and bookbinders are thrown oil of work.

The army of the unemployed is greatly increased. Each of these work-

If they cannot find work in their own trades, they invade other trades, and in every trade they bid against those who are still employed.

The Capitalist Decalogue.

The capitalists, the employers, are ways looking for cheap labor. To reduce the payroll is one way of increasing profits, and the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth ents of the capitalist moral code are all the same-"Thou shalt increase thy profits." Especially are the capital-ists on the lokout for a chance to cut wages, when, as in this supposed case, the market for their goods is poor, when each is trying to keep his share of the diminished trade by cutting

Now our labor-power, our strength and skill and knowledge, is a commo-dity bought and sold in the market under the same rule as cloth and flour. Only we, the workingmen, are the Only we. labor-power, whereas the capitalists are the sellers of all products. Also, we are under this dis-advantage in selling our labor-power, that we cannot hold it for a rise. The merchant or manufacturer, if prices are low to-day, may keep his cloth or flour till to-morrow or next week, when prices may be better. Not so the wage-worker. IF I DO NOT SELL TO-DAY'S LABOR-POWER TO-DAY, I CAN NEVER SELL IT. And I must sell it. As Capitalist Frick said, with brutal frankness, when in-terviewed on the Homestead strike: "If I put this silver dollar on a shelf d leave it for a month, at the end of the month there is still my silver dollar; if you put a workingman on the shelf, at the end of the month you find him a skeleton."

When there are few laborers, and many jobs, the price of labor, which is wages, tend to go up, just as the price of flour will go up when there is little flour and many people ready to buy it. When there are many laborers and few jobs, wages will go down. And, on account of the difference between labor-power and other commedities of which we have been price of flour will go commodities of which we have just spoken (as well as because the in tion of labor-saving machinery is ever tending to reduce the demand). WAGES ARE SURER TO FALL IN HARD TIMES THAN TO RISE IN

GOOD TIMES. All Workers Would Suffer.

So, to return to our imagined case f universal thrift, this thrift having thrown many workingmen out of em-ployment, their increased competition for jobs will inevitably cause a general reduction of wages. I may be a coachman or a waiter in Delm or a proof-reader on the New York "Sun." The thrift of my cla not directly affect my position directly, for the people of my class did not ride in coaches nor dine at Del-monico's nor buy the "Sun," even in their unthrifty days. But I will not escape. Indirectly I will be hit. Some of those unemployed butchers will be able to drive a coach and will bid for cigarmakers or garment workers will become waiters and compete with me; the printers thrown out by the suspension of some popular paper which our thrift has killed will come to the 'Sun" for work and will cut me out

It should be as plain as A B C, that a universal class of introduced from a plain as A B C, that a universal class of the position of the posi wages. Yet, just because th the workers were not but independent production and their plan of industry and frugality and failed in it all through their lives, still-believe in the theory and blame them-selves instead of blaming the system which makes working-class thrift

suicidal virtue. An Economic Tread-Mill

The capitalist system may be coma great tread-mill and the working class to the ass that rufts it. The faster he goes, the harder he tries to rise, the more rapidly runs the mill under his feet, so that he must still strive harder to keep up the pace; he comes no nearer to the top, but only wears out his own strength in grinding more grist for his master who stands comfortably by and encourages his cultre, and however, that he is tied fast, while the working class has the power, whenever it will under-

-Capitalists have nothing to lose ut their incentive to loaf; You have, everything to gain by the right to your

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PARTY NEWS.

Rational.

The National Secretary acknowledges the following contributions to the National Organizing Fund: Eugene Gauch, Providence, R. I., \$1; Second Warn, Chin. Paterson, N. J., \$5; Thos. E. Lee, Unula Vista, Cal., 80c.; George E. Lee, Chula Vista, Cal., 80c.; George Barr, Lacenter, Wash., \$1; A. L., New York, 50c.; Card 782, coll. by M. J. Lit 1018, 300.; Geo. Littlefield, Westwood, Mass., 50c.; Geo. A. Littlefield, Manchester, N. H., \$1; Card 1500, by J. J. Kent, Corsicana,

Card 1500, by J. J. Kent, Coracana, Tex., \$1; Card 1000, by Local Two Harbors, Minn., \$1.50; total for week, \$12.30; total to date, \$3,193.76.

The meeting of the national convention will necessarily require the attention of the force in the national office and the National Secretary therefore recovers, that correspondents take this requests that correspondents take this into account and have patience if their letters do not receive immediate atten-tion. The removal of headquarters just preceding the convention places the force at a temporary disadvantage, but the normal condition of affairs will be restored as soon as possible.

The Wentworths are again in the ast. Marion Wentworth is filling reading engagements in Boston ricinity and will go West again "The Sunken Bell" for the Toledo, O., comrades on Symday after-noon, May 8. Zenobia Theater has en engaged for the occasion and the mrades are expecting a large attend-

afternoon, April 24, in the opera ho at Bridgeport, Conn., to an interested audience, and the following Monday evening to a large audience at Brock ton, Mass. On Tuesday evening, Apr 26, he filled a speaking engagement at Fitchburg, Mass., and on Thursday he spoke at Haverhill, where Mrs. Went-worth accompanied him. On Sunday, May 1, he is to deliver the May Day s for the Boston celebration in

New York State.

The vote for delegate-at-large to the national convention resulted in the election of John Spargo 'as delegate and Wm. Goeller as alternate. vote was as follows: For delegate-Local Utica, Spargo, 5; Sparrowbush Spargo, 15; Yonkers, Spargo, 12; Rich mond, Spargo, 21; Syracuse, Spargo 12; Green Island, Dennis, 5; Ft. Edward, Spargo, 6; Oneida, Spargo, 4; Kings, Spargo, 51; Gloversville, Spargo, 28 Peekskili, Spargo, 11; Jamestown, Early, 32; Albany, Spargo, 5, Dennis, 3; New York, Spargo, 186, Early, 18, Dennis, 26; Queens, Spargo, 54; Rochester, Spargo, 30, Total, Spargo, 420; Early, 50; Den-nis, 34. For alternate: Local Utica. Goeller, 5; Sparrowbush, Merrill, 15; Richmond, Merill, 21; Syracuse, Goel ler, 2, Merrill, 4; Green Island, Goeller Merrill, 4; Ft. Edward, Goeller, 6; neida, Merrill, 4; Kings, Goeller, 9, Merill, 15; Gloversville, Goeller, 27 Peeskill, Merrill, 11; Albany, Merrill, 8; New York, Goeller, 125; Merrill, 67; Queens, Goeller, 34; Rochester, Mer-rill, 10; total, Goeller, 209, Merrill, 159. John C. Chase will speak in Bath

N. Y., on April 20, and in Rochester of

On account of the insistence of the East Side organizations on holding a separate May Day parade and other difficulties in the arrangements, the plan for holding a regular parade from the Labor Lyceum on Saturday even-ing has been abandoned. The Butchers' Unious and some other organisa-tions will follow out the original plan and march with their flags and music and march with their large and march as intended. The general demonstra-tion, however, will be held at the Grand Central Palace, Lexington avenue and Forty-third street, and there all workingmen are urged to attend.

Algernon Lee has an article on "Socialism in the United States" in a re cent number of "Eritassard Hayastan Ocupy Armon" inapplicationenian So-cialist paper published a Boston.

The Brooklyn May Day Parade Con-ference held a well attended meeting last Sunday. Several new delegates were seated. The following route was decided upon: From Labor Lyceum to Evergreen avenue, to Suydam street, to Knickerbocker, avenue, to Stock-holm street, to Irving avenue, to forene avenue, to Bushwick avenue, to C. Chas. H. Coulter, Brockton, 79; John to Arion place, to Floyd street, to Throop avenue, to Montrose avenue, to Bushwick avenue, to Melrose street, B. Flanders, Haverhill, 51; John A. to Evergreen avenue, to the Labor Ly-ceum, where a mass meeting will be held. Twenty-four mottoes were order-ed printed on transparencies. The com-mittee to visit trade unions reported the following adidtional organization will participate: Fur and Skin Work-ers, Cigarmakers 149, Jewelry Work-ers' Union, and Br. 87, W. S. & D. B. Copy of a leaflet for distribution during the parade was read and it was decided to order 20,000 copies, also 2,000 copies of the May Day issue of The Worker. The following donation The Worker. The following donations have been reported: Carpenters Local 32, \$10; Brewers' Union 69, \$10; Labor Yocum Association, \$10; Young Peoples, \$ D. Club, \$5; Br. 75, W. S. & D. B. \$5, \$5. Carpenters 291, \$5; Cigarmakers 149, \$5; Kings County S. D. P., \$5; 20th A. D., \$5; Meat Cutters 342, \$5; American Federation of Women, \$3; \$ D. Women's Society. Women, \$3; S. D. Women's Society \$2; Br. 87, W. S. & D. B. S., \$3; 6th \$2; Br. 87, W. S. & D. B. S., 83; 6th A. D., \$3. The parade will be composed of five divisions. Comrade Bauch was elected grand morshal. The conference will have a band of music in addition to four bands hired by various organizations, so the parade is going to be a lively demonstration. tion. The route selected is mostly on asphalt paving and will be easy to march. All comrades who are speak-ers are requested to report to J. A. Well-at 7 o'clock sharp, as there will be speaking from four platforms and every speaker is therefore needed. The Call Booth committee acknowl-edges the receipt of costs described

The Call Rooth committee acknowledges the receipt of cash donations from John I. Cohn, Mrs. Ingermann, and Comrade Weinstein of SI each. Many beautiful presents have been given by S. O. Poliock, Mrs. Poliock, Morris Hillquit, Frank M. Hill, Miss Fox. U. Solomon, Charles Dobbs, Mrs. Malkiel, Gaylord Wilshire, and a number of others whose names have not ber of others whose names have not been reported to the committee.

The drawing for the watch in benefit of a sick comrade will take place at 241 E. Forty-second street on Sunday evening. May 1, 8 p. m. Holders of thekeis should settle before this date, May 1, at 2 p. m. Franklin Went

as they will not be returnable after-

Branch Jamaica, No. 198, of the Branch Jamaica, No. 198, of the Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Association, assisted by Branch Jamaica, S. D. P., have arranged for an afternoon and evening festival and games to be held at J. B. Jung's Union Grove, better known as Wirtschaft Zum Armen Teufel, Union Turnpike, near Hoffmann boulevard, Maple Grove, Long Island, on Sunday, May 20 The following committee was given full power to make arrangements: J. B. Jung, August Mennel, Christian Kolsen, Peter Horr, Ernst Koepplus, Wm. Goeller, Jr. Admisions will be free, and there will be union music, ball games, wheel of fortune, dancing, etc. All branches of the Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Association, as well as the branches of the S. D. P., are cordially

invited to extend.

