the aim of trade unionism is to

destroy the wage system.

Its principle of organization is this:

Each local union is affiliated, first, to a federation of industry or national

union, and, second, to a "bourse" or central body of the town. A federation groups the local unions of an industry.

"bourse" groups the local unions of town. The first is an industrial or-

ganization, the second a geographical combination. They have built up this

organization in order to prevent trade jealousy and trade egoism; our revolu-

tionary trade unionists consider trade

jealousy and egoism as the basest thing; they rather promote the inter-ests of the working class than the tem-

the most important labor organization in France, after the General Federa-tion of Labor, with which it is not affiliated. They have recently had a

strike of all the French miners, not against the mining corporations, but in order to make the Parliament vote

as in your anthracite strike, and con

sequently, there has been a split be-tween revolutionists and parliamen-

tary reformists among the organized

miners. A merger will probably take place on revolutionary principles. Besides these two great national fed-

erations, there are no other extensive labor organizations, but only scattered

local unions. From another standpoint.

we must mention the "syndicats agri-

ers with commercial and co-operative

purposes—for instance, wholesale pur-chase of fertilizers. Though they have

not openly a political influence, they

by powerful landlords and have a very

During the last five years some "syn

dicats jaunes" (yellow unions) have been created. They repudiate revolu-

harmony." It is an open secret that

such unions are mere organized scab-concerns, secretly promoted by cap-tains of industry; they were generally born during strikes and openly

There are many differences between

the two. There are no such organiza

tions in France as the American Fed-

are not numerically so strong and they

are built on entirely different princi-ples. They are generally more like the American Labor Union, the Socialist

Trade and Labor Alliance, or the Knights of Labor. I suppose that, in our French unions, Haywood would

reason: The natural movement which

has created the American and the British unions has been divided in

France into two. There are different

the hetereogenous elements happen to

ning. The revolutionary elements have built up the unions; the conservative

and "class-harmony" elements have created the 'mutualiste" organization

benefit societies).

The "mutualité" is organized mu-

tual help against disease and destitu-tion in old age. The societies and fed-

erations which, without any interference of financiers, insure their mem-

bers, on a strictly mutual-help plan, in

case of disease and old age, are ver

numerous. They have more the 3,000,000 members. Just as Rooseve

said: "I believe in trade unions," f'resident Loubet boasts to be the sen-ior member of the French "mutual-

ité." The union, on the American plan, which is at the same time a

means of fighting for the standard of life and a reserve fund, has been di-

vided in France into two; the trade un-

tualité," the penny-sayings system, centrives only to give ridiculously small reliefs and is utterly unable to

give retiring pensions for aged mem-

hopeful features of the labor move-ment in France is that the large major-ity of trade unions are clearly con-scious of the class struggle. Many So-

cialists say that the union leaders are more class-conscious than some of our Socialist members of Parliament. As

well as the Socialist Party of France

the French trade unions know that they must fight for the Co-operative

Commonwealth and that there is but

practically always, accepted into trade unions as well as men. In the cigar-makers' unions, there are more women, than men. In the miners' strikers in

ceau strike (the French Crimmitschau), Comrade Maxence Roldes organized special meetings for the women. We

support a strike, it is inde

mmonly say that when the women

MAKE YOUR INDEPENDENCE REAL.

By voting for Socialism you can do mor than sign the Declaration of Independence

"right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." It is your duty to "provide new guards for your future security."

Then in the name of justice, for the sake of yourself, your family, and all your fellow citizens, vote to change the present capitalistic government into the co-operative commonwealth.—William R. Fox.

The New York and Wisconsin, the Re-taller Party is known under the name of locial Dimocratic Party. In Key Yark the emblem is the Arm and Torch The Blate becretary is John C. Chilly when address is all 8 yearst strong New York

The Declaration of Independen

A. BRÜCKERE.

serve fund.

have been separated from the

feel at home, rather than Compers

are practically controlled and pro-

ure-and-simple unionism and

ervative spirit.

Can We Compare French

Agents 'sending in subscriptions without remittances must state distinctly how long they are to run, Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.

Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

VOL. XIV.-NO. 49.

FRENCH UNIONISM

Comparison With Unionism in This Country.

Comrede Bruckere Dwells on Revolu tionary Character of French Trade Unions - Organization Less Contralized - Activity of Women.

(Special to The Worker)
PARIS, Feb. 15:—Trade unionism is a great question in all capitalist coun-tries. In France the attitude of trade unions towards Socialism is rather different from their attitude in England

tween these two situations is that So-cialism was born in France before un-ionism, and is, consequently, morally and numerically, stronger. The French labor unions have generally a Socialis-tic spirit or, more exactly, a revolution-

The History of Unionism.

Unionism played no part in the po-litical revolutions of July, 1830, and February, 1848, nor even in the eco-nomic revolutions of 1832 in Lyon and of June, 1848, in Parts. During the great social agitation of the forties Socialism existed; it was mere emotional Socialism, but it was already the beginning of Socialism. On the co

ine beginning of Socialism. On the con-trary, unionism did not exist, and it did not exist because there was as yet too great capitalist industry in France. Great industry was born in France during the "Second Empire" (1852-1870). Consequently, the last remains of the old feudal guilds (compagnonnages) disappeared during that period and the first trade unions were then earlier than employees in France. Na-poleon II, who prided himself on being a great social philosopher, had a temperary fad for trade unions, just as he had one for cheap housing. The first International Association con-tributed to build up unionism in

The discontented French proletariat has oscillated between several means of emancipation. Co-operation was promoted by Proudhon, colonization by Fourier, riot and brute force by Blanqui, state interviention by Louis lane. Marxism appeared about 1867 1870, but it was strongly organized by Guesde only after 1878. Among all these means, trade unionism was the least favored by the French prole-

The French workingmen carried on strikes before founding labor unions, and the existing unions have generally been founded by revolutionists.

The bloody capitalist repressions of June, 1848, and May, 1871 (25,000 Parisians were murdered by the capi talist forces during the Commune), contributed to cure the French proletarint of their taste for rioting and to

A far-sighted bourgeois statesman, Waldeck-Rousseau, realized how im-portant it is for capitalism to take away the revolutionary spirit from the unions, and to turn them towards "pure-and-simpledom." In-1843 a Trade Union Act was passed by the Parliament. Legal existence gave no strength to these class organizations, but the skill-tol. house of a strength pared to ful bourgeois statesmen hoped to

ed largely, and two tendencies have sought to control the unions—the revo dom. The revolutionary spirit prevails; there are even many Amerchists among the leaders, because, after the failure of the great Anarchist agitation in 1804, a number of brainy Anarchists went into the unions and became very influential there.

Forms of Organization. The act of 1884 legally recognized ion is the weapon in the economic warner trade unions, but did not register fare, and the "mutualité" is the rethem as property-owning corporations; they may own buildings for assembly and technical courses, but nothing more in the form of real estate. In 1900 Waideck-Rousseau proposed a bill to enable unions to own real estate. The unions protested indignantly, and ent did not pass the bill. It is very easy to see that if a union does not own property it has nothing to lose and is much bolder in its warfare against capitalism. The wealth of the British unions, for instance, is but an apparent strength, because the capitalists are still much wealthier and this wealth of the unions becomes a this weath or the unions becomes a weakness after the Taff Vale case, when the union becomes legally re-sponsible for the damage befalling an employer in case of a strike or boy-

There are 715,576 union men in ee out of a total of 5,000,000 work France out of a total of 5,000,000 workers. Of the miners, 44 per ceut. belong to unions; of the printers, 18 per cent.; of the steel workers, 18 per cent.; of the workers in the building trades, 11 per cent.; of the textile workers, 10 per cent.; in other trades the proportion of organized workers is less than 10 per cent.

The greatest labor organization in

per cent.
The greatest labor organization in The greatest labor organization in France is the Confederation Générale du Travail (General Federation of Labor), with about 200,000 members, which was founded in 1902. The minority is reformist, indersing the Milleraud-Jaurès policy and having a tendency towards boargeois radicalism. The leaders of this minority are Kenfer of the printers. Guérand of the reli-The leaders of this minority are Kenfer of the printers, Guérard of the raifers of the overland of the clerks. The majority is revolutionary. They repudiate the Millerand-Jaurès policy. They do not look with much favor on parliamentary methods: Their leaders are Socialists such as Griffuelhes and moores and Anarchists such as Pouget. They indorse the "universal strike" (Bousquet) and anti-militarism (Iveot).

elot)."

be charter of the General Federaof Labor begins by declaring that

THE MILK TRUST.

A Double-Acting Engine of Oppression.

Keeps Farmers Down to Level of Wage Workers and Makes City Dwellers Pay Double Price for Watered and Doctored Milk-What Is to Be Done?

One of the capitalist combinations which is particularly atrocious in its effects is the Milk Trust. People liv ing in the country or the smaller towns hardly realize how important is the milk question for a great city like New York, but a little reflection will

The milk supply of this and several other large cities has, through the nat ural workings of the competitive sys-tem, passed into the hands of a power-ful combine which, on the one hand, is the only purchaser to whom the farmers can turn in all the surround ing region (embracing the greater part of five states) and, on the other practically the sole purveyor of milk

to the people of the city.

The farmer thinks himself lucky if he regularly gets from 2 to 3 cents : quart for the milk from the cows he spends so much labor in feeding and property-holder, he is practically re-duced to the position of a wage-worker

The city-dweller pays from 6 to 8 cents a quart, and would think him-self lucky indeed if he could be sure of getting pure and reasonably rich milk even at that price. What he get-is often half-skimmed or watered milk and oftener than not it has been treated with poison

Sables Poisoned for Profit.

Health Commissioner Darlington this week, commenting on the fact that the death rate in New York City is ris ing and is abnormally high, attributed it largely to the use of impure milk Especially is this true of the children Dr. Darlington pointed out that, though the population of New York is 20 per cent. less than that of London, the number of New York children who died last year was 16 per cent. greater than the number of children dying in

chiefly the children of the working class who suffer for the profit of this infamous combination. Two or three infamous combination. Two or three philanthropic agencies for the free distribution of pure milk to bables and the sick among the very poor do a lit-tle to palliate the evil. But their efforts are infinitesimally small com-pared to the need—and besides it car ries with it the stigma and insult of

charity.

The New York "World" has been the New York "World" has been the sensational came. making a somewhat sensational cam-paign on the subject for some weeks past, proposing an organization of dairy farmers and of city peddlers to get rid of the middleman and at once give purer and cheaper milk to the con-

The Editor of The Worker was re The Editor of The Worker was re-quested to give the "World" a state-ment of his opinion about this plan and submitted the following which was printed Monday evening under

SUGGESTIONS OF A SOCIALIST. "Speaking as a strictly 'orthodox' So claffat, I say that, if I believed there were any considerable chance of success for your plan of bringing together the farm-ers who supply the milk and the city wage-workers who form the great body should heartly wish for its success.

"The farmers are a very unorganizable set of people. They imagine that they are capitalists themselves, on a small scale, and hold to individualist views and

straw. of milk and the exorbitant prices charged of mik and the exorbitant prices charged for even poor milk, bables are literally murdered by thousands every year in this city sione-all for the profit of a gang of capitalists, who neither feed nor milk the cows or drive the delivery wagons, nor

do any other useful work. tion is: What are you going to do abou be solved only when the wage-workers and pation into their own hands (the work ing farmer, through enlightened self-interest, acting with them) and run production on a social hasis for the public service in stead of letting parasites run it on a bush ness basis for private profit.

In the same issue of the "Evening World" appeared the following editor-

BREEDERS OF SOCIALISM. Algernon Lee, editor of The Worker, and a Socialist leader, presents a phase of the milk situation which it would be well for ider. He says, with entire sincerhan hinder the development of the Trusts, selleving that thereby the centralization which they desire may the sooner be

It is not a far-off dream to contemplate a universal food trust. The Mest Trust mow controls the supplies of beef, pork mutton, poultry and eggs. The three fruit associations need only to unite to monopolise the fruit and vegetable supply. The Milk Trust is organizing Chicago as it has New York. The grain elevator trust and the millers' combination control the wheat and the flour. With four trusts centrolling all the food supply their union tate one would not be far distant.

Why does the Milk Trust leafst upon 6-cost sulfa! It would make 30 per cent, justed with 6-cost sulfa and 35 per cent,

NEW YORK, MARCH 5, 1905. with 5-cent milk. Why not be content with

The Worker.

"World" Misinterpretation.

As this editorial attributed to him a statement which he had not made nor suggested and to which he would not subscribe in the form in which it was here put, Comrade Lee wrote the fol-lowing letter, which the "Evening, World" has not yet printed:

Editor, "Evening World", City, plan for fighting it. Editorially you say:
"Algermon Lee ... says, with entire sin-cerity, that Socialists would rather hasten than hinder the development of the Trusia, believing that thereby the centralisation which they desire may be the sooner

This is not fair. I did not say anything will see that you have mis-onstrued my statement; but, as the editorial is in big ype and my statement is in small type.

nany may be deceived.

ably unintentional misrepresentation and say that I simply expressed a doubt as to he practiculality of your co-operative plan onviction that the surest way to deal with the Milk Trust or any other sublic ownership and control of industry Sincerely-Algernon Lee.

No Makeshifts for Us.

If Socialists decline to join lu Oulxotic anti-trust fights, it is not be quixotic anti-rust lights, it is not op-cause they wish to have conditions become worse in the hope of thereby getting Socialism the sooner; it is be-cause they know how futile is the en-deavor to fight a trust with such methods as voluntary co-operation of a business basis—methods that have been tried again and again and have always falled, efforts as hopeless as the use of a child's popgun against nodern warship.

If the farmers are tired of being cheated and fleeced by the organized capitalists who control the means of transportation and storage and who transportation and storage and who are to-day their sole customers, they have their remedy. If the city-dwell-ers are tired of paying double prices for adulterated food, they have their remedy. If the wage-workers are tired of toiling hard all their lives and gets ting a bare living—and not always that —while their employers and their landlords pile up fortunes, they have their remedy too. The Social Demogratic Party proposes that the producers shall unite frankly and irreconcilibly against the whole paresite class and use their political power to de away with profitcule and establish public control and operation of the means of industry for the public service. Whether one likes it or not, service. Whether one likes it or not in its onward march is the one hope or humanity against capitalism.

NOTEWORTHY DECISION.

Ohlo Supreme Court Spys City, in Granting Franchise, May Not Fix Maximum Rates.

COLUMBUS, O., Feb. 28.-The Su COLUMBUS, O., Feu, and down a preme Court to-day handed down a decision in the Toledo Telephone case, which was dismissed. The court holds that neither Councils nor Probate Courts are authorized to fix maximum

Courts are authorized to an maximum telephone rates in franchises.

This adds one more to our already long list of court decisions interfering with the right of municipal self-gov-ernment in order to protect the profits or big corporations. It teaches the ne-cessity for the workingmen to control, not only the city administrations, but the higher offices and the courts as well, through the use of the ballot.

