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NEW YORK, JANUARY 8, 1905.

The Worker.

VOL. XIV.-NO. 41.

OUR INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM.

Pictures of Actual Life Among the Workers of New England Mill Towns.

Written for The Worker by Gustavus Myers.

(Continued from last week.)

LUDLOW, Mass., Dcc. 16.-Ostensibly a manufacturing concern, the Lud-low Manufacturing Associates are, in reality, invested with those extraor dinary powers of actual, if not literal, jurisdiction which accompany the possession and exercise of extraordinary privileges and functions. It is an ex-tra-legal yet potential jurisdiction. Industrially the company is supreme, on-disputed and compelling. In politics it never openly interferes, yet none ever presumes here to go counter to its wishes and interests. Apparently the schools are far dissociated from it, yet its money and land are in the educational system. It has no relig-ious proposals, yet the churches are its beneficiaries and hall it as patron and

Company Is All in All.

"The company," the agent tells you, "is not only the town of Ludlow, but it owns about everything you can see on the other side of the river also, and, as you observe, that other side is well built up. The company pays seven-eighths of the taxes of the town of cumins of the taxes of the town of Ludlow and pays large taxes across the river, too. It lights the streets and houses in Ludlow, supplies the water, lays out the severs and it furnishes a remarkable fire protection. The com pany owns over four hundred tene-ments and about the same number of single cottages. When we started manufacturing twenty years ago the village schools were bad and poorly supported. We said to the village officials: 'If this is all you can pay we'll add thirty per cent, a year to it.' Ten years ago we stopped this payment, but as we are paying seven-eighths of the taxes we present. eighths of the taxes we practically support the schools. See those two fine school houses across the road there? One is a high school and was built and is owned by us. We rent that it to the town for a nominal sum. The other is a grammar school and stands on land contributed by us. Right there"—and he pointed diagonally opposite the office—"is the library—a most attractive place. It contains nearly 4,000 books and was presented to the town in memory of our former trensurer. The company keeps it suptreasurer. The company keeps it sup-plied with books; it selects such read-ing as it thinks desirable; the salaries of the library's employees and the whole cost of maintenance are paid by the company; the town merely appropriates \$75 a year for the buying of magazines. The company owns the United Congregational Church building outright and it has helped along, with necessary gifts of land, three other churches now being built—the French Catholic, the Polish Catholic, and the Methodist. Then there is the Social Institute in our former office building over yonder. Its purpose is as a sort of club for girls and women. There are forty-five members who pay a dolar a year dues, but the company really foots the expenses. We hire a secretary—a young woman who has had similar experience elsewhere-to take charge of it. Then we have athletic clubs among the employees, gymnasiums and free halls in the mills, where dances and meetings can be held and we run a restaurant, where

our employees can get meals for \$2 a week." These, however, are not all the multifarious activities of the trust. As a natural development of its omnipotent sway—a true and sequential outgrowth of its feudal jurisdiction—it exercises, as we shall see, a form of lordly censorship over the living and morals of

Let us, however, turn to the wage

system under which its workers labor. A City of Wage Slaves.

Ludlow and its adjacent locality co tain about 5,000 population, all of whom, or nearly all, are dependent for sustenance upon the mills. Of this number 2,000 work in the mills. Ac cording to the company's statement, about half of these are Poles, forty per cent. French-Canadians, and the Sected and some other nation alities. The great bell tolls at sever like a knell it sounds and in they burriedly troop, long lines of men, women, and chil-dren, heavy-faced Poles and quickereyed French-Canadians, frowsy, un-kempt most of them, for time presses Polish women with head and body draped in a long, black funeral shawl or with a motley, gaudy slik head-top; men pushing their way in roughly through the streaming line and chil-dren, heavy-eyed from recent slumber, edging along. The time keeper is there and they cannot afford to be "docked." There are in the long keeper is there and they cannot afford to be "docked." There are in the long lines some children so palpably young, ten, eleven and twelve years old, that no lying affidavits can con-vince the observer that they are older. moon causes the multitude to beich out again and away they go, on a half run, te restaurant and tenements. Ten hours a day, five days in the week, and Saturday, is the allotted

Maximum Pay S8 a Week.

Of the 2,000 employees, from 52 to 55 per cent are adult men; 40 per cent, adult women and about 500 are boys and girls. Many of the adult women are married. The company informs you that the average maximum pay of the adult man is \$8 a week and the minimum pay \$6 a week for boys 15 and 19 years old doing men's work.

Some men pieceworkers, it is said, will

often make \$12 a week. The average maximum pay of the adult women, the company says, is about \$6.50 a week and the minimum, \$5 a week. Some

women pieceworkers, the company adds, will make \$10 and \$11 a week. The workers themselves give different figures. They place the average wages for adult men at \$5.80 a week; at about \$4.50 or \$5 a week for adult women and for children 60, 65 and 70 cents a day. It is said that a favor-ite trick of the company is to have youths often do adult men's work without paying them adult men's wages. The Americans, Scotch and Irish are better paid than other na-tionalities. Their work is generally of an executive kind in charge of departments, or gangs of workers or is of a highly skilled manual order. The French-Canadians, nearly all of whom are weavers, in turn, are better paid than the Poles. The "dirty jobs," as They are called, are left to the uncomplaining and slow-witted Poles.

A Game of Give and Take.

The weekly pay-roll of the trust is obviously a large one. But a large por-tion comes back in the form of rent. The company now owns about 400 tenements and probably 400 single cot-This system of building and owning its dwellings for its workers was begun many years ago. The mo tation, admixed, perhaps, with the sa gacious knowledge that employees who think they are well treated will give better service. Whatever the motive was, the company and all its retain-ers, exhorters and sycophantic scribes, portray it now as wholly one of benevolence. The company was not set upon making money from its dwellings so the ascending chorus goes-but to elevate the standard of living of its help. enlogist of the trust in a local newspaper recently, "in the midst of acres of bare earth and illimitable air and sunshine, the people were crushed into the old dirty factory tenement, with its foul air and dark entries, and quarrels and friction and immoral con-

ditions of crowded living."

Crowded living there still is in abundance. Twenty and thirty Poles herd in a single four-room tenement and the company collects its rents and looks blind. When, however, conditions here are contrasted with those in the mill corporation_ tenements at Chicopee, Chicopee Falls and Holyoke, the comparison so far favors the Ludlow Manufacturing Associates that—from their class view—they are reasonably justifled in claiming that they have done well by their employees. There is plenty of air and light in the tenements here, running water and good sewerage connections. They are not the forbidding tenements which bulk together foully, like so many excres ences, in some other mill towns

Beneath the Veneer.

But when we examine more closely is clear that whatever the veneer of benevolence, "one increasing purpose runs" through the whole system and that is exploitation. Nowhere is there waste or unnecessary expenditures. The dwellings, it is explained, are designed by the company's engineers. The work of building is also done by its own salaried men. The trust has its force of carpenters, masons, plum-bers, plasterers, roofers—in brief, every specialized form of help needed for its housing activities. These em ployees get on an average \$2 a day. Much of the lumber comes from its own pine woods—poor lumber full of knots and holes. The company noting material on a wholesale scale, but it also sells this material to small buy-ers. The middleman is absolutely eliminated. Only when a great new is planned does the company consent

to award a contract. The land originally cost the company a picayune sum; and the expense of building the dwellings is reduced to its barest possible cost. This being so let us see what they rents are. The rent —so the statement goes—is made 10 per cent. of the cost price of the build-ing itself and no account is taken of the value of the land in making the rent charge. Taxation in each instance amounts to comparatively little, for the company practically controls the taxation lists, and moreover can secure a scaling down on the ground of its be ing so large a taxpayer. The tene close inspection and accurate informa-tion reveal that they are built of cheap material and are of flimsy frame con-

tenement is \$5.50 a month and that for a cottage \$12 a month. A single dwelling will often contain four tenements. It requires no intricate knowl edge of billding operations to see at once that the company makes great profits from its housing activities. But it is all so garnished over with such a show of philanthropy and shines so well by contrast with the conditions of the tenements in other mill towns, that the state here is regarded by the average worker as one much superior to

manity, the company, in the ever-widening sphere has added to its activities the benevolent exercise of a form of censorships over domestic affairs. "Their case," said a sub-official referring to the Poles, "has been under consideration, and it is not impossible that in time at least with the rising of the next generation, they may be converted by some of the company's methods of education in the art of civilized livof education in the art of civilized liv-ing." Thus we find a new mission attached to industrial feudalism-that of of Poles, for instance, drag on their

eaching "the art of civilized living." When you observe how the thousands existence here, you stand agenst at this hideous pretension. Twenty and thirty herded in a four-room tenement, munching their hard, black, sour bread, clad in cotton and shoddy, their faces dulled and resigned. "But," the company responds, "the Poles prefer to herd that way." The truth is that it is to the economic advantage of the company to have the Poles herd and exist as no other nationality, except the coolie, could exist. The company gets the benefit in the cheapness of their labor and in gradually forcing out other nationalities whose higher standard of living demands higher wages. "The art of civilized living!" In France many manufacturers give women employees, after child birth, a full month's leave with payand in Denver there is a concern which, for certain physical reasons, allows its girls and women a day's leave of absence with pay every month. These gentilities do not come within the meaning of the not come within the meaning of the Ludlow Manufacturing Associates' "art of civilized living." It would be a violation of good business principles to do these things—an unbeard of procedure-and what is civilization but

"Civilized Living."

business, one and indivisible?

Cheap labor, child labor, exploitation that is the course of civilized living. The company cannot afford, of course to pay higher wages, but it can afford to build school houses and library and churches and run a "social institute" —all so many sops with which to drug the worker into the belief that the company is good and kind. But there is a far deeper reason for these edu-cational, religious, and social activities, even though the magnates are only half-conscious of its ulterior imer must be stupefied into contentment er must be stupened into contentment— the contentment which precludes agitation, unions, strikes, an outery for change of conditions, political rebell-ion. To this end schools, library, churches, and amusements all contrib-ute. The schools instil "safe" ideas only in the minds of the youth. In the library harmless reading only, such as will not develop dangerous thinking. is to be found on the shelves. The pulpit rings with exhortations to be grateful to the company from whom all blessings flow and, under penalty of eternal damnation, not to feel dis-contented with the lot that God has ordained. Teaching, reading and pulpiteering are backed up by amuse ments. Peoples before this have been narcotized into enslavement by bread and circuses. There is the "social in-stitute," where girls and women can get for five cents a week a cup of hot tea to wash down the cold lunches they bring along, and where they have gymnastic, dressmaking and educa tional classes and entertainments "The art of civilized living" decrees that mill girls and women ambitiou for education must snatch a few hour after a hard day's work and get what they can in "The Social Institute." Then there are the great halls in the vacant parts of the mills where the employees are privileged to hold meet ings and dances and other vacant

oors where gymnasiums are installed. Essentially feudalistic, all of it. a distinct reversion to that old-time, feu dalism to abolish which entailed the ics and the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of human lives. Such com-parison as can be drawn between the industrial lord, favors the original type. The feudal baron lived up to the rude conceptions of his age; he had the manhood and the bravery to tle and fight and perish. The indus trial lord, lacking a glimmering of he animal comforts only, skulks in the safety of his home in stress of war and, at all times, lolis at a secure, luxurlous distance while men and women and children grind out their wretched so profoundly recognized as the proper art that some millions of voters cast their ballots every year to perpetu

Everywhere the Spy. The Ludlow Manufacturing Associates do not proceed on the open brutal lines of some of their industrial predecessors and contemporaries. They do not say to their workers as King Rehoboam said to the revolting tribes of Israel: "And now whereas my father did load you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke; my father hath chastised you with whips, but I hath chastised you with scorpions." The will chastise you with scorpions." The yoke is upon the back of the worker here and he is exploited to the mar-row, day and night, but the dose is so gilded by a deceptive coating of phil-anthropy that he generally does not know it. Ignorant and bigoted, as many of the foreign element are, they accept meekly and implicitly what they are told. Ministers and priests and all the rest of the train of extoliand all the rest of the train of extoli-ing retainers tell them that they should be thankful to work for such good bosses and they believe it. As for the more intelligent of the workers, no law, nor any human power fort-mately, forbids their thinking, but it they should utter words of sedition

SCHOOL OF SOCIALISM.

Two Coming Events of Double Interest.

Production of Dramatic Works of Highest Artistic Value, Proceeds to Go to the Cause-Reading by Marion Graig Wentworth on Jan, 12 and Plays by Propessive Stage Society on Jan. 22.

The next few days will bring two terest for Socialists in New York City and the vicinity—as artistic produc-tions of a very high character and also as means to help the cause of Sochal-

On Thursday evening, Jan. 12, in Cooper Union, Marion Craig Went-worth will read Gerhardt Haupt-mann's play, "The Sunken Bell." Mrs. Wentworth has a well deserved na-tional reputation as a dramatic reader. Only a few in New York have had the opportunity to hear her; those who have will wish to hear her again, and for the others a new treat is in store. There is a certain sincerity and continguishes the few real artists in this sort of work from the great number of "elocutionists" who forget the purpose of their art in striving for effect. The play which she has selected for this reading is the best-known if not positively the greatest work of the greatest of modern German dramat-ists. Its theme is universal, not dis-tinctively German, and it has estabished itself as a classic in every civ-

The proceeds of this reading, to pass to the second aspect in which it must interest Socialists, is to replenish the funds of the New York State Committee, which has a great task of propa ganda and organization demanding its attention and is now handicapped by the lack of money. The price of tick-ets is 25 cents, a few reserved seats being sold at 50 cents each. Wickets can be had at 184 William street and at all party headquarters. Every com rade should interest himself in their worthy of the entertainment may greet

the reader and that the work of the party in the state may be furthered. The second event to which we refer is the dramatic performance to be given by the Progressive State Society in the Academy of Missic on Sunday afternoon, Jan. 22. The plays which the Society's first performance six weeks ago "The Scab," by Elsa Barker and "Miner and Soldier," by Tola Dorian and J. A. Malafayde —will be repeated before a much larger audience. Both these pieces deal with the labor question and are 'qf the sort of plays which So-cialists naturally desire to bring be-fore the public and that are strictly barred from the ordinary stage, just ecause they are of Socialist tende

enefit for The Worker and "Volksze tung." In taking tickets and pushing their sale comrades will at the same time be supporting a direct work of ropaganda through the stage and helping our ordinary propaganda through the Socialist press.

main. Free speech, in the fullest sense, is unknown; the company's informers are furtively active everywhere. Independent political action is unknown; no employee can run for political of-fice, even of the humblest kind, unless the consent of the agent is asked and given. The company dictates, by insidious means, the vote of its workers. Over all the wide territory, subject to nothing that affects the company's insts and methods is left unguarde Vigilance and masked repression go hand in hand. The storekeepers are apparently independent of the com-pany; yet they sell their wares in buildings owned by the company and if they should venture to do anything objectionable to their all-powerful landlords, they could be evicted, their trade ruined and they could be praccally thrust out of the town.

"Machinery Is Costly."