The delegates to the national conrention from Greater New York and vicinity who leave on the Friday morn-ing train meet in the Pennsylvania depot, Jersey City, from which ter-minal the Lehigh Valley trains depart, not later than 10 a. m., as the signing of certificates will have to be done personally by all delegates before leaving on the train. Delegates will please take note to be on hand on time. At the meeting of the Kings County

committe on April 23 six applicants or membership were admitted from the following districts: 5th A. D., one; 8th A. D., two; 11th A. D., two; 19th A. D., one. A communication was received from the National Secretary stating that Comrade Saltiel would be available during May or June as German lecturer and a motion was passed that the secretary write to each branch and ask whether they can make arrangements for such meetings The referendum vote for delegate-at-large to the national convention was reported as follows: Spargo, 51; Early, 0; Dennis, 0; Goeller, 0; Merrill, 15 It was decided to hold primaries in each assembly district on Friday, May 20, and a county convention on Saturday, May, 21, for the purpose of electing delegates to the state convention. Julius Gerber was empowered to issue call for same. Assembly branches are called upon to have as large a repre-sentation in the May Day parade as possible as they are expected to march in a body. Five dollars was donated to the parade and a share of stock in the Char. II. Kerr Co-operative Publishing Company was ordered bought.
ADD N Y CITY

New Jersey. Fred Long of Philadelphia will debate with C. Oscar Beasley, Republi-can ex-select councilman in Philadel-phit, at Post Five Hall, Fifth street, between Federal and Bridge avenue Camden, N. J., on Monday evening, May 2. The resolution to be debated is: That Socialism is the only solution is: That Socialism is the only solution of the labor problem. Admission is free and every Socialist within reach should come and bring his friends. Long should make much fun for the audience on this occasion if Mr. Beasley is as ineffective as he was in de-bate with Comrade Lemon sometime ago at Philadelphia.

One of the features of our propa-ganda this year is the special attention paid to the organization of Italians Teofilo Petriella, who is a member of the campaign committee, is on a tour of the state and has organized several branches, The last report of Comrade Petriella is from Vineland, where he has just succeeded in organizing a branch of twenty. Comrade Petriella writes very cheeringly of the outlook among the Italians, the majority lean-ing to Socialism. He is pleased with the help that local and county committees are giving him, and enthusiastically hopeful in regard to the future progress of Socialist organization among the Italians.

Massachusetts. The vote in Massachusetts for dele-

gates to national convention was as follows: For delegate-at-large-Jas, F. follows: For delegate-at-large—Jas. F. Carey, Haverhill, 250; H. A. Gibbs, Worcester, 244; Geo. WasGalvin, Boston, 83; Olof Bokelund, Worcester, 42; Wallace C. Ransden, Brockton, 25; John Robert Lawrence, Clinton, 25; John Quincy Adams, Amesbury, 33; Chas. H. Coulter, Brockton, 22; Joseph Spers, Boston, 15; Lohn Fells, Harachill, Barten, 15; Lohn Fells, Harachill, Parachill, Parachi ro, Boston, 15; John Eills, Haverhill, 15; John A. Billings, Rockland, 1. For alternate-at-large—Geo. W. Galvin, Boston, 89; H. A. Gibbs, Worcester, 88; Billings, Rockland, 40; Geo. Willis Cocke, Wakefield, 21; John Wenver Sherman, Boston, 15; James A. DeBell Boston, 15; Levi Turner, Quincy, 12; Chas. E. Fenner, Worcester, 11; Dan-iel V. Linnehan, Athol, 6; John R. Mc-Rae, Athol. 5; Aaron F. Green, Leo-minster, 6; John Dockendoff, Fitch-burg, 6; John F. Mullen, 6. For dele-gate, First Councillor District—Dan A. White, Brockton, 101; W. C. Ransden Brockton, 12; John A. Billings, Rock-iand, 10. For alternate—J. W. Skinner, Brockton, 14; Chas. H. Coulter, Brockton 9. For delegate, Second Councillor District-Geo. E. Littlefield, Westwood. 28; no alternate elected. For delegate, Third Councillor District—Alfred B. Outram. Chelsea, 21; C. A. Blaisdell, Somerville, 10; Saul Beaumont, Cam-bridge, 8; no alternate nominated, Blaisdell of Somerville receiving sec-ond largest vote for delegate is elected alternate. For delegate, Fourth Coun cillor District-J. F. Molloy, South Boston, 10; for alternate, T. J. Bury, South Boston, 10. For delegate, Fifth Councillor District—James A, Keown, Lynn, 50; John C, Chase, Haverhill, 13; J. A. Putnam, Danvers, 0; for al-ternate, Alexander Hayman, Haver-hill, 22. For delegate, Sixth Councillor District—Herman Brandt, Malden, 9; District—Herman Brandt, Malden, 9; F. Tepper, Lawrence, 0; no alternate elected. For delegate, Seyenth Councillor District—Howard A. Gibbs, Worcester, 58; Chas. E. Fenner, Worcester, 5; D. G. Hitchcock, Warren, 0; for alternate, J. D. Ryan, Gardner, 49. For delegate, Eighth Councillor District—John J. Kelly, Chicopee, 13; for alternate, Chas. C. Hitchcock, Ware, 13. The vote of Lawrence, Haverhill and Greenfield arrived too late to be counted. Three ballots were thrown out by the committee, there being no means to determine where they came from. These three ballots would not affect the election of any delegate, merely increasing the plurality of certains.

worth will deliver the address. The exercises will begin with singing and recitations by the Socialist Sunday School and the superintendent will make a short speech for the children. The Boston Socialist Sunday School, after May 1, will hold no more indoor sessions till fall. Several open-air meetings and picnics will be arranged for summer.

worth will deliver the address. The

The Central Committee of the Bos-ton Socialist Club will hold their sixth annual picnic, June 17, at Apollo sixth annual picnic, June 11, at Apono Garden, Armory street, Roxbury. The purpose of the picnic is to raise funds with which to carry on the fall cam-paign. The comrades should remem-ber that the greater the financial suc-cess of the picnic the less they will have to dip into their individual burges. The management intend this purses. The management intend this to be the best Socialist picnic ever held in this locality and hope that every comrade will feel himself individually responsible for its success, for without the hearty co-operation of the comrades it cannot succeed. There will be something doing from 10 a. m. to 10 p. m. Refreshments of all kinds will be served on the grounds. Danc-ing will be free from 2 until 10 p. m. Music by Wertheim's Orchestra. A number of speakers will make shor addesses. To the lady selling the largest number of tickets a gold Waltham watch will be presented, and to the gentleman selling the larg-est number a genuine meerschaum pipe. If the winner does not use a pipe something of equal value, which he may choose, will be given. A con-dition of this contest is that money for tickets, with the numbers of tickets, must be in the hands of the treas urer, Louis Marcus, before 10 a. m, of the morning of June 17, and no money turned in after that hour will be credited to a contestant. For any further information in regard to picul advertising in souvenir, hiring of privileges, etc., apply to manager, G. G. Hall, 259 Westville street, Dorches

Pennsylvania.

Charters were granted to Locals Wilkes Barre, Luzerne County, and Coatsville, Chester County, at the meeting of the State Committee held on April 25.

Delaware County Socilalists will hold their convention at Morton, May 30, at 2.30 P.M. An out door meeting will be held in the evening with Frank Wright as the speaker.

Geo. H. Goebel reports that he is

very much pleased with what he has seen in his trip through Pennsylvania. In 17 days he spoke at 15 propaganda meetings and 6 party meetings and at almost all of these meetings he took many subscriptions to party papers.

Ed. Moore of Philadelphia will speak in Sellersville on Friday evening

April 29 and in Allentown on Saturday April 30.

The regular meeting of Local Phila-delphia will be held in the Labor

Lyceum, Sixth and Brown streets, (en trance on Randolph street) Wednesday evening May 4. The county convention of the Socialist Party of Philadelphia will be held in the Labor Lyceum, Sixth and Brown

streets, Saturday evening May 7. The result of the referendum on the place of holding the state convention will be announced in next week's re-port. The counting has been delayed on account of the unintelligible report of the vote received from Belle

The receipts of the State Committee for the week were as follows: Irwin, \$1.30; New Castle, \$4; T. B. Lyman, member at large, 30c.; Coatsville, \$2; member at-large, 30c.; Contributions to pay off the state debt; Wilkinsburg \$3; 19th Ward Branch, Philadelphia, \$2. To defray the expenses of dele-gates to the national convention Scilersville, \$1; 19th Ward Branch Philadelphia, \$2. Chas. Heydrick, Sr. of Erie \$1 to state fund.

Freeman Knowles, Socialist candidate for Governor of South Dakota has had printed in pamphlet form, un-der the title of "The Social Paradox," an address which he delivered on the occasion of the state-convention. The pamphlet is sold at 10 cents a copy and the proceeds go to the state cam-paign fund. Locals can thus "kill two oirds with one stone"-help the South Dakota campaign and provide then selves with propaganda literature—the "stone" taking the form of a money order drawn to Freeman Knowles Deadwood, S. D.

"Confessions of Capitalism," by Al-lan L. Benson, is a new propaganda pamphlet published by the "Social Democratic Herald" of Milwankee, I is written in a lively style and is full of telling facts. It should prove very effective. Five cents a copy or thirty

copies for \$1 is the price.

The Socialists of Newport News, Va., have their ticket in the field for the city election. Joseph Cooper is candi-date for Mayor, H. Haller for Councilman from the First Ward, L. A. Hall from the Second, Thomas Hop-kins from the Third, and Charles Kidd from the Fourth. Comrade Kidd from the Fourth. Comrade Haller is president of the Central Labor Union. The vigorous stand which he took against the proposition made by the Chamber of Commerce that the City Council appropriate \$500 to enterrain visiting military organizations, a few weeks ago, has made him distinct-ly "persona non grata" to the money artistocrats of the city and proportion-ately has helped set the workingmen

to thinking.

The Socialists of Iowa will hold their state convention at Marshalltown

on July 4.

Iowa's delegates to the national cor Iowa's delegates to the national convention are John M. Work, J. J. Jacobsen, John W. Bennett, and Carrie L. Johnson. As alternates, W. A. Jacobs, A. K. Gifford, J. F. Sample, and John E. Shank were chosen.

SOCIALISTS HARD TO SUPPRESS.

The police of Portland, Ore., are in-terfering with the right of Socialists to hold street meetings, but the local comrades are determined to resist this usurpation of authority and will con-finue their agitation notwithstanding, livs a hard job to suppress Socialists. We are "sure we're right" and we "go ahead." That is why we grow.

"Well, I guess old Slyman is begin ning to make his pile."

"Why do you think so?"

"He's going around blowing about how much happier a man is when he near."

Current Literature. Continued from page 4.

delight—inboriously to expose the flaws of books that are commonly ac-cepted as works of genius and especepted as works of genius and espe-cially to set in juxtaposition some critics' warm praise of a classic and some inferior passage from that classic which does not merit the praise, find then to scoff and call on us a il to behold what a silly lot are the critics and how many spots there are on the brightest of suns. Mr. Ker-sey has read a great deal. He has read thoughtfully—within the limits of an eighteenth-century "rationalisof an eighteenth-century "rationalis-tic" or metaphysical method of think-ing. The running comment of such a man on what he has read is pretty sure not to be altogether without in-terest of value. But we seriously doubt whether the amount of what is interesting or valuable in "The Ethics of Literature" repays the trouble of reading it, unless one has a great deal of time and no other book within reach; in that case—well, there is more in it than in an equal amount of mat-ter taken at random from the newspa pers, say.