Consider for a moment the beastly deasement to which womanhood is subjected in capitalist society. She is simply the property of man to be governed by him as vote, she has no voice and must bear silent, witness to her legally ordained inferiority. She has to compete with men in the fac-ories and workshops and stores, and her advantage of to make er work at still lower wages than the As an economic dependent, she is compel-led to sacrifice the innate refinement, the inherent purity and nobility of her sex, and for a pallet of straw marries the man

she does not love.

The debausching effect of the capitall system upon womanhood is accurately redstered in the divorce court and the ho

of shame.

In Socialism, woman would stand ferth, the equal of man—all the avenues would be open to her and she would naturally and her fitting place and rise from the low and her fitting place and rise to the dignity of

amply able to provide for herself in Ro-dalist society, we may be certain that the cruel injustice that is now perpetrated upon her sex and the degradation that results from it will disappear forever.—Engen V. Debs, in "Unionism and Socialism."

ABOTHER TURN OF THE SCREW.

The price of shoes is to be raised, says the "Times," as a result of the decision of the National Association of Shoe Manufacturers. "The advance will be chiefly on the cheaper grades of shoes, which retail at from \$1.50 to \$2.50"—the grades that working people buy. Don't you love competition, you workingmen? It is not a far-off dream to contemplate

> The Socialist movement is of the work-ng class itself; it is from the injustice per-otrated upon, and the misery suffered by his class that the movement sprung, and it is to this class it makes its appeal. It is the voice of awakened laber arousing the state of awakened laber arousing the state of the works and the state of the works and the state of the works and the state of the

A TELLING CONTRAST.

American Reliways, Under Private Ownership, Kill or Malm Three Times as Many Persons as Da State Owned Prussian Railways. REELIN, Feb. 24.-tien, von Bu

Prussian Minister of State and Public Works, in the Budget Committee of the Diet to-day, made comparison between rall-way accidents in the United States and Prussia, showing that decalinetts are three times more frequent in the United States, collisions three and and a half times more frequent, and killed or would thirty-rix times as many as in Prussia.

the Prassian roads. The average per u ion train kilometers ten years ago was C.S accidents, but for 1904 it was only 5.07. Recent experiments with high-sp notives have yielded a maximum of eighty able to maintain this rate. Seventy-for tailes an hour is possible, but the govern exceed sixty-cight miles an hour,-I'res As The Worker has often pointer

prevails in the Prussian railway sys tem, is by no means the same thing as Socialism—or, in other words, Socialist public ownership is a very different thing from public ownership ut ler a capitalist government. Yet they have this much in common—that each gives a more centralized and therefore a more efficient administration than private ownership; and, while the profit motive is not completely got rid of in capitalist public ownership, as it will be under Socialism, yet it is at least and desires, while under private capi talism profit reigns supreme. The dis that the Prusslan rallway system b conducted with much less sacrifice of but a hint of how great an improve-ment in this and other matters real

It is to be noted, as often shown or good authority in these columns, that a great part of the "accidents" on American railways are directly trace able either to deficient equipment the employment of too small train-crews, or to excessively long hours of labor-all resulting from the attempt to increase profits by cutting down ex

It is to be noted, too, not only that the proportion of deaths and injuries roads is less than in the United States, but that conditions are steadily im-proving there, while in this country they grow worse from year to year. Not only the fact of government ownership, but the growing strength and the aggressiveness of the Social Demo-cratic Party in that country, which

continually presses the government with threatening demands for im-provement in the public service and in the treatment of employees, must b lered as factors in this advance

TWO MORE LITTLE GAIRS.

FINLEYVILLE, Pa., Feb. 27.-It 1900 the Socialist Party had no vote in this township. Last fall we had eight. In the spring election just held we polled twenty. This is not a very imposing number, but the place is small and the rate of growth is en-couraging. A local has been formed with eight members and will soon have more. There is hope of putting up a county ticket at the next election and any residents of Washington County who are interested are invited to communicate with Mike Halapy, Jr., Sec-

POTTSVILLE, Pa., Feb. 25.-Th Socialist Party here has just cast the Elections, and an Inspector, and lost several other places by only a narrow plurality. We polled 21 per cent, of the total vote, Good work is being held between Miles Dougherty of the United Mine Workers and Miss Innes Forbes of the Socialist Party on the question Resolved, That Workingmen and Union Men Should Remain Nonpartizan. We are confident of the re-

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BURFAU

A meeting of the International So-clalist Bureau was held during the holiday period. The main question was that of determining the method of representation at the International Congress. Afer a long discussion, how-ever, no definite conclusions were reached, but a committee consisting of Van Kol, Vandervelde, and Serwy was appointed who were to receive all suggestions that might be sent in, and to report at the end of six months. Two resolutions were passed. The first, proposed by Vaillant, declares that while we are in favor of peace, we strongly denounce any breach of neutrality and wish every success to the noble army of Russian revolutionaries. The second, proposed by Longuet, denounces the Japanese government for its persecution of Socialism in Japan and the suppression of the organ of

Serwy, who has served as sec Fictor Serwy, who has served as sec-sciury of the International Socialist Bureau since its establishment, has re-signed. The Bureau very regretfully accepted his resignation and thereupon elected Camille Huysmans to succeed him. The address of the Bureau henceforth will be, Maison du Peuple, Brussels, Belgium.

THE RUSSIAN SITUATION

A Rough Summary of Latest Developments.

The Ploture Has Its Dark Sides, In Outbreak of Religious and Racial Hatrada and in Tenerance of the Peasants, but the Industrial Proletariat Is Doing Wonders - Now Is the Time to Help.

Several interesting features have de reloped in the Russian situation with is much encouragement. Others are not so pleasing from the standpoint of Socialists, who desire constructive work for liberty as well as the de-

The Darkest Side,

Under this latter head come the reports of the outbreak of racial antipa bave been attacks upon the German and Jewish residents by the native Poles. In the Caucasus regio have been bloody encounters between Christians and Mohammedans and form the mixed population of that country. In the South, also, there Antisemitic outbursts-Kishineff affairs on a smaller scale.

All this was to be expected, but it s none the less to be regretted. It has been the game of the ruling class to tal ignorance and to foment religious and racial prejudices as a means of preventing them from uniting against tyranny. In ordinary times these butreds could be kent under control Now that the government is so far paralyzed, they break out with destructive fury. For us, the chief lesson is the need of strengthening the hands of the Social Democrats who, best of all, can organize the forces of revolt. bring them into harmony, and direct them away from fratricidal strife and into the struggle for liberty and broth-

The Peasants' View. Less shocking, but hardly less indi-

cative of the primitive ignorance of a large part of the Russian people and, eccordingly, of the need of education and organization, is the news of the conduct of the peasants. In many districts, it appears, the mujiks, hearing vague rumors of the troubles going on in the big cities and ill-understood talk of coming reform or revolution, have proceeded to divide up the land-owners' estates among themselves, in full confidence that the Little Father has so willed it and that the dream of every peasant holding his little farm free of routs and taxes is straightway to be realized. The Tear is as far away as God-or the Devil; what are interested in is the land. They propose to let the landlord keep a share equal with each peasant's— which, after all their history of exwhich, after all their history of ex-propriation and oppression, is very magnanimous, and typical of the gen-erous and forgiving temper of the op-pressed class everywhers. Some may find this naïve impromptu parcelling out of the land funny; others will see in it an infinite pathos; both may be right, and yet its serious-meaning is that the Russian peasant is centuries that the Russian peasant is centuries behind the age, is almost cut off from the modern world, and that it is on the proletariat of the cities that the present hopes for Russian freedom must be fixed.

In some districts, it must be udded

Week.

brought the peasants into intelligent co-operation with the wage-workers. The Terrorists' Work.

the propaganda of the Revolutionar

The Terrorists have done their work sassination of Sergius proclamation explaining the act was circulated broadcast. Vladimir, Sergius' twin in villainy, has been granted a respite it is reported, in order that the gov ernment may be given a chance to re lax its vigor and make concessions i

Stupid Tsarism.

That the lesson has been learned seems doubtful. The latest reports are that the government has abandoned the idea of calling a Zemsky Sobor (a sort of parliament on a medieval pla met in 1780) the only plan by which the inevitable revolution might have been turned into comparatively peace-ful channels. Autocracy is always as stupid as it is brute!

The City Wage-Workers.

The most striking thing of all is the conduct of the wage-workers in the great cities and industrial centers all over the land. Considering the almost complete lack of common education of of any opportunity for open organiza-tion and lawful public meeting, the de-gree of selidarity and discipline which they have shown is as wonderful as it is pleasing. So far as they are concerned the

ment is at the same time an eco-strike against their employers and a political movement against au-tocracy. In the first aspect it has todracy. In the first aspect it has scored remarkable successes. Both in public employment—railways, arrenals, and the like—and in the privately owned factories and mines, definite victories have already been won, reduction of hours and increase of wages having been granted and the right to having been granted and the right to organize recognized in a great number of places. The desired political results do not, of course, materialize so quickly; but there is no sign of abatement in the workingmen's demands or the vigor with which they press them.

All things taken together, it must be agreed that the movement is showing for greater efficiency and staying pow-

TWO KINDS OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

Since the Socialist Party cast more , in all the projects we have mentioned than 400,000 votes, since the politicians and the capitalists back of them have been forced to recognize that it is vital and a growing factor in the political world of to-day, we have seen remarkable things happening in the old parties.

The dominant parties-the Republican party in the nation and in most of the states and the Democratic party in this city-are bestirring themselve in real or pretended advocacy of what they conceive to be at least half-way socialistic measures, by which they hope to divert the public mind and allay the popular discontent which is growing so rapidly under the pressure and exactions of capitalism.

At Washington we see the Republican managers pushing or pretending to push (we wait to see which) a project to give to a government commission the power to fix freight rates upon the railways. We see, at the same time, renewal of the farce of investigation or prosecution of the Standard Oil, the Northern Securities, the Meat Trust, and other capitalist combinations, whose chosen representatives sit in the Senate and the House to see that in the end they suffer no harm.

In New York City we see a measure being pushed through for the establishment of a city gas plant and a bill at Albany to enforce a nominal reduction in gas bills.

In Kansas-the state where the Socialist Party made the largest proportionate gain at the last election-we see a still more radical step taken. The state has gone into the business of refining petroleum on its own account in competition with the Standard Oil Company.

And all over the land national ownership of railways, municipal ownerhip of street-car systems and lighting plants, and state ownership of this that and the other thing are being talked of as they never were before.

What are we to make of all this? And what is the Socialist's attitude toward these new tendencies? Are the Republican and Democratic partie getting converted, little by little to the principles of Socialism? It is timely to ask.

To that last question we answer. No. The Republican party is still what it has been for forty years—the party of the great capitalists. The Democratic party is still what it has been for a similar length of time-a divided and vacillating body, representing the small capitalist class whenever it clearly represents anybody, but often swerved from its path by the influences of great capitalism. No, these parties are not becoming converted to Socialism. They are, however, in a half-hearted and ineffective way, trying to "steal the thunder" of the Socialist Party.

What do we mean by that phrase to steal our thunder"? We mean that,

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

lecretary Loopoloff of the Russian So-

cial Democratic Society Acknowl-

edges Receipts of Over \$300 This

Secretary Loopoloff of the Russian

Social Democratic Society of New York acknowledges the receipt of the

following sums to help the Social Dem-

rollowing sums to neit the social Democratic movement in Russia; Previously acknowledged, \$407.26; per "New Yorker Volkszeitung," \$137.30; Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society, Br. 142, S. Norwalk, Conn., \$3;

Br. 167, Westfield, N. Y., \$3; Br. 162,

West New York, N. J., \$3; Br. 68, Will.

iamsburg, \$25; Br. 26, New Haven, \$25; Br. 8, Paterson, \$2; Br. 125, Cincin-

nati, \$5; Br. 71, St. Louis, \$5; Br. 46,

Rr 186 Everett Mass. \$2: Br. 175.

Br. 130, Everett, Mass., \$2; Br. 175, Erie, Pa., \$10; Br. 55, Plymouth, Pa., \$5; Br. 87, Brooklyn, \$25; coll. at meet-ing of Br. 47, College Point, L. I., \$10; Women's Social Democratic Society, Br. 3, New York, \$2; Br. 5, Brooklyn.

\$2; Tender, 50c.; Metzger, 25c.; coll. at

buia, O., \$1; Warren and Crosby, To-peka, Kas., \$1; Geo. J. Alcott, Bridge-port, Mass., \$10; coll. by 24th A. D.,

ver, Knoxville, Tenn., \$1; L. H. Greene, Berthold, Colo., \$5; total to Feb. 28, \$830.30.

tary, 121 E. One Hundred and Twelfth

reet, New York City.

York, S. D. P., \$3.70; S. L. Hoo

ney orders and checks should be

Passaic, N. J., \$1; Br. 67, Pittsb \$5; Br. 69, Troy, N. Y., \$2; Brr. 157, New York, \$10; Br. 35, Bridgeport, Conn., \$5; Br. 44, Woodside, L. I., \$10;

the old parties, recognizing the growth of Socialist thought and sentiment and seeking to prevent it from being applied in action, are offering the name or the shadow in place of the real thing. But, some one exclaims, Socialism means the same thing as public own-

PRICE 2 CENTS.

ership, doesn't it? What difference does it make what party gives it to us, o long as we get it?

We answer, There is public owners ship and public ownership.

We stand for Social Democracy, not for what is called State Socialism. There is a difference.

OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION. Social Democracy also means WORK-ING-CLASS CONTROL OF THE

Social Democracy means PUBLIO

GOVERNMENT. These two things are equally important. Either one of them without the other is not Socialism.

Russia has had government ownership of railways for half a century. Has Russia been the better for that? Not at all. The Russian government and the propertied class that it represents has got the advantage, has used its public ownership of the railways for the purposes of military despotism.

Public ownership may be a good thing or a bad thing for us of the working class, according as the government that administers it is under our control or is under the control of the capitalist class.

Sometimes public ownership of certain industries under a capitalist government means simply that the government, as the agent of the capitalist class, uses its control of these industries for governmental purposes, in the interest of that class.

