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VOL. XIV.-NO. 51.

NEW YORK, MARCH 1 , 1905.

AFTER THE STRIKE YOU STRIKE AGAIN. PROGRESSIVE STAGE. MAY DAY IN NEW YORK

After the strike you strike again. The strike fails. The strike succeeds. The wage scale goes up or down. The worst thing happens or the best thing happens. Yet you must strike again. Do not be too much elated with your ten per cent, won. Do not be too depressed with your ten per cent. lost. The gain will not save you soul. The loss will not damn you soul. Nothing will save your soul but complete triumph. Nothing will dawn your soul but complete surrender. I your soil on complete surreuce. I say yes again to something beyond your strikes. Somethines your victories are the worst things for you. Sometimes your defeats are the best things for you. I know your case is perfect. It is without a flaw. The heart sees it to be perfect. The head sees it to be perfect. History sees it to be perfect. It will finally write all the laws and abrogate all the laws. It will finally guard and sanctify all the avenues of Meanwhile you are to suffer and tens of thousands, will starve while justice is being prepared. Your masters increase your burdens. You increase your strength. Your fights are never defeats if you see beyond the fights. If your eyes are only good for the temporary incident they will not see history in the round up. What do the strikes mean? The strike? Or something beyond the strike? The strike still leaves the whole question something beyond the strike still leaves the whole question open. Do you wish the question left forever open? As long as wages are wages wages may fall as well as rise. When you measure your will against the will of your masters your will may prevail or the will of your masters may prevail. Whatever will prevails is an opposition will. The two wills mus disappear. Justice must not be mad disappear. Justice must not be made the beneficiary or the victim of a fight. We want to remove the problem be-yond the region of fight. That is, to see that it ceases to be a problem. Maybe you live in New York, Maybe you work on the railways. Maybe you struck. Maybe you were licked. May-be you feel sore about it. Maybe you are discouraged. Never doubt your fight, dear brother. Doubt your weap-ons. Doubt the incidents of the fight. your fights to lead to? Always to other fights? I see fights beyond fights until fight is no longer necessary. But I do see the areas of peace. We are not always going to settle one strike with another strike. There is something worse than a strike. Slavery is worse than a strike. There is something bet-ter than a strike. Freedom is better

up with one resolve. It will be a hol morning, that morning. It will be conclusive resolve, that resolve. We have spent a good deal of time, dear brothers, arguing the little arguments Now will come the big argument. Jus tice so easily escapes the little arguments. But justice never escapes the big argument. The big argument pay the last cent of the bill. Settles the last indebtedness of love to the heart of man. Goes to the little children foully wronged and settles. Goes to the men and women gray and old an settles. Does not bother about good men and bad men. Does not set up trivial moral standards. Does not police the race. Invites. Eternally invites In the light and shadow of the big argument. Are you sure that you strike leads you on? The only strik that falls is the strike that reduces the faith of the man who strikes. Do no close your eyes and strike. Open you eyes wider than ever and strike. The strike should do something to help you to see. That is about all it can do. It can do interest that for you in wages. It can do much for you in faith. Your task is not the easiest of tasks. It is the hearlest of tasks. hardest of tasks. But it is the mos beautiful of tasks. It leads to the no blest result. It will not do for you to reduce your philosophy to the size of must tally the aspiration and the wealth of the world. You must se that your strike is not really a strike of a few men in a special occupation for certain several cents of added wages. You must give it world meanings. Lift it to world proportions. See it in the blessedness of a general benefaction. You are not a little no body working in the subway of the metropolis. You are a divine some-body working omnipresently all the acres of the earth. I give you the biggest of definitions not the smalles biggest of definition; not the smallest of definitions. Until you estimate yourself at a very important figure the work you do will fall short of the human total. It may add up a subway total or a coal mine total or a stockyard total, but it will not add up the human total. We have passed from the parochial to the international stage. We no longer see our troubles stage. We no longer see our troubles in terms of one city of a country, or even in terms of one country among countries, but in terms of extracont

LECTURE CALENDAR FOR NEW YORK.

on your back. I feel that lash. It

on your back. I feet that has, it cuts. I do not like it. But the strike will not get rid of the lash. It may soften the fall of the lash. But the threat remains. Only revolution will get rid of the lash. When all strikes

Lectures under the auspices of the Social Lectures under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party or auxiliary organiza-tions, whether by Socialist or non-Social-iet speakers, and by Socialist speakers be-fore other organizations, are listed below. Unless otherwise stated, lectures are called for 8 p. m., and admission is free.

SUNDAY, MARCH 19. West Side, 533 Eighth avenue, near Thir ty-seventh street. Algernon Lee: The Capitalist System.

Yorkville, 1528 Second avenue, near Eightieth street, John C. Chase: Why Be a Socialist. Hariem Socialist Club, 250 W. One Hun-dred and Twenty-fifth street, at 3 p. m. Dr. Rudolph Brode, in German: Proletar-

ian Culture Harlem Socialist Club, 250 W. One Hundred and Twentr-fifth street, at 8 p. in. Marguerite V. Wien: The Last Survivors

of the Commune. Independent Hall, 158 E. Twenty-aeventh street. I. Sackin: Whither Are We Drift-ing?

Cooper Union, annual meeting of the Peo-pie's Institute. John Spargo: A Social-ist's View of the People's Institute.

Metropolis Theater Hall, One Hundred and Forty-second street and Third avenue, Morris Hilleuit: The Social Revolution.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 22. Harlem Socialist Club, 250 W. One Hun-dred and Twenty-fifth street. Mrs. Mabel McCoy Irwin: Whitman, the Poet Libera-

ter of Woman. Brooklyn.

PRIDAY, MARCH 17. Wm. Morris Educational Society, To back's Hall, Thatford and Pitkin avenues Courtenay Lemon: The Race Question.

SUNDAY, MARCH 19. Foung People's Social Democratic Club, Lahor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby avenue, at 3 p. m. Algernon Lee: What the Paris Commune Teaches Us.

Silver Building, 315 Washington street, near Post Office. Joseph Spero: Science and Modern Socialism. Buffalo Hall, Fulton street, corner Buffalo avenne. Dr. E. P. Robinson: What Social-lem is and What it Is Not. Yiolin solos by William Epstein.

Keramos Hali, Manhattan avenue be-tween Nobel and Milton streets. Green-point. Geo. M. Marri Socialism Explained. WEDNESDAY, MARCH 22.

to come. It may be in the shape of radical and dangerous legislation. But even in such a case it is none the less a disaster invited by the blind pride and narrowness of a privileged class. The penalty of refusing concessions until no concession can avail may not take form of driving men into exile, but in one shape or another it is certain to come.—Kansas City Star. Crospect Hall, Prospect and Fifth ave-nues, J. C. Frust: Class Struggle in New Scaland.