"Zur Kritik" at Last Translated.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECON OMY. By Karl Marx. Translated OMY. By Karl Marx. Translated by N. I. Stone from the second Ger man edition of 1897; with Appendix containing the posthumously pub-lished Introduction. New York, In ternational Library Pub. Co. 1904 Cloth, 314 pp.

That Marx' "Zur Kritik der Poll-tischen Oekonomie," the precursor of "Capital" and the work in which he

most distinctly formulated his great-cat idea, the materialistic conception of history—an idea at least as epochmaking in the history of human thought as Darwin's simultaneously ublished idea of the origin of specie natural selection-should have had to wait forty-five years for translation into the English language is a fact not creditable to the English speaking peoples. At last we have it, however, and we may well congratu-late ourselves and make prompt good use of the acquisition. We have been glad to welcome the translations of Engels' "Origin of the Family," of Kautsky's "Social Revolution," of Venderveide's "Collectivism" and of

Labriola's "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History" within the as an even more valuable addition to the literature of the movement in our language than any or all of them. We postpone for a time any adequate notice of the work and only add here that the work of the translator se matter for sincere rejoicing.

Any book or pamphlet noted in this department may be purchased of the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York.

PRIMARY AND CONVENTION NOTICES.

Primaries of the Social Democratic Party of New York County, for the purpose of electing delegates to the New York County convention, will be held on Wednesday, May 11, from 7 to 9 p. m., at the following places: First Assembly District—150 Spring

Fourth street, residence of Paul Flaschel, Sixth Assembly District-64 East Fourth street, hall,

Seventh Assembly District-204 West Fifteenth street.
Eighth Assembly District-65 Rivington street, book store. Ninth Assembly District-255 West

Twenty-seventh street, plumbing slop. Tenth Assembly District—60 Second arenue, residence of Henry L. Slobo-Eleventh Assembly District_413

Ninth ayenue, upholstery store.
Twelfth Assembly District—103 Broome street, residence of Dr. Mali-

West Forty-second street, hall. East Thirteenth street, residen

Vest Fiftieth street, shoe store. Sixteenth Assembly District—617 East Fifth street, residence

Panzer.
Seventeenth Assembly District—559 West Fiftleth street, residence of Chas, Firmkas,

Chas. Firmkas.

Eighteenth Assembly District—604

East Seventeenth street, shoe store.

Nineteenth Assembly District—1924

Nineteenth Assembly District—1924
Broadway, upholstery store.
Twentieth Assembly District—309
East Twenty-sixth street, tailor store.
Twenty-first Assembly District—827
Columbus avenue, cigar store.
Twenty-second Assembly District—241
East Forty-second street, clubbuse.

Twenty-third Assembly District-Barge's Hall, 1614 Amsterdam avenue. Twenty-fourth Assembly District— 350 East Fifty-eighth street, barber

Twenty-sixth Assembly District-434

Twenty-eighth Assembly District-Twenty-eighth Assembly District—1497 Avenue A, hall.
Thirtieth Assembly District—206
East Eighty-sixth street, clubhouse.
Thirty-first Assembly District—261
West One Hundred and Twenty-third
street, hall.
Thirty-second Assembly District—
220 East One Hundred Assembly District—

street, hall.
Thirty-second Assembly District220 East One Hundred and Secon

220 East One Hundred and Second street, residence of J. Cohn.
Thirty-third Assembly District—121 East One Hundred and Twelfth street, residence of Dr. Ingerman.
Thirty-fourth Assembly District—One Hundred and Forty-second street and Third avenue, Metropolis Hall.
Thirty-fifth Assembly District—3309
Third avenue, clubhouse.
Annexed Assembly District—12
Fourth street, Williamsbridge, residence of Chas. Moder.
NEW YORK COUNTY CONVEN "When we were tired of staying We rose with mighty main, And the Japs would raily round And sink us once again! Thus were we sunk, my lad, about Three dozen times, I guess: First by the Japs and then by the Associated Press!

"And Hearst, he sank us fifteen time
With much red ink and gloom;
So I have journeyed here to haunt
His Presidential boom!"
—Milwaukee Sentinel. NEW YORK COUNTY CONVEN-

A convention of the Social Demo-ratic Party in the County of New York for the purpose of electing dele-

gutes to the New York State Conven-tion and transacting such other busi-ness as may properly come before the convention, will be held on Saturday, May 14, 1904, at 7:30 p. m. at the club WHAT HUXLEY THOUGHT OF Even the best of modern civilisations anking which neither embodies any manking which neither embodies any worthy ideal or even possesses the merit of stability. T do not hesitate to express the opinion, that, if there is no hope of a large improvement of the condition of the great mass of the human family, if it is true that the increase of knowledge, the winning of room of the Workingmen's Education

CAPITALIST CIVILIZATION

increase of knowledge, the winning of a great dominion over nature which is

follows from the dominion, are to make no difference in the extent and intensity of want, with its concomitant physical and moral degradation among the people, then I should welcome the

advent of some kindly comet which

would sweep the whole affair away.-Thomas Huxley.

ROCKEFELLER JR.'S BIBLE CLASS.

"O'sinner, come to Sunday-school," Says little Johnnie D., "Observe the blessed gold brick rule And try to live like Me.

"'Tis good of Me to ask you here To hear My maxims grand, To listen to My words of cheer And shake My holy hand,

"But I must point your wordly looks
Toward a higher zone,
While Father steals your pocketbooks
And everything you own.

"Turn not your thoughts to wordly dros As you more saintly grow." The righteous soul can feel no loss— And Father needs the dough.

"Thanks to the Oil Trust's kindly glut Your finish I can see. When Pa runs up expenses,—but I'm glad Salvation's free.

"Pa owns the Earth, but Heaven is mine So save your souls I must. When I absorb the Sin Combine In My Salvation Trust."
—Wallace Irwin.

AN APPRECIATION.

"I wish to compliment you on The Worker," writes George E. Bigelow.

Every number seems to be better

than its predecessor. The broad and comprehensive treatment of all ques-

tions and the thorough grasp of the

literature and philosophy of the So-cialist movement surely make it one

of the few really great Socialist pa-

EVEN AS HERE AND NOW.

been guilty of the most wantonly

wieked cruelty which the Roman an-nals had yet recorded. They were not

defending their country against a na-

tional danger. They were engaged in what has been called in later years "saving society;" that is to say, in saving their own privileges, their op-

portunities for plunder, their palaces, their estates, and their game pre-serves. They had treated the people

as if they were so many cattle grown

to death last week in our big cities,

but it is consoling to know that the Russian and Japanese soldiers are well supplied with meat.—Eric People.

—Parry may perhaps be able to convince some of his fellow robbers that the labor vote can never amount

to anything, but he couldn't drive it

HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN

into Kaiser Wilhelm's head in a th

Anthony Froude. in "Caesar."

ome to their masters.-James

They (the Roman aristocracy) had

pers of our country.

al Association, 206 East Eighty-sixth street. The basis of representation to said convention is three delegates from each assembly district By order of the General Committee, Social Democratic Party of New York

Tree on white

County. U. SOLOMON. Secretary.

NEW NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS. All mall intended for the National Secretary of the Socialist Party should benceforth be addressed to Boylston where new headquarters have been es tablished, in accordance with the re sult of the general vote recently taken.

RIGHTS OF THE "PUBLIC." Again, there was a phase of the dis-ussion of the coal strike, which we failed to interpret, and by which man of the Socialist speakers and journal which man were led into false positions and condons. The Hearst newspapers and the clergy took up the cry of "public rights" as being superior to the rights of either party in the struggle. This or either party in the struggie. This proposition was announced with great pomp and solemnity by politicians and dectors of divinity, who imagined themselves to be putting on a bold moral front. Many Socialist speakers and journals fell into something very ment the same preposition. The whole near the same proposition. The whole discussion was made to pivot upon the rights of the public, or of society, as superior to the rights of the contending classes of society. It was held that the right of "the public" to coal was greater than the right of the capitalist to his profits, or the right of the miner to better hours and conditions of labor. But the whole proposition was a fundamental lie, based upon an obso-lete and fallacious philosophy. As a matter of fact, "the public" do not, and cannot, extend beyond the measure to which "the public" does right to the humblest member of society. A so ciety that consents that those who dig fuel and climate from the earth shall labor under conditions of danger and exhaustion; a society that consents that those of its members upon whom it depends for light and heat shall be beaten into submission, to long laborhours and low wages; a society that does not accept the responsibility for seeing that every one of its members shall have the full equivalent of the whole product of his labors-such a society, such a public, deserves to freeze and starve, and to suffer all the consequences of its own ignorance, cowardice and irresponsibility. Such a public has no rights which any righteous man is bound to respect. A so-clety or a public has a right to demand from each of its members only that measure of justice and service which it gives. If a public evades re-sponsibility for economic and social justice for each of its members, then Justice for each of its members, then the members of such a society are absolved from responsibility for its comfort. The right of the miners to win their struggle was infinitely su-perior to any so-called public rights, and it was only the fundamental im-morality in which our society is mornlity in which our society is grounded that tolerated any other pro Pirst Assembly District—184 William street, newspaper office.

Third Assembly District—126 Variet, street, shoe-store.

Third Assembly District—232 East in the individual. The process of reasoning that pivots itself upon the so-called theory of public rights is uttrely missing the control of the individual. leading and treasonable. If we have a public mind or conscience that will not awaken to its responsibility for making wealth and opportunity coma society ought to be frozen and starved into enlightment and responsibility. It is time we had a thorough clearing up of this matter of so-called public rights, as against the rights of the organized worker in the struggle for the betterment of his condition If Mr. Mitchell had but had the dis cernment and moral nerve to have held out a little longer, if Mr. Mitchell had not allowed Mr. Morgan and his associates to enable Mr. Roosevelt and Broome street, residence of Dr. Mall-off.

Thirteenth Assembly District—342

West Forth Assembly District—342 have been taught some such lesson as Fourteenth Assembly District—519 this before the strike was settled.

Cast Thirteenth street, residence of D. Sooner or later, this "dear public" will have to learn its lesson-the lesson that

it has no rights beyond the righteous

ness and fullness of life which it ex-tends to its every member. And the Socialist is the man to teach it.—Geo.

D. Herron in International Socialist

THE ANCIENT RUSSIAN MARINER.

It was an ancient mariner
Who stopped a "Journal" club;
"Unhand me!" the reporter said,
"Thou art a fresh old dub!"

I fear thee, ancient mariner!"

The young reporter said; "Methinks I hear the merry buzz Of drivewheels in thy head!"

I am a ghost," the sailor said

About a month ago.

In accents strange and low;
"I sailed from old St. Petersburg

"Snug in our strong torpedo boat

For ten long days sailed we; We were the worst that ever burst Into the Yellow Sea!

'And when we struck the Yellow We went upon a drunk— The Japs attacked us savagely

And straightway were we sunk!

VOTE AS YOU STRIKE,

Upon the bottom lay our boat; Happy? Well, I don't think!

Water, water everywhere And not a drop to drink!

THE UNITED STATES. BY MORRIS HILLQUIT.

What some of the Socialist papers ay about it:
"The Comrade:" No moré important

work than the "History of Socialis in the United States" has ever eman-ated from the pen of an American Socialist.

The Worker: The hook is all har indispensable to anyone who wishes to know the Socialist movement as it exists to-day.