Sometimes public ownership means that the government acts as manager and collecting agent for the capitalists; the government owns the railways, gas plants, or whatever it may be, and the capitalists hold governnent bonds; the government runs the industry and makes profits and turns them over to the capitalists in the form of interest on government bonds. These forms of public ownership are not examples of Socialism. They are rightly described by the phrase State

Capitalism. We shall pursue the subject next week, speaking particularly of the freight-rate proposition, the Kansas oll-refinery scheme, and the municipal gas-plant movement in New York, and shall hope to show our readers that none of these things satisfies, wholly, nor in part, the demands of the overtasked and exploited tollers who run the railways and oil refineries and gas works, and who are to-day, some of them thoughtfully and some of them instinctively, turning to Socialism as their only hope of relief from capital-

MAY DAY IN NEW YORK. friends could have been expected, even after January 22. Certainly this is the greatest epoch in world-history since 1871 or 1848, if not since 1793 The International Socialist Holiday to

be Colebrated by a Great Meeting and any aid which the soldiers of the Social Revolution in other lands can in Carnegie Hall at Which Ben Hangive at this critical moment should not ford and J. W. Brown Will Speak. be stinted nor delayed. demonstration for the international AID FOR RUSSIAN

demonstration for the international solidarity of labor in the form of a great meeting and concert in Carnegio Hall on Sunday afternoon, April 30. Benjamin Hanford and John W. Brown will speak and it is certain that they will well interpret the spirit of the day. Platon Brounoff has volunteered. day. Platon Brounoff has volunteered to take charge of the musical program and the assistance of Mile. Ducze, Mille. Israel, Mile. J. Hughman, and Mr. Boris Steinberg, vocal soloists, have been secured. The United German Singing Societies, the Socialist Choral Union, and the New York Letter Carriers' Band will also participate. All seats—some 3,000 in number
—will be reserved and tickets are now on sale. The dress circle and balcony seats are to be sold at 15 cents, the orchestra seats at 25 cents, and the orchestra seats at 20 cents, boxes, first and second tiers, each seat-ing eight persons, at \$4 and \$2 respec-ments can be had from Or-

COUNTESS IN LABOR'S CAUSE LONDON, Feb. 25.-A Socialist

Countess seems a contradiction of terms, but the Countess of Warwick terms, but the Countess of warwick alms to harmonize the contrariety. She is about to add to her other activities a political automobile tour in Great Britain in behalf of the labor cause.

to participate in the meetings and oth-erwise promote the interests of the pro-letariat. As there will be some fifty labor aspirants for seats in Parliament the task will not be a trifling one.

ries, docks, shippards and coal pits. The burden of her gospel will be the secular education of children and adult suffrage. She advocates a vote for every man and woman who is over twenty-one years of age.—New York

She hopes before or during the gen-eral election to visit every constitu-

She proposes to address the workers furing the dinner hours outside facto-

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dressed.

All communications should be written with lak and on one side of the paper; words should not be abbreviated; every letre should bear the writer's name and address; and matter should be put in as few words as possible, consistently with clear-sees.

Communications which do not comises.

week following receipt of money.

As the Worker guest to press on Wedocoday, correspondents sending news should wall their communications in time to reach the guest of the sending their communications in time to reach the guest of the proposition of the proposition of the complaints about the business or editorial sanagement of the paper should be addressed to the Board of Directors, Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, 184 William street, New York.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post Office on April 6,

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic Party of New York has passed through its study general election. Its growing power is indicated and its speedy victory for-chadused by the great increase of its vote as shown in these figures: . 96,961

In the state of New York, on account of certain provisions of the election laws, the Socialist Party is edicinily recognised under the name of Social Democratic Party, and its emblem is the Arm and Torch, as shown

The Secialist Party (or Secial Democratic Party in New York) should not be confused with the so-culied Socialist Labor Party. The inter is a small and moribund-eggalisation which bitterly opposes the trade sulcon and carries on an abusive cam-paign of stander against the real Socialist movement, which supports the trade uniona.



30 will be a special May Day number of eight pages instead of four, full of special articles fitted for general circulation for propaganda purposes. It will be sold at the usual prices-one bundred copies for 75 cents, two hundred copies \$1.20, three hundred or more at fifty cents a hundred. Party organizations or individuals wishing t secure copies for distribution at Max Day demonstrations or elsewhere should order in advance. As the prices quoted do not more than cover the act sal cost of publication of the double or and as The Worker cann "stand off" the Paper Trust, the landard, and its own workmen to any great extent, it is not unreasonable to suggest that cash should accompany

CAPITALISM AND ABT.

orders.

The acrid controversy about the gen tineness of the Aphrodite statue, alleged by some and denied by others to be a work of Praxiteles, or at least a genuine antique, which has filled so many columns in the New York papers of late, is full of angestion.

There is certainly the best re for doubting the santiquity of this statue. But with that we have little concern. What we would point out is that the whole controversy is waged, the statue is a good work of art, but over the question whether or not it is ancient.

Among the many weak defenses of capitalism or any other form of classrule-and not the least plausible of the apologies-is the thory that a leisure class is necessary for the maintenance of a high standard of taste in art and other forms of culture and for the as of culture and for the protection and encouragement of work in auch not obviously utilitarian but enormously valuable lines.

In the discussion about this status we see a real crux of this theory as anplied to the present dollar aristocracy. Our oll-princes and pig-barons don't know anything about art. They don't coulty care a rap about it. But they know it is "good form" to go in for "the good, the true, and the beautiful" and all that sort of thing, don't you know. If the experts will assure them that this is a real Praxiteles, one of them will pay a whole lot of money for it and be canonized as an enlightened patron of art for all to admire. Price is the whole question. If an Astorbilt er a trinal Athena of the Parthenon, he dd not know whether it was good or bad till someone told him, and he ld not believe that it was worth mand a good price.

e the patrons of art prize works of earity, for their manapoly-price akes on them. What we regret that the eminant sausage-makers pay out their good money for take entiques, but that the fakes are pretty sure to be had ones, that true and living art suffers in the process, that the bonest artist is starved and the public taste corrupted.

Take another example or two. There

are certain publishers who make a spe

cialty of getting out beautiful books beautiful in all the technic of printing and binding. This is well. A goo book ought to be well printed and well bound. But is it on the perfection of the printing and binding that thes publishers really depend to sell their expensive books to the rich patrons of the "art preservative"? Not a bit of it. Read their announcements, and after the account of the book with all its beauties of printing and binding you read: "Only 400 copies printed AND THE TYPE DISTRIBUTED. The same with the finest engravings the catalogue dwells, not on the per fection of the engraver's work so much as on the fact that "one hundred and fifty impressions have been made AND THE PLATE DESTROYED."

It is to the rich that these publish ers appeal—that they must appeal, because the masses of the people are too poor to buy and often too overworked to appreciate objects of art. It is to the rich that they appeal, and the rich as often as the poor, are crassly stupid and vulgar. The result is that most of these "limited editions" of books, en gravings, and the like are monuments humbugs and that the man who really cares for art in printing or book-bind ing or engraving or anything of the

sort takes a back seat. There is a vestige of truth in the theory that leisure classes have served socially useful purpose by encourag ing art and culture-just a modicum truth, in the past. Even in the past the greatest periods of art and culture have been the periods of nearest ap proach to democracy, and the greatest works of art have grown out of the communal life, not out of the patron age of rulers. But what truth there i in the theory as applied to the past quite evaporates when we apply it to the present. The rich "patrons" and "collectors" to-day are nothing but the corrupters of art. True art and colture-whether in architecture sculp ture, painting, the drama, poetry, o other fields-barely struggles for an ex istence to-day and will flourish only when the people shall cease to be di vided into workers and enjoyers, when all shall be comrade-workers, when all shall work for the sake of the thing to be done and not under the lash o the bread-master, when the interest of one shall be harmonized with the in terests of all, and all shall have leisure to think and enjoy as well as to foll and produce.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM: WHAT AND WHY?-II.

Under this headline last week w tried to show, in answer to question from a correspondent, why Socialism must be international, why in order to trlumph securely in any one country it must at the same time triumph in at least a number of the other principal countries; why, accordingly, the So cialist movement must be internation al, in order that its triumph may be easier and more secure; and we explained that when we say that Socialism will be international, we do no mean that national distinctions will be wiped out and a world-wide adminis tration imposed but that it will be in ternational in much the same sens that capitalism now is.

But there were several other ques tions which lack of space compelled u to postpone. Our correspondent asks

"If Socialism were universal, would we have to help the weaker and in-ferior races? Would commerce between nations cease under Socialism? What would we do with one product? Would we not still have to gnard against the competition of peoples with a lower standard of living and consequently cheaper labor, such as the Chinese? Would not international Socialism bring us all down to

We do not much like the phrase "inferior races," both because it is inexact and because it is offensive to those so described. The races which are in ferior in some respects may be super ior in others and it is rather arrogant of "Anglo-Saxons" (whatever they are) or Aryans or Caucasians to call themselves superior and all other races to ferior. "Backward" is a better word; we know that there is a certain gen eral line of economic and social devel opment (involving also mental and moral changes of a certain sort) which, whether they will or no, whether they think it well or ill, all races have to follow: and so without cause of of fense we may sport of various races being relatively advanced or backward in this line of development.

Under capitalism, it is the inter of the dominant class to keep the workers divided by racial and other prejudices and to play off Negro or workers and tice rerm. The worke of the advanced races suffer suite a much from this as the workers of the backward races. It is the interest of and not together against the commu-enemy, the ruling and exploiting class If the workers of an advanced race are mingled in the same country), then not only is it their duty but it is their to do so. Under Socialism which implies the sweeping away of class rule, it will be so much the easier and so much the more obviously desirable for the workers of the more ad vanced race to help their weaker ad backward brethren-help them to help themselves and to develop into better comrade-workers and fellow-citizens. Thus it would assuredly be for the benefit of the white workers themselves in this country to help theh colored fellow workers to come up to their own standard of efficiency, education, and social character. As for backward races living in their own countries, sometimes the best we can lo for them is to let them alone.

production, now? We do not mean that we produce more food than we can eat, more clothes than we can wear, more houses than we can inhabit, more fuel than we can burn and that these things accumulate and lie around in our way and annoy us by clamoring to be used up. No, that is not the trouble. There is probably not one producer in the world who could not comfortably use more of the pro duct than he now does. If the trouble were just that we were producing more than we cared to consume, we could easily right it. The trouble is this: We wage-workers do not own the things we work with, do not control our own employment; we can work only by the capitalists' permission, and we get that permission only when they can make a profit out of our labor; when we do work, we get only about half the value of our product and consequently can buy only about half our product; the capitalists and their parasites do not care to buy and consume all of the other half; consequently there is a surplus, not over what the people need, but over what the workers enu buy and what the oth ers will buy, a surplus over the effec tive purchasing power of the country; unless this can be sold in a foreign market, exchanged either for foreign luxuries which the rich will consume or for investments in those foreign countries to yield still more profitsunless it can so be disposed of abroad advantageously to the capitalists, there is what we call overproduction at home, causing a period of industrial depression, of unemployment and want for the workers. This everproduction, then, that worries us so much under capitalism, results not from the fact that we positively produce too much, but from the fact that the producers do not own their product and are allowed to work and make a living only when some non-producers de-

Under Socialism the workers as a body will own the means of production, will control their own jobs, will regulate production to suit their own interests, will own their product and will divide it according to the labor that they perform. Under Socialism what will we do with surplus product? Eat it. Use it. Consume it. "They shall build houses and inhabit them, and they shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build and another inhabit; they shall not plant and another eat. They shall not labor in vain and bring forth for trouble." When the producers own their product, the surplus will not oppress them. If they find that they are producing more than they care to consume, it will surely be the easles thing in the world to reduce the hour of labor and produce less.

Certainly there will be interchange of different products between the peoples of different countries, under So cialism as now. In the United States we cannot well produce tea, coffee, spices, silk, nor so much sugar and tobacco as we desire, nor various other things. But we have a soil and climate well fitted to raising wheat Now the Chinese, whether they shall have adopted Socialism in their own country or not, will be just as willing to send us tea and take some of our wheat in exchange as they are to do It now. But this will be, at least so far as we are concerned, an exchange of use-goods, not a commerce carried on for mostir and on we shall have no useless but controlling class levving tribute on every operation, we can give our Chinese friends a better bargain than they now get from the American profit-making merchant, and still go on our side a better barrain than we get from that same profit-grinder.

But, asks our correspondent, if w adont Socialism shall we not have to erect a harrier of non-intercourse to prevent our being brought down to the level of Chinese cheap labor? Just the

ust sell his labor-power in order to five: he must sell it at market rates and, if Chinese or other workers with a low standard of living are competing ists will not buy his labor-power, will not give him a chance to work and live. Even if the Chinese ishorer himlies. Even if the Chinose inhorer him-celf does not come into the county, if his product comes to, selling at a low-er price, it may have the same effect. While capitalism lasts, it is to the in-lament of the wage-marker to have such competition restricted, if possible. But

this is because the worker is a wage worker, because he does not control his own employment and because he ices not get back the value of his product but only the market price of his labor-power. The Chinese laborer does not benefit at the expense of the American laborer, but the capitalist benefits at the expense of both.

this country. The workers have a fivehour labor day and, getting the full value of their product instead of half of it (besides eliminating a great deal of the waste incident to competition) live at a standard much better that that of the skilled mechanic with a steady job to-day. Here comes the Chinaman, accustomed to working What would be do with our surplus twice as long, able to adopt our meth product? asks our correspondent. Well, ods of work and consequently to pro what do we mean by saving that there duce twice as much, and accustomed is a surplus product, that there is overand willing to live on half as much as the American consumes. Whom does he hurt? No one but himself. If he chooses to produce more for the com monwealth than his American neigh bors do and draw less from it, he is the loser and the others are the gain ers. And he won't do it very long The Chinaman doesn't work cheap be cause he likes it, but because he is able to and competition for employ ment compels proletarians to worl about as cheap as they can live. When Socialism offers him the opportunity to get the full value of his product he will soon learn to take his fair ad vantage of it and work less or con sume more, as best pleases him, like the others; and until he learns it, those who have done so will get the advantage of his industry and fru

gality. Whatever nation first adopts Social ism will be at an advantage in all its dealings with other nations: Its peo ple will have more physical and men tal vigor, because none will be over worked or underfed us are the majority in every capitalist nation and none will be demoralized by excessive lux ury and unbridled power as are a minority in every capitalist nation; its people will be more capable of enthusinstic united action for any public purpose, both because of the bette education resulting from more general leisure and also because there will be a conscious harmony of individual and social interests instead of an incessant and complicated discord as in every capitalist nation; it will be able to ommand greater material resource for ordinary or extraordinary needs, both because of the avoidance of the multitudinous wastes of capitalism and also because the greater psysical well-being and free-spirit of its people will enable them to do more and better work without exhausting themselves than needy and dependent wage-workers will or can do.

Thus the triumph of Socialism in my country will inspire the supporters of Socialism in every other country; it will injure and alarm the capi talist rulers of every other country; and if the latter combine to attack and crush it, the Socialist nation will be at a physical and moral advantage in the struggle. Socialism must and will be international, because it is the negation and the outcome of laterns tional capitalism.