All here is repose. The seasons come, the seasons go, year piles on year, the worker gives up his vitality and dies off and another is ready to take bis place, yet onward the system goes, in-exorable and automatic, Machinery and worker are ideutical tools; neither omplains, both in time give out, both complains, both in time give out, both are at once replaced. Yet there is a dif-ference. Machinery is costly; care must be lavished on it with minute application. Human fiesh is cheap, a surplus. What "boots it whether men, women and children are Improp-erly fed and clothed, become disabled, men, women and children are improperly fed and clothed, become disabled, superannuated, sick, or if they die? The list of clamorers for jobs is a long, unecasing one and it is not the hustness of industry to keep that which has ceased to be of use or care fat those wire have offered up their best in its service. "Am I my brothers keeper?" is its watchword. Yet, selentless in its exactions, undeviating in its ingenious plans for transmuting human flesh into profits, it, at the same time, glosses over the system with a fine show of expansive benevolence. And the worker, pitiably imwith a fine show of expansive benevolence. And the worker, pitiably imposed upon by this industrial conjuncer's trick, guilibly and humbly takes his assigned place in this, the industrial feudalism of our age. He seems content; and the magnate, separated from him by an abysmal height looks down upon it all with the serene consciousness of his exalted 1 3 ition as feudal industrial ford. feudal industrial ford.

SOCIALISM.

First Session to Be Held Next Tuesday Evening.

Morris Hillquit Will Open It with Course on the History of Socialist Thought -- Henry L. Slobodin, Algernon Lee, and John Sparge Will Continue the Work.

The School of Socialism organized by Local New York will open next Tuesday evening, Jan. 10, at Brevoort Hall, 154 E. Fifty-fourth street, and sessions will be held every Tuesday evening till the end of May.

Morris Hillquit will begin the work with a course of four lectures on The History of Socialism, dealing primarily with the development of Socialist thought and only secondarily with the objective growth of the movement. Comrade Hillquit is well qualified by his thorough studies as well as by his long continued activity in the party to treat this subject and the course will be of the utmost value to all stu dents of Socialism.

Henry L. Slobodin will follow with a ourse of four lectures on The Philos phy of Socialism, Algernon Lee with five on Economics, John Spargo with six on The Application of Socialism to Social Problems, and Comrade Hillquit will close the season's work with two ectures on The Future State.

A registration fee of \$1 is charged

for the course. Applications should be jude at once to the Secretary of the Board of Instructors, John Spargo, 23 Belmont Terrace, Yonkers-on-Hudson A large number have already enrolled and it is likely that many more name will come in before Tuesday.

It is expected that air who enro! will make at least as great an effort to attend regularly, to arrive punctual-ly by 8 o'clock, and to do such reading as may be recommended as they would if enrolled in the City College or some professional school. All the instructor are giving their services gratis and are spending considerable time in preparation of their lectures, and their efforts should not be nullified by the irregu-larity of some students.

Next year, without doubt, the plan of the school will be considerably modified and its scope extended. Thes fenson's work, as here outlined, is but a beginning—recognized as being very nadequate to the greatness of the sub ject, but the best that could be at tempted at this time. The work will be conducted this year chiefly, if not exclusively, by the lecture method, it having been deemed impracticable to undertake class work, with recitations papers, and examinations, though this may be done next season. It goes without saving that all the instructor will be glad to give advice and guid-ance, within their several fields, to such students as may desire to supple ment the lectures by systematic read-

THIRD PARTY RIGHTS DENIED.

inicago Socialists Refused Representa tion on Board of Election Commis-

As the Socialist vote in Cook Coun ty, Ill., at the recent presidential elec-tion, was over 46,000, thus bringing the party within the provisions of the primary election law, the Illinois State Committee and Cook County Central Committee of the Socialist Party peti-tioned Judge Carter of the County Court for representation on the Board of Election Commissioners of Cook County. This board is three in num-ber, and has the power of appointing evident intent of the law that the third party be represented on the board. There are also strong prece-dents for third party representation on the board, as the United Labor Party of 1886 and the People's Party of 189 the strength of a vote smaller than the present Socialist vote.

Nevertheless, after giving the con mittee who waited on him a courteous and respectful hearing, the judge flat ly refused to appoint a representative of the Socialist Party on the Board of Election Commissioners. The com-mittee requested that Judge Carter long argument and historical docu-ment on the past history of third par-ties and their relations with the Board of Election Commissioners.

The judge held that he was no bound to give third parties who had polled large votes such representation, but that it was entirely optional with him to do so or not at his own discre-tion. He further stated that in his opinion the best interests of all the people would be served by refusing to appoint a representative of the Social-let Farty at this time on said Board of Floriton Comprisioners.

The particular reason he gave for this ruling was that the history of third parties showed that their vote, while sometimes large, had so far never proved to be of a permanent character. He stated that if at future elections the Socialist vote proved to be of a permanent character he would be inclined to look favorably upon the Socialists' request for representation on the Board of Election Commission-Working People the Chief Sufferers

BORTH DAKOTA.

BISMABCK, N. D., Dec. 27.—The Socialist vote in this state is 2,017, in-cinal of 1,825 as previously reported. Four years ago our vote was 518, so that we gain about 200 per cant.

THE EVIL OF ADULTERATION.

Has Assumed Truly Alarming Proportions.

Eminent Chemist Relates Facts at Solent.fic Gathering-Fails to See Why Laws Are Unenforced-Adulteration a Natural Feature of Capitalism.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 30,-Before the Section of Chemistry of the Ameri-can Association for the Advancement of Science to-day, Dr. Leon L. Wat-ters declared emphatically that the ex-tent to which foods and medicines were adulterated in this country con-stituted a menace to the health of the public, the extent of which could scarcely be estimated.

"Labels have come to mean noth-ing," said Dr. Watters, "and even in the case of chemicals for the use of men who are supposedly best able to detect adulteration the designation 'C. P.' often comes nearer meaning 'crude product' than 'chemically pure.'
"The results of my investigation

have brought to light the existence of evils such as would surprise even you who are chemists and who are of ne cessity brought more or less into con tact with their manifestations "So far, indeed, has the evil extended

that I venture to say that it is almost, if not quite, impossible to obtain cer-tain articles which are true to their

"For instance, I doubt if pure olive oil is to be had in the market, except from dealers of the highest standing, and cottonseed oil sold under that designation is almost universal. I have found that in almost every case the vinegar sold at low prices is fortified by the addition of mineral acid, a substance which, whether injurious in a greater or lesser degree, would not be knowingly imbibed by the purchaser. Cocon is adulterated with an excessive amount of starch or with ground shells and sugar.

Hog's Liver Coffee.

"It is an old story among food chemists that ground coffee is duplicated by drying, baking, and powdering hog's liver, which is mixed with chicary and sufficient coffee essence to give it flavor, while even the whole coffee bean is duplicated by an artificial artiele of such a form as to defy casua

"Baking powder is loaded with excessive amounts of starch or other fill ers and substances with impair the di

gestion and ruin health.
"Tincture of Jamaica ginger is rein forced with capsicum; amstard is load-ed with flour. The greater part of our ground spices are adulterated.

"I was once called upon to analyze a shipment of alkali which had been tendered to one of the departments of the city of New York as 'pure caustic potash 90 per cent.' Upon opening one of the cans the brownish yellow pow-der was observed. It was submitted to analysis with the result expected namely, that it was impure carbonate of soda. I have in my possession samples of borax which have been de livered to the city of New York mark ed 'pure l'acific Coast borax.' which contained not a trace of that sub

Poisons in Medicine.

"One of the most baleful manifesta tions of the nefarious operations of the adulterator is in connection with drugs and medicines. Even the danger to human health and life does not act to human health and life does not act to deter them, and I have heard the statement made by a practitioner of long experience in public hospitals to the effect that the failure of many drugs to act as their properties would indicate is attributable to adultera

Is There No Remedy?

Dr Watters seemed to have no reme dy to offer for this criminal state of af-fairs-or none but the often tried and always futile "appeal to the public

conscience." He said:
"I am not in sympathy with thes who continually demand more legisla tion. There are sufficient laws upon Union which if enforced would bring about the desired result. Every city has food laws of more or less rigor. The trouble is that these laws are not

Why these laws are not enforcedwhy district attorneys and police an thorities overlook such gigantic and selling of poisoned foods, drinks, and medicines, but show such energy and zeal in prosecuting petty offenders, va-grants, and strikers accused of disorderly conduct—this is a problem that Dr.-Watters seems not to have con-

The solution is very easy. Adultera-

tion of commodities is "good busi-ness." It is a normal—almost an un-avoidable—feature of the competitive profit-making system of capitalism. Many a manufacturer or dealer who sells adulterated products sincerely regrets it and wishes he could escape

the necessity. But he must compete successfully in the market or go out of business. He must sell his goods as cheap as do his competitors. Adulteration of products is one method of reducing cost of production. A few unscrupulous capitalists, deliberately resorting to this method to get an-advantage, "set the pace" for all the

The working people as consumers are the greatest sufferers from these nefarious methods of business. The rich can afford to pay high prices and among the products destined for their use there are some expensive brands that maintain their sale by an established regutation for purity. The poor

nust buy the cheapest goods, must buy in small quantities, and have no neans of detecting adulterations.

Thus it is the capitalist class tha alone profits by adulteration and that suffers least by it, while the workers' health or even their lives are endar

Strike at the Root.

As with so many other existing evils, private profit and private control of industry for the sake of profit are the root and the evil cannot be abwithout cutting that root. And it will not even be lessened, by the enforcement of reform laws, so long as the executive and judicial powers are left in the hands of representatives of the class that commits and profits by the

"AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE."

Second Production of the Progressive Stage Society a Great Success-Disoussion of the Play This Sunday.

The second production of the Progressive Stage Society last Sunday at the Berkeley Lyceum Theater, New York City, when Henrik Ibsen's "Enemy of the People" was played, was a great success, the house being filled and the acting uniformly excellent.

"An Enemy of the People" is co of Ibsen's greatest plays, but it never produced in this country, as its scathing exposure of the corraption and hypocrisy of the profit system would be very distasteful to bourgeois audiences and the theatrical powers that be are not looking for that sort

The play shows the impossibility of effecting any reforms which conflict with the present social system and its beneficiaries, and it also portrays the vaciliating cowardice of the middle class the anothetic ignorance of untwakened workingmen and the prostitution of the press. Its exposure of the base infamy and petty meanness of existing society can be unreserved-ly applauded by Socialists, but in the speeches of Doctor Stockman, the lending character, the Anarchistic in-dividualism of the great Norwegian dramatist leads him to some stigmas on the rule of the majority so extreme and unqualified that Socialists, recognizing the obvious practical necessity of majority rule and having a historically justified belief in its ultimate icence for the reason that the people are compelled by their own sufferings to correct their own mis takes, can by no means wholly accept

Doctor Stockman was acceptably played by Charles James, who showed very well the sanguine temperament of the noble doctor, but who was somewhat lacking in force and fire in the stronger situations, especially in the speech to the public meeting. Mr. James could also have improved his conception of the character by making up as an older man. Mrs. Stockman vas played by Astolaine Montgomerie and the Burgomaster by Algernon Eden, who was also stage manager. The daughter. Petra, was played by Eda Bruna: Hovstad and Billing of the "People's Messenger" by John De Per-sia and L. Milton Boyle. All the parts were very well acted, and the performance reflects great credit on all connected with it, but George Low as Morten Kill the father-in-law, Owen Craig as Aslaken the printer, and Joseph Gillow as Horster the shin's captain, deserve especial mention for superlative excellence in their respective parts.

There will be a general discussion of the play at the meeting of the society on Sunday afternoon, Jan. S. 3 Woman's League, 108 W. Forty-fifth

The next regular monthly production of the society will probably be Tol-stoy's "Powers of Darkness." Meanwhile the society will repeat its first performance "Miner and Soldier" at the Academy of Music on Jan. 22, for the benefit of The Worker, and requests are already being made for repetitions of "Au Enemy of the People" for the benefit of various organizations which are willing to guarantee the expense of the production. The future of the Pro-gressive Stage now seems very bright. A great many requests have been

received for copies of "The Scab" from Socialist organizations in various parts of the country, but the play has not been printed and it is scarcely suitable for amateur production, as it is of so artistic a character as to be easily spoiled by inexperienced actors, and contains a most important child part which could hardly be played accep ably by any except a professichild actress. All inquiries in regard to the society

should be addressed to the President, Julius Hopp, 215 E. One Hundred and Thirteenth street, New York City,

FALL RIVER STRIKERS VOTE TO FIGHT ON. FALL RIVER, Mass., Dec. 30,-The

five unions of cotton-mill workers-carders, weavers, loom-fixers, slash ers, and spinners-which have been o strike since July against a propos wage-reduction of 12½ per cent., voted to-day by a majority of 1,401 to 420 to continue the strike. Each of the unions gave a majority against surreu der. The strike was declared five months ago by a vote of 1,510 to 39d. The fact that the resolution to fight is nearly as strong now as at the be-ginning is all the more remarkable in view of the great hardships the strik-ers have had to suffer since winter came on. Perhaps it is accounted for by a feeling that their sufferings under a 121/2 per cent. reduction of their der a 122 per cent reduction of their very low wages would be nearly as great as those they endure now. It may almost be said that they have nothing to lose, and so they have the courage of desperation.

SOCIALIST VOTE.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

Practically Complete Official Returns Now Given.

Party Gains 319 Per Cent, in Four Years -Illinois Leads in Size of Vote, Kansas in Percentage of Increase, and California and Montana in Proportion

of Socialist to Total Vote. We are at last able to present a practically complete official report of the vote cast by the Socialist Party last Sovember, in comparison with that of

1900. Our figures for the states of Alsbama, California, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Mi souri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, and Oregon are received from the Secretaries of State direct. For the other states and territories we have been obliged to take press dispatches or communications of local comrades reorting the official canvass. We have, omputed percentages of increase

only for those states or territories in

which our party cast at least 500 votes

a 1900; to report an increase of some-

thing over 5,000 p	er cen	t. in A	kansas
would, of course,	be me	ningle	48.
			Gain ot
States.	1900.	1904.	loss, %
Alabama	928	853	1.
Arkansas	27	1.816	
California	7,572	29,535	290
Colorado	684	4.304	520
Connecticut	1,741	4.543	161
Delaware	57	146	
Florida	603	2,337	289
Georgia		197	
Idaho		4.949	
Illinois	9,687	69,225	C1.
Indiana	2.374	12,013	400
Iowa	2,742	14817	441
Kansas	1,605	15,494	802
Kentucky	760	3,602	374
Louisiana		1995	
Maine	878	2,100	11
Maryland	908	2,247	147
Massachusetts	9.716	13.604	-16
Michigan	2.823	8.946	217
Minnesota	3,005	11 692	281
Mississippi		302	
Missouri	6,128	13,009	115
Montana	708	5,676	702
Nebraska	823	7.412	801
Nevada		925	
New Hampshire.	790	1,000	35
New Jersey	4.600	9,587	108
New York		36 883	187
North Carolina		125	
North Dakota	518	2.017	280
Ohio	4,847	30,633	638
Oregon	1,494	7,019	406
Pennsylvania	4.821	21,863	352
Rhode Island		789	
South Carolina		29	
South Dakota	169	3,138	
Tennessee	410	1,354	
Texas	1.846	2,791	51
I'tah	717	5.761	006
Vermont	371	859	
Virginia	225	218	11
Washington	2,000	9,975	847
West Virgina	268	1,574	
***		AND PARK	-

Arizona Oklahoma 815 4,443 Grand total . .97,702 409.385 319 *The vote in Alabama and in Virginia shows, by the official returns a loss of something less than 1 per cent, in each case. It is certain that this,

Wisconsin 7,005 28,220 Wyoming 1,574

Total, states. . . 96,887 402,957

as well as the comparatively small in-crease in Texas, according to official returns, is due to fraud practised by the dominant party in counting the The six states leading in absolute number of votes are, in order, Illinois, New York, Ohio, California, Wiscon-

with New York, Massachusetts, Illi-tols, California, Wisconsin, and Missourt, which headed the list form ago.