"The International Socialist Re-view:" It is the most scholarly and pretentions volume that has yet appeared by an American Socialist on

the American Socialist movement.
"St. Louis Labor:" The book is full
of interesting and instructive information with which every militant Socialist should be acquainted. a Posting" The

writer has the power of interesting the reader in what he has to say to such an extent that he is almost forced to continue when once started.
"The Toiler:" The book should be
on the shelf of every Socialist if he

wishes to understand the causes that for a long time retarded and now are ushing the Socialist movement to "New Time:" The information on

modern Socialism is full accurate and omplete.
"Ohio Socialist:" Socialists who read this book will be grateful to the author; capitalists will regret its appear

"Los Angeles Socialist:" The au for's style is direct and lucid. What some of the non-socialist pa-

pers say about it: "Philadelphia City and State:" From the reading of the book one can read-ily form an intelligent conception of what Socialism actually is, discern its motives, and forecast in some clear

way its future.

"Louisville Times:" The book is marked by a scholarship and a conservatism of style and statement which will make it a standard work of reference for students of the So-cialist movement.
"Baltimore Herald:" The modern

Socialist movement will be found broadly interesting as described by Mr. Hillquit.
"Rochester Herald:" The book i minently a fair presentation of

case.
"Chicago Advance:" It is the first complete and authentic history of the Socialist movement in the United States.
"Manchester Guardian" (England)

"Manchester Guardian (England)
Mr. Hillquit knows his subject thoroughly, and is master of a good literary style. The book is a really admirable plece of work.
Cloth-bound, 370 pages, neatly printed. Price, \$1.50. Postage, 16 cents.

For sale by BOCIALIST LITERATURE CO., 184 William Str., New York,

BECAUSE WE LOVE.

By Horace Traubel.

that our blows are malign? That we love fighting because we love fight? That we realize any pleasure out of for chances to be gratuitously rude and unruly? That we talk on purposely long after we are done? That we refuse to talk when silence is a crime? That we quarrel and brawl in all the avenues and incidents of experience? Have we dedicated our lives to this cause in some spirit of light revolt? You do not know the truth. You do not know what is really at the back of it all. How we are severe with you. How after being severe we go home and grieve. How we spend long nights wrestling with you. How we spend longer nights wrestling with ourselves. Can you not see that we would rather say the word that will please you than the word that will give you grief? But we must first of all say the true word. The true word is the only word. And the true word is just as much your word as our word. You may not know it is such at the time. But it is your word. I swear to you it is your word. And God knows we do not wish to speak false words. Words that will irre trievibly wound. If we must speak words that wound it is only that we may with mediable wounds ward off words that wound to the death. And this is all because we love.

Is it love that makes the present

Because of love. Do you suppose

orld? The world of parish interests: Is Parry's love love? Is Rockefeller's love also love? Is this the best that love can say for itself? I do not say his love is not love. But I say that if this love is love it is not the love my lover speaks. I will destroy such love with a love that is greater than itself. I will impench such love again with love. I will make it explain. I will call it to account. It has been the depository of a trust. How has it acquitted itself of that trust? I will not sully the test with epithets. I will only call this older love to account. I will not convict it by my lips. I will make it convict itself with its own lips. I will not be cruel. I will only call for a report. I will call upon terest for a report. And rent. profit. Yes, any privilege that transgresses one way in order to benefit an other. Any social compact that goes short with the poor in order to go long with the rich. You will not dare say no. For you will not dare say you do not believe in justice. You can only say: This is not justice. And it is there we must fight the issue out. What is justice? You have got to report on justice. Bring wages into court and report on wages. Will high wages bring justice? Or is justice impossible with any kind of wages? Would a better Parry bring justice is justice impossible with any kind of Parry? If all the men who employ and all the men who are employed turned saint over night would justice be possible? Not if all other things be possible? Not if all other things were left as they are. But no man could be a saint with things as they ire. Every man is compelled to sir

whether or no. And no nation of saints would let things remain as they are. And things as they are do not permit the saints to live. So we see how the situation is twisted. How the knot is of the hout he with the saints is the saints with the saint being disagreeable? Out of being knot is so tight nothing but a drastic hated? That we are bores because we hand can undo it. Whose is the dras-like to be bores? That we are looking tic hand? Hate's hand? Love's hand. I say: Love's hand. A hand that may, have to be severe. But a hand that loves. Because we love, I again say. Not

love a few. Or love a class. Or some church. Or some petty social or national interest. Because we love all. For no solution that would not be a solution for all would be a solution for the

ne. As long as we do not solve the

trouble for all we do not solve it for one. It will forever recur until the last unit is enclosed in the operation. The law of love is not a law for a parish. A law for one day. It is a law for the whole world. For forever. The law of love could not put one item of social evil under ban or under approval. As if things wrong sto each alone. As if the law of one was not the law of every other. Do you think that profit stands alone in the world? That landlordism stands alone? That Wall Street stands alone? That you could march a mob into Lombard street and upset things there and solve the riddle? That could hit out at random and bring down your enemy? Can you isolate a structure from its detail? Can you separate the body from its flesh? So many things need to be done in order that one thing may be done. But they must all be done for the one result. The many things that come from the same root. The things that it will hurt your feelings to have disturbed. But they must be said. They may be said roundabout. They may be said straight to. I think I like to say them straight to. They must be said with love. But they must be said. Eternally said. Said to be understood. know you say it is useless. That the thing that we attack is so big. That the thing we attack it with is so little. Big is big. I concede it. Little is little. I concede it. Yet justice is bigger than big. And injustice is lit-tler than little. And if our unpretentions word is the word of justice it is not awed by the big thing it is to attack. Justice is not weighed in a scale. Or measured by a surveyor. It is not scared when the guns go off. When the millionaire takes account of stock. When someone reports a tumble in the market. Justice, too, has to make a report. But it does not have to make a report in numbers and sizes. It reports in the immensities of ideas. In the uptides of streams. In the ascent of infinite spaces. That is why justice is never dismayed. Why no parade of greatness shakes its claim. Why when all things seem to go against it justice does not dodge or retreat. Why justice can afford to be generous. To swallow our insults. To have the figures all go against it. To have Standard Oil against it. To have the last issue of bonds against it. Anything. And may still keep cool. Still keep its faith. Justice can wait. And we can wait with justice. Because we

---Some Socialists write and speak as though Gompers was the American Federation of Labor.—Louis Goaziou, in the Erie People.

-Go "loaded for bear." That is, always have an extra copy of The Worker in your pocket to give to the inquirer.

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vilization may seem to be this is what it is. And I confess it does or may seem to be many other things which

To some it seems to be a garden Where one set of men cultivate an-other set of men by cutting down some lives in their favor or nipping off the buds of others and transplanting them, thinning them out, or altogether re-jecting them, and so using them as fertilizers for the lives of the few that are "fittest to survive." This is the paternal, ethical, egoistic school of Snobland; and the profit parasites of our race have the audacity to declare that they when using the club on La-bor, are assisting in this benevolent bor, are assisting in this benevolent method of making men of that peculiar augurlarity which is required by the laws of property to fit them into society. Socialists think that the society. Socialists think that the augularity required at present leans far away from the perpendicular righteousness and inclines too

much to the prostrate.

Another school thinks that civilization is a machine of combined hu-manity for the production of enough to ent, the surplus to be deposited in a bank called government for the benefit of an aristocracy who radiate spiritual sunshine out of their fullness and idleness on the laboring sons of darkness, thus exciting them to use their leisure hours, if they have any, to reach Heav-en, where, in spite of bad clothes and bad manners, they may have the privflege of walking on the same golden pavements which are graced by the feet of their always excellent late masters. This is the Mandarin school

globe full of riddles, which it is the mission of every life to find out. But in order to do this, it being necessary to get money to buy leisure and teachers and books and instruments and travelling machines for exploring the whole of the riddle, therefore everyons should put money in his purse, or else go to work and attend night school. This is the school of popular educa-tion, which is designed to leave the population in ignorance.

Again, there are others who look upon civilization as a nursery where human beings must spend the 14f time entting their teeth by fighting with or chewing up one another. This is the school of individual development by competition or strenuous.ess—the Roosevelt school.

school looks upon civiliza-Another school roots upon set on a fion in a large frying-pan set on a larger fire and full of people getting fried. The restless ones who do not like it, and therefore want to jump over, are non-patriots or Socialidas who jump into Hell; while the good cnes sit still to be fried, after the gra-My is all out of them and supped up by their masters, have the privilege of not going to Hell or anywhere else. This is the industrial school of God's Commissioner, Mr. Baer.

Some, again, look upon the whole affair of life as a great race after pleasure. It is a pity that the men of this school, which comes nearer the truth than many others, take no steps to make possible the thing for which the multitudes are supposed to be rac-ing, but do take steps—and long ones, with all that is left of the prize which fley can run away with. This is the free-to-all, catch-if-you-can Jeffersonian school of civilization, under which we have been for a century flourishing down to the dry roots of American

Democracy.

These and many more foolish or reduced to, according to the class interest of the inventors. But whatso-ever it may temporarily be made to seem, it is, according to the grades of success, much more or most, an asso to slavery at work by other men not at work was the original cause of its

Work, the human animal had no brains to speak of. Until human workers be-gen to be cheated, the human skull was nothing but a box full of ins. incts.

By work I mean systematic and con-innous exertion of the activities to-vards the possession of an object of wards the possession of an object of which work itself would be the producer. I do not mean the sudden lift-strikes all men togeother. Babylou is ing of a weapon to take or kill some-thing which unexpectedly appears of itself, I do not mean the pulling of a boat out of a storm, the exertions at taneous, extemporized toll, springing out of our emergencies, but the sysappeared but will appear as the result of our devotion and activity.

Here the mind of the human race cas born, in this cradle of work it was nursed. Through such work the intellect will always flourish and out of it will at last come that unity of the single mind with all other minds which is the spiritual life towards which men are still groping in the grave-clothes of modern religions.

The thing to be produced, materialthe worker is now wealth-an exclusively human product, which neither grows from the field, nor comes in with the tides, nor falls from the skies, but comes out of brain and muscle. Man the toiler was once only man the man who was milked by the feudalfty and the farmer. But man the worker always was as he is now, a maker of surplusage, of wealth. And he was this because he was a slave,

The slavery of man has created a thing owns me, the laborer, that thing new thing upon the earth, the society owns also the thing that cannot do bf many minds; for whatever else cicame the property of the capitalist the world became the property of the capitalist and the time came for a hange.

But the worker, producing wealth, produced with it also all the mind and all the association which consti-tute civilization.

Chattel slavery, that damnable and blessed old wrong, produced only la-bor and toll, the preliminary stages of social work; but it was the holy parentage of the man with the single mind, as proletarian slavery is of the mind social.