It takes a university president, apparently, to say real silly things. few years ago, Hadley of Yale distin guished himself by proposing as a sointion of the trust question "social ostracism" of bad trust magnates. Then came Eliot of Harvard with his characterization of the scab as "a high type of the American hero." And now here is Wilson of Princeton who says 'We can't abolish the trusts; we must moralize them." Really, this is the best yet. Woodrow Wilson should reone else a chance. For us, we agr with Elspeth Macfadyen: "I aye thocht that a mon wfout a sense of humor should na be admitted to the

Your true bourgeois, when he once comprehends the idea of Socialism as a state of society in which industrial peace would take the place of the pres-ent universal clash and conflict of individual and social interests, always cries out with horror that such a state of things would destroy individuality and prevent the development of and bring all down to a dead is mediocrity. To such objectors we com-mend a passage in the journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pa-cific coast in 1805. Lewis tells us that he suggested to a young Indian how much better it would be for the dif stead of constantly trying to tome hawk and scalp each other. The India hawk and scalp each other. The induced considered the suggestion a mone and then answered it with the pos-"Then how would the tribes do a chiefs?"—"taking as granted." so chiefs?—'Taking as granted," says Lewis, "that there could be no other mode devised for making chiefs but that which custom had established through the medium of warlike

A Mostana courade writes: "Mostana is going to send a sound, clear-class-conscious Socialist to the Unite-States House of Representatives an another to the Senate infore the New Yorkers get a delegation worth speaking of in their Lagislature or their Christophers."

for that matter, you in the West ought to be able to go ahead faster than we, for the average workingman in the West is younger and physically more vigorous than the average workingman of New York; your proletariat is comparatively homogeneous, while here a babel of diverse languages and raditions divides the workers: capital Now suppose Socialism in practise in iem than anywhere else in the world and, finally, you have nowhere in the West so large a body of absolutely un educated, chronically overworked and underfed, hopeless and spiritless sweatshop slaves and slum dwellers as capitalism has here produced. Go ahead, comrades of Montana—and everywhere else: the first man you send to Washington will be our may as well as yours and the first man we send to Albany will be your man a well as ours.

> Our attention is called, through clip pings from Pittsburg newspapers, to series of lectures on (or against) Social ism in that city by one Rev. Father

> Miller of Sharpsville. First comes an advance notice of the course, in which it is stated that the Reverend Father "takes the position have any foothold in America." Four hundred and forty thousand votes, we suppose, do not constitute a "foot hold." But, we are inclined to ask why, if Socialism has no footbold here does he lecture against it? Why not lecture against capitalism, which has a footbold with both fe Ah, but capitalism pays tithes. Is that

Then we have the report of the first

lecture. From this we perceive the Reverend Father knows the of what lazy college students affection ately name the "pony." It would be too much trouble for him to attend So cialist meetings and read Socialist papers as a means of finding out what real live Socialism in the United States is to-day; or perhaps it would be derog-atory to his dignity. He has an easier pleasanter way. He reads a bool by a German priest, one Victor Cathrein, S. J. (which we shall soon view) and his whole lecture is simply rehash of the opening chapters o that book. It is a had method. Le us warn all reverend gentlemen or unreverend gentlemen who has been assigned to the task of combatting S cialism: It is really worth your while to do some "original research," to go out on the street-corner or into the din-gy, stuffy, cheap halls where workingmen meet, and study Socialism as it Then combat it and refute it is a can. Don't forget that Socialism HAS a foothold in this country, that it is a live thing, and that you can't "shoo' the American workingman away from it by holding up an acade

A PRESS CANARD.

The "Sun," "Tribune," and "Herald" last Sunday and the "Post" on Monday published a story to the effect that a number of Social Democrats—Eugen V. Debs and W. J. Ghent being named -with certain Populists Radical Den rats, and Hearst representatives and held a secret conference at Robert Hunter's home (the "Sun" said at the of J. G. Phelps Stokes), to devise plans for a "union of radical forces to nominate Judge Scabury for Mayo

Letters pointing out the falsity and absurdity of the report were sent to all of the papers named, but only the "Post" was honest enough to make the correction.

To those who know the Social Denie cratic Party it is unnecessary to say that the report was absolutely untrue; to those who are interested in the party but do not know it well it may be said that the Social Democratic Party never fuses with other parties nor endorses their candidates nor allows its candidates to accept endorsements from them; absolute independence is its fundamental rule. Moreover, its fundamental rule. dence is its fundamental rule. More over, the Social Democratic Party is its rauk and file, and even i some of its members should be so fool ish as to make such an agreen witt Populists or others, they could "deliver the goods" but would

The sole foundation for the repor is in the fact that last Saturday sev eral Social Democrats together with several men of other ways of thinking were the guests of Mr. Hunter. The those present, and can speak with cer-tainty. Comrade Debs was not there. Neither was Mr. Watson nor Mr. Darrow, as reported. The gathering was not a secret political conference sense whatsoever. The name of Judge NOTE, COMMENT AND ANSWER

Your true housester when the coming city campaign discussed at all. The principles and tactics of the Social Democratic Party were discuss difference between our position and that of reformers or opportunists of any sort clearly explained to those who wished to be informed on the subject.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT.

Circulation of The Worker Makes Very Ussatisfactory Showing This Time-Bale of Single Subscriptions Only Ten.

The following table shows in detail he circulation of The Worker for the last two weeks: Week ending

or at retail 1,296 1,580

AN ELEMENTARY COURSE IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

XII.—The Alternation of Prosperity and Hard Times a Natural Feature of Capitalism-How It Hastens Concentration-Effects of Trustification on Crises.

fThis is one of a series of articles, be- ; cupt toward a systematic and correct an yet popular statement of the fundamenta esistance 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 have pertinent questions suggested by these articles are invited to write to the Editor of The Worker, and are assured that

XII.-Economic Crises.

It is generally recognized by ordin-ary observers and more especially by students of economic history that per-iods of prosperity and depression after-mate with remarkable regularity. What is the explanation of this? Why, in a country where capitalism is well es-tablished and general conditions favor its development, do not industry and business keep up a steady forward march, instead of oscillating, at p iods of a few years. like the waves of the sea? Why, in an era of great pros perity, does the practical business man, as well as the student of eco nomics, look forward to a period of hard times as something as inevitable as the coming of winter after summer The movement is too regular and wide spread to be considered accidental of to be explained by superficial causes We are bound to suppose that it has its cause in the very nature of m and that we can, by examining the facts of capitalism, discover the

law of these economic crises.

Let us again ask the render to fix in his mind the essential nature of capitalism—the competitive production of commodities by wage-labor. Let him remember that, under capitalism. goods are not produced directly for ase, but for sale in a general market; that industry is not controlled by the producers, but by the owners of the means of production, who are at once employers of labor and sellers of con modities; and that their motion causing goods to be produced is simply the making of profits by the sale of Now let us suppose industry in a

or average condition. Each capitalist is trying to enlarge his business to reduce cost of production in order a larger share of the market. Even if some of the capitalists are willing to "let well enough alone," they cannot do so; they must join in the struggle or be pushed to the wall. Every largement of plant, every introduction of new machinery, every increase of the total product resulting therefrom compels yet other enlargements of plant, further introduction of machin ery, and still greater increase of the product. Some—those with smaller capital, perhaps, or with poorer judgment and less enterprise, or with worse luck—full to keep up with the onward rush and have to go out of business even in this period of increa ng prosperity. But generally the to of hope and effort; all available capital is pressed into service, available labor is employed, work rushed at the highest speed; wage ise or at worst, do not fall much and loyment is steady; prices rise; pro fits rise enormously

But there is a limit to this piling up of products. The limit is set, not by the possibilities of production, but by the possibilities of sale at profitable prices. Production may be doubled trebled, quadrupled; but the market es not expand proportion were well for the capitalists if they could keep the product within the ca-pacity of a profitable market, but that is impossible, just because each capi talist is trying to fill the whole market, regardless of what all the others are doing; each knows that some mus fail, but each hopes to be one of thos

Just how far the expansion dustry can be carried depends or circumstances. But sooner or under any circumstances, the point of overproduction must be reached. This does not mean that more goods are produced than the people are willing to use; it means that mor goods are produced than the people can and will buy.

The purchasing power of the wage workers is liffited by the smallness of their wages; if their wages are but half the value of their product, ob viously they cannot buy back more than half the things they have made and, as we have already shown, the proportion of the whole people and eir wages constitute an ever smaller share of the whole value produced. So far as they are concerned, then, not only is the capacity of the market strictly limited, but it tends to shrink rather than to grow. As for the capitalists, they are relatively few in num their purchasing power is ample, they do not desire to buy all the remaining goods, for they cannot or do not care to consume them. So the market be-comes "glutted." The amount of food, clething, fuel, furniture, and articles of all sorts thrown into the market for arie comes to exceed the amount that all the workers together can afford to buy at profitable prices plus the amount that all the capitalists togeth-

er care to buy.

The climax of the era of pro has been reached. The market break Prices are cut, to stimulate demand. Goods are sold at smaller profits, at no profit often, at a loss sometimes. power of the working class, causes the narket to shrink as fast as the output is reduced or even faster, because nize more closely to "save something for a rainy day."

So, just as, during the former upard movement, each expansion the productive powers compelled fur ther expansion, now each cut of prices ompels reduction of supply and each reduction of supply still further duces the effective demand. If weaker capitalists were going into

bankruptcy from time to time durin the period of increasing prosperity. they now go down in multitudes. number of manufacturing and mer tile houses fall; they all owe money one or two banks and cannot pay; the banks fail or, to avoid failur other loans and push other manufactur ers and merchants into bankruptcy Industrial depression becomes finan-cial panic. Depositors withdraw their funds from savings institutions; mort gage-holders foreclose: credit is refu business seems on the point of total collapse.

Thus we see how prosperity inevitably leads to depression. It is not quite so obvious how industry and trade recovers from this deprelow a new period of prosperity be comes possible. We know that it does But how? Unemployment is wide spread and wages are abnormally low; but this means little demand for goods; wages cannot begin to rise and the unemployed to get work till production begins again to increase; bu production will not begin to increase until the sale of the larger product a profitable prices is assured, until de-mand increases. Capitalist society seems to be in the position of a mat trying to lift himself by his own boot straps. But a little further study wil show us how the depression is pa and another upward movement Several elements must be taken int consideration.

Those working people who had succeeded in saving up something out of their wages during the period of properity are forced to spend it white un-employed in the period of depression; they are relieved of their savings and brought back to the proletarian level; but, to a corresponding extent, the market is relieved of its glut of goods.

The small farmer whose land goes for the mortgage, the young lawyer who is compelled to give up the h he had half paid for, the small mer chant who has to go out of business and hunt for a job as clerk or sales man—all of these suffer; their lands houses, stocks pass into the possession of such of the capitalists as have been loss, again, as they live for a while on the little they have saved from the wreck, helps to relieve the overstocked

Again, among the larger capitalists luxury is increased. For it must no be forgotten that, if an economic crisis impoverishes many, it proportionately enriches a few; nothing is destroyed in a bankruptcy or a foreclosure-wha the bankrupt and the mortgagor lo crease of luxury means an increase of demand in the market, which helps to tain industries and giving work to some of the unemployed. But this is a comparatively small factor. The chief factor in the recovery—

closely linked with the auton lation of the smaller capitalists and the thrifty workingmen—is that of increased investment at home For a time investment comes almost to standstill—until readinstments have been made, nutil the wealth of the many losers has been transferred to and secured by the few winners. Then it recommences in two forms, or in two fields. At home, industry is to a certain ex-

tent reorganized in accordance with the concentration of ownership that the general smash-up has produced. Small and poorly equipped plants are dis-mantled, the machinery sold as scrapiron; the better plants are enlarged ery; the construction of additional railway lines, tunnels, canals, dams, pow-qr-houses is undertaken. The time is favorable for such works, because there is leisure for it in the pause of or so much wealth has been thrown to gether into the hands of a few great This reinvestment on a large scale employs labor, thus in creases the demand for the ordinar the upward movement. But it must be observed that just this increase of fixed capital and the concentration of ownership and higher rate of exploi-tation which it implies tends to ripen ditions for yet another crisis.

There is yet one more method by which, along with all these we have mentioned, capitalist industry emerges from the period of depression; and this is perhaps the most important of all.

If possible, new foreign markets are nvaded. Missionaries and explorers, allbustering adventurers and sional insurrectionists, venal politi-rians and astute diplomats, all are set to work. "Cuba libre" is suddenly rec-ognized, after a half-century of pathy, as a cause worthy all the sym pathy of a free people; the Chinese re formers command universal attention formers command universal attention and the "Boxers" are discovered to be atrocious villains; misgovernment in Colombia or Venezueia and anarchy in Beminica call for new applications of the Manuel Doctrine. We build warships and equip armies and go out to shoot civilization into the West Indies and the Bast into China and South America. We forcibly explain to the saveness in tropical lands that they must

port to them. "We" do this—that is, our capitalist class does it through the government and other agencies. Thus the market is expanded, a new demand is created, and a part of our unemployed men are set to work to fill this de-mand for the profit of our capitalists, But here, again, it must be observed that this process of expansion abroad, while it gives temporary relief, reacts to intensify the difficulty in future. There is a limit to the new countries to be "developed" in this fashion, and all the advanced countries are partaking in the game of civilizing ben they are all occupied, what then? When Alexander must weep because there are no more worlds to conquer, then Alexander's Empire is on the then Alexander's Empire is one verge of its downfail. Moreover, these verge of its downfail. backward countries themselves come to be competitors in the world-market. Twenty years ago, Japan was a great manufactured goods; to-day Japan is engaged in a war of conquest to find an outlet for her own surplus. Slowly but surely, mines and factories and railways are being developed in China and India; when capitalism becomes fairly domesticated there—and another ten years may bring forth tremendous changes, if we may judge by present signs—then it will be a question of defense for capitalism in the West, as onger of aggress

Some hold that the trustification of

industry, which is now so nearly ap-proaching perfection in this country, will do away with economic crises by doing away with competitive anarchy in the market, by enabling the masters of industry to estimate the demand and avoid overproduction. We cannot accept this view. It is not merely the anarchy of competitive production that causes the economic erisis; it is the fact that production by wage-labor for profit involves a constant tendene supply to outrun effective demand by limiting the purchasing power of ever greater masses of the p consuming capacity of the ever smaller dominant class; and this is equally true whether or not that protion meant an increase of the workers share of the value produced, it would at least reduce this tendency; but it actually means the opposite. our trust capitalists will spend their surplus in unthinkable luxury, in unproductive expenditures that will clipse the Romans and put the Phar nohs to the blash, we do not see how they can avoid this inherent dilemms of capitalism. Luxury and even charity and public munificence are increas-ing, no doubt; but they are not increasing so fast, and we believ hope that they cannot grow fast enough to keep pace with the increase of the capitalists' surplus income. The hange from the anarchy of competitive capitalism to the despotic off garchy of indnopolist capitalism has, to our way of thinking, but this effect on the problem of economic crises, that it tends to substitute a chronic conditi f gradually increasing glut and unemployment for the former violent alternations of prosperity and hard times. Space forbids fuller discussion, but we believe that if this view is amply supported by the observed facts of the last ten year. as well as by theoretical considerations.