FRIDAY, MARCH 24. Wm. Morris Educational Society, To tek's Hall, corner Thatford and Pittal cenuca. H. Waton: Life and Philosoph Methert Spencer.

titles of nobility of on material wealth—always does "lose sympaths with the people and fail to discern the sign of the times," always witholds concessions too long and makes them at just the time and in just the manner to Queens. BUNDAY, MARCH 10. Hall, Myrtle avenue near Glendale. Courtenay Lem ed the Capitallet? arasperate the discontented and bestits own weakness and precipitate re

Mis Greatest Drame to be Produced the Sunday Following.

Under the auspices of the Progress-ve Stage Society, on 8 unday evening. Mar. 19, at 8 p. m., Mrs. Amelia von Ende will speak on Björnson and His Works, at the Hall of the League for Political Education, 23 W. Forty fourth street. Mr. Edwin Markham Prof. Robert Erskine Ely and other prominent speakers will also address the audien

p. m., the next production of the Progressive Stage Society will take place at the Murray Hill Theater, Lexington avenue, near Forty-second street, when the second part of Björnsterne "Beyond Human Power" given. This drama consists of two parts, each part being complete in itself. The first part, dealing with the religious problem, was produced by Mrs. Patrick Campbell. The second part has never been produced on any English stage. This second part deals with the struggle between Labo and Capital. This drama is undoubt edly one of the greatest revolutionary

plays of the age.
Limited membership tickets have been issued for this performance at afty cents each and can be had in any quantity at the office of The Worker or from the President, Julius Hopp, 215 E. One Hundred and Thirteent street. The price is uniform through-out the theater and those coming first will take their choice of seats.

JOHN COLLINS FOR

MAYOR OF CHICAGO. CHICAGO, Mar. 9.—The city convention of the Socialist Party yesterday nominated John Collins for Mayor. James B. Smiley for City Treasurer Marcus H. Taft for City Attorney, and

vote of 139 to 50 a platform including immediate demands was adopted. There is no doubt that the campaign will be a vigorous one. Very active propaganda work has been carried or for some time.

LET ALL STUDY UP.

There are monopolies of various kinds. The monopoly of the means of production by the capitalist class is not the only one. Monopolies, no matter of what nature they may be, are dangerous.

One form of monopoly is that of knowledge. It will doubtless strike our readers as an unusual species of monopoly, and it is rather a different kind, but just as dangerous as the oth er monopolies which we discuss most frequently. If in a given state of so-ciety, or in a social movement or in a political movement, a small minority know it all, and the large majority know little or nothing that in our opinon is just as dangerous a state as is

The Socialist movement, above any should seek to prevent the monopoliza-tion of knowledge within its ranks ment demands a wide diffusion of the knowledge of its basic principles amongst its membership. If this general knowledge is a reality then the no danger of the movement being d by a handful; the collective body

While we do not see any immediate danger for our movement such as we have outlined, still there is the neces sity of "eternal vigilance" in order to safeguard the movement

We are clearly aware that some nore than others; some having mor leisure and others having more apti tude for study. Still every member of the Socialist Party has some time to read and he or she should utilize that of the fundamental principles of So

The "Communist Manifesto" Pagel "Development of Socialism from Uto-pit to Science," Marx's "Value, Price and Profit" and Vail's "The Se Movement" are some pamphlets which may be used with much advantage in obtaining the knowledge so vitally necessary. Having read these pamphlets other more extensive works will readily suggest themselves to the student. ks and every Socialist should these books and every Socialist should make it his business to procure them and read them and study them. Let everyone obtain some knowledge!— New Jersey Socialist Review.

THIRK OF THIS PARADOX

To think that here, of all places in the world, where for the first time in histor the ballot of the common man is equal to the ballot of the priest or the soldier of the judge, where by this ballot expression may be given to every political and eco nomic faith—to think that, in the face o homic faith—to think that, in the race of the greatest opportunities for freedom which the world has ever seen, it should now be possible for any workingman to stand penniless and hungry outside a fac-tory door within which lie the privately owned tools and opportunities which should be its own opportunities possessed by the ruling class by political consent of the working class the baselves. Practile II.

DEFINITIONS.

Stealing \$1,000,000 gen Stealing \$500,000 sages

The International Socialist Holiday to be Galabrated by a Great Mil In Carnegie Hell at Which Bon Hanford and J. W. Brown Will Speak

The Social Democratic Party of New York will hold its May demonstra-tion for the international solidarity of haber in the form of a great me and concert in Carnegie Hall on Sun day afternoon, April 30, at which Ben-jamin Hanford, our late candidate for Vice-President, and John W. Brown will speak. Both are eloquent speialist orators and will undoubtedly snake this gathering a most enthusi

onstrution. There will be an excellent concert program rendered by the following artists: Mile. Ducze, dramatic so-prano; Miss F. Iselin, lyric soprano; Miss Jeanette Hugman, contralto; Miss Julia Weinstein, violinist; Misc Sara Gurowitch, cellist; Mr. Boris Stein-berg, baritone; and Mr. A. Silverman, bass, with the assistance of the New York Letter Carriers' Band under the of the United German Workingmen's Singing Societies and the Socialist Choral Union. The concert will be un-der the direction of Platon Brounds.

The musical program itself will be a good work of Socialist propaganda, as every song on the program will be a revolutionary one.

On this day Carnegie Hall should be filled to the doors with Socialists and their friends. The sale of tickets has just begun, but from present indica-tions it is anticipated that the success of this undertaking will outdo all for-mer meetings. Every party member in New York and vicinity should do his utmost to interest his friends in this great meeting. Of course, the mag-nificent success anticipated can only be realized if the comrades take up the agitation for this affair with enthusi-asm, push the sale of tickets to the utmost distribute the advertising eards and see to it that every comrad brings not only his own relatives but also his friends and neighbors. A suc-cessful May celebration on so large a cale will be a great credit to the New York movement and a benefit to the

In order to avoid the confusion of some former meetings, it was decided to make all seats in the hall reserved. Every one buying a ticket is thus sure to get his reserved seat, provided he does not come after 2:30 p. m. Carnegie Hall will seat about 3,000 per sons and no more tickets were print than there are seats in the ball. Con rades and friends desiring to attend this celebration should make it their business to secure their tickets as soon as possible and not wait for the last

moment, when they may not be able to get any tickets at all.

The dress circle and balcony seats are to be sold at 15 cents, the orchesare to be soid at 15 cents, the orenes-tra seats at 25 cents, and the boxes, first and second tiers, each seating eight persons, at \$4 and \$2 respective-ly. Tickets can be had from Organ-izer U. Solomon, 64 E. Fourth street. Mail orders will be promptly filled. Tickets were mailed to every assembly district organization in Manhattan and the Bronx and the members should do their best in assisting the sceretaries to dispose of the tickets as soon as possible. Tickets must be accounted for and whatever are not sold returned to the Organizer not later than April 15, and no tickets returned after that date will be accepted. The comrades will bear in mind that all seats are reserved, and as such the Organize nust know exactly at least two weeks before the concert the number of seats still free. As a rule in the last two weeks the demand at the party headquarters for tickets is so great that whatever tickets are unsold can be disposed of, provided they are returned

Invitations will be mailed to every city inviting them to participate in

Comrades desiring to assist in the tion of throwaway cards vertising this concert are requested to call at the Organizer's office. 64 E. dent supply.