Socialism, therefore, the intellectualized whole of work, is the great ideal of democracy. It is the revolution of work i r the revolution of the mind,

Now let us look at society and see what an entirely artificial and alto-gether human relation it is, And when I say altogether human, I now mean concerning modern man, that it is an altogether mental relation and association. What an altogether mental. intellectual, and moral mover cialism is, must appear plainly to fol-

gether in society? We are a society of many minds engaged upon work producing things and being reproduced mentally by the things our hands produce, making social environments around ourselves, making new ways of making, and thereby every day being newly made ourselves. Our history is our own making of new history to ourselves, altogether aside from na-ture, altogether integral to ourselves; it is a society of the mind. If it should seem that we are held together because of our necessities, it also appears as clearly that the necessities holding us are not nature's necessities. things of ancient history, our present necessities being the products of association only; but the means of supply-ing them are also easily the products of this same association. We have fallen into an artificial slavory th onch each other, and it is more than an easy thing when the worker is worked a little more up to the point of social thinking to rise out of slavery.

In ages of imperfect association, ages when yet association was not definitely grouped around work, when work seemed to be individualistic, slavery was a haptism of blood, through which the race must needs cass. There could have been no sufficiency without it; without it man could never have discovered his power of superabundant production by work. But in our time slavery is the anachronism of the crime of capitalism. Nothing can be more entirely out of date than human slavery to the means of support ng life. This is the crime of crimes. This is not the necesity which holds us in society. Because human society is so entirely an artificial creation, it has all its good and all its evils within it-self. What written laws are supposed to be in modern nations, remedies for all social evils, unwritten sen imen s opinions, and estimates of things real ly are in our artificial evils. Mind has consented to and mind can with-draw consent from them all. And the draw consent from them all. And the the mind which the evils in question are themselves producing. This is the knowledge that can make a sure and an always hopeful man of the Social ist. The evils of society are its own unnecessary artificial creation and wage-slavery is only a symptom of social boylood. Manhood means So-

But as men often retain for a time the fancies and follies of boyhood un-til juvenility becomes a shame and is once and for ever thrown away, so in this age of social manhood, men who are still wearing the garments of chil-dren can transform themselves with all the swiftness of the mind. No one knows what a subworld of sen iment, the product of years of silent suffering and observation, is waiting to burst out into the manhood of the in dustrial commonwealth at that oppor tune hour when capitalism has committed its most convincing crime-not

on a volcano. Why have I emphasized thus the artificiality of all human society? Why have I so insisted that all its arts and parts are purely mind-made and man made, while yet believing that there is a material determinator overlying and moulding the mind? Because they are both part of the same truth and one cannot be true without the other.

The function of work as the wom of the mind being premised, it is not bread - determinism, or movements made compulsory by menace or fear of starvation, that we think of as economic determinism. It is by the na-ture of our work itself and of its im-plements that we are mentally determined. The mind of the tool-user is moulded by the tools and materials be uses. Never heeding the wrong that called him to work, he thinks no more of that while he works. It is at its work that the world's mind is mould-ed; and not in the home. We are crying as overburdened people to-day for rest and leisure, and we are determin ed by the wrongful burdens of our lot sq to cry. But when man learns to love his mind above all other things, we shall not be calling for rest, but for true and beautiful work; because work is the womb of the mind.

During the coming centuries of Se he was this because he was a slave, that is, from the beginning of society. A man who could make a coat was a man that was always too much for himself. He was a wealth-maker and belonged to the world. And there were men in the world who soon found that out and soon made him belong to themselves, that in due time the world litself might also belong to them.

For the man that belongs to them.

For the man that belongs to the world is a man the world cannot do without; and that which cannot do without me belongs to me, as the world belongs to labor. If some other world belongs to labor. If some other world belongs to labor. If some other world or definition of the difficult for us to claims the was a scalar that there was once a social of 1899.

This Socialist Party or Social Democratic Party polled about 97,000 votes that they owned and controlled the social order. The idlers could only have been lunatics, they will say, For they will not be able to imagine what other motive could sustain the will and enthusiasm of society but the well-being of all its workers—that is, of the world is a man the world cannot do without me belongs to me, as the well-being of itself, remember: of no god or devil outside of itself. The race cialism it will be difficult for

is socially self-created, and since it has recome social it is self-sufficient.

What, then, does economic determines determine? Silently it determines a great subworld of half formed thoughts or sentiments which have not yet broken into dictionaries or phrases awakened mind. So that our ol friend-phrases "historic materialism," "naterial conception of history," "economic determinism," etc., are re solved into a determinism of the mind by its tools, materials, and work— that is, by its environments, for these alone are the environments of the mind: and then a return deter minism of yesterday's environment by the mind of to-day at work, changing it to the environment of to-morrow for all social environments are made by man and are in a continual state

of change.

Do you see the significance of all this, my brother agitator? How it makes of strict materialistic Socialism the bride of all the mind. How it waits upon no law, but its own thinking and its own activity. How, while academ ically assenting to the evolution of the past, it proceeds to make the evolution

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

(The following verses were written or a May-Day issue of the London "Clarion," some years since, by Laura Lafargue, daughter of Karl Marx and

wife of Paul Lafargue.)
Tell us, thou joily-nosed priest, we pray, How many hours dost thou work

day? 'I," answered the priest, "I patter my prayers, Lest the devil be with us unawares;

The lilles they toil not, nor do the spin, Yet who is cleansed whiter than they from sin?

But for you, honest workers, 'who works, prays,'
As the hollest or holy books says; So work away while you have the

light, For grateful is work in our good Lord's sight." And thou, great king of our country

8ay, How many hours dost thou work a day?
'Blue blood," quoth the monarch,

"flows in my veins,
Ignoble labor my palm never stains;
Were kings and princes their own
work to do
There would not be tasks enough left

A scepter I have for a wishing wand, That soldier and priest and judge doth command: Slaves and serfs were mine, but I set

them free, For men work the better for liberty."

Thou landed man, thou lord of the soil. How many hours dost thou give to "I," spoke the landlord, "look on while

my sheep Nibble the grass, and my laborers reap: There are hinds to sow and gather the

But the crops are theirs who landlords were born;
And let but the doltish pensants with-

stand. My cornfields I turn into pasture land, Thus setting a thousand laborers free For your money lords, who are shrewder than we."

Thou money lord, that dost all things sway. How many hours dost thou work a

I count the sands in my hour-glass. and rich gold in each grain that doth

pass; And, lo, every grain of gold is a nail In the confin of some poor worker frail. In foundry, in mine and in factory My victims do broken and bleeding

lie; But still I look on, and chuckle amain. For the poor man's loss is the rich man's gain."

Poet that watchest the lizard's play, How many hours dost thou work n day?.
Out laughed the poet aloud in his

-buoyance, Long laughed he in irresistible joynnce. "Do I not work when I sing when I sing
A new world's, a bright world's awak-

Hail, myrlad makers! On this May All the world's workers make holiday. Oh, may the peeping flowrets of spring Give earnest of fruiting and blossom-

As we climb to a happier world hidden away. Up the rugged ladder, the eight-hours day."

WARNING TO

NEW READERS.

The party which The Worker sup-ports is known in the nation as the Socialist Party. In New York, on account of certain provisions of the elec tion laws, it is obliged to call itself the Social Democratic Party; its emblem in New York is the Arm and Torch The Socialist Labor Party is an en-tirely separate and hostile organiza-tion, led and controlled by Daniel De Leon. It is important that the distinction be made clear, as a study of the election returns shows that the S. L. P. gets many votes not intended for it, on account of the similarity of names.

The present Socialist Party was formed three years ago by the union of the old Social Democratic Party, organized in 1897, with the majority faction of the old Socialist Labor Party, which had split in the summer

"smrah" all existing unions.

Since the split, while the Socialist Party or Social Democratic Party has rigorously attacked, capitalism and vigorously attacked capitalism and taught Socialist principles, the Socialist Laber Party, disgracing its once-honorable name, has devoted its ef-forts almost exclusively to two objects: First, to hamper the growth of the Socialist Party; second, to attack, undermine, or disrupt the trade unions. The difference between our party and the Socialist Labor Party may be

summed up under four heads:

1. We fight against capitalism all the time, giving to the rival organization only so much attention as is necessary.

to prevent misunderstanding confu son, and disappointment among new, Socialists; the S. L. P. fights us, and treats the propaganda of Socialism as a secondary matter.

2. We support the trade union without seeking to interfere in their special work or allowing them to dic-tate to us in ours; the S. L. P. seeks and works for the destruction of the trade unions with a vigor second only to that with which it attacks us; no content with denunciation, it has even gone into the economic field to form rival unions and scab upon the exist;

3. We regulate our internal affair by democratic methods, believing that only so can the organization be kept pure and the members trained for their growing responsibility as Social-ists; the S. L. P. is ruled by its leader and dissent from his views is punished

by suspension or expulsion.
4. In advocating the cause of Socialon we seek to convince men by argument and appeals to their intelligent interest as wage-workers and to their feelings of honor or humanity; the S. L. P. depends upon abusive epithets, lles, and "bluff."

This article is intended as a warning those who are new to the movement and who naturally suppose from its is a bona fide Socialist organization, or who do not even observe the distinction between it and the Socialist Party. If any of our readers doubt the fairness of our statements we suggest that they investigate for themselves attend the meetings and read the papers and pamphlets of both parties and thoughtfully compare them. If any-one candidly prefers the methods of the S. L. P. he does not belong with us and we do not want him. All we desire is that the distinction between the parties should be recognized as it actually exists, and that men who approve of the methods of the Socialist Party—as represented, for instance, in The Worker—should not unwittingly cast their votes or their influence on the other side.

THE QUESTION OF ALCOHOLISM.

At the recent Swiss Socialist congress Comrade Schatymann read a very instructive paper on a subject which has attracted increasing atten-tion among the Socialists in the varous continental countries-namely, that of Alcoholism. Comrades are no long-er content to dismiss this question simply as one appertaining to capitalism and as an evil which will cure liself with the abolition of capitalism. In the first place, there is the increasing insight, the result of physiological research, that alcohol in no way form search, that alcohol in ho way forms a food, but rather a poison, and that the abuse of alcohol in its working of the health of the individual and his descendants constitutes a very grave danger to seciety. Quite apart from its general effects, the labor movement especially has every reason to fight the especially has every reason to fight the alcohol evil, because it is alcohol, more than anything else, which tends to make the worker a slave of the capital-ist, to weaken his power of reastance. and finally to reconcile him to the existing order. Alcohol, more than anything else, is responsible for the "danued lack of requirements" of the masses which Lasalle complained of ro bliterly, Alcohol may make the men f el revolutionary under its influence, but only to leave them more abject slaves than ever directly its influence has passed off. The subject is plain-ly one that counsels everywhere will find themselves forced to deal with, and possibly to follow the lead in this respect, as in so many others, given cobol in the co-operative stores of the party.-The Social Democrat (London).

A hog that lived near the bend of the errock
Employed a hen at so mucha week, and
To sweep the rooms and dust the things.
By rushing about and flapping her whate,
To work in the garden by spells through
the day
And see to the pigs when the sow was And see to the pigs when the sow was away.
To the tops of the trees around.
And shake the ripest nuis to the er und;
To cackle, to sing and nunse the litter.
And to look as if pleased if may one bit; her.

There was nothing to do, they told her; but then She seemed such a pleasant, good-natured She seemed such a peasant, good-natures hen.
Twas a plty for decent pullets to roam
About in the world without a home,
And as for them, the they did't need her.
They'd glady give her a home and f elBer. And her, twas right that all should be paid.