The economic crisis, then, is not a curable disease of capitalism. It is, indeed, not a disease at all, but a por mal feature. Crises are but steps the development of capitalism, in the concentration of ownership and control, in the defining of hostfi They lend society on to the point where, either through one final and extraordinarily severe crisis or, as we think rather, through a condition of permanent and intensifying crisis, cap-ltalism will become obviously impossi-ble as well as intolerable and when the proletariat will be ready and able to assume control suddenly or somewhat gradually, as the case may be and substitute socially ordered production for use in place of privately controlled production for profit, economy for waste, stability for insecurity, and so cial harmony for the now reigning dis-cord of classes. A. L.

VLADIMIR AND GORKI.

"Le Courrier Européen" has some of the Grand Dake Vladimir, who has now practically the guidance of Russian policy in his hands, or, at least, shares it with the butcher Trepoff, His things, a dipsomaniac, and when he recently paid a visit to Warsaw his ing to movements of troops. This dis-pleasing H. R. H., when he got to Warsaw he called the station master to book. The latter excused himself, he could not help it; the troops mus moved. On his persisting in this ex-cuse, the exaited drunkard murdered him. He was officially reported as having died of apoplexy induced by the excitement of the interview with H. R. H. "God's own special kindred" are queer folk, it must be allowed; and in the hands of such people are placed the lives of Gorki, Father Gapon, etc. All the same, we cannot but share the contempt of Vorwaerts" for those German authors who at the time of such Russian government to spare the life of Gorki, because he is such a sympa thetic writer. As if this was the time to beg favors from these executioners and butchers! The common naturally do not count. Could be a more cruel insult to Gorki, the poet of the common people? It is a certain satisfaction to see that Vladimir finds the matter is getting too het. He repudiates all responsibility for the massacre in St. Petersburg. Naturally everybody knows what that is worth The coward is afraid to own to bis He sees a spectral guillotine coming near. He thinks the people will treat him as he did them, and no wonder he is afraid. An interesting study, this cowering drunkard and tyrent, for the with Shaw's remark that the wor ought to have gone to the with rifles in their hands on the

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The third ballot for members of the National Executive Committee result-ed in the choice of S. M. Reynolds of ed in the choice of S. M. Reynolds of Indiana as a sixth member, he being the only candidate who received a majority of the votes cast. A fourth ballet, closing Mar. 6, will be held to elect the seventh member. The result of the third ballet was as follows:

For Robert Bandlow of Ohio-Work of

Iowa, Reynolds of Indiana, Bandlow, Be iya f Illinois, Towner of Kentucky, White of Connecticut, Lowry of Arkansus, Gilbert of Utah, Ray of Nebraska, Hillquit of New York, Muschke of Oklahoms, Fox of Main -total 12

of Kansas, Carter of Idaho-total, 2. For Geo. II. Goebel of New Jersey-O'Nell

of New Hampshire, Gilbert, Carter, Putnam of Louisiana, Barnette of Arizona—total, 5 For Kerrigan of Texas—Hastings of Wyo-ming, Andrus of Alabama, Lowry, O'Nell, Kerrigan, Healey of Florida, McHugh of Montana, Chese of Massachusetts, Richard.

son of California, Putnam-total, 10. For Guy H. Lockwood of Michigan-Hol

an of Minnesota.
For A. M. Simons of Illinois—McAlliste Lamb of Michigan, Floaten, Arvidson o Vermont, Barnette-total, 5. ... For S. M. Reynolds of Indiana-Work

Hochn of Missouri, Bandlow, Berlyn te, Floaten, Healey, Chase, Richards Hillquit, Ufert of New Jersey, Hamp of Gregon, Maschke, Fox-total, 17. For J/W. Stayton of Pennsylvania—Ar-

erger, Lamb, Kerrigan, Holman—total, 5 For Towner of Kentucky—Reynolds, Ray Ufert, Ramp total, 4, For Ernest Untermann of Illinois Hast

ings, McHugh—total, 2.

The ballot of National Com Zimmerum of West Virginia (for M. W. Simons and Untermann) was sent in too late to be counted. Thirty-two votes being cast, seventeen were seeded for a choice receiving less than one-tenth of the votes being dropped, the candidates on fourth bellot are: Randlow, Goebel, Ker-

The National Secretary asks the Na tional Committee whether the addi-tional members from Ohio and New Jersey are to vote in the fourth ballot for member of the National Executive The name of C. & Rolfe has been

submitted by State Committee of Kau-sas for place on the reserve list of na-tional speakers.

Captes of the report of the Socialist

Party to the International Socialist and Trade Union Chogress held at Amsterdam, have been requested during the week, by students, editors of pubstating it was wanted for use of a

Two referendums in Texas have been taken without result for National Committeeman. The third ballot is now in progress.

Agitation fund has received \$19 dur-

ing the week ending Feb. 24, \$18 of which is by request to be accredited as from a friend in the state of Washing-

Dan A. White will speak in Music Hall, New Rochelle, Sunday, Mar. 5. at 3 p. m. His subject will be: Th Trade-Union Movement in the Light o Recent Developments. Admission is

Local Rochester WIII hold its annua dance at Colonial Hall on Monday evening, Mar. 6. Tickets, 25 cents,-Frank A. Sieverman will speak Working Class Issues" before Rochester Labor Lyceum in the Com non Council Chamber, Sunday, Mar. 5, 3 p. m. Rochester comrades have formed a class to study Socialist S p. m., 40 Scate street. The women comrades have also formed a class

J. G. Phelps Stakes will lecture on Social Responsibility at the Yonkers People's Forum. Odd Fellows' Hall, N. Rroadway, Sunday, Mar. 5, 3 p. m Admission free. Music, questions and

financial report for the latter half of 1904 has been issued in lenter form and should be carefully perused by a bulance on July 1 of \$49.57. receipts of \$3.064.24, expenditures of \$3,704.20, and a balance on Jan. 1 of \$9.51. Of the receipts, \$1,046.70 was for dues, which would indicate an for dues, which would indicate an average membership of 1.744; the sale average membership of 1.444; the sale of literature brought in \$478.89. Local New York contributed \$1.831.71, of which \$450 was for dues; Local Kings County \$557.88, of which \$250 was for dues; Local Rochester came third,with \$135.75, and Local Queens County fourth, with \$102. The largest iten of expense were: To national organization, dues, \$550 and half-day's pay fund \$280.38; literature and printin fund \$280.38; literature and printing, \$1,156.25; speakers tien in number), \$538.14; salaries, \$514. The locals which paid more in dues during this period than during the preceding half-year are: Albany, Buffalo, Catskill, Gowanda, Gloversville, Geneva, Ithnen, New Rochelle, New York, Oneida, Queens, Reussaeler, Rochester, Richmond Schenetzing Surjus Valley Sag mond, Schenectady, Spring Valley, Sag Harbor, Salamanca, Yonkers—nineteen in all; the other eighteen locals paid less during the latter half than during the earlier half of 1904. The report contains many encouraging features but there are also some that suggest

State Secretary Chase writes un-ler dute Feb. 27: "My meetings this reek have been well attended all along the line. I should make one ex ception, however, in the case of Buffalo as the number attending at Buffalo as the number attending at that meeting was very small for the size of the city. It was in fact, the poorest meeting of my tour. Buffalo is a hard city in which to carry on a Societist agitation and the communes are not well enough organized to do the work. There is some good material there, however. The Buffalo meeting was held on Feb. 20 and we had about thirty people present.

terial there, however. The Buffalo meeting was held on Feb. 20 and we had about thirty people present.

"On Feb. 21 I was to apeak in Gowanda, but there was a wreck on the line and I was mable to reach there, so no meeting was held in that place.

"On Feb. 22 I spoke in Balamanca Lyceum any Saturday evaling as by the labor and the labor

to a good audience for the place. Much alexest was shown in the movement, considerable literature was sold and ome subscriptions obtained for The Worker, the "Comrade" and "Wil-shire's."
"In Jamestown, Feb. 23, we had a

fine meeting. The City Hall was well filled, about 500 people being present. The movement there is in good shape and the comrades are lustlers. They spring election and expect to make a good showing. They have one or two local speakers, which helps them very much. This spring they will reach out into the neighboring towns and carry on an active agitation.
"At Hornellsville, on Feb. 24, we

had a very good meeting, although not quite so large as the comrades expect-ed. Hard work is being done to build up a good local and the organization at that point will soon have a goodly number of active comrades.

"The meeting in Corning, Feb. 25 there. The comrades are enthusiastic over the results of the meetings the are holding and are ready to take all the speakers who may be sent through

the state in future.
"My tour closes in Ithaca on Feb 28, and I can say now that the nea future ought to give us a much better organization than we have ever had in this state in the past. All the locals which I have visited are eager to have speakers regularly every month, an all have been made to see the neces sity of having a dues-paying member-ship as large as possible, so that they can more easily carry on the work an hold up the hands of the State Com-"Dan A. White of Massachusetts ha

been engaged to tour the state in March and a number of dates have been made for him already. Local sec ing this tour as the arrangements are made under some difficulties. His tou will, as nearly as now possible to say, be as follows: Mar. 4, Port Chester Mar. 5, New Rochelle; Mar. 6, Tucks hoe; Mar. 8, Peckskill; Mar. 9, Mar. 10, Schenectady: Mar. 11, Gree Island or Rensselner: Mar. 12. Albany town: Mar. 15, Gloversville; Mar. 16, Utien: Mar 17. Oneida: Mar. 18. Rome Mar. 19, Auburn; Mar. 20, Syracuse Mar. 21, Watertown; Mar. 22, Roches ter: Mar 23 Buffalo: Mar 24 Gowan manca: Mar. 27. Hornellsville: Mar. 28 Corning: Mar. 29, Elmira; Mar. 30, to locals the latter part of the week after my return from the read."

New York City.

On Sunday, Mar. 12, beginning at 2 p. m., a mass meeting will be held in the Yorkville Theater, Eighty-sixth street near Third avenue, under the ces of Local New York of the So cial Democratic Party, to express sym pathy with and extend ald to our con rades in Russia in their present struggle Against Tsarism. Every comrad should attend and bring a few friends

The Murray Hill Agitation mittee has started a Sunday evening lecture course at Independence Hall, 158 E. Twenty-seventh street. Comrade Goebel spoke to a good audience last Sunday and Comrades Spero will be the next speaker. Comrades in that part of town should attend and next stopic friends. Admirator to five friends. invite their friends. Admission is free Comrades Frost, Ghent, Lemon, and Hillquit are on the list. Music has been secured.

ough but two months old, the Har dred and Twenty-fifth street, has be come an important factor in the upp part of the city, and its membersh is steadily growing. The lectures and meetings have been well attended, and penses thereof. Through purchase and donations of books, quite a library has been established. A study section has been instituted which meets at the chib every Sunday at 3 p. m. and com rades and others desiring to pursue systematic study of the Socialist ph osophy can do so without cost. All persons wishing to become pupils will please address T. J. Lloyd, secretary of the section, at the club. The nex regular club meeting will be held the rooms on Monday, Mar. 6, at m and all members are urged to

p. m., and all members are urged to be prompt in attendance. At the last meeting of the 4th A. D. \$13 was donated towards the cap makers strike. Next regular meeting takes place Friday, Mar. 3, at 8 p. m. in the club rooms of the Socialist Litera. Society, 23 E. Broadway. Business of utmost importance will be transact ed and vote will be taken on the can didates for National Committeemen. Comrades wishing any information with regard to the 4th A. D. should and communications to Louis Stotkin, 206 Henry street.

An important meeting of the 16th

A. D. will take place Friday, Mar. 3, S.p. m., at Latayette Hall, 8-10 Avenue

The Versle (fir Vellebildens will have no lecture on Sunday, Mar. 5, as it has decided to go in a body to the twenty-tifth anniversary of the Sozial-istische Liedertafel at Terrace Gørden Fifty-eighth street and Third avenue

BROOKLYN

The County Organizer effected temporary organization in the 17th A. D. on Feb. 24 at Ficken's Café, 551 Gates avenue. Comrades Westergreet and Turner were elected Organize and Secretary respectively. Meetings will be held every Wednesday until further notice and all readers of The Worker living in this district are in-vited to look in and learn what is go-

At the last meeting of the Count At the last meeting of the county Committee 41 applications for member-ship were received. Of these 18 were brought in by Peter J. Planagan, who is canvassing the eurolled Socialist voters of his district.

voters of his district.

The 21st A. D. requests districts that have not settled for ball tickets to do so as soon as possible.

The 19th and 20th A. D. will hold the annual farmers' ball at the Labor Lyceum on Saturday, Mar. 4. Pro-

eeds for agitation.
Through the County Committee 188

addressing him at 83 Stockton street Organizer Schaefer states that the Young Social Democratic Club, not the Young People's Social Democratic Club, was meant in the report two Club, was meant in the report two menuweeks ago to the effect that "the mer bers are not well enough acquainted with Socialism to become party mem bers." The former is a new club of hoys who are just beginning to study Socialism. Many of the members of the Young People's Social Democratic

Club are party members.

Districts must turn in the vote for National Committeemen at the County Committee meeting on Mar. 11. Better attendance at the Weds

evening lectures in Prospect Hall is urged. The 20th A. D. will hold a public meeting at 134 Wyckoff avenue, Mon-

day evening, Mar. 13, C. L. Furman speaking on Evolution and Revolution For the Daily.

At the special meeting of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association it was decided that the Asold meet at the call of the Board of Management at the call of the Board of Management at least once every two months and that the Board of Managemen: should meet once a month. Comrades Malkiel, Gerber, month. Comrades Malkiel, Gerber, Reichenthal, and Fraser were elected as Trustees to fill the expired terms. Dr. Halpern was elected Treasurer and Julius Gerber Financial Secretary. Edw. Perkins Clarke was elected to the Auditing Committee. It was also lecided not to employ a man at the present time to organize and send out he speakers to trade unions and oth-

At the meeting of the Board of Man ngement the Speakers' Committee was instructed to send out the speakers at once. The Secretary was instructed to request the New York and Brooklyn Conferences to send speakers to the party branches. Comrade Atkins was elected a committee of one to write up the "Daily Call," showing the growing necessity for a workingmen's daily paper and to send the matter to the labor press. Comrades Marr and Malkiel were elected to visit Local New York. A call will be issued to all omrades and sympathizers asking them to make donations of articles for the fair to be held in Clinton Hall on darch 17, 18, and 19.

The delegates to the Brooklyn "Call" Conference inaugurated the policy of having the meetings start at 8 p. m. having the meetings start at e.p. in.
sharp by being promptly on time at
the succting of Feb. 23. Three new
delegates were seated from the 18th14th A. D. and from the 21st A. D., bers, Halpern, and Wolff. Letter re ceived from Colorado Springs inquir-ing whether the "Call" has been pub-lished. Secretary instructed to reply, giving reasons for postponement. Board of Management reported that speakers are being sent to unions at the rate of thirty per week; New York preparing for the three days fair on March 17, 18, and 19; a sub-committe has been appointed to investigate charter of the W. C. P. A. in order clearly to define who is legally entitled to hold stock; a Press Committee ap-pointed to advertise the "Call" in the papers. The Conference ordered the Seenlar Letter Committee to ughout the country. The Ways and Means Committee gave details for holding an entertainment in Majestic Theater: the Conference did not approve of the cost and ordered the con mittee to devise some other scheme Financial Secretary of the Conference reported having received \$3.45; ex-penses, 30 cents; balance, \$3.15. Walter Crygier elected Recording Secretary in place of John Libskie, resigned. The next meeting will be held on Thurs-day, March 30, 8 p. m., at the Brooklyn

pledges to the fund for establishing the "Daily Call" should be sent, and checks or money-orders made payable, to Julius Gerber, Secretary, 64 E. Fourth street, New York.