The arrangements for this celebra tion are well planned and it is now up to the party members to carry th out and make this affair one to be lon-

HOW ABOUT YOUR CHILDREN! When you go back to the early years

the nineteenth century, and read the craelty of slave-drivers, your bearts are ap o cry out in anguish. Just think of to children five and six years old, wor ing from six is the morning until six is the evening, and at the hardest and most trying kind of labor. These children ar eing ruined by thousands by the man

lute truth, that things just as bad are going on right here in New York City. Child shavery thrives here in greater proposition han in the South.

There are parts of this city wi Tange are parts of this city waste artis children are driven to work early in the morning for two hours and then sent to our American schools, and after school ary forced into sweatshops, where they are obliged to work from three in the after-noon until eleven o'clock at night.—William JJ. Maxwell, Superintendent of Schools of

PAIRT AND WRITEWASH.

coat of paint is applied to as no med the ocientific boarder, "In his a few hours." "It deputs a like a few hours."

GAIN IN PEEKSKILL

Socialist Vote Nearly Trebled - While Part of Our Gain Is Due to Democrats' Fallure to Hominate, Much o It is Real and Permanent

PEEKSKILL, N. Y., Mar. 8 .- At yes day's election, Everitt L. Holmes cial Democratic candidate for Pres dent of the village, polled 403 votes, to 900 for the Republican candidate; the other candidates of the S. D. P. polled from 419 to 462. The Social Demo cratic vote here at the national election last November was 142. We do not claim the whole of this increase as a gain for straight Socialism. The De cratic party, as reported last week, i down and out" here and put up no ticket. Some Democrats voted the Re-publican ticket, some voted ours, and ome stayed at home, the total vote being very small. We are confident, however, that a very considerable share of our gain is real and perman-

The Republican politicians were real ly scared until the votes were counted and made every effort to get out their turn, too, during the campaign, by abusing and misrepresenting us so vio-lently and persistently that people were stimulated to find out what Socialism really is.

The pretense that the Democrats united with us is entirely false. They knew better. They made us an offer of fusion a couple of years ago and got a refusal so plain that they could not fail to understand. The absence of a Democratic ticket this spring is sim-ply a symptom of the decadence of that middle-class party and the straight fight everywhere between the Republican party of capitalism and the Socialist Party of the working

SOCIALISM IN DUBLIN.

At the recent municipal elections in Dublin the Trish Socialist Party deter mined to test the value of its propa ganda amongst the working class. Ow-ing to the state of the British electoral laws and the tactick adopted by the Home Rule and Conservative parties alike, the contesting of even one ward is a work of considerable difficulty and of great expense, and as, numerically, the party here is small, even this effort necessitated sacrifices on the part of our members.

In previous years our party had con tested other wards throughout the city; this year we ran the Socialist plow over virgin soll—the Royal Exchange Ward. On previous occasions all possible means were employed to secur the return of our candidate, such as seeking the endorsement of the local Trades Council, etc., but on this occasion no such means were adopted. The class note was struck, and the fight was a class fight, resulting in a struggle of intense bitterness.

Our candidates were: For Alderman ship, T. J. Lyng, shop assistant; for Councillorship, John Arnall, photog-rapher. Our opponents were a Mr. Delahunt, a liquor seller and slum Delahunt, a liquor seller and slum landlord, and a Mr. Doyle, a well known milk seller. These two men had the support of the official Home Rule party. Not only were our opponents possessed of all advantages in the way of hired canvassers, etc., but they reserted to the time-housed one. the way of nired canvassers, etc., but they resorted to the time-honored cus-tom of free beer distribution amongst those depraved unfortunates whose votes and services can be obtained by such means. They also collected thugs and builtes to break up our meetings and assault our members, while their friends, the police, looked on with the careless ease of disinterested spectacareless case or disinterested specta-tors. They also had the support of the clergy, and no one who knows Ire-land need be told what this means. The capitalist champions made a great parade of their nationalism, and Catholicism. In a leastet handed to the people at the chapel doors on the Sun-day preceding the elections they asked voters to support them "a the Socialists, Lyng and Arnall, who were trying to upset their Catholic and National organization." The hired slanderers stooped to every villainy to prejudice the voters. We were described as atheists. Free Masons for eigners, etc. But the gem of the cam-paign of Messrs. Delakunt and Doyle was a circular they sent to the shop-keepers and professional people of the ward, who are principally Conservatives. In this production they do not at all parade their Catholicism and Na tionalism, but appeal to their erstwhile enemies for their votes because their and because "men of no property," and because "we are convinced you do not wish to have Socialism in Ireland,

and we now invite you to strike a de cisive blow at that propaganda." Nothing could demonstrate more for-cibly how true it is that the capitalist class, when their power to control the social opportunities is challenged by the workers, no matter what apparent the workers, no matter what apparent or religious differences they may have. will unite to preserve their common class privileges. Would that the work-ers would only learn this lesson and become animated with the same spirit of class solidarity. The union of forces triumphed of course, the following be-ing the vote: For Alderman: Dela-hunt (Home Ruler), 660; Lyng (Social-ist), 116; for Councillor: Doyle (Home Ruler), 557; Arnall (Socialist), 134.

Judging by figures we have been badly beaten, yet taking into consider-ation the enormous odds against us our showing is decidedly a tribute to the vigor of our movement.

FOR "DAILY CALL." INTERNATIONAL

Three Days' Fair in Clinton Hall to Swell Fund.

Comrades In Charge Hope that This Week's Entertainment Will Not a Considerable Sum to Masten the Establishment of a Socialist Daily

The German workingmen of New York City already have their own So-cialist and trade-union daily paper, the 'Volkszeitung." to represent their inerests and tell the truth about their onditions and their upward struggles. So have the Jewish workingmen their daily "Forward." The English-speak-ing proletariat still lags behind, but an earnest and persistent effort is being made to raise sufficient funds to launch the "Daily Call" to fill this great need. Clinton Hall, 151 Clinton street, will

be the scene of a festival and fair on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday of this week, Mar. 17, 18, and 19, for the purpose of swelling this fund, which should be attended by all comrades and sympathizers who realize how greatly we need an English daily free from capitalist influence in business or olitics. The price of admission is

Aside from the ordinary features of a fair, a special effort has been made, and with very gratifying success, to arrange an attractive program of enertainment for each of the three even-

On Friday evening the program will consist of a sketch by the Progressive Dramatic League; recitations by M. Winchevsky; a sketch by the Progress ve Dramatic Society and one by mem-bers of the Actors' Protective Union, followed by music and dancing.

March 18 being the anniversary of
the declaration of the Commune in

Paris, an anniversary observed by class-conscious workingmen all ove the civilized world, Saturday afternoon will be especially a Commune festival, with addresses by John Spargo, Abe Cahan, Dr. M. Girsdausky, and Peter E. Burrowes. In the evening there will e music and dancing.