The six states leading in percentage of increase for the four years are, in order, Kansas, Nebraska, Montana,

sin, and Pennsylvania, as compared

The six states in which the vote of the Socialist Party bears the highest proportion to the total vote are, in or-der, California, with 8.8 per cent.; Montana, S.S; Oregon, S.4; Nevada, 7.8;

STEEL WORKERS'

NEW YEAR'S GIFT. PITTSBURG, Dec. 30,-Notices were

posted this afternoon at the Howard Axle Works of the Carnegie Steel Company, West Homestead, stating that there would be a general reduc-tion of wages on Jan. 1. The cut will vary from 16 2-3 per cent, in the case of the higher paid employees to 5 per cent, in the case of the laborers.

The notices were productive of the greatest dissatisfaction, as the employees were anticipating an increase instead of a reduction of pay. The plant has been running on full time only for two months.-Press dis-

In the financial columns the same day appeared Pittsburg dispatches stating that the net "earnings" or profits of the Steel Trust for the October-December quarter were about the same as for the preceding quarter and 20 per cent, bigger than for the last quarter of 1963, and that it was safe to expect that the first quarter of 1905 will be still larger, to the tune of 20 to 30 per cent.

How those steel workers ought to rejoice, instead of showing dissatisfaction! For the interests of Capital and Labor are identical, and the steel capitalists are doing very well, thank

-It is not yet too late to make a New Year's resolution to get one new subscriber for The Worker each week.

The Worker. AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

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As The Worker goes to press on Wedneday, correspondents sending news shou mail their communications in time to rearthst office by Menday, whenever possible.

Complaints about the husiness or editor, reamacement of the paper should be a diversed to the Beard of Pirectors, Social Consertive Publishing Association, 1 William Street, New York.



DICTATOR ROOSEVELT AND THE LETTER CARRIERS.

Recent years have seen a remarkable tendency toward concentration of governmental power in the United States limitation of municipal activities by state laws and judicial decisions, asumption of legislative functions by the courts, encroachment of the executive branch upon both the legislative and judicial fields, and extension of the authority of the Federal government. This tendency toward centralized dictatorship is especially personffied in President Roosevelt and, after the emphatic personal endorsement which seemed to be given him last November twe say "seemed," because the enormous Republican mafority was due less to the growth of the Republican vote than to the abstention of a very large number of Democrats-after this apparent en dorsement, it is but reasonable to expeet that during the next four years the tendency will go on even more rapidly than it has since 1898. Already since the election two noteworthy examples have appeared—the one as a bold project, the other as an accomplished fact.

The President's suggestion, in his message, that a Federal commission be authorized to fix railway rates and the report of the Bureau of Corporations, proposing that the power to give charters to corporations engaged in interstate commerce be taken from the states and vested in the Federal government-the two must be considered together-are enough to take away the breath of all old-fashioned Americans, Republicans as well as Democrats-Socialists, being even more decidedly new-fashioned Americans than the President blmself, have, of course been neither shocked nor immoderately surprised. This was too large an undertaking for even the Apostle of the of the prerogative" (to borrow a suggestive phrase from history), as he had done in the pension matter and the Panama affair. It was necessary for him to turn to Congress for authority. What Congress will do whother White House influence will bring it to terms if refractory, and whether, after all, The Administration will press the mat-@er-all this remains to be seen.

The other example of the dictator al tendency, however, to which we have referred as an accomplished fact, is even more instructive as a sign of the times and more important as a prece dent. We speak, of course, of the sum mary discharge from government emplay of the presidents of the two letter carriers' organizations for "pernicious political activity" and alleged neglect of duty because of their efforts to influence Congress in favor of legislatio to increase the letter carriers' pay, and the order, closely following, which virtually forbids the letter carriers to keen these discharged men in the service of their organizations.

David M. Parry, bead of the Na tional Association of Manufacturers, was quite right, from his point of view. when he advocated Roosevelt's re-election on the ground of the President's record in the Miller case, establishing the principle of the "open shop" in government service. Roosevelt has the letter carriers' case really amoun

probably surprised even Parry by going a long step farther within six weeks after election and promulgating the rule of the strict non-un'on shop-for that is what the orders in

The Constitution guarantees the

right of citizens to petition the gov ernment for redress of grievances and the very nature of a representative government necessarily implies the right of voters to inform the lawmakers and would-be law-makers of their desires, to question candidates on matters of proposed legislation, and to organize for the purpose of conducting campaigns in support of certain candidates and against others. This is just what the letter carriers have done. It is not alleged that contributions to the funds for this campaign have been extorted from them-it could not be, be cause it is only the heads of the de partments, who are opposed to this campaign, that are in a position to practise extortion. As for the charge of neglect of duty, that is frankly rec ognized by those who appland the President's action as being merely pretext, a polite cuphemism, like the "Not at home" that means "I will not receive you." It is for lawfully or ganizing to use their power as voters to promote legislation for the betterment of their condition as wageworkers that the letter carriers ar punished.

Again, the rule of the "orea-shop,"

if honestly applied, means the recogni-

tion by the employer of the right of employees to organize or not, at their will, and to apply through their organizations, if they so choose, to the employer for redress of grievances or the improvement of their conditions in any respect. Now the letter carriers' employer is the government of the United States. The legislative power of the government is vested primarily in Congress, subject only to a limited veto by the President. In the last instance, Congress is the real employer, since it gives authority for the em ployment of these men and appropriates money to pay them. The Postmuster-General to whom glone says the President, the letter carriers have a right to apply-is merely a sort of foreionn or superintendent, an intermediary between employer and emplayers. The letter carriers applied to this under-boss again and again, and they received no satisfaction. Thereupon they decided to appeal from him to the real employer, the power having authority over him. For so doing, their representatives are summarily discharged and blacklisted and the whole body of employees are warned. junder threat of like discharge, not to do anything to support the victims. In private business this would be recognized as an open denial of the right of employees to organize and an utter repudiation of the open-shop rule. Such it is also in public business. Mr. Parry has every reason to rejoice; the Presi dent has bettered all his hopes.

What makes this action doubly por tentons is the fact that it is done by executive order alone-that the President coolly assumes the power to enact and enforce a law depriving public employees of fundamental political and civil rights, without any authority whatever from the legislative branch and that Congress quietly allows the usurpation. If the President can do this, he can forbid public employees to enter caucuses of political parties whose purposes are prejudicial to what he calls the public service, can forbid them to support newspapers advocating their claims or to participate in public meetings at which his conducof the government is criticized or change of policy advocated.

In no constitutional country of Europe could the royal government take such action without an effective protest in parliament. Even in the parliaments where there are no Social ists, the Radicals or even the Liberalwould check such aggression on legis lative functions. In some European Big Stick to carry out by "extension | countries it has been made unlawful for public employees to strike. But in no case has this been done by grbitrary decree; in every case the ques tion has been regularly submitted to the legislative body and fought out there, and in more than one case such

propositions have been defeated. But after all President Roosevelt' policy is quite consistent-only his words are sometimes hypocritical. It is a fixed and deliberate policy. It is a policy characteristic of capitalism in its fullest development. It will go on-Jeffersonianism will not come back The Rooseveltian policy will go on to its logical conclusion, the capitalist dictatorship, and then-the dictatorship of the proletariat. Let the letter carriers fall in line, as docile servants of the one or as active workers for the

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND WORLD-POLITICS.

A Paris special dispatch of Dec. 21 to the "Times" says:

"Very sinistet accounts, both public and private, of the effect produced by the Czar's decree continue to reach Paris. They show that the againtion for reform, far from subsiding, has materially increased and threatens to

assume starming proportions.
"This is very serious for all Europe It is impossible to foresee what might come of a great internal commotion in Russiq. Already the turn taken by the war in the Fur East has contributed to disturb that equilibrium or bal-ance of power which was one of the hief guarantees of peace on the Con thent. Should Russia now be dis-tracted by grave trouble at home it could not fall to produce a shock. "The general political situation even

that the relations between wers are not as satisfactory as could be desired. Some recent event would appear to have acted as fres stimulants to old enmities, and ther are strong grounds for assuming that not all those who talk the loudest of peaceful intentions are the principal promoters of peace.

"Altogether it will be prudent, while naving one eye fixed on the Far to keep the other on Europe, where a domestic catastrophe in Russia might nave untoward consequences affecting other powers."

There is no doubt that the presen nternal situation in Russia takes double interest in view of its relation to international politics and-what the dispatch hardly hints at-to the internal politics of each of the other Eu

ropean nations. The situation in Russia is a compli ated one. Three main forces in op osition to the present state of affairs may be distinguished: First, the mere opposition to absolutism and desire for constitutional government, shared in by the bourgeoisie and all of the so called "intelligent" classes except those personally connected with the bureaucracy; second, the social-eco nomic discontent of the wage-workers and the peasants, shared in by many of the "intelligent," and embodied in the Socialist movement; third, the as pirations of the Poles, Finns, Armen fans, and other conquered peoples for national independence. These three forces are distinct in nature, but they overlap, so to speak, and for the pres ent they co-operate in opposition. But once Tsarism should be overthrown all of these elements would spring into separate activity.

The establishment of constitutions government would mean the unloosing of the social-revolutionary forces fo a yet fiercer struggle against capital ism; and it would, at the same time mean a great encouragement and strategic advantage for the German Social Democracy, because it is known that the German government has long counted upon Tsarism-"the backbon of reaction"-as its powerful ally against the "inner foe." In othe countries, to a somewhat less degree the effect would be the same. Again, the downfall of Tsarisn

could hardly fail to involve the sudden and heavy depreciation of Russian bonds. These bonds are held mostly in France and widespread bankruptcy there would almost surely result. The alliance of the French republic with the Tsar's government-so unnatural an alliance, on superficial view-is explained solely by the fact that th Tsar's creditors are Frenchmen; and the popularity of that alliance in France is explained by the fact that a large part of the French people are investors in a small way and realize loss that Russian bankruptcy would bring to them. It is hard to conjecture what would be the effect of such an event on French domestic politics; but it is certain that it would mean a great outburst of popular wrath against all the conservative ele nents that have favored the alliance and have helped to float one Russian loan after another in France. The small investor is a very "safe" and docile sort of a person, until he loses his investment; then he is likely to 'run amuck" and do astonishing things.

Yet again, little as the Russian con stitutionalists desire it, much as the So cial Democrats of Russia deprecate it, an outburst of nationalism among all the subject nationalities could hardly be avoided in the event of the sudder breakdown of Tsarism. It is not the Russian people that have conquered and that oppress the Poles, the Lithu aulans, the Finns, the Armenians; it is "official Russia." But for that very reason these peoples would have little inclination to forego their longed-for when "official Russia" loses its power to hold them down. And could the people of Prussian and Austrian Poland resist the temptation to join in a successful movement for the indepen dence and reintegration of old Poland, inaugurated on the Russian side? It is incredible. Would a Finnish national revolution leave Sweden quite unconcerned? It is doubtful. Would an outbreak of Armenian nationalism In the Russian part of the old land leave Turkish Armenia at peace? That, again, is all but unthinkable. And then there is the Macedonian and Bulgarian movement, which only the balancing of powerful interests-Russian, British, Austrian, and Germanhas so far repressed and which any serious disturbance of that balance must throw into unprecedented activ ity. Then Turkey is a chronic "sick man" (kept sick by his doctors) and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy is already all but paralyzed by the mutual antipathles of its German Czech, Magyar, Rumanian, Italian, and Jewish elements. All these are the ingredients of as pretty a witches caldron of international disturbances as has been seen since the time of Napoleon—not to say since the Thirty Years' War, a period which in som respects it suggests.

In view of the present situation and all that seems imminent in it, one can not too much admire the perspicacity shown by Karl Kautsky in this pes age of "The Social Revolution," writ ten nearly three years ago:

"The general political situation even now is not quite reassuring. Three have been lately certain indications of external politics. Every energetic

at all-as that "no political party ever policy that may lead to international conflict is drended, not from an ethi-cal dislike of war, but for fear of the revolution, whose forerunner it may be. Accordingly the statesmanship of our rulers consists simply ** * * in placing every question upon the shelf and thereby increasing the number of unsolved problems. * But these social craters are not put out: they may burst out any day in de-vastating war, like Mt. Pelée at Marinjune. Economic evolution itself con tinually creates new craters, new causes of crises, new points of friction, and new occasions for warlike nents, in that it awakens i the ruling classes a greed for the mon-opolization of the markets and the conquest of foreign colonies and in that it substitutes for the peaceful attitude of the industrial capitalist the violent one of the financier. The sin-gle security for peace [mistranslated "freedom" in the American edition] is found to-day in the fear of the revolu-tionary proletariat. We have yet to see how long this will restrain the And there are also a number of powers which have no independent revolu-tionary proletariat to fear, and many e are completely dominated by an unserupulous, brutal clique of m of 'high finance' erto insignificant or peace-loving in in ternational politics, are continually becoming more prominent as interna-tional disturbers of peace. This is true most of all of the United States, but of England and Japan. has figured previously in the first place in the list of international dismomentarily restrained her. But just as overconfidence of a government in unrestricted internal power with no revolutionary class at its back, so also can the despair of a tottering government kindle a war. • • THE GREAT-DANGER TO THE PEACE OF THE WORLD TO-DAY IS FROM THESE POWERS and their antagou-isms. • • • We must reckon on the possibility of a war within a percepti-ble time and therewith also the possi-bility of POLITICAL CONVULSIONS THAT WILL END DIRECTLY IN LEAST IN OPENING THE WAY TO THEM. . . . We have not the dightest ground to wish for an arti ficial acceleration of our advance by a war. But things do not move according to our wishes. • • It is not our task to express plous wisher children's game. o demand of the world that it mov in accordance with them, but to recor

posefully to a solution of the former. NOTE COMMENT AND ANSWER.

nize the tasks, conditions, and means

which arise and to use the latter pur

We are very glad to present this week the first of a series of special letters on Socialism in France which Parisian comrade, A. Bruckè has kindly undertaken to write for The Worker. We hope that this will be but a beginning and that, when our plans are fully developed. The Worker will be able to keep its readers in much closer touch with the current history of the movement in Europe than has

In this department last week we re ferred to Rudolf Ganz' book, "Russia of To-day." We wrote very hurriedly without time for reference or revision and made a double error. The trans lation of the book in question is pub lished (by Harpers) under the title of "The Land of Riddles" and its author's given name is Hugo, not Rudolf

The table which we present this Party by states and territories, with ercentages of increase for the four connection with what we said two veeks ago of the unwisdom of comrades making over-sanguine predic-tions about the vote. The increase for the whole country is 319 per cent-and a very satisfactory figure it is especially considering that it is but the continuation of a whole series of gains, without a single general loss since Socialism first entered the political field in this country. But it would be a mistake to assume that. would be a mistake to assume that because we have gained 319 per cent n the past four years, we may expect in the next four and to poll 1,700,000 votes in 1908. It will be observed that the very high proportionate increase were nearly all made in states i which our party was very young and polled but a small vote in 1900. Tak-ing together the states of Massachusetts, New York, Illinois, Missour Wisconsin, and California—which had already made a good start four years ago, which cast about half the total Socialist vote of the country in each of the two national elections, and which therefore furnish a safer basis for comparison with a view to pre-diction—we find that their aggregate gain amounted to 222 per cent. The new states always make large propor tionate gains. As the absolute vote grows, the percentage of increase somewhat declines. It is not to be ex-pected that Kansas, for instance, will again multiply her Socialist vote by eight or nine in the next four years; more likely she will double or treble it, as has been the case with New York which in 1900 had approximate ly such an absolute vote as Kansas has now. If, for the country as a whole we make a gain of 200 per cent— which would mean 1,200,000 votes in 1908—we shall be doing very well in deed. Of course, circumstances may accelerate our progress beyond present reasonable expectations; but, or the other hand, circumstances may re-turd it somewhat and allow us not more than a round million four years hence. Even a million votes, if they be straight votes for uncompromising Sociatism, will be a revolutionary power such as this country has never before fett.