The joint committees for the Fair met on Feb. 23 at 233 E. Broadway. Comrade Meyerson reported 375 tick ets sold to organization, and Comrade Malkiel reported 400 sold to uptown districts and individuals (including 183 at Grand Central Palace), making a total of 775. Big signs advertising the Fair were placed at 233 E. Broadway and at the "Zukunft" office. A Soh mer piano has been secured and Comrade Brounoff reported that the fol-lowing artists agreed to take part in the concert on Mar. 19: Miss Henrietta Mensh, soprano; Mr. Maurice Dia mond, violin; Mr. A. Silverman, bari-tone; Mr. J. P. Katz, bass; Mr. Sam Mensh pianist: Mr. R Richman mak ported that Turn Verein Vorwarts has agreed to give an exhibition on Sun-day afternoon, Mar. 19. Committees were appointed to visit organizations and business men during the followin week. The time drawing near, it important that all presents be forward enable the committee to judge wheth er it is accessary to buy anything. The next meeting will be on Thursday, Mar. 2.

The Finnish Workingmen's Society of Massachusetts in state convention Feb. 12 was addressed by H. A. Gibbs and they decided to join the Socialist Party and affiliate with Massachusetts

tate Committee. Klichi Kaneko will speak on Social Progress in Japan at Temple of Honor Hall, 501 Massachusetts avenue, Cam-bridge, on Sunday evening, March 5,

John Eills will lecture on The Middle Class Revolt Sunday, March 5, at 8 p. m., in Homestead Hall, 724 Wash-

S p. m., in Homestead Hall, 724 Washington street, Boston,
The Boston Socialist Sunday School will meet at 30 Humington avenue, Room 410, at 3 p. m., on the first Sunday of each month, instead of weekly, Only two more sessions will be held this season, on March 5 and April 2. All the Socialist children of Boston are urged to attend these sessions, in order to learn a song for the May Day celebration.

The Socialist Pife and Drum Carps will held a competition and ball on Saturday, Mar. 4, at Grand View Hall. Onders avenue and Pranklis street, Jerney City Heights. The com-petition is for the championship of the

New Jersey, comprising some forty-five fife and drum corps with a mem-bership of about 700 men. A silver plated drum major's baton is the rophy offered. The Socialist Corps anst keep in shape to assist in our campaigns and party members in the vicinity should therefore help to make this affair a success. Tickets are 15 cents in advance and 25 cents at the

While the tendency is rather in the opposite direction, it is significant to locialists that, on Feb. 9, a bill became law in Wyoming reducing the nun ber of votes necessary for a party to secure a place and regular column on 2 per cent, of the total vote cast, etary of Florida, has been succe by Herbert C. Davis, Box 50, Gary,

ia.
The convention of the Socialist Party of New Haven to nominate can-didates for the approaching municipal election will be held in Aurora Hall, Saturday, Mar. 4, at 8 p. m.

THE SPRING ELECTIONS.

By John M. Work.

tion on its hands ought to remembe

The systematic, house to house dis tribution of litertaure is the most of fective method of propaganda yet de

Milwankee was one of the piot Milwankee has achieved results.

A word to the wise is sufficient. Last fall we adopted this method in Des Moines. We more than trebled our vote

Our county had been the third co ty in the state in the number of So cialist votes. At one leap we sprup to first place. Literature did business. I do not mean that it did all of it. But it did most of it. These distributions should be made

once a week from now until election.

It is the follow up system that

Every successful advertiser will tel you that it is persistent advertising that brings results. The same idea ap-plies here. The distribution should be made once a week for a series of meeks. Then they will reach the spot At each distribution the literature should be placed in every house in

Don't toss it up on the lawn. That would be a waste of time

noney and effort.

Put it in the mail box, or behind the screen, or under the door, or in any place where it will be sure to be found and where the wind will not earry it away.

The literature should be carefully selected. It may consist of papers, leaflets or pamphlets. These can be secured in large quantities at low rates.

Give them something that will take

It would be difficult to overstate the importance of these distributions. They accomplish two very desirable

They make new Socialists. They put old Socialists to work

LECTURE CALENDAR

FOR NEW YORK Lectures under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party or auxiliary organiza-zions, whether by Socialist or non-Social-ist spenkers, and by Socialist spenkers be-

SUNDAY, MARCH 5

Harlem Socialist Club, 250 W. 125th street, at 2.30 p. m. Dr. S. Ingerman: The Bussian Revolt.
Hariem Socialist Club, 250 W. 125ct

street, at 8 n. m. Sol. Fieldman: Horrors ty-seventh street. S. Berlin: Socialism and

Morality. Yorkville, 1528 Second sycute. John Sparge: The Message and Meaning of So-

cialish.

Metropolis Theatre Hail, 1424 street and
Third avence, Henry L. Slobodin: Social-ism: Some Questions Answerd.

Independence Hall, 158 E. Twenty-ser-cuth street. J. Spero: The Ethics of Sp-

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8. Harlem Socialist Club, 250 W. 12541 street. I. Sackin: Astronomy.

FRIDAY, MARCH 10. Liberal Art Society, Terrace Lyc L Breadway. John C. Chase: Do mionism Help Socialism?

Breeklyn. FRIDAY, MARCH &

Wm. Morris Educational Society, To sack's Hall, Thatford and Pitkin avenues Dr. Hobinson: Socialism and the Theory of the Survival of the Fittest. SUNDAY MARCH &

Building, 315 Washingt Adolph Benery: Socrates: His Surround-ings, Philosophy, Method of Beasoning and Life.

Ruffalo Hall, Fulton street and Buffalo WEDNESDAY, MARCH &

Prospect Hall, Prospect and Fifth avenues. Henry L. Slobodin: Socialism Some Questions Answered.

FRIDAY, MARCH 10.

Wm. Morris Educational Bociety, To ack's Hall, Thatford and Pitkin avenues tion Played in Human Society. SUNDAY, MARCH &

Jacobi Hall, Myrtic avenue pear Fo avenue, Giendale. J. C. Prost: Struggie in New Zealand.

SOL. FIELDMAN.

TACTICS IN RUSSIA.

and Gardénin of the Revolution Socialists. This article is interest

because it gives in a short space the reason for the division in the ranks of the Russian Socialists. The whole

lifference turns on the question of

viduals driven to desperation, Piech-anoff is strongly opposed to making it part of our policy—because it draws

intellectuals who do not understand the class war and have no influence

among the masses, and fail to see, con-sequently, that it is only through the growth of the power of the proletariat and its clear and united expression in

the will of a fully enlightened prole

system can only be changed from be

low. On the other hand Gardénir thinks that the Terror concentrates the

fight against the government. It stire

up the public. Plechanoff holds all alli-ance with the Liberals out of the ques-

tion. That would simply mean for the

Socialists a watering down of their program and in fact paralyze them by

committing them to a policy which has been proved to be impossible in Rus-sia. Gardénia admits the weakness of the Russian Liberais, but holds that

an interregnum must come after the downfall of the present régime before

the proletariat will be ripe to take

over the government—during that time the intellectuals must take over the

government of the country. Gardenin regrets that it is not possible to ascer-

tain on democratic lines what the pro-letarint think of the rival policies—he

can only hope that the party which embraces the true revolutionary policy

will capture the mass and force th others to come along—a policy which might inflict great damage on the

party were, for example, a policy of assassination entered on. Finally Plechanoff points out that his party

advocate full autonomy for Poland and

other nations, only they think that it will be better for them to await the

general revolution in Russia than to

with the Russian Revolutionary So-

cialists there seems to me no question that the Social Democrats are perfect

ly right in the stand they make again,

ly right in the stand they make against Terrorism. The connection of the lat-ter with Revisionism may seem re-mote, but is in reality very close. Both spring from the same need felt by the intellectuals to go forward indepen-

dent of the proletariat, to hurry or

the natural development. It springs from the same ideological ground, I. e., ideas and individuals make history in-

stead of being its outcome. Both have the same tendency to over-estimate the power of individual ministers, etc.

the power of individual ministers, etc.—the Revisionist tries to flatter the minister or to become the minister; the revolutionary portrays the minister as the special obstacle to reform. To both the long course of the proletarian class struggle, depending as it does on the economic development, is too prosaic. It is noteworthy how the rabid revolutionary, believing all can be al-

revolutionary, believing all can be al-tered at one blow, is apt to be trans-formed into the opportunist, whose future state is a matter of the dim future; that is the ideologist in the dumps—the black Monday after the

Saturday night of enthusiasm, I know

no pick-me-up for that headache. To study Marx? That requires, above all, patience and clear thinking—qualities which such people rarely have. They want to revise Marx before they have

understood him. But it undoubtedly is

difficult for those who feel in them-

believe that they are in some way su-perior to the laws, that the individual is so powerless.—J. B. Askew, in Lon-don Justice.

SYMPATHETIC STRIKE.
The miners of Belgium have de-

cided to strike not for any par-ticular grievance of their own, but in order to show their sympathy with the German miners, and also

in the hope that as German man ufacturers would thus be no longe

able to obtain coal in order to carry on their trade, there would be a par alysis of German trade, and that is

that way the men are more likely to

that way the men are more likely to obtain satisfaction. There was an amendment to the general strike, namely, that the Belgian miners should refuse to work more than the ordinary number of hours and thus re-

frain from increasing the usual out put. This would, I think, have been

a better way of meeting the difficulty as then the Belgians could have been

able to help the seemans. But if ther were a general strike, they would no

be able to send any more money to Germany, and the result of the last strike was not encouraging as far as Belgium is concerned.—London Jus-

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the party away from its work of or ganizing the proletariat without affect ing any change. Minister succeeds "The Conservator" is brave and whole some. With its long sustained and over-flowing vitality it could supply gray matminister, despite bombs. The system is not altered. Trepoff succeeds Piehve. The Terrorist campaign appeals to the ter to an armful of its conte

GEORGE D. HERRON: There is no paper I would so much like to have Socialists read as "The Conserv We read our own literature, bu we should read something else-somethin that will bid us remember that Socialisa is a means and not an end. The end o economic liberty is the liberty of the yoked and prisoned human spirit. Traubel and nis "Conservator" will, better than any thing else in America, bring this liberty of the human spirit to our remembrance

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The Real Significance of a Bourgeois Charity.

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Those who see the mockery of the present social and industrial system and who would substitute equality of pre-eminently a favorable system. opportunity are accustomed to the usuepportunity are accustomed to the usu-al retorts. No system of entrenched privilege has ever existed whose benediciaries have not found means of influencing in its favor many of those who suffer most from its sway. Had Socialism merely to contend with malguant characterizations its onward course would be easy—too easy, per-haps, for that which is hard fought for is not to be lightly parted with. Abuse of itself is destitute of enduring force. For a time it may be an effective agen-cy. Eventually, however, it recoils upon its authors and weakens the cause which it is meant to strength.

It implies at once a barrenness of convincing objections. This, even the most rudimentary mind must grow to

But the vested interests have But the vested interests have to clear a perception of the art of influ-encing public opinion to rely entirely upon epithets. They know that abuse skillfully interlarded with ridicule has a tendency to make a movement seen trivial. They know also that while both of these may tell with the un-thinking they must be reinforced by argument. There is a vast population, accustomed to weighing reasons for or against an object; and this great mass must be appealed to with a stronger emulsion than abuse which convinces nobody and ridicule which finally palls upon the mind and loses

its power.

It is argument, then, that the adcates of the present order are driven to after they have exhausted their ex-pletive resources. When they see So-cialism growing in the face of their abusive repetitions, they awake to the knowledge that it must be taken seri ously. It can no longer be dismissed from consideration with a pun or cheap jest. It must be combated wit

One of the most effective arguments One of the most effective arguments used in assailing Socialism is that it will destroy individuality. The idea of individuality is so firmly grounded in the American mind that, the thrust strikes deep. Tradition, education, na-tional temperament all, combine to make the average American extremely sensitive to any attack upon individu ality. Bristling with indignation be resents it. He is firmly convinced that the human race cannot go forward without full expression of individuality. If that expression results in inequality of conditions, in rich juxtaposing poor, the high the low, the great the puny, he regards it as the inevitequence of differences of ca pacity. As it was so in all times pas and as it is so now, so, he argues, i will be in the future. What would be of individuality, he asks, if all reduced to a common level? were reduced to a common level? What opportunity would there be for incentive? To him, the personal incentive? To him, the pre-sent system represents the fruition of individuality. The industrious, the in-ventive, the talented all have their full chances of rising to sucress. What encouragement would be held out mider a system whereby mankind would be on a plane of mediocrity? Have not our great composers, our great paint-ers, writers and sculptors been produc-ed under the system which the Social-ists denounce? What matters it if atruggle and privation ensue? Are not these necessary to bring out great qualities?

This belief in the stimulation given the development of individuality by the present system is still potent. The old political parties, mustering their millions of voters and all the attached power of press and oratory proclaim and exult in it.) It is part of proclaim and exult in hearty edu-the curriculum of the old-party eduention. It is taught by the schools and preached by the pulpit. Eagerly seized upon by the defenders of ex-ploitation it is an idea, which is disseminated day in and day out by assertion, allusion and example. Economic conditions have vastly changed in the last few decades: wealth and indus-trial power have become centralized in fewer and fewer compact hands. A created and a vast nation of depen dants. But still the assurance is held encourages individuality. Reactionaries, whose eyes are fixed upon the irrecoverable past, say that if we would but break the trusts and go would but break the trusts and go back to the age of competition the system would be one of perfect expression of individuality. Blind to the onward sweep of progress, clinging in their folly to a well-nigh defunct and tranfolly to a well-nigh defunct and transient phase of human development, they do not see that the present stage is but as fleeting as that which has gone and is but the forerunner of a time when the race will have outgrown both. More consistent, the defenders of the system now in force. with its colossal concentration of in-dustry in the clutch of a few, point to it as inevitable and as a justification

of what personal initiative can do un-der encouraging auspices.

But neither the back-gazer, who like a semnabulist, walks in a sleep, nor the avowed adherent of the trust form of industry finds fault with the system as a system. Under it those who are fittest rise; worth gets its reward; fail-ture and obscurity are the penattics of facompetence. Differ as these two eleme and obscurity are the penatics of incompetence. Differ as these two elements will, the one who would begin the senseless, selish scramble over again and the other who insists upon present conditions not being disturbed, they are agreed upon the essential that the system of exploitation is proper. Where the one would work his few men, the other would his thousands. Neither questions the propriety of a profit-monging system nor its selfishness, its waste, its brutality and the train of other evils which result from one man having the power to profit by the industry of another. To them the system is individuality incarnate; and any other system would eradicate this free play of individuality.