On Sunday evening there will be a concert under the direction of Plator Brounoff, with the assistance of Mr. Sam Mensch, planist; Mr. A. Silver-man, baritone; Miss Henrietta Mensch, soprano; Mr. Maurice Diamond, violin-ist; Mr. R. Reichman; Mr. J. P. Katz, bass; and the Socialist Choral Union. Dancing will follow. Dance must will be furnished by the Carl Sahi

The doors open on Friday at 8 p. m All committees are requested to re-port at Clinton Hall, 151 Clinton street, Thursday at 8 p. m. to lend a hand in fixing up the booths, also on Friday at

For the Daily. A meeting of the Board of Management of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association was held chair. In view of the activity shown by the comrades on the East Side on behalf of the "Daily Call" it was de-cided to hold a mass meeting in the near future for the purpose of stimulating further interest. The speakers' committee reports that about twentyfive organizations are visited each week by our speakers. Comrade Marr was elected as a committee to prepare matter for large cards to be hung in meeting places of Socialist and other organizations. The next meeting of the Association will take place Monday, April 3. The Secretary will call a meeting of the Board before that

time if necessary.

A regular meeting of the New York

"Call" Conference was held on Mar. 9 "Call" Conference was held on Mar. 9 050.67; through "Volkszeitung," \$74.75; at 64 E. Fourth street, M. Feuerstein W. S. & D. B. F., Br. 18, Williamspresiding. Thirteen delegates were bridge, \$5; Br. 03, Peoria, Ill., \$5; Br. present. Meyer Abramson, from the t34h A. D.; I. Friendman, from the Ginsburg, from the 21st A. D., Br. 2. Brooklyn: Joe Elster, from the Amalgamated Waiters' Union, Local No. 1: and Jul. Bohneur, from Cigar Packers Local Union, No. 251, were seated as delegates. The Secretary was instructed to get fifty punch cards to be used by delegates for soliciting funds. The eport of the Fair Committee was ac cepted and delegates urged to support the fair to be held at Clinton Hall on Mar. 17, 18, and 19 by soliciting pre-Every delegate is requested to attend the next meeting to be held on Thursday, Mar. 23, 8 p. m. at 64 E.

WORTH LIVING OR DYING FOR

You have a greater privilege than any people on the face of the earth have ever had before. In all previous revolutions, none of them, not one of them, ever had it in its power to do anything more than It is power to do anything more than liberate a certain group of people, or a little nation of people. Take the Civil War; all it could do was to liberate the black slaves from chattel slavery and make wage. slaves of them. Go back to the Revolu tionary War, and all they could do was to take our political liberties for ourselves and get our political independence from King George. But this movement does not pro slave; this movement does not propose to free the people of Cook County and leave all the rest of the people up against it. This movement proposes to free every man earth, wherever they may be, whateve

earth, wherever they may be, whatever color they may be, for all time. This movement is not only worth living for, but it is better worth dying for than any other movement in the world.

To bring about the furtherance of this thing, I say to you, let your hearts be as Irus as steel, be steel to the very back; put your soul and body both into action, and we will have Socialism in our country.—Ben Hanford to Socialist in our country.—Ben Hanford to Socialist. country.—Ben Hanford to Socialist and Convention, at Chicago, May, 1904.

SOLIDARITY.

Workers of All Lands Look to Russia.

Even in Such Backward Countries as Spain and Servia Public Expression Is Given to Class-Conscious Workingmen's Sympathy with Russian Revolution—Aid Extended from Amer-

The last builetin of the Russian So-cial Democratic Party brings us news of the active sympathy that is being shown by the Socialists of all Euro-pean countries. Not only in Germany, Holland, Belgium, England, France and Italy, where we should expect i because of the advanced economic de velopment of those countries, their more or less liberal institutions, and the strength of their Socialist organiaztions, but also in such very back-ward nations as Spain and Servia the international solidarity of labor is rec

In France and Italy the authorities have tried to prevent, so far as possible, the public demonstration of sym pathy with the Russian revolutionists, but with little success. In Spain, how-ever, freedom of meeting is a mere legal fiction and the government never hesitates to use violent measures of

Sympathy in Spain.

The government, when it saw that the news from Russia was inspiring thought and unrest among the Spanis working people, issued an order forbid-ding any public criticism of the massaere of January 22 and forbidding the holding of any public meetings to dis cuss Russian affairs. But the Spanish social Democratic Party, through its National Committee, has flatly defled the government by issuing an address expressing its sympathy with the Rus-sian comrades and its horror of the crimes of Tsarism and calling upon the workingmen of Spain to contribute to a fund for the relief of the victims at St. Petersburg.

In this appeal the Committee says We well know in what a bad cor dition are the Spanish workingmen in consequence of unemployment and of the high prices of the necessaries of life. Nevertheless, we consider it the duty of the Spanish working class to set an example of international soli-darity, even though their contributions can be but small. We therefore appeal to them without hesitation, hop ing that all comrades will respond to the best of their ability.

In Belgrade, Servia, a large and en-thusiastic meeting was held on Feb, 16, which adopted the following reso-

"In the name of the Servian prole tariat we extend fraternal greeting to the Russian working people who are making such heroic sacrifices to put an end to the barbarous régime of Tsar ism. The working class of Servia wel comes this revolution which aims to stop the bloodshed in the Far East and o liberate the Russian people from the burden of tyranny and to establish more favorable conditions for the so cial and political life of the Russian proletariat and to free Europe from the threat of reaction. The victory of the Russian proletariat will be the victory of the Servian proletariat as well, of the proletariat of the world." This resolution was afterward on

rsed by workingmen's organizations ill over Servia.

Aid from America.

Secretary Loopoloff and Treasure Ingerman of the Russian Social Demo cratic Society of New York acknowl edge the receipt of the following tributions: Previously reported, 191, San Jose, Cal., \$5.50; Br. 165, West Newton, Pa., \$2; Br. 11, So. Boston, \$3; Br. 105, Jersey City, \$3; Br. 21, Man-chegter, N. H., \$20.35; Br. 27, Elizabeth, N. J., \$5; Br. 166, Brooklyn, \$10 Br. 48, Guttenberg, N. J., \$3; Br. 12, Onelda, N. Y., \$3.60: Br. 188 Cleve land, \$5; Br. 96, Chelsen, Mass., \$5; Br. 153, New York, \$5; Br. 102, San Francisco, \$5; Br. 45, Harrison, \$5; Br. 172. Easton, Pa., \$1; Br. 85, Peekskill, N. Y., \$3; Social Democratic Frauen Verein, Br. 17, Cleveland, \$5; Br. 25, Syracuse, \$5; Local Chicago, Thirty-first Ward Br., Socialist Party, \$4; Socialist Club, Anaconda, Mont., \$10; Loal New Bedford, Mass., \$5; Böhmisch Bildungs Verein. New Bedford, \$3.25; Local Franklin, Pa., \$4; Local Washington, D. C., \$11; Local Saginaw, Mich., \$2; Local Burlington, Ia., \$2; Karl Marx Club, branch of Local Chicago, \$5; Local Stevensville, Mont., \$3.50; Local Rock Island Co., Ill., \$1; Local Kane Co., Ill., \$1; Br. 2, Loca Paterson, N. J., coll., \$5; do., contrib-uted, \$3; Local Orlando, Fla., \$3.75; Local Idaho Falls Ida \$2: German Branch, Local Pittsburg, \$5; Local Detroit, Mich., \$5.25; Lassalle Political and Educational Club, Chicago, \$17: "Työväen Seura Ystävä, per Washington, \$10; W. Atkinson, Brook-lyn, \$1; W. D. Altman, Rosensteel, Pa., \$5; H. M. Reding, Clarksville, Ark., 20c; W. C. Nelson, Chelsea, Kas., \$1; mons, \$50; total to Mar. 13, \$1,406.62.