They did, the her one-third of the eggs she

All th's, said the hog, while the saw stood And wheel an occasional tear from her ergore from the truth. So can be truthed been raised at the tear of the could feel for those not so well off. So she grunted approval of what had been And stretched herself at full length in the She dropped off to sleep as was her custom. While the pigs took dinner enough to bust And the hen-well, pleased with her splen did luck, Began her new life with a satisfied cluck."

-H. L. Lodnar, in the Carpenter,

THE TIME FOR CHANGE.

The time is ripe and rotten-ripe for change: Then let it come: I have no dread of what is called for by the instinct of mankind: Nor think I that God's world will fell apart.

Recause we tear a parchuent more or less

Nor time I has done work with the process of the future, not the past. He who would win the same of truly great Must understand his own age and the next. And make the present ready to fulfill prophecy, and with the future merge Gently and peacefully, as ware with wave.

January Bussell Lewis .

e—In Chicago three boys have be sentenced to death for committing r bery and murder in an illegal mann —Irie People.

political organization of the working chass, and the unions, as its economic organization, should work fraternally though independently, in their sepa though independently in their sepa though in their sepa though independently in their sepa though in the sepa though in their sepa though in the se



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MONTGOMERY MAZE, GRAND CENTRAL PALACE.

National Platform of the Socialist Party of Social Democratic Party. The party cub-blem in New York is the Arm and Torch.

The Socialist Party of America in national

blem in New York is the Arm and Torch.]

The Socialist Party of America in national convention assembled, renifirms its adherence to the principles of international Socialism, and decinize its aim to be the organization of the working class and those in sympatry with it, into a political party, with the object of conouering the powers of government and using them for the purple of government and using them for the purple of the present system of private ownership of the present system of private ownership of the present system of private ownership of the individual worker. Formerly the tools of production were simple and camed by the individual worker. For the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production workers. The capitalists and not by 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 erer increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the powerty and misery of the working class. The possession of the means of itselfihood gives to the capitalists and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists are control of the government, the struggle is now between the spitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists where the capitalist of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists of the meaning class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists where the public class and the working class and entire of the working class. The control of the government is the capitalist of the working class and the working class and control of th

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

MMEDIATE 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 Sorialism also depend up in the single of development reached by the proteinfait, We, therefore, consider it of this utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support of the Socialist Party to support of the Socialist Party to support of the Socialist Party to support the socialist Party to support the socialist Party to support the social state of the socialist Party to support the socialist Party to support the posterior of the Socialist Party to support the posterior of the socialist Party to support the posterior of the socialist Party to support the party of the socialist Party of the party of the socialist Class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of lation of the socialist party of the communers.

I laiser of the comployees the laiser of the service and diminishing the latest the service and diminishing the latest point of the consumers of the latest point of the consumers of the latest point of the latest product of the latest point of the latest point of the latest product of labor.

2. State of national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sightness and want in old age, the product of labor.

2. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sightness and want in old age, the product of labor latest properties of the capitals of latest from the revenue of the capitals of one of the working class.

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

3. The effication of all children up to the latest purpose in which is a considerable and musical states.

5. The education of all children up to the age of eightness jears, and state and mani-cipal sld for books, clothing, and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for

of the constraint of the const

SOCIALISM AND THE REVOLUTION.

Critical communism (scientific So-cialism, in the more usual phrase) does not manufacture revolutions, it does not prepare insurrections, it does not furnish arms to revolts. It mingles itseif with the proletarian movement, but it sees and supports that move-ment in the full littelligence of the con-nection which it has, which it can have, and which it must have, with all the relations of social life as a whole. In a word, it is not a seminary in which superior officers of the proletarian revolution are trained, but it is neither more nor less than the con-sciousness of this revolution and es-pecially the consciousness of its diffi-culties.—Antonio Labriola.

-Northern Securities stock has been advancing in price since the Su-preme Court decision. Holders of Steel Trust stock may now feel disposed to ask the Attorney-General to "run amuck" a little in their direction.-Washington Post.



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SOCIALISM AND TRADE UNIONISM.

The following resolution was adopted, thong with the foregoing platform, by the Sational Convention at Indianapolis, July, slong with the foregoing platform, by the National-Courention as Indianapolis, July, 1891:

The trade-union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. The trade-union movement is the natural result of capitalist production, and represents the ment, and the working-class moves to loin the unions of their respective trades and assist in building up and unifying the trades and labor organizations. We recognize, that trade unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. We call the attention of trade-unionlast to the fact that the class struggle so nobly waged by the trade-union forces to-day, waged by the trade-union structure and the trade in the political method of the political control of a second of the trade-union of the political or the benefit of all the people. It is the duty of every trade-unionate to realize the necessity of independent political action on Socialist lines, to join the Socialist Party and assist in initialing up a strong political movement of the wage-working class, whose control of the political action of the control of the political action of the open of the control of t

RELATIONS OF PARTY AND UNIONS. RELATIONS OF PARTY AND UNIONS. The National Committee of the Socialist Party in unmual 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 and the Socialist movement as inseparable parks of the general labor movement, produced by the same economic forces and resolution of the general labor movement, produced by the same economic forces and resolution of the general conductions of the same forces and the same than the two convenients to extend its hearty co-operation and support to the effect in its special sphere of activity.

But we are also mindful of the fact that

support to the effect in its special sphere of neitivity.

But we are also mindful of the fact that each of the two movements has its own special usission to perform in the struggie for the emancipation of labor, that it devolves upon the trade unions to conduct the economic struggies of the working class, that it devolves on the Socialist party to light the political battles of the working class, and that the interests of labor as a whole with the movements to manage the shole within movements to manage the affairs within the movements to manage the affairs within the working leading the other. The Socialist Party will continue to give its aid and assistance to the economic struggles of organized labor regardless of the affiliation of the trade unions engaged in the struggle, and will take no sides in any dissensions or affress within the trade union engaged in the struggle, and will take no sides in any dissensions or affress within the trade-union movement 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 snother.

We also declare that we deen it unwise to invite trade unions as such to be represented in the positical conventions of our party.

ANTI-PUSION RESOLUTIONS.

ANTI-PUSION PEROLUTIONS .

Whereas, The history of the labor movement of the world has couclusterly demonstrated that a Socialist Party is the only political organization able to adequately and consistently conduct the political organization able to adequately and consistently conduct the political struggles of the working class, and

Whereas, All "radical and reform" parties, including the so-called "Union" Labor Parties, including the so-called "Union" Labor Parties, "Inave, after a brief existence, uniformly succumised to the influence of the old political parties and have proven disastrous to the ultimate end of the labor movement, and
Whereas Augustical Control of the labor weekers. whereas, Any alliance, direct or indirect, with such parties is dangerous to the political integrity and the very existence of the Socialist Party and the Socialist movement, Resolved, That no state or local organization, or member of the party shall, under promise with any political party or comparisons, with any political party or contact of the party shall, under promise with any political party or contact of the party shall, under the promise with any political party or contact of the party of the party

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CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INT. UNION No. 90—Office and Em-ployment Bureau, 64 E. 4th St. The following Districts meet every Sat-urday: Dist. I (Bohemian)-331 E. urday: Dist. I (Bohemian)—331 E. Tist St., 8 p. m.; Dist. II (German)
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THE YEAR'S PROGRESS.

Moves Steadily Googgood Rapidly Forward.

The Advancement of Our Cause in the Past Year Shown Especially in Growth of Party Organization—Gains Also Made at the Polls.

When in our May Day Number of 1903 we reviewed the progress of the Socialist Party during the preceding year, we were able to speak with espe-cial satisfaction of the results of the congressional and state elections held throughout the country in the fall of 1902 as an evidence of the rapid growth of Socialist thought and feel-ing among the American people. The comparison of our total straight vote of about 230,000 in 1992 with that of 98,000 which we had received in the presidential election of 1900 certainly. gave grounds for enthusiasm and high

The passing of another year has well justified our confidence. We are not, indeed, able to make any numerical estimate of the further progress that Socialism has made among the people at large, because within the last year general election has been held. ch tests as have been made have been encouraging, taken as a whole. It is true that in the state elections in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania last gains that had been made in 1902. That was to be expected, especially in view of the strenuous efforts that were made by the Republican party, often with the direct support of the Democratic organization, to stem the rising tide of Socialism. In Massachu setts, where our vote had risen in the preceding year from 10,000 to 34,000, it fell back last fall to 25,000. In Pennvivania, where it had risen from 5,000 22,000, it receded to 13,000. In New York, on the other hand, where we had advanced in 1902 from 13,000 to 23,000, we repeated the gain and polled over 33,000 votes; and in other states where elections were held, we held our own or made healthy gains.

Local elections held this suring give assurance that the period of temporary reaction is over and that we may confidently expect the vote this fall to show a gain over that of 1902 as great as that did over the record of four years ago. The city election in Milwankee, where we made an increase of 85 per cent. In a year, polling over 15,000 votes and crowning a steady advance during the last six years with the seating of nine Socialists in the Board of Aldermen, as well as of some minor officers, is the most remarkable of these local victories. On the same and Indian Territory, and to make good gains in various municipal elec-tions in Massachusetts, New Jersey. Michigan, Illinois, the Dakotas, Kan-

sas, Oklahoma, and Washington. But after all, our progress during the year just past is to be measured rather in the growth of the party organiza-tion than in results at the polls. And we know that, with its sound princi-ples, its high ideals, the devotion of its adherents, and the ability of its propagandists, the one thing needful to assure Socialist progress at the polls is thorough and strong organization. At the beginning of the year 1903 the

Socialist Party was organized in twen-ty-nine states and territories, having in each a state committee with at least five locals under it. At the beginning of the present year, the number of organized states and territories had risen to thirty-three. Besides this, we have one or more locals in every one of the other states and territories of the Union, affiliated directly with the National Committee. The total num-

National Committee. Fire National Committee Fire Natio

state committees, the National Com-mittee has made untiring efforts to ex-tend the propaganda of Socialism into new fields and to lay everywhere the foundation for a firm party organization. National organizers and lecture jobs" for a while, to tramp wearly new fields and to lay everywhere the the West as well as to other regions where their belp was needed, and everywhere the seed is germinating and promises to bear good fruit.

Alony with this while the averaged

Along with this, while the expenses of the national organization have been enormously increased to provide for the increased work, the income derived from dues and the voluntary con tributions of members and sympathiz-ers has grown apace, the debts have ers has grown apace, the debts have been reduced and the equipment of the been reduced and the equi national office improved. praise cannot be given to National Sec etary Mailly and his well sejected S. 7 of assistants for this good show-D. B. S. S5; 'b' in finances and in the kers 149, sid quality of work done; but \$5: 20th A not have done their excel-2, \$5; Amerid there not been a healthy ien. \$3; S. D. Whe rank and file of \$2; Br. 87, W. S. & D. Realization of the A. D., \$3. The parade willon, discipline, D., \$3. The parade w

Banch was 'elected grand 'orker reaches sider weighty matters of party interest and to nominate presidential and vice-presidential candidates who will unpresidential candidates who will undoubtedly receive, next November, a Socialist vote that will unpleasantly surprise the exploiters of labor the world around. In order that the best use may be made of the result of its deliberations, in order that the vote next fall may be made as large as possible, and in order, above all that we sible, and in order, above all, that we may be sure that it is a thoroughly intelligent and class-conscious Socialist vote, we appeal to every sympathizer who is not yet a party member to join

THE LOT OF THE AGED WORKERS.