It is not necessary here to dwell pron the processes by which an exploi-

the abasement of the many, then it is pre-eminently a favorable system Might pre-supposes right; cunning masquerades as high-minded, respecta masquerades as high-minded, respecta ble methods and selfishness as an or dained motive which forms the main spring of human action. But if the system is one which operates to en tomb implanted talent, distort those fine attributes which would contribut race, harden natural sympathic vert generosity, and convert the divin to a wretched phanto its real self then the system is an cepted ile. It is the enemy of individ

It is sometimes reserved to meaning folk, who, not insensible to conditions, make some effort at better ment, to furnish unconsciously an o tect lesson of the destructive effect our present system has upon individuality. Benighted, they do not see the cause nor do they understand, much less work for, the solution. Charity— that repellant word, which in its doiventional sense should be ban shed from usage—the antithesis of th justice that should be—is to them the only remedy. To subject their pallia-tive to criticism is necessary. Profiting from the rank injustices of the system their sympathies are not so dulled that they do not feel a sentiment of human ity for the miserable; but far from tak ing a stern stand to change the system which produces this inequality of op portunity, they hand out in the forof charity, a little of the profits which the system yields and rest comfort able in the conviction that they have brought sunshine into a few lives. Doubtless it was this spirit that ani

mated a few worthy persons in estab-lishing on East Third street in New York City a music school settlement The managers of the settlement re evident satisfaction be they have picked up in the squalor of ment houses children who, upo encouragement, revealed remarkable musical talent. Some of these children had to work; all were of the poorest of the poor. Without money enough to pay for tuition, without stimulation or encouragement, their rare powers well-nigh perverted by a chilling at-mosphere and a forbidding environment, their deep aspirations almos crushed by the iron pressure of pover ty, these children must have gone to irtual waste had their powers no been accidentally perceived in time and nurtured. A somewhat similar in stitution has been established in an up town section by a rich young man These institutions were described in recent number of the journal "Charlities" as "Talent-Saving Stations."

The real significance of the state which these charities have been founded to relieve seems to be utterly los on their charitable patrons.

The few children whose talents have been recognized and ministered to ar but isolated, infinitesimal examples o ment would be far from uncommo were a system in force whereby the brought out inste the worst. Inherent greatness is no intriusically a rarity. The fact that it seems so does not prove the race lowly plain surmounted by a few tow peaks, but it does ter an absolute lack of equality of oppor tunity. It is not only highly reason able to suppose but sometimes it oc curs to actual observation that in tene ment and factory and mine there are children and men and women in wh nature has implanted a talent something or other. The grind to which they are subjected, the sordid tearing conditions which rack their minds and envelop their life, conspire or kill off those gifts which, properly developed, would have blossomed forth into all their designed

Full many a gem of purest ray The dark, unfathomed caves of ocean

Full many a flower is born to blush

And waste its sweetness on the desert

wrote the poet, Gray. Born to poverty, reared amid its throttling rigors their inborn qualities uncuitivated, their sensitive spirit rebuffed, their aspirations crushed, how many with lat ent gifts who would have illuminated render to the benumbing despair of an existence foreign to every instinct of their natures! Some few, happily endowed with strong constitutions, o dogged will power or favored by ad ventitious circumstances, have been able to defy the forces about them emerge from their gloom and give to the world the products of their genius. But for every few that have been able to do this, many have gone down, slient, obscure sacrifices of the deadly

system, "unwept, unhonored and un-sung." Embryo talent of itself can accomplish nothing. It requires culti-vation and vitality of effort and of body. And if this cultivation is lacking at an age when all the senses are slert and the whole divine force of the mind is ready to bound forward, the effect is often disintegrative, Far from acting as a developer, suffering more often acts as a blight, a depression tion, corrodes ambition and patience and finally sinks both beneath the pall of resignation. If the child of intrin-sic talent—a talent unrecognized—is forced by necessity to work in storsuffer from the withering effects of harsh environment; to cuploy its pow-ers of mind in groveling for a bare living, then if these various resultants

do not best it down and make sport with its high quality of mind, it must rank as a marvel. rank as a mirrel.

It is a system which is, in reality, opposed to the development of time individuality. Under it the cold, expeting demands of industrial servitude take precedence of all else. The emity atton of the mind is made secondary to the unshigm of existence. vation of the mind is made secondary to the problem of existence. Under it sensitiveness is shocked and hardened and those lofty, honorable quelifies which, if given a free chance, would

THE STORY OF PLATTVILLE.

cross the river is the division point on a mighty trunk line which sends its steel arms out for hundreds of miles in every direction, gathering in rich treasure from the fertile agricultural sections through which they pass on their course to the vast cattle ranges in the storied west, and exacting extravagant toll from the hardy miner who delves into the bowels of the rock-ribbed mountain and drags from its hiding place nature's store of glitter-

ing wealth.

At Plattville were located the car building and repair shops of the X. Y. and Z. Railway Company, and here a thousand men tolled for ten hours each day, transforming crude timbers and ful corporation provided for the trans-portation of its patrons. In the ranks of this army of workers were to be found young men in the full nower of iron which they wrought, hearts as light as the pine shavings which fell from their planes, and with the light of immeasurable hope beaming from their eyes. And there were old men-men with stooped shoulders and thin and silvered hair—men whose seamed and furrowed faces told the story of and watery orbs of vision the light of

hope had long since been extinguished seventy-one years of age. His once ro-bust figure was thin and emaciated The few locks of hair upon his head, and the full beard which he were as white as the snow flakes which flutter from Heaven and be walked with a feeble and weary step For many years he had plodded hi way to the great shops of the company each morning, working faithfully through the long hours and he was accounted a skilled workman.

But of late he had been frequently missed from his bench, and his fello learned that illness had compelled him to remain at home. It was noticed, too, that as his eyes grew dim and hi strength falled he could not turn out the quantity of work which custom in earlier years. The foreman was the first to notice this, and it was himself transferred to coarser and, at the same time, heavier work, the in creased exertion necessitating more frequent lay-offs and a consequent

shrinking at the monthly pay check.

The toiler of whom we are speaking had been reared in a far eastern state and had received a common school education, which he had improved by vast amount of reading, which he had kept up all his life. At an early age, he had become a member of the Meth-odist Church and had always been an

At the first call for soldiers to pu down the Southern rebellion, he had shouldered his musket, and kissing his young wife and infant boy a tearful farewell, he had marched away to the torrid southland, where he spent four ears amidst the hell of war. Hardhip and privations, insufficient and cuwholesome provender, exposure and starvation were the sappers which un dermined his powerful constitution and years afterwards the effect be painfully manifest. After many efforts, the government for wh had given the best years of his life and shattered his health showed its appr ciation by granting him a pension and thenceforth he drew the munificent sum of \$8 per month from the dreds of millions piled up in the na tional coffers.

He reared a family of children, giv ing to them the best education within his power. He had a well-furnished home, but lived in a rented ho he could never get enough ahead to purchase one of his own. But the was a piano for the daughter, who was quite a proficient musician. The table

ferocious circumstance as to be

fabricated into a false individuality

Under it the exploited lack that equal

Saving Station.

DO YOU WISH TO JOIN

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

This paper goes every week to several thousand persons who are favorable to so cialism, but do not belong to the organized Socialist Party. All of these ought to join the organization. To carry out our principles, it is necessary to have a large, well disciplined, and self-governing body of Socialists to conduct the year-round campaign. Our party is not run by leaders. It is not controlled from above nor financed from above. That is why it keeps to the right path-because it deponds on its organ legd rank and file for guidance and for support.

is close by volunteers.

Are you a real WORKING Socialist, or only one who is willing to TAIA Socialism and veter for it, when it isn't too much trouble? If you're the real thing, join the

ff in New York County, address Organ-izer U. Solomon, 64 E. Fourth street, New York;

If in Kings County, address Organize Warren Afrikaan, 122 Ft. Green place Brooklyn:

and the family was properly clothed.

Finally the children were all married and drifted to different parts of the country and in turn had children of their own. The father had always been an enthusiastic adherent of the Republican party. In his younger days he had marched in the procession and carried a torch and later he was to be found at all the campaign meetings anxious to toss up his hat and cheer as traitors and when the Socialists be gan to grow in numbers and attract at-tention, he denounced them as preach-ers of the doctrine of discontent and conspirators against the government He said that we had the greatest gov ernment on the face of the earth and that even the suggestion of changing

our system was treason. But there came a time when he had become so seeble that the foreman in the great shop decided that he could no longer earn even the meagre wage which he was receiving, so the old servant was informed that his services were no longer needed. With heavy steps the aged man made his way home to inform his life partner of the misfortune that had befallen them Blank despairmantled her countenance as she heard the dread, though by no

He was too old to obtain other em-ployment, and the few dollars which they had saved were soon exhausted, though the strictest economy was ex-

They now had but the meagre tance of \$8 per month to live upon, so they sold of their furniture and went to visit their children. These were all willing to do what they could for the old folks, but they made no more than was absolutely necessary for the main-teance of their own families, so the parents had not the heart to stay very lespair overtook them, and the aged wife going into a room at the hou daughter one day, found the hi band and father dead in a chair, his

beloved Bible lying open on his knee. She took him back to Plattville where he was laid to rest in the old etery on the hill, and where she was not long in following him.

Header, this is a true story, and the life tragedy of which it tells is being enacted every day. Not only in Plattville, but all over this wealth-teeming t. You can pick out the char acters in the drama, right in your own

lay would give all persons all the com forts and enjoyments of life, and al-low them to retire on a pension at the age of fifty, thousands die every year for the lack of the necessaries and countless numbers of feeble and decrepit old men are tolling their lives when they should be living in comfort and ease, enjoying the golden sunset of a useful life.

It is well enough to say that "noth-ing is impossible in America;" that "every boy born under the Stars and Stripes has a chance to be president" and that "every man is the architect of his own fortunes." But these statenents are not merely platitudes ire lies. There are many more things impossible in America. It seems to be impossible for all men to be capital ists. Some must toll, and under the present system, the unfortunate nust work is more apt to die is pov-

erty than otherwise.

Men have different endowments and emperaments, and under the present system they have not an equal oppor tunity, no matter how many capital-istic orators and writers may declare

to the contrary.

Never will men have an equal oppor tunity, never will homeless wanderers cease to starve, never will feeble men and weak children cease to slave till Socialism shall prevail," when justice and equality, and the brotherhood of shall live and exist in the operative Commonwealth.-The Regis

Poor little children that work all day— Far from the meadows, far from the birds, Far from the beautiful silent words ity of opportunity which is necessary to bring out the best in them and to give each his rightful chance of spon-taneous development. When mankind Laughter is gone from your old young eye Gone from the lips with the dimples sweet, Gone with the song of the little feet-

emancipates itself from the enthrall- As light in winter dies. -with only the years at ten? It will, among other enlightened acts, make itself collectively and as a func-tion of the sway of justice, a "Talent-

Did the day turn back to the night so s Part of the monster things that turn; Less than a lever, less than a wheel! Pity you were not wrought of steel, To save the pence you earn! Add the column, are, foot the gain-Ye that barter in children's lives, To balance gold with pain?

THE SOCIALIST'S INSPIRATION. As we look abroad and see things as they are, the capitalists intrenched and forti-ded and the workers impoverished, igno-rant and in bondage, we are apt to be im-If YOU are a Socialist, we want YOU. It is your DITTY to Join, to do your little part in the work, to contribute your little part in the work, to contribute your little share to the expense, and to excrete your equal inducers a secretary to the particular to the National Committee, 5 cents to the State Committee, and the rest to the local or its subdivisions. When a member is unside 40 pay by reason of sickness or unemittee to the your particular to the particular to pa but as we become grounded in the Socialcess of economic determinism and grass intion, the magnitude of the undertaking far from daunting the Socialist spirit, ap-peals to each comrade to enlist in the strupfar from daunting the conflict and the immedsurable good that lies atent resources are developed and his blood thrills with new life as he feels himself rising to the majesty of a man.—Eugene V. Debs, in "Unionism and Social-

THE PROSTITUTION OF LIBERTY.

It is here, where the lamp of liberty has shed her holicat light; here, where after the grouning of the centuries every man has

MARKED PASSAGES

FROM GOOD AUTHORS

IV .-- From Edward Carpenter's "Civilization, Its Cause and Cure."

In our modern life we find the unity I all land was held in common and in its place warfare of classes and individuals, abnormal development of some to the detriment of others, and onsumption of the organism by mass es of social parasites. If the word disease is applicable anywhere, I should say it is—both in its direct and in its derived sense—to the civilized societies of to-day.

All down the Christian centuries we

find this strange sense of inward strife and discord developed, in marked contrast to the nalve insouciance of the pagan and primitive world; and what glorying in this consciousness s strangest, we even find peop it may be the harbinger of bet ter things to come, is and can be in itself only the loss of unity and therefore of ill-health, in the very center of numan life.

The growth of wealth, it is shown

and with it the conception of private property, brought on certain very definite new forms of social life; it de-stroyed the ancient system of society based upon the gens, that is, a society of equals founded upon blood-relation-ship, and introduced a society of class es founded upon differences of mate-rial possession; it destroyed the aucient system of mother-right and inheritance through the female line, and turned the woman into the property of the man; it brought with it private ownership of land, and so created a class of landless aliens, and a whole system of rent, mortgage, interest ; it introduced slavery, merido and wage-labor, which are only varione forms of the dominance of one class over another; and to rivet these authorities it created the state and the

To the early man the notion of his having a separate individuality could only with difficulty occur; hence he troubled himself not with the suicida questions concerning the whence and whither which now vex the modern mind. For what causes these ques tions to be asked is simply the wretch ed feeling of isolation, actual or pros pective, which man necessarily has separate atom in this immense uni e-the gulf which lies below seem ingly ready to swallow him, and the anxiety to find some mode of escape. But when he feels once more that he that he himself, is ubsolutely indivisi ble and indestructible a part of this great whole-why then the into which he can possibly fall.

To-day civilization is no longer iso

lated as in the ancient world, in sur-rounding floods of savagery and bar parism, but it practically covers the clobe, and the outlying savagery is so feeble as not possibly to be a menace to it. For the first time in history civilization is now practically continu first time can we descry forming in continuous line within its very strature the forces which are destined destroy it and to bring about the new order. While hitherto isolated com-munisms, as suggested, have existed ere and there from time to time, not masses and the thinkers of all advanced nations of the world are consciously feeling their way towards the establishment of a socialistic and com unal life on a vast scale. The pres ent competitive society is more more rapidly becoming a mere dead formula and husk within which the outlines of the new and human society are already discernible.