Contributions should be sent to J.

Loopoloff, Secretary, 121 E. One Hundred and Twelfth street, New York.

TRUST INVESTIGATION.

"You favor an investigation of trusts

It a rule to determine the respe of a firm before I consent to with it."—Washington Star.

I always make

can sympathy for the Russians" which is not worth the paper it is printed upon?

lespotism in Colorado and other states? -that America does not send a battleship

-that the American people give themsands of dollars to convert the heathen to Christianity, but have us money for he poor Russians who are struggling for lib rty in a Christian Ind?—P. K., in New Jersey Socialist Review.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

HUMAN LIFE IS CHEAP.

Another Tenement Fire Illustrates Profit Rule.

Thirteen Children and Six Adults Burned to Death in a Few Minutes-Poor Working People, of Course-Why Such Horrors Are Permitted.

Nineteen persons were burned to death last Tuesday morning in a tene-ment on Allen street—thirteen chil-dren, four women, and two men. This dds one more to an already long list of such horrors in New York City within the last few years. It is the sensation of a day, and then it is forgotten. Those who were responsible and profited by the conditions that cause them-are never punished, nor is anything done to remo ve those caus only poor working people, living in the miserable tenements, that are burned; those in power are making good profits out of the conditions that jeopardize those poor people's lives; and the working people have not yet learned to stand together and take power into their own hands and protect their own lives.

One of a Long Series.

The day before the present Mayor was elected, while Reformer Low had still two months to serve, a like holo-caust took place on the West Side. It was then shown that the building was a standing violation of nearly every section of the code, but the Reform Administration had not lifted a finger to compel the owners to comply with the law and reduce its dangers. Twenty-four Italian laborers lost their lives Neither Low nor his successor, Mc-Clellan, nor District Attorney Jerome made a move toward punishing the law-breaking proprietors. Now the law-breaking proprietors. Now the Tammany Administration has had a free hand for over fourteen months, and it has done absolutely nothing to prevent the recurrence of such disas-ters. Almost weekly one or two lives have been lost under similar circumtenement; now nineteen are added to the roll. And still it will go on.

Firetraps Are Profitable.

It goes on and it will go on because it is more profitable for landlords to It is more profitable for landlords to own cheaply-built tenements, with small rooms, few windows, steep and crooked stairs, narrow hallways, and few fire-escapes or none, than to spead a fraction of the rents they collect in making these populous tenements something else than fire-traps.

Meanwhile taxes are kept down—It was the Reformers' chief boast that they had reduced taxes, while they had neglected the enforcement of all laws for the protection of the working class and Tammany has followed in their steps; taxes are kept down or dodged with impunity and rents go up and up, compelling the poor to crowd into closer quarters, into more danger-ous buildings. For it is the landlord class, which is also the employing class, that finances and manages both class and Tammany has followed fu class, that finances and manages both the Republican and the Democratic parties and the Reform aggregation.

No Effort to Enforce Law.

In the present case Commissiones Crain excuses himself for having al-lowed the violations of law which re-sulted in the death of nineteen people by saying that "there are 85,000 tens ments in New York and only 100 in-spectors." In saying that he condemns the administration he belongs to. It additional policemen to catch law-breakers who encroach on property rights; but it could not think of spending "the taxpayers' money" in setting 400 extra building inspectors at work to examine the tenements and compel remodeling or demolition of those that are so constructed in violation of law as to endanger the lives of the tenants. That would be too extra-agant and too paternalistic.

There is but one class whose interest is oppposed to overcrowded fire-trap tenements—the working class that pays the bills and takes the risk; and there is but one party that represents that class—the Social Democratic Party, which stands for the abolition of landlordism and all other parasitis and for every measure that may help toward that end.

IT AVERAGES UP. Their pay is shockingly small for some

of our public officials," said the broad mind. ed man, "Yes," answered the cynic; "but it averages up. Some of the public efficials are shockingly small for their pay."---Washington Star.

ISN'T IT QUEER that Republican and Democratic newspapers are writing long articles about "Ameri-

-that the Socialist Party is the only party arranging indignation meetings and collect-ing funds to send to the struggling Rus--that the press is prating about Russian despotism and is silent about American

to Russia to free the poor Russians as it "liberated" the poor Cubans?

-The Brooklyn "Eagle" is still a scab

By Horace Traubel,

ome one strike you have your reve lution. When you have your revolu-tion you have justice. Some morning all the workers of the world will get

nental significance. The strike leads you to the heights. New you may survey the world struggle in the w and of its tragic experience. What do you make out of what you see What part do you think you are to play in what is still to come? Do you still see only your own backyard? Do you still see yourself only as a local pawn? After the strike you strike

PRIVILEGE AND POWER

In a speech in the House of Com

nons on the great Reform Bill, Lord

Macaulay commented on the advice of the Conservatives of his day in a fa-

mous passage describing the effects of

the French Revolution. Had these

men, he inquired, never heard what ef

fect counsels like their own had pro-duced when too faithfully followed?

"Have they never walked by those state

ly mansions, now sinking into decay and portioned out into lodging rooms, which line the silent streets of the Faubourg St.

Germain? Have they never seen the rule

of these castles whose terraces and garden overhang the Loire? Have they neve

heard that from those magnificent hotels

ever Europe saw, was driven forth to exile and beggary, to implore the charity of hos

tile governments, to cut wood in the back

settlements of America, or to teach Frenci in the schoolrooms of London? And why were those haughty nobles destroyed with

that utter destruction? . Why were the scattered over the face of the earth, their

titles abolished, their escutcheons defaced

their parks wasted, their painces disman tied, their bestiage given to strangers? Be cause they had no sympathy with the peo-ple: no discernment of the signs of their

of their hearts, they called those whose warnings might have saved them "theo rists and speculators"; because they refus

ed all concession, till the time had arrived

While there can be no possible com-parison between the conditions in the France of the old regime and those in the United States, the principle which

Macaulay emphasizes is of universa

application. When men in position

of power lose sympathy with the peo-ple, when they fail to discern the signs of the time, when they refuse all concessions, an explosion is bound to come. It may be in the shape of

What the "Star" falls to say, but what all history teaches, is this: A rolling class-whether its power be hared on brute force or on hereditary titles of nobility of on material wealth

And he continued:

the monopolization of material objects The integrity of the Socialist move

will itself be the leader.