We print this week a communication from a Michigan comrade called forth by our comment on the Waltham case, where the local was suspended by the State Committee for insisting on nominating for office a man who had defied the rules of the party by joining the militia. We print it, not because we suppose there are many of his way of thinking, but because it is well that als argument should be heard in order to be answered. Camrade Recres mys a good many things that have no point

before put up bars to keep out ou account of 'race, color, or con of servitude, " as if the Socialist Party were doing or ever had done anythin of the sort, and talking vaguely abou 'oaths of fealty and recantations" and the like. Of course no one denies his the like. Of course no one denies he right or the right of any party mer ber to protest against anything he dis s of in the party's co just the strongest advocates of dis cipline who will most strongly insist on that right for themselves and for all. Our discipline is and can be strict only because it is democratic. But Comrade Reeves tells us that must "loyally support the militia," we ed. Why should we sup port the militia? Are we also bou as "self-respecting American citizer to give loyal support to the armies of strike-breakers and the employers blacklist organizations, which are equally essential capitalist institu tions? No, there are only two p we can take in regard to the militi without turning our own forces against ourselves—either to keep our of it, as we now do, or else to go into it in as large numbers as possible with our class and not against it. Comrade Reeves asks: "Why shoul the Socialist Party demand a pledg from its members such as it would de from its members such as it would de-nounce in another party?" To which we frankly answer. We don't. We don't wall about "party tyranny and the party lash." Only individualist sentimentalists do that. We don't ob-ject to the Republican and Democratic parties because of their partizanship, but because they are supporters of capitalism. We cheerfully recognize the "perfect freedom of voters to change from party to party," and do all we can to induce voters, by honest revolutionary argument, to from the old parties to ours. But, jus as we would not fear a body of opponents without organization or dis cipline, so we decline to resolve our selves into such a harmless and useles chaotic mass. We are partizans, clear through, because parties are necessar in politics. Organization is neces discipline is necessary-oligarchic dis cipline is necessary for the capitalist parties if they are to effect their pur poses democratic discipline is neces sary for our party if we are to effect ours. Politics is war—war between ex ploiting and exploited classes. not be conducted successfully in the happy-go-lucky fashion of

The reports of a project among the Southern planters to burn 2,000,00; bales of cotton-each a certain proposelling price of the rest have doubtles been taken seriously by many readers, but it is safe to say that the project, even though suggested in good faith will not be carried out. If it could be carried out, it would probably effec its purpose; the reduction of the preent crop by one-tenth would probably add considerably more than 10 per cent, to the price of the remainde What stands in the way is not the wastefulness of the method, nor any moral semples of the planters, but the fact that no one of the planters can be sure that all the others will carry ou their part of the program; or, rather others do keep their word and reduc their supply, it will be profitable for him to keep his whole crop and real ize the increase of price on all of it Pretty much the same thing has hap-pened several times in the cotton-grow-ing industry when it was proposed, not to destroy cotton already raised, but to reduce the acreage and raise less. Sidney Lanier told the story very well thirty-four years ago in

JONES'S PRIVATE ARGYMENT. That air same Jones, which lived in Jone He had this pint about him: He'd swear with a hundred sighs and grouns That farmers must stop gittin' loans

And git along without 'em; And the only thing teavs Jones to do But tear up every I O U And plant all corn and swear for true

But, one all fired sweatin' day, It happened I was been My lower corn-field, which it lay Longside the road that runs my way Whar I can see what's goin'.

And after twelve c'clock

l felt a kinder faggio', And laid myself un'neath a plu When 'long come Jones's waggin. And Jones was settin' in it, so, A-readin' of his paper. His nuties was goln' powerful slow, Fur he had tied the lines onto

The staple of the scraper. The mules they stopped about a ros Longside the road, upon the sod; No: knowin', kept a-readin',

And presently says he: "Hit's true; That Clisby's head is level. Thar's one thing farmers all must do, To keep themselves from goin' tew Bankruptey and the devil!

More corn: more corn! Must plant ground,
And musta't est what's boughten! Next year they'll do it; reason (And cotton will fetch bout a dollar

Tharfore, I'll plant all cotton." Nearly every farmer reasoned 10 Jones. hoping, by not adhering to the plan, to reap advantage from the con-duct of those who did. In the early nineties the Farmers' Alliance the reduction of cotton acreage, ar

the result was, the next year-instead of reduction, an enormous increase. Plans for limiting production can b where the actual control of produ where the actual control of production is concentrated in very few hands Agriculture is still under individua control (even though the ownership of the land is largely concentrated) and as the farmers are compelled to compete to their own destruction. Under capitalism, the only escape from the waste ful anarchy of competitive small production is the predatory despotism of the trust—and in either case, the producers selfer.

AN ELEMENTARY COURSE IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

VI.—Labor-Power as a Commodity — Some of the Qualifications of the Law of Wages, Which, Instead of Weakening, Confirms It as a General Law.

[This is one of a series of articles, be- f certain fixed minimum price, regardgun in The Worker of Dec. 4, as an attempt toward a systematic and correct and yet popular statement of the fundamental assistance of those who really wish to study (not merely to read something easy) and who have too little time to undertake larger and more complete treatises. Those who find any points not made clear or who articles are invited to write to th Editor of The Worker, and are assured that an earnest attempt will be made to answer

VI.-Labor-Power

as a Commodity. Last week, after showing that, under the existing economic system, labor power is a commodity, like pig-iron or otatoes, that the typical workingman of the present day makes his living, not by producing wealth for himself, but by selling his labor-power in the aarket-at its market price, we applied the law of value to this special com nodity and showed that the value labor-power depends upon the cost of subsistence; and, as the price of this or any other commodity tends to be equal to its value in proportion as free competition prevails, we develprice of labor-power-as follows:

Wages tend always, to a point at which they will just cover the average necessary cost of subsistence for the workers and their families, under the conditions and according to the standard generally prevailing.

We pointed out that this is not an law"-that there is, in fact, no iron law for the price of any commo dity-but that it correctly states a gen eral tendency, which is subject to some qualifications inasmuch as there is not absolutely perfect competition among the buyers nor among the sell-ers of labor-power. The bourgeois economists of the present day dwell much more on these qualifications than on the general tendency; they try to ignore the law and make a law out upon us, therefore, both to admit and explain the qualifications or apparent s their scope, and in order to do this fully we must show how in certain imfrom other commodities.

Let us for a moment hark back t our fourth chapter and remind the reader that the economic laws which we set forth-of value, of wages, and so forth-would apply unqualifiedly only in an absolute or typically perfect state of capitalism—a state of society in which all production is productio of commodities by wage-labor and in and sellers is absolutely free and fluid. untransmeled by law, custom, habit, sentiment, incomplete knowledge of market conditions, or conscious combungtion: that no such society exists er, probably, ever will exists probably no absolutely perfect circle or equilateral triangle ever existed in the material universe—which does not prevent us from reasoning correctly bout circles and triangles and draw ng useful conclusions from our re-oning); but that existing society a proximates to such a system and tha herefore the general laws of existing society are those of absolute capital ism, modified in their application in proportion as commodity-production is not universal, as competition is no free and frictionless, and as other than strictly economic motives influence men in their economic dealings with one another. Now for the qualifications of our law of wages.

Commodity-production by wage-labor for instance, is partly a producer of odities for the market, but partly also a producer of goods for his own use. But this does not much affeet the law of wages; for in any settled and civilized country it is not practicable for the wage-worker to esape from the conditions of the wage "going back to the land" nowever blandly some ignorant sentimentalists and some hypocritical apolpitalism repeat that phras In order to become a farmer nowfized living at it, one must own mean of production—land, stock, implement which are beyond the reach of the ireams of the poorer strata of the orking class. There was a time in he history of this country when the wage-worker who was dissatisfied with his lot, if he were fairly thrifty and energetic, could provide himsel with the needful stock and implement for a start, go out and take up land. and have a good chance of success. That day is gone; the free land i cone and, even if one can get land, th other things now necessary for suc-cessful farming are more numerous. complex, and expensive. No. for the typical workingman there is no such avenue of escape from the wage system. He must live in that system and modify it if he can

But within the wage system con tition is somewhat qualified, on the side both of the employers and of the employees: it is with these qualifica-tions that we must deal. Does law affect the labor market?

Yes, to some extent. In the United States, for instance, we have laws for-bidding the immigration of Chinese workingmen and somewhat restricting the immigration of other peoples; Aus-tralia has stricter laws of the same ort. These laws affect the labor man ket just as the tariff on sugar affects the sugar market; they tend to keep up the price of labor-power, wages, by limiting competition among the sellers of labor-power, the wage-workers. Also, if states or cities have laws (and enforce them) fixing a certain min enforce them) fixing a certain mini-mum wage for public employees, this trads—if there be a considerable num-her of such public employees—to keep the general level of wages up to that minimum, just as would be the case with the price of sugar if the govern-ment should regularly buy jarge quan-tities and should pledge itself to pay a

less of what might be the condition of the market. But the extent of thes influences is small. The artificial stim ulation of immigration to this country from Europe, by the circulation ther of false reports of American pro or by the actual importation of ingmen at so much per head by the steamship companies, probably quite counterbalances the amount of spon taneous immigration that restrictive laws shut out; and as for minimu wage laws for public employees, they exist only to a small extent and are violated with impunity.

Custom and habit count for mor

of competition on wages, one way or

the other; in fact, they have a restrain-ing influence on the fluctuation of prices of all commodities in retail trade, and the sale of labor-power is and habit used to have a much greater effect than they now have in regard to wages. Even so lately as a generaion ago, wages were much more com monly fixed in round numbers—as, say \$1.50 a day in a certain trade and lo-cality—and both employer and employee accepted this as a sort of "natural" rate, just as we still think of five cents as the "natural" price for a loaf of bread, do not expect to get it for four cents even when flour is chear and would protest more indignantly against a raise to six cents a loaf for bread than we would to a much large proportionate increase of house-rent o of the price of clothes. Habit is really a force and always a conservative force—a sort of friction, checking change in either direction; but just as if the friction between brake wheel is forcibly overcome, the rubbing together smoothes both surfaces and makes the friction ever less and through, it soon loses its force. So now we find wage-rates, not only of \$1.50 a day, \$2 a day, and so forth, but of \$1.49 a day or \$1.8714. This simple fact indicates that wages now rise and fall more frequently, respond to market conditions more readily, that competition in the labor market is less in the past. Indeed, this is just the result that should be expected from he fact that workers are now employed in larger bodies than in forme times, that the buying (though not the sale) of labor-power has become more of a wholesale business. Does sentiment affect the labor mar-

ket? Not to any appreciable degree The old personal relation between em ployer and employee has almost disap peared. Many an employer does not know his employees—never sees them, for that matter; sometimes even the hired superintendents or managers do out designate them by numbers; the wage-worker, on the other hand, often does not know for whom he is work ing-knows the name of the corpora tion, probably, but has no definite idea who are the persons that compose it. When our Civic Federationists gush about the "loyalty" of good wage workers to good employers, they ren-der themselves as ridiculous as that little coterie of High Church people up in Boston who, so the newspapers say still hold annual services to commen orate the marytrdom of Charles the First "of blessed memory." The workingmen who for pure sentiment's sak will stay with a certain boss when they can get better wages from some other boss, and the employers who for pure sentiment's sake will pay more than the market rate of wage their factories running when it would be more profitable to shut down are about as plentiful in America nows of a strike and boycott on the one hand or of a lockout and blacklist on the other, which for a time may influ ence employers to pay more or work ingmen to accept less than strict mar opinion" which may influence the other-these of course we do not under this head. The matters of calculation, not of sentiment—employers and workingmen each judging the power which the others may exercise or the political or other action which "the public" may take under certain circumstances. These considerations are subsidiary to that of the effect of combinations. which we shall speak later. Incomplete knowledge of market

wages, as of other commodities, but generally in the inverse sense. The ab-solutely perfect working of competi-tion would involve a complete knowledge by all buyers and sellers of the unt and quality of all commodition n the market and of their cost of pro duction. Such complete knowledge never exists. In regard to all material commodities, all products of labor of fered for sale, the sellers generally have a better knowledge of market ons than the buyers and thus have an advantage over them; in re gard to most of these things, therefore the tendency is for price to rise above value. With labor-power the case is reversed. The average employer or buyer of labor-power always knows the condition of the labor market better than the average workingman or seller of labor-power and he seldom hesitates to use the advantage this wider and more accurate knowledge gives him. The workingman in New ket in California; the employer can very easily keep track of it. In fact, the employers systematically use their influence with the press, not only to keep the workingmen from getting ac curate knowledge of this sort, but posi-tively to deceive them-publishing false reports to tempt them to leave their homes and spend their little savtheir homes and spend their little sav-ings in travelling from one place to another, and thus artificially producing a special glut in the labor market just where and when it is needed for capitalist purposes. This influence, then, tends to check any upward tendency of wages and to promote every downward tendency. So far as this influence is concerned, the price of in-

Combinations of buyers or of sellers is the last of the important qualifying

ber-power tends to fall below value

rather than to rise above it.