How, in Our Mad Struggle to Snatch Profits or to Escape Want, Worn-Out Workers Are Trampled Under Foot-What Will Socialism Do for the Aged?

Express" one Martin F. Murphy writes as follows: "'He is too old.' How often you

hear that expression used nowadays. The demand in all walks of life is for young men. Give us a young man, say the church, the merchant, and the employer of labor. His energy, his strength, his elasticity of mind, commend him to this hustling age. There is no room for the old man; nobody will hire him. His mature mind and broad experience may be thought to fit him better for responsible positions in life; but, no, the young, inexperi-enced man is chosen. Not long ago, enced man is chosen. Not long ago, the writer heard an eloquent young preacher, referring to this very ten-dency of the time, burst forth with the query: 'Why is it that I, not yet turned thirty years, can command four times the salary of my father, a min-ister of the Gospel, faithful and true, and of mature experience-a man who had had a chance to know the world and its spiritual needs? Why? Because the church is imbued with the spirit of the age; because it is like the street railway corporation, or the manufacturer, it wants young, hust-ling men who can fill the church build-ing and its coffers, too. That was the answer honestly given as to the church, and readily applicable to other vocations in life. Young men are the best adapted for the purposes of this commercial age. Hence they are given "But it is not blone in positions of

the workshop and the factory, if a man has had the had taste to live too long, he is not wanted. He cannot hold his end up, as the saying is, and be must make way for a younger man. What is to become of him if kind Nature does not take him to herself? Can we knock him on the head and thus get rid of him? The world, hardhearted and unfeeling as it is, revolts at this. Yet, is it not a more merciful fate than the broken spirit, the haunting fear of starvation, and the sense of having survived his usefulness, and baying been rejected by society and shouldered about as a bit of social refuse from one workshop to another until nobody wants him, because they can get young men able to do more work for the same money. From re-ports we have heard of conditions in Europe, the old workmen there are more humanely treated, and sometimes prized because of their wider experience and knowledge. But that does of these local ordered able to record a gain of 30 per cent, with nearly 15,000 votes. Besides this, we elected local officers in a number of the smaller cities of Montana, Iowa. In the majority of industries, the old man is considered undesirable, not only because of his lanbility to move weal, but not obtain here, where specialization of the industries and the kenest busi-ness rivalry have made it necessary so quickly as his younger rival, but because he cannot so readily adapt himself to the rapidly changing conditions about him.

"The mechanic or day laborer cannot, if he would, earn a competence during his palmy days—even then the struggle for bread is a desperate one. What is he to do then, when he gets old-for he must get old, unless he is mercifully taken off? What is he to

The plea is a timely one, and worthy of consideration. Every day the hard-ships, the increasing hardships, of the aged workingmen, are forced upon our attention. The New York papers not long ago published this significant

"OLD MOTORMEN MUST GO. "General Manager J. F. Calderwood of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Com-pany announced yesterday that all the company's motormen must pass a rigid physical examination. Those

It "seems" a hardship. That is all comfort the superannuated toller gets when, after years spent in hard and useful labor, he is turned off to from place to place, begging for per-mission to work and always meeting the same cold rebuff—"Sorry, but we've no use for you; we need young men"—finally to sink into a pauper's grave or perhaps to seek refuge in sui-cide. Words of sentimental pity the cide. Words of sentimental pity the capitalist will give; pity is cheap. He capitalist will give; pity is cheap. He will even give to "charity," perhaps, one dollar out of every hundred or every thousand that he has accumulated from the underpaid labor of his "hands" in the days before they were worn out and used up in the profit-grinding machine. But charity is no substitute for justice. Alms. cannot make up for the loss of liberty, of hope, of self-respect. hope, of self-respect.

Intensification of Labor.

The intensity of labor is ever increasing, in spite of the fact that new machines are constantly being brought into use to increase the productive power of labor—or, rather, just because such machinery is being developed and is held as private property by the non-producing class. In the iron and steel mills to-day, a man is accounted old at forty, and lives thereafter in daily fear of discharge. In the rallway and street-rallway service the "deadline" is nearly as low. In the cigar factory, in the printing office, in the machine shops, everywhere it is the same. creasing, in spite of the fact that new

writer met a comrade, a cigarmaker by trade, a man of not more than forty years, who said: "I am almost in despair. I have trouble with my eyes. My doctor says that I must wear glasses, that I must get them at once, that my eyes will grow worse and worse if I delay. But I DARE NOT put on glasses. I am a poor man

In a recent issue of the Buffalo | am I to do?" What, indeed? Capi talism gives no answer. The economists, the statesmen, the reformers the philanthropists have no answer

> The case is not an exceptional one. In every factory, every mill, every shop, every office, every mine, on every railway, in every body of wageworkers everywhere, men or women are to be found who are consciously neglecting their health, deliberately courting blindness or nervous prostraion or physical breakdown, literally putting their very lives into the bal-ance, because they dare not wear glasses, dare not take a brief rest when needed, dare not relax their efforts for a moment, dare not let it be known that the years of labor are telling upon them and that they feel hemselves less active and vigorous than in their younger days. Sooner or later, they know, the crisis will come and they will be cast into the great mass of human rubbish, the reat mass of human rubban, worn-out workers, for whom the capitalist world has no room, who "would better die and reduce the surplus pop-

A Century Ago and Now.

A century or two ago, when it took ten times as much labor to make a yard of cloth or a pair of shoes or a bar of steel or a barrel of flour or to from place to place or to do any other given amount of work-a century or two ago, before inventive genius had enlisted steam and electricity as man's slaves and made machines to facilitate his work-then it might have seemed reasonable than men should have to work so nar. as to wear themselves out by middle life and yet have not the wherewithal to live at ease and in comfort in their old age. But a cen-tury ago it was not so. Men did not work at fever-pitch in those days, men did not grow old at forty through the intensity of their labor, and yet it is certain that the aged workers were then far more secure of a livelihood

than they are to-day.

Why is this? How does it happen that the invention of labor-saving machinery has served only to increase the burden of labor for the producer and make it more difficult for him to earn a competence? The answer is the same as to every question about the social and economic evils of our day: Because this labor-saving ma-chinery is held as private property by a class who do not use it; because the workers have become propertiless wage-workers, dependent on the capi-talists for permission to work and live; because labor-saving machinery, held as capitalist property, serves only to intensify competition among the work-ers, on the one hand, and so to keep their wages down and, on the other

the owner.

Labor-saving machinery, socially owned by those who use it, would make work easier and give the worker nere leisure and more comfort and more security. Owned by the capitalist, it becomes a curse to the produc ing masses, compelling some to work themselves to the verge of death while others stand idle and in want, keeping all in poverty and dependence, and heaping up treasure for a class which contributes nothing to social welfare and whose power and luxury corrupts society in its every phase.

A thousand infamies brand capi-

hand, ever to increase the profits of

talism as a system that must be over-thrown if civilization is to endure But of them all, none is quite so cruel, none quite so mean, none quite so demoralizing and degrading to human nature, as the shame and misery it heaps on the grey heads of those whose youthful strength and skill has

What Will Socialism Do?

What will Socialism do for the old? ocialism will fulfil the command-ient: "Honor thy father and thy nother." Socialism will give ease to the old, and the comfort and security that they need, and the respect that their past service to the world de-

Under Socialism no man will be able

to keep another from working or to take from him a part of his product, for we shall all together own and con-trol and use the things wherewith we work. Under Socialism, then, there will be no such thing as competition for jobs and no such thing as unwilling idleness. Under Socialism we shall work for ourselves, not for a master. We shall receive the full value of our product, which, even with all the waste that capitalism involves, is at least from twice to four times as much as the wage-workers now receive With the resources that science and in vention have provided, there need be no fear of want, except as a result of a badly ordered social system. Work ing for ourselves concerned, not to hold our jobs and so get ourselves a bare living, but simply to produce so much as we require—we shall not work at a killing pace, as now, any more than we shall go from door to door pleading for a master to let us foll. To-day, as a result of overwork and of evoidable accidents and of the bad feeding and bad clothing and bad housing that result from poverty, the average lifetime of the working people s several years shorter than that of of these latter shorten their own lives by luxury and excess. Under Social-ism, since no one will need to be over-worked, since no one will have an in-terest (as the masters of industry now have) in maintaining dangerous and unhealthful conditions in the places of employment, and since the workers, receiving the full product of their in-bor, will be well fed and well clothed and well housed, it follows that men and women will not break down and become unable to work as they now

Under Socialism, because then w ores. My doctor says that I must wear glasses, that I must get them at once, that my eyes will grow worse and worse if I delay. But I DARE NOT put on glasses. I am a poor man. I have a family. I must have work. And I know that to go to the shop wearing glasses would be as much as my job is worth. What in the world pressed by greed and maddening anx-

Plenty for All.

Under Socialism, then, men and comen will work in their years bodily vigor—and those years will be more than now they are—and out of that which they produce, besides pro-viding for their needs and for the needs of the children and youth not yet ready to work, there will be plenty left to maintain them in old age. (There is plenty left now, but it is left in the capitalist's hands and he considers it his own and thinks he de-serves a special blessing from heaven if he gives a little to relieve the direct of the misery that happens to come under his careless eye.)

And just as, on a small scale, out of their scanty means, we now see the workingmen in their organizations— and even unorganized workingmen, in can to provide for the old and sick and disabled among them (and not calling it charity, but regarding it as a pleasant duty and only wishing they could do it better), so in that coming day, with so much greater means and with so much less of personal greed and selfishness as a result of changed environment, we shall see organized society gladly providing, as a mat-ter of simple right, for the comfort of the veterans of the army of labor. Under Socialism, the children will

play and the youth will learn and men and women in the prime of life will work as free comrades and the aged will rest from their labors and enjoy or and give to the world the bene fit of their experience and ripened wis-

CAPITALISTIC EDUCATION.

Another matter of great pertinence liberties. America inherited the best results of the philosophy that worked for the French Revolution. It was only in America that the ideals of We answer: Fire is fire and water eu and the Revolution were the right to a free look at life was asserted by Paine, Jefferson and Franklin; here, that a secular public life was made possible; here, that the development of a free public school tended to the preservation and increase of the idea of a free life. If the propertied classes had foreseen the results of the public schools, if the now developed capitalist brain could go be-hind the gifts of the revolutionists and philosophers of France to America, there would be no separation of church and state, and there would be no free public school. More than one capitalist writer-or lawyer has, within the past three or four years, denounced the public school system as a menace to the existing propertied order of things. And rapidly is our public school instruction being subtly perverted into interests of the possessing class. On the economic side, this achievement is simple enough, for the whole public school system of the United States has practically become the private property of a single schoolbook trust, which employs gangs of ruffians to go up and down the land to brow-beat and intimidate public school teachers; to blacklist and throw out of employment any who stand against the trust; to corrupt legisla-tures, and town, county and city-school beards. This school-book trust is not only organizing the American public school system for its private profit, but decides what kind of history, what kind of elementary econoor social science, what kind of iterary classics, shall be taught. It is interesting and easy to trace the trademarks of capitalism all through our present public school instruction; to point out the substle yet sure perversions of fact and of history; to record omissions of things once taught in the schools, and the addition of things not the introduction of the military spirit and ideal into the public school; the instruction in and insistence upon the child's reverence for patriotism-patriotism, the superstition which our masters impose upon us, in order to keep the workers of the world div.ded against each other; patriotism, which has become to be little more than

crime with the flag over it. But most insidious of all is the changed motive of public school education that has come by the direction of capitalism. Under the guise of technical or industrial education, we are having the gradual elimination of those smatterings of literature and history which make for crude and yet potential idealisms, and for inspira tions of the child, and the substitu tion therefor of an instruction and training which shall fit the child to be an improved capitalist machine. The boy, and even the girt will issue from the school with the phychology, as well as the training, that will fit him or her to become an improved and even enthusiastic producer of profit for the profit-makers. The end will be to destroy what imagination capitalism has left to the youth, and to combat erganized labor with a prepared and trained unorganized labor to take its place. This will be the result, and it is often the conscious motive of most of our so-called educational reforms,— George D. Herron, in International

THE WASTE OF WAR.