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THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic Party of New York) has passed through its third general election. Its growing power is indicated and its speedy victory for shadowes by the great increuse of its vote as shown in these figures:

(Presidential)408,230

In 'he stale of New York, on account of certain provisions of the election laws, the Seatslist Party is officially recognized under the name of Social Democratic Party, and fix embless is the Arm and Torch, as shown

above.

The Socialist Party (or Social Democratic Party in New York) should not be confused with the so-called Socialist Labor Party. The latter is a small and moribund organization which bitterly opposes the trade unions and carries on an abusive cam paign of signed against the real Socialist morespect, which supports the trade unions.



Under the rather startling headling

"Wanted-A Guillotine" our valued coworker, London "Justice," has this to say about a probable development of the revolution in Russia:

"It looks, we fear, as if there would be no hope for the Russian people until the existing Russian bureaucracy has been either destroyed altogether, or at least until it has received such drastic ent as to leave room for no dan ger that it will ever raise its head again. From Tsar and Grand Duke down to the meanest police official, the Russian governmental class, as we all know, represents one huge mass of vil-lating and corruption. Even were the revolutionary movement successful for the moment, it would be in imminent ger of destruction through the couvres of this class. For the Rusmanouvres of this class. For the Russian bureaucracy, it must not be foreven if actually dethroned would still possess an almost unlimited power of intrigue, holding, as it does, in its hands, threads ramifying in so many directions at home and abroad. The situation at the present time in Russia is, in this respect, not unlike that in France at the outbreak of the Revolution, only "more so." Then, slso, in France, as it would be now in Russia should the revolution succeed in establishing itself, there was a powerful and active class interested in the rehabilitation of the corruption and ootism that had been overthrown. answer of the forces of the French to the proceedings of the eptember massacres and afterwards at the Terror up to certain point at least was necessary to the Revolution hardly any serious stu-dent of the period will deny. The up-ahot of the situation in Russia, given essful insurrectionary coup, will sly be a strong dictatorial com tee in St. Petersburg, which will and indispensable a summary tribunal for the Judgment, without distinction, from Tsar and Grand Duke to policefunctionary and jailer, all guilty of having participated in the crimes of the present autocratic regime. We may yet see the guillotine set up the Nevsky Prospect performing a the Nevsky Prospect performing a sal-utary function in the interests of the Russian people, and through the Russian people of the human race in gen-eral."

-The forecast is interesting ,certainly, but we are inclined to think it more plausible than probable. While the parallel between the situation in France in 1789 and the situation in Russia to-day is in many respects a very striking one, there are important differences to be considered which we think, make a repetition of the Reign

of Terror more than doubtful. The most important of these is the different international environment of the two revolutions. In 1789 and th following years France led the world or at least the Continent, in revolution ary action. The other great nations of that day were far behind her in economic, social, and political progress were far less ripe for revolution, far more under the control of reactionary forces. When the revolution in France reached the point where it had to be taken seriously abroad, therefore, a powerful reactionary coalition was ready to act. The Austrian, Prussian and other monarchies, still secure at ne, saw themselves threatened by "the fierce and fair Republic with her

feet of fire." The Revolution, as soon as it had achieved any considerable success in France, was forced into war with the rest of Europe. Then the King and the great noblesse and all the reactionary elements in France entered into alliance with the monarch ies whose armies were marching against France. It was this conjunc tion of domestic traitors with foreign enemies that forced the revolutionar government to adopt the policy of the Terror. It is surely safe to say that, if it had not been for the foreign war with its terrible odds, if the revolutionary government had had to deal only with domestic problems, there would have been no September massa cres and no Terror of '93. The reaction aries at home, had they not had the support of the Coalition, would not have been formidable enough to drive the Convention to those extreme meas

ures.

The situation to-day is different. Doubtless the German Emperor would like to help the Tsar: doubtless nearly all the European governments begin already to look with some misgivings at the revolutionary movement in Rus sia. But, after all, they do not dread it as their predecessors a hundred and forty years ago dreaded the French Revolution. They are already, to a greater or less degress, bourgeois lib eral states, and all that the movement in Russia immediately threatens or promises-immediately, note-is to make that also a bourgeois liberal state. Whereas France led the bourgeois revolution, Russia brings up the rear of the same movement. If the revolution triumphs there in the near future to the utmost degree that even we Socialists dare to expect, still there would hardly be a coalition of the European governments to crush it and restore the Romanoffs, as there was to to restore the Bourbons. And even if those governments were inclined to such action, every one of them has the fear of its own revolutionary proletarlat to restrain it. We have reason. then, to think that the Russian revolution, triumphant, will have a much freer hand to deal with its domestic affairs than was the case in 1793, and will be so much the less likely to need a Reign of Terror.

And there is another corollary to this view. Revolutionary France was forced into war on a grand scale. Her revolutionary energy was in the following years, diverted into patriotic and military channels-not by Napoleon, but by the logic of events. The French Revolution had to be spread out, so to speak by force of arms, over all Western Europe; and what it thus gained in extension, it lost in quality. If, as we think, the Russian revolution will not have to waste its energies in this way, so much the more of real good to the masses may be expected from it. And with a proletariat proportionately larger and far more class conscious than that of France in the days of her bourgeois revolution, so much the greater will be the force to push the movement on, to prevent reaction or betraval.

THE COLLEGE SCARS.

We have a letter from a student of Columbia University in regard to the conduct of those students who scabbed on the Subway. He points out that although, to the shame of Columbia there were many students willing to act as strike-breakers and compara tively few who would take the trouble to avoid riding on the Subway or Ele vated during the strike, yet there were a number who stood by the strikers But what impresses him is that s many of the students could not under stand his indignation at the idea of their scabbing "for a lark" or for the sake of a few extra dollars. In true college slang be says, after such a thinking that I had gone dippy." Of many of them he says, "They say they sympathize with the men, but principle may be damned when they can get a V out of it." And he closes by say-

"I never was so ashamed of my "I never was so ashamed of my col-lege, and that is saying a good deal, considering our Kingden Gould affair and hazing stunts. How is it that in autocratic Russias the students, who must of necessity be rich, are the first to rise in defense of freedom and here in free America our collegians, many in free America our collegians, many of them sons of workingmen, do such disgraceful things

That is a rather difficult question to answer. We have puzzled over it, too. Are we Americans such contemptible egoists, such narrow self-seekers, that if one of us has the luck (either through wealth or through his parent self-denial) to go to college, he straightway loses all feeling of fellow ship with less fortunate men, all sense of responsibility for the common good, and sets his petty self up as the sol god for his worship? Are we Ameri cans as a breed, such dogs as that? It is a descendant of soldiers of '76 who writes this, and really he is concerned to know whether this people with all its big talk, is such a despice ble people at heart, or whether all this scabbery and snobbery is tust a cor of superficial eruption, which may pass

The Russian students are not all rich men's sons, but many of them are, perhaps a larger proportion than here And those Russian students, when the workingmen make a demonstration against the tyraguy of the capitalists and the government, go out in the streets and join them, student jacket and isberer's blouse shoulder to shoul der, and face the whipe or the sabre or the bullets with them, and go to prison or to exile if need be without whimpering. But many of our college lads who would not think of associating with laborers or mechanics or terms of equality, who are ashamed o their own fathers because of their bent shoulders and calloused hands, will go out and play at being workingme when there is a chance of helping a corporation to reduce real working

men's wages. It is an uncomfortable question, hard to answer. Perhaps the explanation is that we Americans have had too much of the appearance of liberty, that we need more of the discipline of tyranny to make us appreciate the real liberty which is found only in brotherhood. Well, if we need that tyranny we are pretty sure to get it.