How and to what extent does it affect wages? It is here that we shall have respects, labor-power differs from other commodities, and here we shall find the most important qualifications—and the most emphatic confirmation, too-of our general law of wages. But space compels us to postpone for a week the conclusion of this chapter.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT. One of the many pleasant incidents

which has occurred to the writer in connection with the work of this department was the receipt of a number of letters during last week and this from very earnest comrades, upbraid-ing him because the men whose names they had sent in had not heard from The Worker. "I sent you ten from The Worker. "I sent you ten names, but none of the men have received anything from you," writes one comrades. "I called on several men last Sunday, whose names were on the list I sent you, but none of them reported having received sample copies or other literature," writes another. There were several more similar let-ters, including one from a comrade seemed to feel quite indignant about the matter. Now, while I don't mean that I enjoy being scolded, still can stand it, when with the scolding comes evidence of such unusual interest in the work at hand. No comrado would go to the trouble of asking his friends whether they had heard from us or not, unless he had a vital inter est in the outcome of our appeal for subscriptions, nor would be bother to write to this office about it, unless still more interested. These comrades de serve a word or two of explanation and they shall have it. The circulation manager undertook

the work of getting new subscribers for The Worker, because he wanted to

do his share in bringing Socialism a er, receives no salary, and only has his spare time to devote to his selfappointed task. He hadn't the remotest idea what response would be re-ceived from the readers of The Worker, to his request for names of pos ble subscribers. He was prepared to devote a good deal of time to follow-ing up these names as received, but supposed there would not be more than a thousand or two at the most. You have agreeably surprised him. More than 11,000 names are now in the files of this department and every day from 250 to 700 more are added. Now if we had a corps of four or five clerks and office boys, it would be double The Worker's circulation, but to triple it-possibly quadruple it. At present, however, the circulation manager is compelled to do all that is be ing done himself. A plan is now un-der consideration for increasing the working force by the addition of several volunteers, so we can go ahead faster; therefore, comrades, do not quit sending in the lists. We'll find a way of making use of every name sent certain results for the subscription list of The Worker. It's a good deal bet-ter to send in too many names (which in any event is impossible) than not enough. Keep the ball a-rolling, now that you have it started. But in the meantime don't get impatient if your friends don't hear from us at once Their names will not be lost, not forgotten, and they will keep. As soon as it is physically possible to get the ne, you may be sure that they will hear from us. So, while we don't object to the scoldings we are receiving, because they bear such eloquent testimony to your great interest, we assure you that they are not needed as a whip to the circulation manage who is doing his level best.

The circulation statement this week is again a gratifying one. It shows a net gain of 334 in the number of individual subscribers and a slight in-crease also in bundle orders and office

sales. The comparative statement for the last two weeks is as follows: Single subscriptions13,357 13,001 Outside bundles or at retail......... 1,375 1,542 Gains

SOCIALIST GAINS IN NORWAY.

Our Norwegian comrades have some notable gains to show from the recent communal elections. In Christiania, where from 64.028 qualified voters there voted 35,147, including 15,000 women, the vote was: Conservative, 18,943; Social Democratic, 9,517; Liberal, 4,476; Temperance, 1,060. In 1991 the vote was: Conservative, 15,000; Socialist, 4,500. We then elected fourteen members. As proportional repreentation rules, our comrades will get considerable addition to the numb of their representatives. In Bergen the Conservatives and Liberals together and 4,871; Left parties, 3,037; Socialists, 2.374; Temperance, 2.682, In Trondblem: Conservatives, 2.543; 85cialists, 2,008; Left, 712; Temperance, 685; Liberals, 376. All these show a large increase in the Socialist vate

A LITTLE GAIN IN SCOTLAND.

Socialism has scored another little in in Scotland. At a recent munigain in Scathand. chal election in Glasgow, J. Armour of the Social Democratic Federation, was one of the three elected to the parsh council-a local body having to do chiefly with matters of poor reliat. Comrade Armour polled 1,987 votes. the two successful bourgeois cand, dates getting 2,920 and 2,146 r.spectively. The next below Armon on the poll was an old member, a priest, up for re-election, and got 1,819 votes the Independent Labor Party, received 1,751. The question of provision for the unemplayed played a large part in

PARTY NEWS.

New York State.

It is the intention of State Secretary Chase to go through the state on a speaking tour in February if enough dates can be made. If the tour is to be made, it must be arranged for in time, and every local that is willing to arrange a meeting for him should so notify him at once, informing him what time in the month and what day of the week is preferred; so far as pos-sible, the wishes of locals as to the exact date for each will be observed. in the latter part of the month.

Every local should pay particular attention to the collection of dues. If our entire membership throughout the state can be trained to a prompt atten-tion to the payment of regular month-ly dues, it will be of great help to the State Committee. This is the only source of steady income for the State Committee and every nickel will help Committee and every nickel will help

to carry on the work of organization.

Locals have been organized since election in Tuckahoe, Patchogue, Geneva, and East Aurora. This gives us fifty-three that may be called live lo-cals and we have about eight others that only live during campaign. A full report will soon be made of the locals and their standing. All locals should do their best to get their entire mem-bership in good standing at once. The year now just closed has been one of great activity for Socialists and we have every reason to feel gratified with the results of the past year's work. Let us go forward to the new year with renewed energy and a deter-mination to make 1905 the banner year in the growth of our movement in the

ate of New York. W. J. Ghent spoke for the People's Forum of Yonkers last Sunday afteron Mass and Class in America. Spargo, the president of the im, was in the chair. Comrade Ghent's lecture produced a very fav-orable impression, and there was a spirited discussion at its close. Next Sunday Robert Hunter of the National Child Labor Committee speaks on Why We Have Child Labor. The Forum meets in Odd Fellows' Hall, N. Broadway, opposite Wells avenue, Yonkers, All persons attending are free to ask questions and participate to the discussions

Local New Rochelle will hold its second annual smoker Teusday even-ing, Jan. 10, in Music Hall, Mechanic street. Comrades from Locals Yonkers and Tuckahoe will assist in the enter

Elsa Barker will deliver the initial lecture before the Harlem Socialist Club, 250 W. One Hundred and Twen-ty-fifth street, Jan. 8. Subject: Individual and Collective Ideals.

The rooms of the Harlem Socialist Club at 250 W. One Hundred and Twenty-lifth street, will be open every evening in the week and all readers of The Worker in that part of the city are invited to visit them. Lecture will be held every Sunday evening. Comrades who have any books on Socialism, or good books of any sort, that they are willing to part with will find the librarian, Comrade Feuerstein, very willing to receive them and put m at the service of the frequenters of the clubrooms.

The program of the course of free

lectures to be given in Metropolis Theater Hall, One Hundred and For-ty-second street and Third avenue, Bronx, on Sunday evenings, is as folisronx, on Sunday evenings, is as fol-lows: Jan. 8, W. J. Ghent, Mass and Class: Jan. 15, John Spargo, The Meaning and Message of Socialism; Jan. 22, Jas. M. Reilly, Social Revolution; Jan. 29, Leonard D. Abbott, The Society of the Future; Feb. 5, Frederick Krafft, The Crisis: Feb. 12, Cour-tenay Lemon, Do We Need the Capi-talist?; Feb. 19, Elsa Barker, Individual and Collective Ideals; Feb. 26, Algernon Lee, Socialist City Administration; Mar. 5, Henry L. Slobodin, So cialism: Some Questions Answered; Mar. 12, Meyer London, Labor Legis-lation in the United States; Mar. 19, Morris Hillquit, The Social Revolu-tion; Mar. 26, Chas. Ufert, If Not So-cialism, What? Music will be furnished by a string orchestra supplied by Comrade Haman. A letter of invi-tation to the lectures has been sent to

and Class," has joined the party.

The last meeting of the 16th A. D. 2as very well attended. Over fifty comrades were present and took an active part in the proceedings. On the initiative of the delegates to the Gen-eral Committee the question of a demonstration of the unemployed was dis-cussed and it was decided that the delegates be instructed to bring up this matter at the next meeting of the Genmeeting as soon as possible. All the arrangements-for the concert, lecture, and package party that the district will give on Jan. 6 at Jefferson Hall. 90 Columbia street, are completed. Such high-class talent as the Glicksman brothers, the well known mando lin and guitar players, has been en-gaged for the concert. The speakers will be Abe Cahan and Sol Fieldman. If all goes well the 16th A. D. will realize enough from this affair to open permanent headquarters at once.

BROOKLYN.

Courtenay Lemon will be the lec-turer at the Silver Building. 315 Washington street, on Sunday even-ing Jan. 8. Subject: Do We Need the Capitalist?

The 8th, 11th and 12th Assembly Districts are making arrangements to hold a series of meetings on Wednes-day evenings during the winter in Prospect Hall, Prospect avenue, near Fifth avenue. The first meeting will take place on Jan 11, when Dr. Furman will be the speaker. John C. Chase will speak on Jan. 18 and Mrs. Fraser on Jan. 25. Comrades in ad-joining Assembly Districts are asked

abnormal or too rapid increase in the tegrity of the Socialist movement.

New Jersey.

The Central Branch of the Socialist Party in Paterson will have an en-tertainment on Jan. 14 in Feist's Hall, corner Prospect and Ellison street. Renders of The Worker and their comedian; Frank Dietrich and the A. M. Choir of the Second Ward will surely make the evening very pleasant for all.

The Rev. Frank Dixon recently

spoke on "The Threat of Socialism" under the auspices of the Jersey City Y. M. C. A. Some of his remarka were so grossly illogical and his definition of Socialism and Socialists were so completely at variance with the opportunity to reply. They received very funny reply. The Y. M. C. A. began by saying: "We appreciate fully the fairness of your request." fully the fairness of your request." Then it denied the request on the ground that "it is not our policy to encourage the discussion of matters in difference between men either in religion or politics." Their aim, it seems, is "to Jing together in pleasant fellowship men of all political beliefs" and their idea of the way to do this is to hire sensational rhetoricians like Dixon to misrepresent and denounce one particular party and then refuse what they admit to be the fair request for a hearing of the other side. Dixon for a hearing of the other side. Dixon makes a specialty of attacking Social-ism and skilfully dodges discussion. Comrades should watch for the an-nouncements of his lectures and cour-teously but pointedly challenge him

beforehand through the public press. Branch 7, Newark, will have a pro-paganda meeting Monday night, Jan. 9. at Harmony Hall, 653 Broad street. Leonard D. Abbott will speak on the topic: The Religion of Socialism. All renders of The Worker and their friends are invited to attend. Readers of The Worker who are not yet party members are invited to join the

or for Socialism.
Essex County held a very successful festival on Jan. 2, the arrangements of which were ably carried out by Branch 1. A considerable sum of noney was realized for party work. Branch 5 holds interesting meeting each Friday night at 239 Washington

Massachusetts.

Chas. Burbank will lecture at Home stead Hall, 724 Washington street Boston, on Sunday evening, Jan. 8 Subject: The Practicability of Social

Pennsylvania

Free public meetings are held every Sunday evening at Jefferson Hall, on Ninth street below Dickinson, Philadelphia. On Jau. 8 John Spargo speaks ou Socialism, the World-Wide Move-ment. On Jan. 15 Wm. H. Keevan speaks on Why the Workingmen Should Vote the Socialist Ticket.

Socialism is growing rapidly in York. The York Socialist Club has leased a suite of rooms in a handsome build-ing on one of the principal thoroughfares. The apartments include ture, reading and lounging rooms and kitchen.

Charles Heydrick, one of the most active members of Local Eric, died last Monday, from typhoid fever. Comrade Heydrick will be greatly missed nale Heydrick will be greatly missed in his home city, where he had worked most energetically for Socialism dur-ing the last five years. Many com-rades from all parts of the country, who formed his acquaintance at the Chicago convention last May or who knew him by his writings in the So-cialist press, will join with the Erie comrades in their regret.

A new local has been organized at Kensington with twenty members. One of the comrades bought a good tob press and type for \$195 and is going to set it up in headquarters to print literature for distribution. This shows the spirit of the Socialist move-ment as compared to the petty job hunting which characterizes the capi-

talist parties. The lecture in Pittsburg on Sunday, Jan. 8, will be given by H. A. Goff, Sr., at 4 Diamond Square, 2 p. m. After this meeting a local will be organized. Compades who have no local in their W. J. Ghent, the author of "Our Benevolent Feudalism" and "Mass and Class." has followed the working class. Don't kick at others for not doing their part until you have done yours.

California.

As a result of some local controvers in San Francisco Arthur Morrow Lewis has challenged Mrs. Olive M. Johnson of the S. L. P. to a public debate on the doctrine of "Natural debate on the doctrine of "Natural Rights" or, as the S. L. P. platform states it "inglienable rights" Com rade Lewis has offered to change his class lecture in the Academy of Sciences on Feb. 9 on The Fallacy of Nat-ural Rights into a debate with Mrs. Johnson. It is expected that the S. L. P. will accept this challenge or else

Comrade Lewis' class lectures. They were immensely successful, the total receipts of \$130 indicating the good at-tendance. The second course deals with the Italian Socialist classics, two lectures on Ferri's "Socialism and Modern Science," two on Loria's "Economic Foundations of Society" and one on Labriola's "Materialist Concep-

On Jan. 15 Dr. G. Frankel, lately editor of the "Tageblatt," will speak for the party in Carmen's Hall, 3106 Far-

San Francisco street meetings are still suffering on account of the sickness of Mrs. Lewis, who is the most powerful and attractive of the street powerful and attractive of the street speakers. Mrs. Lewis is, however, im-proving and will probably be able to resume work soon. Meanwhile her lecture engagements in different parts of the state are being filled by other speakers or are cancellled pending her

joining Assembly Districts are asked to give these meetings their support. To get to the hall take the Fifth avenue "I." to Sixteenth street and walk one block.

At the Speakers' Class on Friday evening, Jan. 6, in the Labor Lyceum. 149 Willoughly avenue, the question for debate will be: Besolved, That an

ciently convalescent from a recent sickness to keep the engagement. A. M. Lewis filled the gap and the meeting was a complete success. Miss Cole will speak for Local San Francisco as soon as she is able. Oakland is busy raising money for

the spring campaign. Organizer Tuck reports that great things are afoot, among others the doubling of the size of the weekly campaign paper, "The Socialist Voice." Tickets are selling Socialist Voice. The Class lectures in Oakland, which begin on Jan. 6.

cal Stockton and is keeping the proj ganda meetings supplied with sper ers, local and from San Francisco.

Two or three new locals are to be organized in the towns around San Francisco during the next few weeks. Herbert V. Bendy of the Citizens' Alliance still swears he will meet A thur Morrow Lewis as soon as business and health permit, which will probably be in the spring. We hope

Ben Wilson has returned to Califor nia from an extended tour and will take a brief rest before speaking again. All Socialist speakers coming West will please communicate with Organizer Geo. Williams of Local San Francisco, 230 Van Ness avenue.