The cost of building one battleship like the Oregon is equal to the value of ail the land and all the 94 buildings of Harvard university, plus the whole endowment of Hampton Institute; and the average time of efficiency of a battleship is only 13 years.—Report of

MODERN STATESMANSHIP.

"What is your idea of a statesman?" "Well," answered Senator Sorghum,
"in my opinion, the successful statesman is the man who finds out what is
going to be done and then lifts up his
voice and shouts for it."—Washington

—Mail for the National Secretary of the Socialist Party should be address-ed to Room 300, 269 Dearborn street, Chicago. All checks or money orders should be made payable to William Mailly, National Secretary, at that ad-

SOCIALISM VS. STATE CAPITALISM.

It is necessary for us to insist again and again upon the difference between ocialism and mere public ownership as advocated to a greater or less ex tent by some representatives of both the old parties.

Socialists advocate the public own-

secanists advocate the public own-ership of the means of production. But it by no means follows that all who advocate public ownership are Social-ists or have any affinity to our move-ment. Public ownership may be so-cialistic in its nature or it may be as thoroughly capitalistic as is individual or corporate ownership. It is imor corporate ownership. It is important that the distinction should be made clear, especially because public ownership of some of the means of production is likely to be advocated in

the near future by one or both of the old parties, with alms just the opposite of ours, and the people should not be left in doubt as to our attitude toward such movements and the reasons who we cannot welcome them as "instal-ments," so to speak, of the social change for which we work. It is not public ownership for the

sake of public ownership that we So-cialists want. Public ownership is but a means to an end. That end for which we strive is, to put an end to the exploitation of labor and with it to put an end to class division and class rule and the war between classes and among individuals which exists everywhere in society to-day. The sort of public ownership which will do this. which will assure to the workers the product of their labor and establish social peace and human brotherhood on a firm basis is the sort of public ownership that the Socialist Party ad vocates and, when entrusted with po-

litical power, will establish.
"But what is the difference," it may and importance is the gradual read- be asked, "who establishes it, so long psychology. We have convention-looked upon our public schol as the thing is done? Public owner-ship is public owner-ship, is it pot? If the Republicans or the Democrats esthe kindergarten and safeguard of our | tablish it, will it not have the same ef-

is water. But it makes all the differ see in the world how they are used They promote life and health comfort, if used in one way. They destroy life, if used differently. A is an ax. But an ax used by a is an ax. But an ax used by a work-ingman to cut down trees produces quite different effects from an ax in the hands of a maniae or a murderer. We are divided into classes to day. One class owns the means of produc tion; the other uses them. The using or working class produces all wealth. The owning or capitalist class gets the larger share of the wealth produced. by means of its control of the opportunities of employment. The capitalist class to-day dominates government. through the two old parties, and uses government to defend and perpetuate its economic advantage. The Socialist Party calls on the working class to take possession of government and use it to sweep away that economic advantage which the capitalists now en-1081

In general, the means of production are owned privately, by individuals, firms, or corporations, large and small -especially large. But sometimes it suits the interests of the capitalists, considering that they control the government, to have certain branches of industry conducted by the government as the agency of their class. Public ownership of this sort is not socialistic. It is a part of the capitalist systemjust as much so as the pension schemes or profit-sharing schemes of some of the trusts and railway companies are part of their system of exploiting labor, devices for making their employees more docile or stim-ulating them to work harder and so increasing the employers' profits. The business of war on land and sea is an example. The chief function of sribles and navies is to serve the in-

terests of trade-to conquer and hold new territory for exploitation, to open new markets by force, to protect property interests at home and abroad. There was a time when this was done by private enterprise—when every rich man hired private guards or mercenary troops, when every caravan was a little army and every merchant ves-sel was a battle-ship. The trader turned pirate or highwayman, when opportunity presented itself. But as time went on and industry and trade became more highly developed it was found more profitable to the exploiting and ruling class in general to give up their right of private war, to turn over the business of fighting to their gov-ernments and have it done for them more efficiently as well as more cheap ly on a large scale. But it will hardly be argued that the armies and navies

are socialistic institutions. There are other special industries that the capitalists have found it bes for their own interests to turn over to the state. The business of carrying the mails is now conducted by the state in all civilized countries. In several countries of Europe the railways are owned and run by the government But neither the postoffice nor the state rallway is in the true sense a socialis-

The employees of the postoffice in this country are exploited by the gov-ernment. Generally speaking, their work is nearly, if not quite, as hard and their pay nearly, if not quite, as low as that of workingmen in private-ly owned industries. Partly they are exploited for the benefit of the railway and steamship companies, which make enormous profits on their mail-carry-ing contracts. Partly they are exploit-ed in order to give cheap postal service to the business class.

to see the public postoffice abandoned and the mail-carrying industry turned back into private hands. But we do say that the postoffice, as now run, is to be regarded primarily as a capital-ity institution. for the service of business interests, bot as an example of "practical Social-ism."

It is not unlikely that we shall se a growing movement on the part of the capitalist class for government ownership of railways in this country.

that the government shall run the rail-ways on a business basis, paying ato the men who do the work only such wages as are paid by private employ-ers, such wages as competition in the

accept; and that freight rates be adjusted with reference chiefly to business prosperity, in such a way as to give to the capitalists in the various

industries that remain in private hands, the best chance to make large

On the other hand, they will propose that the government shall issue United States bonds to the nominal value of the railroads-which is twice or per haps three times their cost—in ex-change for the stocks and bonds of the various companies that now own them; that thus the government shall become a sort of trustee or administra tor for the railway capitalists, shall relieve them of the trouble and responsibility of management, shall run the roads for profit, and turn over the pro-fit to the former owners in the shape of interest on government bonds. Public ownership of this sort, instead

of putting an end to the exploitation of labor in the railway industry, in-stead of reducing exploitation in general, would make the government the official exploiter, would make it pledge its credit and honor for the continu-ance of exploitation. If a part of the value created by labor is to be held lack from the workers and is to go into the pockets of non-producers, it is a matter of hall genence to the working class whether it is taken by an individual capitalist directly, whether it is taken by a corporation to be distrib-uted among its members or whether it is taken by the government and turned over to bendholders.

This is one sort of public ownership. It is the sort which some capitalists and some of their politicians are as ready advocating to a greater or less extent and which may be seriously considered within the next few years. It is a sort of public ownership to which the Socialist Party is unalter ably opposed. It is not practical So-cialism, nor moderate Socialism, nor a step toward Socialism, nor any form or degree of Socialism: It is State Capitalsm, and we want State Capitalism no more than Trust Capitalism.

The Socialist Party stands for demcratic Socialism, for Social Democracy as opposed to State Capitalism. We's want public ownership. But we want public ownership established by and for the working class. We do not pro-pose that capitalism shall be perpetu-sted, under the forms of collectivism. We do not propose that the governfor the profit-taking class. We do no propose that there shall continue to b any profit-taking class. We propose that fovernment shall become an ad-n-inistering or managing agency for the workers. We propose that all shall become workers, that all shall have an equal undivided share in the owner-ship of the means of production and that each shall have an equal voice in deciding how they shall be adminis-tered for the benefit of all.

This is an ideal that capitalists, large

or small, as a class, will not and cannot accept. It is an ideal that appeals to the interests only of the working class. If individual members of the capitalist class, out of a sense of justice or a feeling of humanity, are will-ing to accept this ideal and work for it with us, we are glad to welcome them. But we know very well that the old parties, the political agencies of the large and the small capitalists, are not and cannot be in sympathy with us in this ideal. Therefore it is, that when one or the other of thes parties or some of their spokesmen de clare for public ownership of this o that industry, we do not hall the event as an overture of peace, but see in it only one of the methods by which capitalism seeks to extend its lease of life, and, so far from being willing to follow them into State Capitalism, we resist them the more strenuously and insist on our working-class ideal of So cial Democracy.

HOW TO ORGANIZE LOCALS.

Five or more persons may organize a local branch, provided they subscribe to the platform and constitution of the Socialist Party iknown in New York and Wisconsin as the Social Democratic Party), and sever their relations with all other political par-

Party (known in over a state Next all their relations with all other political dies.

2. The officers to be elected are:
(a) A Chairman at each meeting.
(b) Recording Secretary.
(c) Financial Secretary.
(d) Organizer.
2. (e) Literatur. Agent.
3. (e) Reading of the minutes.
(e) Reading of the minutes.
(e) Communications and bills.
(d) Report of Organizer.
(e) Report of Organizer.
(e) Report of Organizer.
(f) Unfinished business.
(g) New lushness.
(g) New lushness.

(f) Unfinished Pursues.

(g) New luxiness.

4. Where s state is unorganized and a local is formed, a monthly payment conjuncted on a basis of ten cents for each member, for the maintenance of the national organization, shall be paid to the National

ber, for the maintenant, to be National Secretary.

Where state organizations exist, this parawater of the National Secretary.

Where state organizations exist, this parawater of the National Secretary with a formal application for charter. These funds can be raised by levying dues on the membership or otherwise, as the local may see fit.

A full report of the meeting in which organization was decided on, the names of rents for each member, abould be sent with application for charter; after receipt of which, upon approval of the National or State Committee, charter will be granted.

Each local branch should hold a meeting at least once a week, for the transaction of business or the discussion of politically of the state of the transaction of business or the discussion of politically of the state Secretary in organized states or to the National Secretary in unorganized states, and will be enrolled as a member at large on payment of the monthly dues of ten ents. National Secretary, knowns 302-304, McCague Building, Omaha, Neb.

When some shallow jingo taunts you with the fact that Socialism in this country began among the foreign-born population, remind him that this was true likewise of the century-long fight for the abolition of chattel slayery. It is recorded that the first religious body in the United States to adopt a declar ation against slavery was a congrega-tion of German Quakers in Pennsyl-

NOT A CAPITALIST. "That Mr. Galley must be very

noney, and he said he earned it,-New

-Workingmen have an inalienable right to work for what and for whom right to work for what and for whom they please, say the various Citizens' Alliances. Good. The signs are then that the "whom" will ultimately be themselves and the "what" the entire value of their labor. That is what they will "please," but whether it will please the Citizens' Alliances or not is another matter.—Eric People.

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