THE INDUSTRIAL UNION MANIFESTO.

In reporting and commenting on the manifesto and call for convention for the formation of a general labor union on industrial lines, issued in Chicago early in January. The Worker stated that, although the daily press had mentioned Eugene V. Debs as one of the signers, there was nothing to show that he was connected with the move ment. We were right, so far as the publication of the manifesto at that time was concerned. We have now to state that the manifesto is reprinted in the March number of the "Voice of La bor" (formerly the "American Labor Union Journal") and that Comrade Debs' name appears among the signa-tures. We take it that this publication s authorized.

COMMENT ON THE INDUSTRIAL MANIFESTO.

The "Socialist Review" of New Jersey, editorially comments upon the Chicago manifesto and call for conven tion for labor organization on Industrial lines as follows:

While our sympathies are naturally with any movement making for a better organiastion of the working class than the pres ent, as exemplified by the ultra conservative form of the American Federation of Labor, we doubt whether this purpose will e realized by the holding of this conference. The fact, as already stated, that the ions, but from individuals is our reason for this belief.

However it is no bad idea to find out the sentiment of the organized workers of this country on this very important phase of the labor question. The size and makeup of the Chicago conference will no doubt determine whether the time for concerted action along more progressive lines is now ripe. We believe that ultimately the work ers will be driven to take this step anyway. The law of self-preservation is just s it is with individuals.

The capitalist class is getting ever closer together" and the organized workers will nave to do the same, if possible, get even closer together than the capitalists, in inal emancipation from wage slavery.

It would be well if all labor organizati oughly discuss this question, as it is of the utmost importance that the labo ent should be on a progressive road whether it be the economic or political wing of that movement.

The "Social Democratic Herald" of Milwaukee says in the same connec

Joseph Gilbert, editor of the "Crisis" of Salt Lake City, will make an Eastern tour shortly, speaking and in other ways see given out that part of his purpose is to lec-ture in favor of the "Crisis" as an exponent of the industrial trade union sevement. If this is true his trip will no be in favor of the movement, but in favo of still more divisions in the trade union movement and therefore in the Socialist movement as well. The work of setting up a rival to the A. F. of L. will bring on condition of strife in the labor world industrial union organization away for nuch longer time than he would have b of L. not been interfered with by in patient and short-sighted comrade cialist Trade & Labor Alliance did: Start and then dwindle awar to the shame of tional Committeeman.

WHO DOT THE MEATS

lady one night was addressing a meeting Of underpaid toilers, all humble and

meek: dealt with the question of drinking Oo, "How to live well on two shillings

pecially mentioned the fact that a dis Sufficient, indeed, for a family spread.

and wholesome enough for the laboring sin Was easy to make of a codfish's head!

and Liso the fact that a soup as delicious Was readily made (which the same is sus-

From simply a bone, were it ever so bare! Vhen up spoke a man, and said he: "While

The possible truth, ma'am, of what has

fyself and some others with whom I am

To hamper this meeting is not our inten-

ps, Mr. Chairman, the lady will men What became of the flesh that belonged

_L M. Th Our temperal salvation does not does not does not does not the wisdom of any man. It mus ome as the result of the necessity of our

AN ELEMENTARY COURSE IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

XIV.—Rules of Socialist Policy Not Arbitrarily Laid Down by Leaders, but Founded on Study of Actual Facts and Tendencies in Society.

(This is one of a series of articles, be-uu in The Worker of Dec. 4, as an attempt toward a systematic and correct and yet popular statement of the fundamental principles of scientific Socialism for the ssistance of those who really wish to 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 an earnest attempt will be made to answe them.)

XIV.—The Basis of

Socialist Politics.

If our foregoing study of economics, of the relations actually existing among the producers and non-proealth and the change which are taking place, were to end there, it would be of little practical value; it would serve only to gratify our intellectual curiosity, and the study of astronomy or of ancient mythology might serve that purpose as well. But we do not stop with the observation of these facts; we begin with that and go on to something else. We make our knowledge of these economic relations, our understanding of these economic tendencies, the start-ing-point or the guide for a course of action by which to realize economi conditions more satisfactory to our hu-man needs. Socialist politics is the practical application of the principles learned from the study of econand history.

Those who have only a superficial

knowledge of the Socialist movement, observing its strictness of discipline, what they call its "Intolerance," its nce on certain methods of action as well as upon its ultimate aims and its steady avoidance of certain other methods, are likely to think of it as something like a religious sect or an oath-bound secret order, rather than a political party. They imagine that it has an iron code of rules in regard to tactics as well as purposes and that trarily laid down by the "founder" of the movement, evolved out of the inner consciousness of its "great leaders," and passively accepted by the rest This view of the movement is often as by enemies. We can understand how an outsider, lookin cialist movement with an outsider looking at the Sc only to the observation of bourgeois parties, may honestly think that But nothing could be s its nature. farther from the truth. The Socialist movement is indeed strict; it attaches much importance to

questions of method and tactics; it lraws finedistinctions that other move ments do not draw, makes require ments upon its members that other movements do not ask, refuses some times to take advantage of what othe organizations would consider favorable opportunities, and seems deliberately to chorather than the easiest way to its goal "seems," we say, for we hold that this is only seeming, that when our party seem to be perversely choosing a diffi-cult road to follow it is in fact thoughtfully choosing the straight and practi cable road, though often not the pleas antest one. But what is important is to recognize that its rules of policy are not arbitrary, that they have their explicable reasons. We Socialists of to day attach great weight to the judg ments expressed by Marx and Engels a generation ago about questions of factics. We do not hold them infallible; we know that they made many rules that we still follow, are the rule that they formulated or a development from them. Does this imply that Marx and Engels were prophets, that they had some superior sort of intuitive wis least inclined to idolize them or accept their word as truth just because it is their word. If Marx and Engels, a generation age, could formulate practi-cal rules of Socialist policy which are still found to work well and are still followed by the Socialists of the civilized world, it is simply because they had made a most profound and carefu study of the conditions actually exist ing, the tendencies actually developing, the forces actually at work in the capitalist system. The Socialis movement is a resultant of cap conditions. The true rules of So liey are to be deduced from the fact of capitalist society. The Socialist poli-tician—and every active Socialist is a politician—can no more guide himself by sentiments and so-called "eternal verities" than can the chemist or the mechanical engineer. If either trice such a plan, he is pretty sure to come

to grief. articles of this series, to try to set forth the principal rules of Socialist policy and to show-how they follow as logical consequences from the eco nomic laws of capitalism which we have discussed in the preceding articles. The general basis of So pelley is to be found in the fact-not the theory, be it noted, but the factory, be it noted, but the factof the class struggle.