Here and There.

At the last business meeting of Lo-cal Washington, D. C., the following officers were elected to serve for the next three months: Organizer, Joseph Wood; Recording Secretary, W. L. Lightbourn: Financial Secretary, W. L. B. Brown; Treasurer, Wm. L. Dewart; Literature Agent, Press Agent and Historian, I. Isadore Bernstein: Or ganization Committee-W. L. Light retary; Jos. Wood; Wm. L. Dewart and I. Isadore Bernstein, Press Agent. The office of historian is newly created, its purpose being to keep a record of the individual doings of the ties in the Socialist movement.

The 1905 annual meeting and dinne of the Collectivist Society will be held at Peck's restaurant, 140 Fulton at Peck's restaurant, 140 Fultor street, New York City, Saturday, Jan 19. at 6 o'clock. The dining-room will open at 5 o'clock for the social gathering preceding the dinner.

Friends of the society, both men and women, are invited to attend. Ap-plications for dinner tickets, \$1 each. should be made to the secretary. Miss M. R. Holbrook, Box 1663, New York City.

THE WALTHAM INCIDENT.

To the Editor of The Worker:-Speaking of the Waltham affair, I do not see how any body of men claiming to be Socialists can, member of the party voluntarily belonging to the army, state or national. At a ban-quet recently held in this city by the local military company, Col. Pierce of the state militia, in speaking of the "valuable uses" the militia could be put to and on account of which it deserved the support of the community, mentioned that of putting down striking workingmen. This slip of the Colonel's tongue was not reported in the local press. He told more truth than was wanted for general publication.

E. A. BUCKLAND

Holyoke, Mass., Dec. 28. To the Editor of The Worker:-In you votes at Waltham, Mass., which a comrade says was the result of withdrawal of charter by the State Committee, as a triffing matter and assert that "enforcement of discipline, if vigorously followed up, will soon recoup the loss." You frankly say, "This attitude may be wrong, ('attitude of I do not for a moment question the right bersship, but when an organization de-liberately commits suicide by adopting rules which preclude its attaining the only purpose of its existence, I claim the right to protest even at the cost of expulsion from the party, and challenge the statement that Socialism is the Socialist ballot. The law The pledge of withdrawal of support from all other parties, and the payment of dues and obedience to the party discipline as pre-requisites to voting membership in the poluts for the club Itself to settle, but no self-respecting American citizen who is "well educated" in politics will ever pledge away his right to vote according to the tion of servitude." You say, "let it be discussed and changed in an orderly way." Very well. We are living under capitalisa and militarism. As Socialists we are op-posed to both, but are absolutely compelled to live under and support both systems. No Socialist can trade or travel without sup-porting "the system." Until the Socialis laws replace the present laws, the militia cialist laws will pever be secured until the essentials of Socialism are endorsed by a majority of the voters. The fundamental ides that essential commodities shall be idea that essential commodities shall be publicly supplied is sure to be realized in the near future, but it may come through the public acquisition of public utilities and the gradual absorption of the mercantile and manufacturing interests by municipal ties or the state, If the Socialist Party ties or the state. If the Socialist Party expects to be anything more than a party of protest it must wave all minor points of exclusion and welcome the voters of every shade of opinion on other questions who are willing to join hands in favor of the total

tions are things for twelfth century history

and not for wentieth century civilization.
Why should the Socialist party demand a
piedge from its members such as it would

denounce in another party as "party tyranny" or the "party lash"! If voters were not allowed perfect freedom to change from party to party, elections would

and Socialism, so-called, an absolute despot-ism. Take down the bars, secure the referreddum and let the people govern them-selves. They will never be better ready for self-government until they get it and when they get it they will be ready for So-cialism. C. E. REBVES. Benium Harbor, Mich., Dac. 35.

SOL FIELDMAN.



NOMINATIONS IGNORED.

ion, although our nominations for

EXPERT OPTICIAN. WILL examine your eyes—WELL AS POSSIBLE
FIT them with glasses—BEST POSSIBLE
YOUR expense—LOW AS POSSIBLE
EYES should be conscientiously attended —AT
ONCE IF POSSIBLE
IF you can't call of Color. you can't call on SOL—write—He'll call on you—SOON AS POSSIBLE

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in that body, and refuse to bind themselves to support any such candidate at th

for a party daily organ in East Switz-erland. The new paper ought to per-form a useful service in destroying

this unholy alliance, which include

not only the Democrats but often ever the Clericals, and in clearing the way

for a genuine Socialist Party founder on the principles of the class war

Hitherto, our party have not even had

an organ of their own but shared one

with the Democrats. Success to the new venture.—J. B. Askew, in London

men Shun the Church. ...

Dr. Ethelbert Talbot, Bishop of the

Episcopal Church in Central Pennsyl-

vania, who is now facing a trial by his ecclesiastical peers on charge

other conduct unbecoming a bishop, is the same Talbot who distinguished

of the anthracite mine operators. The entire anthracite region of Pennsyl-yania is within his diocese and the

least observation on his part must have acquainted him with the wretch-ed condition of the miners and the

galling exploitation which produced

But the good bishop is a servile re-

tainer. To him the mine operators are

the men "to whom God in his infinite wisdom had intrusted the property in

terests" of that part of Pennsylvania

and any attempt by a labor union to declare the conditions under which its

nembers shall work is an attempt "te

run the business of the employer." In a signed statement given to the press

on Sept. 27, 1902 he delivered himself

of the following chunks of retainer morality and wisdom:
"In considering the whole situation

justice as well as mercy demands that we bear in mind certain facts. IN

we bear in mind certain facts. IN THE FIRST PLACE THE STRIK

ING MINERS PRECIPITATED THE

CRISIS AND WENT OUT WHEN NO REAL GRIEVANCES EXISTED

WHICH COULD NOT HAVE BEEN

well known, and even expressed by

their leaders, that the crux in th

whole matter is the recognition of an

organization known as the 'miners

union.' The one problem in the con

ough protection to every man to exer

cise his inalienable right to sell his

"But some will say why not refer

all these questions to a board of arbi-tration chosen by both sides? Why

do the operators refuse so reasonable and fair a solution of the difficulty in reply it cannot be too plainly said

that the operators are ready and al

of wages and conditions of labor with their own men, BUT HOW CAN THE

QUESTION OF WHETHER A MAN
HAS A RIGHT TO CONDUCT HIS
OWN BUSINESS BE SUBMITTED

TO ARBITRATION? For the opera-tors to surrender this inherent right would not be not only a calamity to all

the industrial interests of our country, but an infringement of personal lib-erty repugnant to the genius and spir-

BETRAYED THE REVOLUTION.

The echoes of the gons of Lexington had

der George III began to plot to canture the

tionists were successful. And they did

latation of Independence in 1776, the mer who starved at Valley Forge, were not the

of the revolution had gone back to their farms and workshops, while the privileged classes, their mouths full of large words to allar the suspicions of the fighters and workers, deliberately set to work to defeat

the ends and alms of the revolution. The

vention and they did it. The American

republic was a compromise; and amoug those who were conspicuous at its founda-tion were men who ridiculed and secretly

laughed at it.-Franklin H. Wentworth

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the strike

Los Angeles County Clerk Censured A new paper has been founded b certain comrades in St. Gallen on thei for Omitting Socialist Candidates for own account, especially to advocate the abandonment of the alliance with Supervisors from Official Ballot. In Los Angeles at the national electhe Democrats, and to pave the way

supervisors were duly certified to the county clerk, the latter declined to county clerk, the latter declined to place our nominees on the ballot, de-claring that no certificate of the nomination had been filed in his office, and accordingly the names of our candidates for supervisor in those districts did not appear on the ballot. The matter was brought before the grand jury. Comrade Burkhart, who was at the time chairman of the County Central Committee, testified that he visited the county clerk's office two days be-for the last day fixed by law for filing the certificates, and lodged the certificates comprising the nominations of the candidates for supervisor, together with certificates of nominations of the full number of senators and asthese latter certificates were properly filed, but it was asserted that the cer-tificate of nomination for supervisors did not accompany them and had never been filed.

Comrade Brierly gave evidence that by accident he overheard clerks in the county office calling over a list which indicated that the ballot was being made up for printing without any So-cialist candidates' name for supervis-or, an investigation was started by one of the deputy clerks for the miss ing certificate; that subsequently, al-though he made inquiries day after day for information as to whether they intended to place our nominees on the ballot, and wrote a letter to the county cierk to the same effect, no satisfaction could be obtained. The latter was at home sick, and when he expressed a desire to see the gentlewho was taking the told by one of the deputies that there was no such person. These inquiries took place between Oct. 21 and 26. The code provides that at least fifteen days before election the county clerk is to certify to the county chairmen of the various political parties the nominations which will appear on the ballot. That is to say, in this case, at latest by Oct. 25. This fact was pointed out to the officials when asked for information as above stated. The provision is evidently intended to give a political party an opportunity of correcting errors in the county cierk's office before the ballots are printed. But it was not until Oct. 27-after the

Comrades Burkhart and Brierly saw could give no relief, and in the cours of the interview stated that the bal-lots having then been all printed, no court would order the names of our county between \$7,000 and \$8,000 to have the ballots reprinted and would possibly endanger the holding of the election.

The testimony showed a great want of order and regularity in the conduct of the county office in the county clerk's absence

The county clerk admitted that he had not attached as much importance to the matter of investigation as he can or Democratic nomination which

was in question. The county clerk at the close of the investigation, was called before the grand jury, and sensured for the con-duct of the office in connection with the matter, and he was also taken to task with reference to his admission

Altogether, it is certain that the county clerk's office will be much more careful in future when anything

CLEARER TACTICS IN SWITZERLAND Experience teaches. The following esolution on the question of Minister have had unusually good chances for deerving the effects of alliances with ourgeois parties, having themselves been a very long time in a very close stilance with the Democrats of that

"From all previous experiences, the ruling classes concede nothing towards the cum-cipation or the amelioration of the prole

'The Social Democratic Party of th

tariat other than the organized workers win by their own might. On the other hand, the ruling and propertied classes use too giadly every opportunity to hide from the workers the position of their class, and thereby to restrain them in the development of their organization and power.

"As such a means serves them the istry. The ruling classes do not dream, by to powerlessness. Nothing is done to im-prove, radically, the lot of the worker, but the appearance is aroused that something

lown of St. Gallen does not allow itself to be misled by this sham, or refrain from rigidly upholding the interests of the work-ers in the teeth of a state which is and Canton St. Gallen not to take part in the Ministry so long as they have not the sufficient support in the people, and there-with the might which would enable their with the might which would enable their representatives to defend the interests of the proletariat with energy and success. Thus they cannot recognise any Sor'al Democrat put up by the hourgeois parties for the Ministry [the Ministry is elected direct by the people] as their representative

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LEAVES FROM AN ECONOMIC COOKERY BOOK.

By Peter E. Burrowes.

The undeveloped gentleman of olden times was wont to roast and eat his man soon after he caught him; but the art of economic cookery, as practised by the developed gentleman of the capitalist era consists of eating your slave all the time and still having him. Our rude ancestors cooked him dead; we cook him alive while the sun is in sight, or long into the electric night, and still we have him fresh and wriggling ready to go to work next morn-ing, because there are so many of him and he has so few dollars, so many

hildren, and so many competitors.

To get the greatest possible amount sure results out of his appe the modern gentleman goes by indi-rection and consults the appetites of his slaves. While he can keep them on the vacuous hunt, keen, hungry and helpless, the world continues to be a good place for gentlemen. But it is a very fine art to keep a world of slaves without their knowledge, to confiscate all they produce without known violence on our part or any conscious acts of surrender on theirs. is a very fine art indeed which bath ed its present ripe and delicate perfection through centuries of think ing by many honored heads on downy pillows laid. It is the art of arts which keeps what might be called a whole army of middle class retainers, without their knowing it, as our preservers of poverty and content among the slaves, our appointed task masters and whip-to-works, our rat men drilled to nibble away the slaves' wages only to surrender it to us in the ordinary way of business; and this they do withstopping to think what an extraordinary way of business that way is which fights and lies and labors to get all from the slaves only to give it all up to the gentlemen who never labor any, to us who have little need to fight and less need to lie, seeing that we of the possible risk of flying in the ace of a possible providence. To hire such an army of high spirit-

ed, independent people for such a dirty job as that of preventing the slaves from ever saving anything out of their wages, and to keep them so hired and dirtily doing for a couple of centuries is the pointed pinnacle among fine

These extracts from an economic cookery book are not prepared for the mere scullions, dishwashers and turnspit poodles of the middle class. Oh no, they only take a blind subordinate part in the art of keeping and cooking slaves. And they also, because of their blindness, inhumanity and conceit, are sinking down among the underfoot and overdone captives of wages.

When I contemplate how nearly them all will soon be under us, gentle-men, when I consider what a multitude there will be for us to cat and how few of us to cat them. I lift up my eyes with the holy man of old, say-"Who is sufficient for all these now the Lord suits our appetite to the abundance of the harvest, how the capacity to devour grows with the opportunity; and so with a mighty om ivorous faith I say: Let us who are entlemen be Rockefellers, fearless and faithful, ready to swallow this planet or any other that may drop from the milky way; and let us study together piously this economic art of

RECIPES. 1. Never let your slave go unteth-ered on the land; whenever he cuitivates the soil let there always be a string to his leg so that you may pull him back from the product to seize it yourself. There are different kinds of tethers—corvee. rent, tax, liquor, church, patriotic, fashionable, etc., etc. Every device by which the wage slave is induced to cough up his surplus free-ly, or by which he can be bound to surrender it by instalments, all sorts of obligations and debts which shall leave him without a dollar to rest on every week are tethers, the diligent spinning of which shall occupy the busy minds of your nibblers. The successful working of the slave system depends before all things upon this, that your slaves shall never have an actual raise of wages nor any ability to the land, or escaping the factories should become partiets cutting their own tethers, freeing the world and ruining the business of our class, which, as Brother Baer says, has been appointed by divine providence to see that the human family is not overfed, that it is well franchised and kept in a wholesome condition of monetary learness, so that we may have sol diers and slaves always sufficient to carry forward our distinguished states men to their destined place among the lords of the nations.

2. It is a fundamental point in all good economic cookery that the proper class refund all the surplus above the ample recapitalization of money in in dustrial reproduction to the purchased possession of the land. If in the last throw of the dice box the earth has not been manipulated into our posses-sion the slave foundation of the world's civilization is imperilled. We may play at free second may pantomime the opening up of an Oklahoma with the sound of the federal gun and the flutter of the federal flag, but if a pack of valcing now settlers as to get the land all back ful debts, civilization is at stake and the art of economic cookery has been badly bungled.