It seems as if society as it progresses from point to point, forms ideals—just as the individual does. At any moment each person, consciously or un-consciously, has an ideal in his mind toward which he is working (hence the importance of literature). Similar-ly, society has an ideal in its mind. ese ideals are tangents or vanishing ciety is moving at the time. It doe not reach its ideal but it goes in that direction-then, after a time the direction of its movement changes, and dt has a new ideal.

The judge pronounces sentence on the prisoner now, but society in its turn and in the lapse of years pro-nounces sentence on the judge. It holds in its hand a new canon, a new code of morals, and consigns its for-mer representative and the law which be administered to a limbo of con-

When the ideal of society is material gain, or possession, as it is largely to-day, the object of its special condemnation is the thief-not the rich thief, for he is already in possession and therefore respectable, but the poor thief. There is nothing to show that the poor thief is really more immoral or unsocial than the respectable or unsocial than the respectable money-grubber; but if is very clear that the money-grubber has been floating with the current of society, while the poor man has been swim-ming against it, and so has been worsted. Or when, as to-day, society

The outcast of one age is the hero of another. In execration they nailed Roger Bacon's manuscript out in the and unhonored grave—yet to-day he is regarded as a ploneer of human thought. The hated Christian holding his ill-famed love four his ill-famed love feast in the dark his ill-famed love feast in the dark-ness of the catacombs has climbed on to the throne of St. Feter and the world. The Jew money lender whom Front-de-Boeuf could torture with im-punity is become a Rottschild-guests of princes and instigators of commer-cial wars; and Shylock is now a high-ity. respectable railway bondholder. And the accepted of one age is the criminal of the pext.

time in the future when such or simi-

lar rights shall be restored.

The ascetic and monastic ideal of now regarded as foolish, if not wicked; and poverty, which in many times and places, has been held in honor as the garb of honesty, is condemned as criminal and indecent. Nomadism—if accompanied by poverty—is criminal in modern society. To-day the gypsy and the tramp are hunted down. To have no settled habitation, or worse still, no place to lay your head, are suspicious matters. We close even suspicious matters. We close ever our outhouses and barns against the son of man, and so to us the son of man comes not. And yet—at one time, and in one stage of human progress—the nomadic state is the rule and the settler is then the criminal. His crops are fired and his cattle driven What right has he to lay a limit to the hunting grounds, or to spoil the wild free life of the plains with his dirty agriculture?

We call a man a criminal not be cause he violates any eternal code of morality—for there exists no such thing—but because he violates the rulng code of his time, and this depende argely on the ideal of the time. Spartans appear to have permitted theft because they thought that thievmilitary dexterity and discouraged the accumulation of private wealth. They looked upon the latter as a great evil. But to-day the accumulation of private realth is our great good and the thief s looked upon as the evil. When, nowever, we find, as the historians of probably passing through a parenthetical stage of private property from a stage of communism in the past to a stage of more highly developed com nunism in the future, it become lear that the thief (and the poache before mentioned) is that person who is protesting against the too exclusive domination of a passing ideal. Whatever should we do without him? He s keeping open for us, as I think Hinton expressed it, the path to a reger erate society, and is more useful to that end than many a platform orator. He it is that makes care to sit upon the crupper of wealth, and so in course of time, causes the burden and bother of private property to be ome so intolerable that society gladly casts it down on common grou Vast as is the machinery of law, and multifarious the ways in which i seeks to crush the thief, it has signal y failed, and fails ever more and more. The thief will win. He will get what he wants, but ias usual in human life) in a way and in a form very different from what he expected.

The effort to make a distinction be tween acting for self and acting for one's neighbor is the basis of "morals." As long as a man feels an ulti-mate antagonism between himself and society, as long as he tries to hold his own life as a thing apart from that of others, so long must the question arise whether be will act for self se others. Hence flow array of terms-distinctions of righ and wrong, duty, selfishness, self-re-nunciation, altruism, etc. But when he discovers that there is no ultimate antagonism between himself and so-ciety; when he finds that the gratification of every desire which he has at the right time and place, and on other hand that every demar nade upon him by society will and must gratify some portion of his na-ture, some desire of his heart—why, all the distinctions collapse again; they do not hold water any more. A larger life descends upon him, which includes both sides, and prompts action in accordance with an unwritten will sometimes be accounted "selfis ythe world; sometimes they will be ccounted "unselfish;" but neither, or-if you like-both; and he who does them concerns himself not with the names that may be given to them. The law of equality includes point which they cannot reach, which they all alm at.

As Paul says: "I had not known sin but by the law" and if we had not been cudgeled and bruised for centur ies by this rough bludgeon of social sensitive as we are to the effect of ou actions upon our neighbors, nor s rendy for a social life in the futur which shall be superior to law.

By becoming thus one with the so cial self, the individual instead of be ing crushed is made far vaster, far grander than before. The renuncia-tion (if it must be so called) which he has to accept in abandoning merely in-dividual ends is immediately compen-sated by the far more vivid life he now enters into. For every force of his nature can now be utilized. Plant-ing himself out by contrast he stands all the firmer because ne has a left foot as well as a right, and when he acts, he acts not half-heartedly as one afraid, but, as it were, with the whole weight of humanity behind him. In abandoning his exclusive individuality he becomes for the first time a rea and living individual; and in accepting as his own the life of others he be omes aware of a life in himself that has no limit and no end. That the self of any one man is capable of an infinite gradation from the most petty and exclusive existence to the most magnificent and inclusive seems at most a truism. The one extreme is disease and death, the other is life

LABOR'S QUIDING INSTINCT.

Organized labor loss an lostinet that far outreaches the intelligence of the preaching and teaching class,—the instinct that the workers of the world are bound up togeth workers of the words are the ne common destiny; that their lat-tic for the fature is one; and that there is no possible safely or extriculon for my worker unless all the workers of the world are extricuted and saved from capitalism together.—Seegge D. Herren.

A BRITISH SOCIALIST'S VIEW OF THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT.

the disappointment experienced in re-gard to the results of the elections in

now say something concerning the de

light, the surprise amounting at times

the news was received that the Social-

ists had scored about 600,000 votes.

Apparently this was altogether a mis take; and, considering that the num

berr first given was qualified as too large to be wholesome, there is per hups no great cause to regret that the

official canvass of the presidential vote

almost to consternation, with

by states sets down the total figure the vote given for Debs at 401, This is surely a big enough increasfor at the last presidential ele four years ago, the Socialists only received \$7.700 Rut as expressing cialist opinions, though associated with impossibilist tactics, may be idded the 33,452 votes given last No vember to the Socialist Labor Party of America. Thus, in round numbers, 435,000 Americans voted in one of the two ways avallable for Socialists. Thi means that where, four years previous ly, only one American citizen Socialist candidate to the Presiden cy, now five electors have so voted At first it was thought the increa had been from one to seven instead one to five. However that may be. is a tremendous lenp and a sor alarming leap. Nothing to my mine can be more fatal than a premature success. I saw enough of that in Paris this is the first time in America that the Socialist Party has received recognition throughout press. Newspapers of absolutely all sides and parties have published editorial comments recognizing Socialism as a factor in American politics. Then the surprise was quite as great to find that all the faddists had lost ground. For instance, Swallow, the temperance and Prohibitionist candidate, was expected to receive half a million votes and to be far ahead of the Socialist candidate. Nevertheless, he only obtained 260,303. Again, it was thought that Watson, the Populist, would out step the Socialist, and he only obtained 114,637. Thus, in the race for the third place, Debs, with his 401,587 votes, beat his two rivals easily. In fact, his vote was larger than both their votes put together. That Roose velt was safe to win the presidency must have been evident throughout for he scored 7,627,632 against 5,080, 034 votes given to Parker, the Demo cratic candidate. The Democratic vote has decreased 1.260,600, and the publican vote has increased 409,822 in the four years. The capitalist press thought that Watson and Debs' vote would be about equal, and the Hearst or yellow press, used to ignore the So cialist Party altogether. Now the seek to exaggerate the extent and in portance of the Socialist vote, while pretending that it is a protest because Parker was not sufficiently democratic in both the abstract and the party

Of course, the great question is to know how far the votes given for Deb came from class-conscious Socialists There can be no doubt but that many of these voters were not Socialists. Of the other hand, there can be no doub that no inconsiderable number of Re publicans and of Democrats are dis-satisfied with these, the two great capi-talist parties, which for so many years have shared the power to govern and to plunder the United States of America It is reasonable to hope that some of those who to-day vote the Socialis ticket because they are disappointed with the old parties may to-morrow vote the Socialist ticket because they will have discovered that in Socialist abides their only hope. In any case they are in a fair way to make tha discovery. An elector told me that "of course, he was a Republican, but he felt so sure that Roosevelt would be elected that he voted for Debs just to wake up the old parties a bit." That this was no solitary case is shown by studying the vote of each state; it wil then be found that the Socialist vote did not increase in the same rate

Having said a few words concerning the disappointment experienced in reard to the results of the elections in dissachusetts and Colorado, I may low say something concerning the degit, the surprise amounting at times dimest to consternation, with which land been only 4,847 in 1900, now reached the splendid total of 36,123. In Illinois the Republicans 36.123. In Illinois the Republicans 832,645 against 327,606, and the Socialist vote sprang up from 9,687 to 69,225, ist vote sprang up from 9,687 to 69,225, and this was the largest Socialist vote recorded in any state. On the other hand, at New York the contest between the old parties was expected to be very close, though, as a matter of fact, the Democrats only got 683,081, as against 850,533 given to the Republicans. Still, it will be seen, the figures are much nearer than those gives ares are much nearer than those given bove; and this, it is argued, explains why there was no extraordinary in-crease in the Socialist vote. In 1900 the Socialist vote for the presidency was, I am told, 12,867. In 1902, the Socialist vote for the state governorship was 23,400, and in 1904 for the presidency it was 36,883. There are not a few Socialists who prefer the steady increase shown in the York state to the terrific leap taken in Illinois of from 9,687 in 1900 to 69,-225 in 1904. What is so quickly acquired may be lost as rapidly. When a large number of persons, who are not genuine Socialists, vote for the Socialist candidate, a compli-

cated and somewhat dangerous situaion is created. This is a problem which we had better study, study carefully and study at once. We cannot say how soon this same difficulty may come upon us in England. To the professional politicians—and there are many such in America—a vote is like the current coinage-it has no odor. It s a unit just like a dollar or a pound sterling, something to be inscribed on the debit or credit side of the political ledger. Now the politicians argue that there is something near to half a million votes apparently at the disposal of the Socialist Party. This is no negligible quantity. It is worth bidding for, and bids have already been made. As the Democratic party is in most need of reinforcement, the question was at once raised as to what concession could be made, what measures pro-moted, so that the Socialist vote should be allied to the Democratic vote. Of course, the class-conscious Socialist recognizes that the Democrat is as much an enemy as the Republican— just as we in England see in Tory and Whig. Constitutionalist and Liberal. classifications of capitalist interests ail equally opposed to the complete economic emancipation of the proletariat. But between the class-co ocialist and his organized and disciplined party and the undisciplined and the unknown elector who voted on this occasion for the Socialist ticket intrigues may spiffig up long before the next election. As soon as it is seen that there are votes to be captured by Socialistic talk, some self-seeking poli ticians will be found to talk in that way, which does not in the least prove that they are genuine or sincere So-cialists. How is this element to be weeded out? How is it to be recog-nized, at least at first sight and before it has time to do any mischief? I have heard the cry raised of "pity the poor capitalist." and I believe there is some thing in it. Though this is quite out of my range of experience, I am told it is terribly difficult to find a remun erative and safe investment for capi-tal. Having no capital, I enjoy a great freedom from anxlety, and a "slumr on changes" leaves me quite calm and indifferent. In politics I also enjoyed a similar dreamy sense of repose. But now I feel inclined to cry "pity the poor Socialist Party that has received lot of voies," When we were a hardy support us, no chance of being elected anything at all, we knew exactly what to do, and did it. Now we are terribly puzzled—to-wit, the terrific debate at Amsterdam on tactics, and the quandary of our American comrader at their recent great electoral success What some of theke special- American plain in my next sketch.—A. S. Head-ngley, in London Justice. ulties are I will endeavor to

WILL COAL MINERS SPLIT?

Rumors are coming from Colorac and Utah that the coal miners are discussing the proposition of seceding from the United Mine Workers. There were some sensational scenes in the Indianapolis convention last month. President Mitchell denounced the anthracite miners for dropping out of the union, and was in turn "roasted" by some of the Westerners. Uneasy lies the head of a labor leader.-Max S. Hayes in International Socialist Re

THE FAULTS OF TRADE AUTONOMY.

The attempt to preserve the autonomy of each trade and segregate it within its own independent jurisdiction, while the line which once separated them are being oblitand interlocked in the process of industria volution, is as futile as to declare and at waves of the sea.

A modern industrial plant has a hu tindes and parts of trades represented in its working force. To have these workers parcelled out into a hundred unions is t divide and not to organize them, to give and leave them an easy prey to the machi ations of the enemy. The dominant craft should control the plant or, rather, the working force. This is the judustrial plan and the modern method applied to me conditions, and it will in time prevail.

The trade sutpromy can be express within the general union, so far as that is necessary on desirable, and there need as conflict on account of it.

The attempt of each trade to a sinisin it own lideocratone separately and sport from others results in increasing jurisdic arife and elthente disruption.- Eugene te-fa in "Undortan und Socialiana"

—All official communications for the Nettenial Socialist Party should be nettenial and remittances made pay-able to J. Madion Barnes, National Secretary, 282 Dearborn street, Chi-

enro. Ill.

ng for the idle who roum at will, And a shrug for the men who shirk, But who shall sing of the prick and sting.

To the man who has no work.

The man who would delve if he had a mind, With a plane or a saw world build, Or would give a turn to a thought to burn Like an opal flame in a golden urn.
If the dream of his life were filled

Oh! who can tell of the bitter shame To sink from man's estate.

The coin that is flung. Ob, the hearts that break In this world that we create!

For the plan of God was the same for all, That the world was made for you and me,

And the rich, and a chosen few." And we call it fate, and our brother falls Because of the load we give.

And his sorest need, is our pressing greed; The seif that tramples him though he bleed The self, that will crush to live. Oh! the saddest sight in the world to-da

Is our neighbor passing by. With a weary pace, and a blanching face,

And we make it-you and I. -Enuma Playter Sealeury, in International

WHAT THE UNION NEEDS.

It is of vital importance to the trade their duty as union men on the political field, so that is every move that is made they will have the goal in view, and while taking advantage of every opportunity to seeme concessions and enlarge their economic advantage, they will at the same time units at the ballot loss, not only to back up the economic struggle of the trade urica but main to creat government from erpitalist control and establish the working ciaes republic. Fugene V. Debs, in 'Unio

--Every party member should earry some of the leafers "Socialist Methods" and "Why Socialists Ins. Duce: in his portet to give to persons glio inquire shout the party. The National Severary will stud 100 of either for 50 cents as 1,000 for \$1.50.