Neglect not duly to maintain a metal currency for the payment of debts so pinched and centralized that to loosen their tethers, and remember Hgion and patriotism of nations is to p themselves involved forever in sacred folds of debt. It does not signify what aristocracy or of what nation may be the coffectors thereof; no matter what part of the world's

reach of the slave producers, it is well with the world. For though we call ourselves Turks and Russians and Americans, our aristocracles are all one in the most holy faith of keeping beneath our feet a common stock of paupers working, and of debtors ready e fall into their places when they can

4. Having secured your land and limited your money to a safe distance from your slaves your next problem is to keep them at work at some manner of producing wealth wherein the workby himself cannot produce it. if he could produce wealth by him-self, it is safe to say that he would never come to you for permission to produce it at a surrender rental, for produce it at a surrender rental, for the right to work, of three to one. This may be done by breaking the whole thing to be produced into value-less parts and detailing the laborers for a lifetime to the making of thos valueless parts. Let a few select slaves only put the parts together and end it to market; then pay the whole crowd with money convenient for them to buy all things with and conenient for you to hide how much of he product you have stolen from them. Or you may otherwise do near iy the same thing with the producers which has just been done with the divided parts of a value; you can begin the process by fitting the workmen themselves together in a complex hi man unit of many in one. Combine so many picks, shovels, horses and carts in one mechanism. Now a hundred men needing a dollar for the day want to remove your pile of sand; they want to do a hundred dollars worth of work for you and you don't want them ism for doing it has cost ten thousand dollars. Shovels, picks, carts and horses are out of date, so for each to earn on dollar or for all to earn a hundred this day, they must all get the tem porary use of your ten dollars. Your capital in the form of machinery now stands just where land once stood; they must have it, but they cannot except by paying rent or profit because we stole out before them. And if laws were passed compelling us to sell out to the workers, so long as they are compelled to buy with our mone, we could charge such rent of interes as would keep us another century se curely on their backs. Therefore own all the land, control all the money and

get rich on labor it is necessary for him to find a laboring man that will get poor on it; and such a man never can exist but as a slave. Now an individual resents slavery and hates to think that another man should own hlm; besides it has been settled by the late war that owning a slave is an unchristian practise. This is the beautiful moral aspect of the complex mechanism or the atomic production given in the last recipe. The gentleman who was getting the sand shovelled does not own that hundred men por one of them; not one of them is a slave to him; only a day of each life was sold to him, and they were each and all repeat that slavery every day in the year but not to the same man. They are each and all slaves for a year, but whose slaves are they? The man who owns that ten thousand dollar machine tion of brainy gentlemen who own the land, control the money and make the cart and horse is only part of a whole world complexity of mechanism which gether, no part of which can go efficient ly without the whole, and the whole efficient going of which requires that a move be gotten on each part. A concollidated world plant co interest. We do not separately own the slaves, but our class owns them the working people are not separately slaves to separate gentlemen, but their class is owned by and is the slave of ours, so we are satisfied. Why then should we fiddle over mere words so long as the people we own do know how to spell slavery?

increase the cost and complexity of the tools of production.

5. In order that an idle man may

condition is that freedom of choice be taken away from it. By the unifying of the blacklist this can be done.

7. Uncertainty of employment, o hours and of wages are also essentials to a secure system of slavery, whether it be chattel, serf or free. Therefore all true gentlemen must fight to the death any laws defining the maximum bours of labor, or the minimum of wages; also the alleged right of every man to be constantly employed we hold to be a high sacrilege before the sacred altar of slavery. Even though it takes us two millions of middle class men to keep one million of work ers in slavery that million is worth the outlay; so heaven bless the

THE ONLY DEFENDER OF LIBERTY.

There is nowhere any force or influence free the workers from the creeping dark of absolute industrial servitude. now no class in America except the work-ing class that is interested in preserving the liberties of the people. Who is it that dares to confront the meat trust except the men who butcher its beef and drive its wagons? Who dares to face the mining and the smelter trusts of the West save th and the smeller trusts of the West save the men with pick and shovel? And in the great anthracite coal strike of two years ago, when it was clearly proven that the railroad mine owners were breaking every law on the statute books, who dared to protest except the miners themselves? The great non-partisan public we hear so much about; the great American public which is the statking horse of the capitalist newspapers, paid through the nose for coal at eighteen and twenty dollars a ton, when if it had possessed any manhood or respect for its own laws it could have put every tulne owner in Pennsylvania in jail.—Frank-lin II. Wentworth.

-The Counters of Warwick has be come an avowed Socialist and joined the Social Democratic Federation.

THE POOR DEVILS LOOK OUT FOR THEMSELVES.

By Horace Traubel.

The poor devils look out for themselves. The masters forget the pool devils. The poor devil must remem ber himself. Father Taylor is credit ed with this: "There are three kinds of poor in this world; namely, the Lord's poor, the Devil's poer, and poor devils. The Lord looks out for his poor, and the Devil looks out for his poor; but the poor devils look out for themselves." I shall not concern suyself about the Lord's poor or the Devil's poor. They have too much concern already. But the poor devil. He is my own. And the poor devil looks out for himself Who will look out for the poor devils if they do not look out for themselves? The poor devils are the crowd. They are the majority. The poor devils make the wheels of the factories go. They operate the telegraphs. They run the trains. They work on the roads and in the stores. But why should I itemactivities of the poor devils? give this world a reputation. They give this world a reputation. They save its soul. You speak of the poor devils as if they were in the way. But what sort of a world would this world be if its poor devils were out of the way? Nobody so neglects the pool devil as the poor devil himself. And nobody will ever look out for the poor devil until the poor devil looks out

Father Taylor said many true things. But Father Taylor never said a truer thing than this: "The poor devils look out for themselves." This has been the length and breadth and am ringing bells. I am knocking at doors. I am rioting in the temples. I am waking those who sleep in the dead of the industrial night. I walk about in heavy shoes. I speak coarse words. I order the policemen not to arrest the thief but to arrest the gentleman. I raise a row wherever I go A fight always follows my appear ance. I leave questions behind me Questions that nettle the stubborn elect. Questions that fire the rebe heart. I push into your banks and point out the blood splushed on its notes and its gold. I scrutinize your bonds and mortgages and unsettle and destroy their haughty values. I de-clare that all debts of the poor to the rich shall be cancelled. That here-after there shall be only one debt. The debt of each to all. The debt of all to each. I return all property what-ever its pedigree to the devastated crowd. You know me by many names But by whatever name you know me you know me as a disturber. I stand forth and without compromise or hesi tation accuse the economic program of my time. I am not polite about it. am only true about it. I want to shake up the poor devils. I want them to see that they must look out for themselves. I want them to look out for themselves. I do not want the poor devils to expect God Almighty to hand them down justice on a platter.

want the poor devils to hand justice o themselves,
I call the poor devils. With all the
vehemence of hate and love I call

them. I want them to look out for themselves. In the laws. In the church. In trade: I want them to look out for themselves in houses. In stores. In offices. On the streets. In the cars. I want them to look out for themselves in the schools. The poor devils make our rich world. The poor devils make luxury possible. Leisur possible. Books and operas possible. But the poor devils do not have enough to eat or wear or enjoy. The poor devils build and warm the palace and then go outside and sleep in the cold. The poor devils build the schools and then send their children schools and then send their children to the factory to work. The poor devils work their slave fingers black and maimed to keep the loafer fingers white and whole. The poor devils die in order that the rich devils may live. Do you hear. Die. Die. You die. The youngsters die. In order that the elect may live. The class starves in order that the caste may feed. Why should I not cry out my warning? Why should not any disciple cry out his warning? Why should we be still while this crime is so noisy? Why should the victim be so meek while the victor is so proud?

I say no. No. A thousand times no. I shall say no until no becomes no. The poor devils must look out for themselves. They have waited for some one else to look out for them. No one has looked out for them. They gave the rulers a chance to look a chance. Gave congresses and par-liaments a chance. Gave the priests a chance. Gave the politicians and olutocrats a chance. Yes, all the chance they ought to have. But the nabobs of the earth instead of meeting the humility of the poor devils with payment have met it with robbery. - Now the time has come for the r devile to look out for themselves To push all the trespassing master whatever their antiquity aside. The oor devils must assume the world to hemselves. Assume the world to th workers of the world. The poor devils are not the Lord's poor or the Devil's poor. They are their own poor. And being their own poor they can remake themselves in a less sacri-ficial image. They will no longer continue to be their own poor. They will now be their own rich. The devils will become the rich devils. The p they will not reparcel the world and have a new rich and a new poor. They will divide nothing. They will unite everything. There will be no more rich and no more poor when the poor devils become the rich devils of the world. The poor devils used to look outside themselves for saviors and did not find them. Now the poor devils look inside themselves for saviors and find them. The poor devils look out for themselves.

THE GOD OF GOLD.

A bird of prey and a woman's bust, Hard and yellow, heavy and cold, Defiled by vices manifold That have used it for lure and snare and

Won with marked cards and with loader

shame:

Sordid bribe for a man's fair name: Blurred with blood and with children'

Fouled with sweat through the toll-wrung Blackened with dust from the coal pit's

Cankered with wrong-cast, west, north,

Tainted with shackle of serf and slave; Fetid with mold from the drunkard grave:

Accomplice of murder, and crime's best Joy of the miser, and pride of the fool; Foe of truth, and the lie's ally: Pay of traitor, and thrice-damned spy; sole of the spoiler to Charity-Wage of the harlot; loot of the thief; comoter of crimes that pass belief; Spoil of a stab in the midnight street; Guerdon of fraud and hypocrisy;

Salvage of wrecks on a sea of wrongstrong. Mase huborner of perjury;

Prop of false pride and luxury; Maker of envy, spite and spicen: Creator of book and play obscene: Breeder of every breach of trust; l'ander to war and to fierce blood To the lust of the eye and the lust o

That hardens men's hearts and turns the

Despoiler of labor, menace of life, Gold-God of cruelty, hatred, strife.

Bow, O'fool, as thou passest by! This is the god we have set on high "Beneath the dome of the union sky," This is the thing to which we pray, chis is our golden calf to-day,
This is our delty we obey.
Down on thy knees to the dollar god! He owns the water, the trees, the sod, The food, the clothing, the oil, ' coal Owns thee, body, estate and sout; Genuflex, fool, to the gold of pelf,

His heaven, wealth; financial loss, his hell; his litany a stock that's watered well; His incense, interest; his book of prayer, Hond, mortgage, scrip, certificate and

share; His temple the exchange; his altar-stone Discount, collateral, secured call loans; His priests are usurers; his creed, "con-

His bible, business; and his only son is Prott-out of work by others sone. His one commandment, "Do and do worst, Lost, by chance, thy neighbor de thes &

Steer close and shrewdly clear of prison gate. And put an S in front of peculate. By trust and franchise mulct-let nongo free-

But take thy lawful pound of flesh fo

lawful debt.

And worship thou none other god but

-W. E. P. French, in Wilshire's Magazine

THE FOURTH VOLUME

OF MARX'S "CAPITAL" Kautsky has recently, through the well known party publishers, Dietz, in Stuttgart, published what Engels had intended to call the fourth volume of Marx's "Capital." English readers are, perhaps, not all aware that what has appeared in the English translation is only the first volume, the only volume Marx himself prepared for the press The socoad and third volumes were brought out at intervals close on five and ten years respectively by Engels, after the death of Marx, and now, ten years later, Kautsky has achieved, years later, Kautsky has achieved, amid his other multifarious occupa-tions, the task of bringing out the first instalment of the last volume. This he has, however, preferred to bring out as an independent work, and hence it bears the title, "Theories of Surplus Value." It is an historical account of the development of Marx's predecess ors. The first part, now published, brings the development down to Adam Smith; the second will deal with Ricardo; the third and last with Malthus and the break up of the Ricardo school. The difficulties of editing have not been light, as even Engels found who knew Marx from the intimate friendship and literary co-partnership of a lifetime. What must it have been to a man who had not this advantage? But to Kautsky, as to Engels, it was a labor of love, and the difficulties would seem to have been overcome in the most satisfactory manner. Kaut-sky expresses the hope that these vol-umes will awaken the interest of the umes will awaren the interest of the educated public in the treasures which lie buried in the old classics of politi-cal economy. Now that the doctrine of their infallibility has long been abandoned, they have too long been neglected; but the bankruptcy of the school has paved the way for a fresh study of the old masters—above all to a study of their method. This book will also give an exact insight into the truth of Anton Menger's charge against Marx of plagiarizing Thomp-son—a man whose theories were about as much those of Marx as Adam Smith or Ricardo themselves—little more. In fact, if I remember rightly, Kautsky bas shown that Adam Smith went quite as far. But that is a detail. The quite as far. But that is a detail. The theory was not the Marxian; and, moreover, Marx had shown in his "Poverty of Philosophy," which I recommend to Mr. J. M. Robertson, who recently revived the charge against Marx, where he differed from the writers of that school. Shall we ever see the complete work of Marx in English? is the question. The second and third volumes have already appeared in French. When will England be similarly favored?—J. B. Askow, in London Justice.

FOR UNITY IN FRANCE

A Difficult Problem, but It Will Be Solved.

distorical Sketch of French Socialist Parties and Factions—Divisions Ex-plained by Tendencies of Different Origin Which Merge but Slowly— Present Situation Similar to That, in Germany Before the Gothe Congress.

(Special to The Worker.)
PARIS, Dec. 4.—The paramount is sue among Socialists in France is now the much discussed question of unity Socialism is not in France, any mor it was born in both these countrie during the second third of the nine teenth century. Instead of being in ported from without, as a whole and 'ready-made'' doctrine, it grew slowly as a natural product, out of the suffe ings and struggles of the proletaria and the studies of scientists. As many different people contributed to this great work, it was heterogeneous, and this is the reason why there were sucl riolent conflicts between the different Socialist parties in both countries:

In Germany, before the Gotha con vention in 1875, as nowadays in France, several Socialist parties existed and each one claimed to be the enly true Socialist standard-bearer. Each had its historical and logical growth, each corresponded to a side of the great social problem, and none covered the whole question. Each cor responded to a certain way of thinking of the human mind, each promoted one of the means of Socialist tactics, but as in Germany, men became consciou of the social problem separately and built up separate Socialist organizations, and the people in each organiza-tion were amazed and indignant to see that other people were trying to reach the same end by other means.

wrote relations of the life of Christ in different and sometimes contradictory ways and in the very first days of Christianity there were different way days of Socialism there were differen ways of being a Socialist. No gospe was the whole of Christianity, was entirely outside of Christianity, and later Christianity was the resul and the mixture of all; so too with

The most important historical So cialist parties in France are the fol-

owing: 1. The "Parti Ouvrier Français" (French Labor Party), or Guesdists, re-cruiting its/forces mostly in the indus-trial districts of Northern France. Closely connected with the German Social Democracy, and especially intuenced by Liebknscht, they repre ated crystallized Marxism in Franc They were the most numerous, th nost disciplined, revolutionary, and conscious Socialist party in France.

2. The "Parti Socialiste Revolution

aire" (Socialist Revolutionary Party) Blanquists, recruiting mostly in Paris They represented the most genuinely French Socialism and followed the old est revolutionary tradition of the world. The founder, Blanqui, was a revolutionist from his youth and though imprisoned almost continually from 1827 to 1879 he never dropped his propaganda.

ropaganda.

3. The "Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Ré volutionnaire" (Revolutionary Socialist Labor Party), or Allemanists, also re cruiting mostly in Paris. They represent the pugnacious and rather disrup tive purely proletarian element, con of typical impulsive Parisian workingmen.

workingmen. They now advocate especially the general strike. 4. The Possibilists. They did not make up a specific party, but a numbe of ephemeral parties. During the last thirty-five years many such parties died and many sprang up. The most prominent theorician of possibilism was Benoit Malon, an unskilled laborer of Central France and a self-educate man. He does not directly inspire nowadays any Socialist party. Many Possibilists played a great part in the French Parliament, and are known now as Jaurèsists. The Jaurèsists rep element. They are the "intellectual" Socialists who repudiate discipline for the sake of individualism.

dérations (Independent Federations). The climax of confusion occurred when Socialist of the country districts, disgusted by the so-called autocracy of the Park "bosses" (pontifes), founded in several departments independent Socialist federations. It was "home-rule" in-troduced into Socialist organization.

These various parties grew from 1878 to 1899. After a period of merger and splits, from 1899 to 1902, the dif ferent Socialist organizations finally made up the three great bodies of un

equal importance now existing.

The merging of the Guesdists and the Blanquists in 1902 joined the best Marxist doctrine with the oldest revo constituted the "Parti Socialiste de constituted the "Parti Socialiste de France" (Socialist Party of France). Since its formation many other So-cialists, disgusted by Millerandism and by the foolishness of loose and an-archistic "autonomy," joined the P. S. de F., which has now a membership of 18,000, and which polled 378,000 votes in the general elections of 1902. It is the most numerous, disciplined, and class-conscious Socialist body in France. The Amsterdam Congress in dorsed its resolution on international rules of Socialist policy, which was identical with the resolution adopted by the German Social Democratic Party in the Dresden convention of

The merging of the "intellectuals" with the remnants of Possibilism an some autonomist federations made up Parti Socialiste Français dalist Party). They adver tised themselves by the conspicuous action of their leaders in Purliament action of their leaders in Purliament and by their newspapers, one of which the "Petite République," has a circu-lation of about 150,000 copies daily. Although they formed an alliance in many electoral districts with the bourThey have no control over their news papers, the shareholders of which ar capitalists, nor over their Deputie (corresponding to your Congressmen) s, the shareholders of which are they could not, on account of their loose discipline, prevent Millerand's trickery and treachery, and they could not prevent such shameful practices as the "Petite République" offering as premiums clothes manufactured in sweat-shops. The rank and file are go-ing back to revolutionary principles and wish for Socialist unity, but the are very unwilling though they advocated unity six year ago. They neglect propaganda and devote all their time in the Chamber of Deputies to mere parliamentary action, in open and permanent alliance with the Radicals.

The third party, that of the Alleman-ists, is a very small body, with prac-tically no influence. They split from the Guesdists twenty years ago, and after a short combination with the Jauresists, they again resumed their in-dependence in 1902. Their adversaries say they are mere disruptionists.

The need of Socialist unity is uni versally felt in France, and the Am sterdam Congress made unity pes by laying down the principles of Socialist tactics which must serve as basis.

On Sept. 4 the Executive Committee of the P. S. de F. (revolutionists) off cially declared that the party was was a Socialist, but with nobody bu

Socialists—no Populists.

In November the delegates of the P. S. de F., of the P. S. F., of the Allemanists and of the autono federations entered into a parley.

The difficulty is immense. to try to unite the most disciplined people with the less disciplined, revo-lutionists with reformists, "narrow" class-struggle Socialists with "broad-minded" idealists. We must try to unite people who say: "Republic, ever bourgeois, above all," and people who say, just as Bebel said in Amsterdam: "We do not care to break our own necks for the sake of a bourgeois re

The Jauresists Deputies have jus voted the secret police fund, although they have denied the fact when Bebe charged them in Amsterdam with vot ing this fund last year.

It is very likely that the revolution ary rank and file of the P. S. F. (alias Jaurèsists) will join the P. S. de F. (alias revolutionists); but it is very doubtful whether the prominent Deputies of the P. S. F. will follow their rank and file.

For my own part, I rather see Jaures in future as a prominent leader of French Radicalism—a European "peer ess" Bryan-than as a delegate to the Stutteart Congress.

Anyhow, French Socialism must have its Gotha Convention. From the standpoint of Socialism. France is nov in the state of Germany before 1875 We must unite as the German com ades have, and we shall conquer by means of united propaganda just as the German Socialists have done during the past years.

The trade-union question, perhaps,

makes the difference wider between the revolutionary P. S. de F. and the reformist elements of the Jaurèsist than formerly between Marxists and Lassalleans in Germany. The French labor unions are not so strong as the American unions, but they are built on a revolutionary and class-conscious oasis. The largest federation or trade Travail" (General Federation of Labor) has a membership of 200,000, oue-tenth as great as that of your American Federation of Labor. It declares aim is "to unite, without respect to any political opinion, all the workers who are conscious of the fight to be waged in order to destroy the wagesystem and to get rid of employers. Pure-and-simple trade unions are minority in France. The Confédéra-tion Générale du Travail has been built up by the co-operation of the Socialists and the Anarchists, and it strongly op-

posed the Millerand policy. The P. S. de F. does now a parallel work together with the C. G. du T., and they entertain friendly relations. But if the P. S. de F. unites with the reformist Jaurèsists, the French labor unions, as revolutionists, will oppos what they call "domesticated Socialsm." They would repudiate Socialist politicians just like any other poli-

Unity is a difficult thing, but it is the coming thing. The very day write this article for The Worker, there is a mass meeting in Paris advertised by bills on which are seen to gether the names of Cipriani, a Jaure-sist, of Vaillant, Dejeante. Lafargue, Dubreuilh, Bracke, Lagardelle, Lafont, and Morizet, all P. S. de F. men, of Oriffuelbes and Yvetot, union leaders of the C. G. du T., and of Malato, an Anarchist. Socialist unity is the A. BRUCKERE.

LABOR-DISPLACING MACHINES IN CAP-MAKING INDUSTRY

It is reported that one immediate effect of the present strike of the New York cap makers against the "openshop" rule will be the introduction of cutting machines operated by electric power, with each of which one ative can do the work that required five skilled cutters when done by hand. That this will have a very bad effect on the condition of the workers goes without saying-for it will mean 'so much more uner ment in the trade. Sooner or later, however, it was inevitable. A member of the employers' association is quoted s saying:
"We had no intention of introducing the

machines before the present trouble, thougat we knew we could save money by doing so. They already are in operation in St. Louis."

This is pure humbug. The cap This is pure humbug. The cap manufacturers are not in business for fun nor for the public good. When they can reduce the pay-roll and in-crease profits by installing machines. crease profits by installing machines, they are going to do it, trouble or no trouble. No doubt the plan was to wait till the "open shop" had been put into effect—that is, till the union was

JUST OUT! . . ^ ^ NEW YEAR GREETING 1905 OF THE WORKER, "The Triumphal Progress of Socialism in America." SIZE OF PICTURE, 20x25.

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Current # # Literature

POVERTY. By Robert Hunter. The Mac-Company, New York, 1904. Price, \$1.50.

Do we Socialists exaggerate when we paint lurid pictures of poverty in America? Let us pause a moment over the following statements: "There are probably, in fairly prosperou

years, no less than ten million persons in

poverty; that is to say, underfed, under

clothed and poorly housed. Of these about four million persons are paupers. Two million of workingmen are unemploy-ed from four to six months in the year. About five thousand male immigrants are found yearly seeking work in the very districts where unemployment is greatest. Nearly half of the families in the country are propertiless. Over 1,700,0)0 little chilfren are forced to become wage-earners when they should still be in school. About five million women find it necessary to in factories, mills, etc. Probably no less than one million workers are injured or About ten million of the persons among the living will, if the present ratio is kep up, die of the preventable disease, tuber culosis. We know that many workingmen are overworked and underhald. We know n a general way that unnecessary disease is far too prevalent. We know some of the des: we know of the neglect of the chile the aged, the infirm, the crippled. Furmonstrous injustice of compelling those who are unemployed, who are injured in in-dustry and who have acquired discuse due to their occupation, who have been made widows or orphans by industrial accidents, to become paupers in order that they may be housed, fed and clothed. A large proper tion of the working class are propertiless. A unskilled workers receive, when employed, wages insufficient to obtain necessaries for maintaining physical efficiency. The number of people injured and killed in danger ous trades is enormous. There is uncer tainty of employment for all classes of man are the machine; both it and the land the land or at the machine except by permission of another. If the owner does not

find it profitable to employ him, the work man has to remain idle. At certain sea sons of the year this idleness is compul-sory to men by the tens of thousands, and at times of business depressions, by the hundreds of thousands. With savings in-adequate to satisfy his needs and with his tent demand for his labor, circumstance pend upon public relief for sustenance. If he state of dependence continues habitual pauperism or vagrancy is quite likely to result. In other words, these outcasts from industry have before then or relief by charity."

Were these the utterances of an avowed Socialist agitator or of a "mob-infiaming demagogue," they would be denounced by the press and by the "cultured" public as senseless ravings. How shall this same presregard them, when they come as sane and carefully evolved conclusions of a well-known specialist on modern living conditions?" For such is Mr. Hunter, the author of "Poverty." For years his position in charity organiza-tions and social settlements has given him the time and the opportunity to study at first hand the conditions of the poor in several of the great American cities, principally Chicago and New York. His wide connections with noted economists and trade unionists have furnished him information on industrial conditions, which comes as a valuable supplement to the lessons of his own observation.

Mr. Hunter gives us the cream of is studies and observations in his book, treating exhaustively, in a very comprehensive manner and lucid style of the vast problem of poverty in the

United States The work is divided into seven chapters, each one devoted to a special phase of the question. In the first we have a bird's eye view of conditio of existence among those living be neath the poverty-line, that is the peo to maintain what is called physical efficiency. Physical efficiency is defined as the state which "permits the worker to exert his labor power to the fullest extent possible." A large array of figures is used to show the numbers and proportions of the population who have fallen below the their misery, both material and moral, is carefully enlarged upon. What are erty? According to Mr. Hunter they firstly, low wages and uncertainty of employment caused by the condi-tions of modern industry; secondly, the existence of large numbers of unemployed whose effect upon labor is to constantly lower wages; thirdly, child labor; fourthly, sickness; fifthly unlimited immigration. After this broad survey of the general aspects of poverty the author describes the lowest grade of the population, the paup-er; he shows the poor conditions and the hard lot which falls to those

The chapter on vagrancy is an exhaustive study of the vagabone and criminal classes, those who live without criminal classes, those who live whom work, by appealing consistent it obtains, by grafting, by scalbing in times of strike and by still lower and nameless practices. These are the last depths of the population. into effect—that is, till the union was rendered powerless to demand a proportionate increase of pay—before puting in the machines. Since the strike is on, now is as good a time as any for the bosses.

And for the workers, the only final redress will be found in Socialism.

And for the workers, the only final redress will be found in Socialism.

ing for work, is forced to leave his home and to drift about in search of work; he must, from necessity, live in the cheapest and most sordid districts of the great towns and be in continual contact with the lowest and most degraded elements of the population, Strong must be the workings an who can resist the temptations which beset him at every turn. Idleness, vice, and crime are too often contagious, and thus, would-be honest men are yearly demoralized and go to swell the numers of the enormous vagrant classes. As the reservoir of cheap and inter-mittent labor this class acts as a powerful wage-diminisher.

Next comes the problem of sickness tmong the poor, their horrible sufferings and the almost absolute mefficiency of our public and private hospital system to cope with this serious aspect of modern life. The dire effect of sickness is intensified when it attacks the chief of the family, thereby throwing over upon charity its unfor-tunate members. Insanitary condi-tions of living, insanitary work, the strain and anxiety of our industrial life as well as ignorance of the elementary rules of hygiene, are given as the causes responsible for most of the diseases of the working classes.

Leaving the question of sickness, we come to the chapter on child-labor which deals with one of the phases of nodern industry on which the author is well qualified to speak. His connec-tions with the Child Labor Committee have given him an excellent opportunity to investigate the problem. This committee, let us say, in passing, suc-ceeded in putting through the New York State Legislature a law restricting child-labor, which, like many good laws of its kind, has been rendered almost inoperative by its incapacity to cope with the power and influences of "vested interests." The problem is carefully presented and intelligent ly reviewed. Here particularly the author shows a clear understanding of the economics of capitalistic society, its past, and its pres-ent trend. He emphasizes its tendency to increase profits by forcing the workers to compete against one another. This competition is greatly intensified by the introduction of fe male and child labor.

Interesting, as well as highly in-structive is the treatment of immigra-tion. This, again, is given as one of the most powerful factors in reducing wages by the introduction of cheap labor and the invasion of what the author calls "an unfittest class" of laborers which competes successfully with the workers of a higher standard of living.

After following with interest the exposition of this problem of poverty, we are curious to learn the author's conclusions. The problem is not a new one though few have subjected it so thorough an investigation as Mr. Hunter. To the Socialist the conclusion is obvious. May one, reading between the lines of this book, discern any tendency toward a Socialistic solution? Hardly, The nearest approach toward such a solution would be found in a phase of the conclusion: "If these things (vagrancy pauperism, etc.) are essential to our modern system of production, then the poverty of this large mass of workers must continue unrelieved until the system itself is reorganized." Vague and conditioned as this statement is, the general treatment of the subject, the evidently Marxian conception of economics, re-veals a Socialistic leaning and prepares us for a more outspeken pro-

Mr. Hunter is not addressing in his book the ten million poor. They are too miserable, too ignorant, too degraded, to even understand their own conditions; nor does he speak to the millions of unskilled and unorganized workingmen, hovering dangerously near the poverty line—they need no enlightenment on the evils of poverty: nor to the millions of organized workgmen, who have found means of survival in the struggle for existence; nor yet to the great rural population in America, who are uninterested in the question. His message is for the leisure and wealthy classes, and their in-tellectual retainers. The class which furnishes our "social" reformers and our philanthropists, people who know little or nothing of the problem of poverty at first hand. These will find here a picture of the hell their leis-ure and their luxuries have created. Will they take the lesson to heart? A thousand times, No! To some degree the nebler and the more generous will have a prick of conscience and will endeavor to pluck from the polsonous noxious fruits. Few will swing the axe with the comrades and strike at the root. The talent, however, displayed in the work, inspires the hope that Mr. Hunter has not said his last word on ment his splendid diagnosis of the social disease in "Poverty," by a work on the remedy-Socialism.

The report of the Amsterdam Con-gress has been published in French by the International Socialist Bureau, is a paper-bound volume of 216 pages and is sold for one frame, or 20 cents The report in German has been published by the Berlin "Vorwärts," It has not yet appeared in English.

CLASS WORKERS' BALL.

Local 124 of the Filmt Glass Works rs' Union will hold a ball on Feb. 2 in Liberty Hall, for the benefit of the locked-out employees of the Mac'eth-Evens Glass Co. The price of a Lair-