We have shown how in existing so ciety, under the capitalist systemer are two classes whose interest are diametrically opposed—the capitalist class and the wage-working class or proletarist. But the class struggle is not a thing peculiar to the capitalist system. Class struggles existed in carlier forms of seciety. In fact, if we have to the the contraction of the contraction o go back to the very dawn of recorded history, we find society divided into classes on an economic basis classes whose interests conflicted and which were compelled, therefore, to oppose each other by whatever means lay in

their power.

We may say that the was corded history is the record We may say that the waste of re-ded history is the record of class uggles, that history becomes intelli-tic for us, ceases to appear as a nide of accidents and presents itself being studied and understood, only when we have learned to view it in this light.

The lines of class division have changed from time to time; now we have slave-owner and chattel slave, with a class of independent producers besides; again we have found land-owner and serf, with a class of inde-pendent artizans besides; yet again we have capitalist and wage-slave, with classes of more or less independent farmers and mechanics besides; and within these classes we find some di-visions, as into large capitalists and This book may be considered an offiwithin these casses we mun some u-visions, as into large capitalists and small, or into industrial capitalists, commercial capitalists, and financial capitalists. Gradually the bases of

changed from time to time; now we

class divisions change and new classes arise. Suddenly, from time to time the sullen antagonisms of old rulin classes and newly arisen classes based on new methods of production and exchange break out into violent revolu tion the new class conquers the old and establishes a new method of exdistriction in place of the method the obited class has naver effected a revo lution in its own favor, has never, of its own motion, thrown off the yoke of an exploiting class, has never dommore than make a hopeless revolt or ign in helping a new exploiting class to change the forms of class rule, per-

perhaps not.

We Socialists hold that a world-wide change of a unique nature is now im-pending, that the time is at hand for a revolution, not to change the yoke, but to throw off the yoke and thus to put an end to class division, class rule and class struggle. And it is through class struggle, we say, that this is to b

haps with some lightening of the yek

The elaboration of this theme will be the subject of the following arti-cles. We shall confine ourselves, with little exception, to the class struggle of the present age, only glancing son. We shall try to make clear the reason why former exploited classes could not free themselves, could not, in general, even attempt to free them seives, and why, on the contrary, the exploited class of to-day can and must effect its own emancipation. And we shall discuss the methods, and mor particularly the political method, to b used in this last struggle to win this crowning victory-or, in other words to indicate the rules by which goo Socialists, individually and collective ly, will be guided, not because they bear the stamp of authority, but be cause there is good reason for them.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT.

Single Subscription List Begins to Come Up Again-Some of the Features that Will Distinguish Our May Day Number.

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

Mar. 5. Mar. 12 Single subscriptions . . . 13.740 13.815 Outside bundles 5,200 Samples 302 Exchanges 569 464

or at retail...... 1.340 1.260

The single-subscription list, it will be observed, begins to come up again after its failing-off the week before, but the recovery is not so rapid as might be wished, the net gain being only 66. Let us try to get back to that 250-a-week rate, comrades, else v shall not reach the 25,000 this year.

We are glad to be able to promifor our May Day Number an article from the pen of Fred Long, which has been idle too long. Those who have become readers of The Worker only within the last two or three years will enjoy a new treat and the older read-ers will anticipate it with pleasure.

Another feature that will make this special issue valuable for propaganda will be an article by Jos. Wanhope. Our readers know enough of Wanhope as a writer and as a speaker to make

Eugene V. Debs has written, in reply to our request for an article for the May Day Number, that his recent illness and the consequent piling-up of work to which he was already pledged work to which he was already pledged make it impossible for him to promise, but that he will contribute an article if time allows. We all know that Com-rade Debs has worked beyond his strength ever since the last campaign an and we must cheerfully "take will for the deed" if he cannot do

all that he is asked to do. We hope to have also an article by State Secretary Smith of Illinois on the part played by the two Socialis rs of the Illinois Legislature

THE HIDGMENT DAY

By Senjamin C. Moomaw

What ominous rose of war Resounds from the far away? What writing, this. O Tsar, On your palace wall to-day? O hants for the wise to read

This darkling algu of yore; 'Tis the blood your fathers shed, The blood of the myriad poor.) Who knocketh at the gate
This night of the wintry sky

The dead, O Tser; they wall What flery dawn, afar, In the blood-red sky appears? 'Ils the Judgment day, O Tear, For the crimes of a thousand y

"Na," said the doctor, "I can't anything out of his case at all. If he me." "Why," resulted his wife, "I the it was only a simple cold." "Exactly T why I can't make anything out of ! Philadelphia Ecdges.

Current # # Literature

OCIALISM: ITS THEORETICAL BASIS AND PRACTICAL APPLICATION, By Victor Cathrein, S. J. Translated by Victor J. Geitelmann, S. J. Benziger Bros.,

1904. Cloth, pp. 424; index. Price, \$1.50.

cial utterance of the Roman Catholic church, as it bears the "Nibil obstat" of Cardinal Rémy Lafort, the Papal Censor, and the "Imprimatur" of Archbishop Farley, and is issued by the authorized American "Printers to the Holy Apostolic See." The book was first published in Germany in 1890 and was officially endorsed by the clergy there and halled with joy by the Protestant Liberals as well as the Centrists. The present translation is from the eighth German edition and is revised for American use. To the or-iginal work Kantsky paid this compli-ment: "Marx' work has been treated much better by Cathrein than by any muca becor by Catarein finan by any of the Liberal 'Socialist-killers.' The author has at least read the works which he discusses." That the church thinks it worth while now to bring out in the United States so elaborate a controyersial book against Socialism where two years ago it contented itself with the ignorant scoldings of a Quigley and the random mud-slinging of a couple of "free-love" specialists is a very satisfactory credential of the progress Socialism is making.

With Cathrein's first chapter, "Nature and Development of Socialism, forming about one-quarter of the whole, we can find but little fault. He sees plainly enough what Socialism is and even in discussing the Revisionis controversy he misconstrues it but little. Thus we read (pp. 22, 23):

Modern Socialism is a perma nt phenomenon, to be met with in all civ litzed countries, wherever industry is high ly developed. This latter circumstance by itself proves to evidence that there is ques-tion here not of a merely external appear ance produced artificially by popular agi confronted by a phenomenon rooted in and nourished by the soil of modern conditions.

The roots of modern Socialism are to be

found first of all in the great developmen of industry and the consequent modification of social conditions dating from the latte part of the eighteenth century. Since the French Revolution the unhampered devel opment of industrial forces in unrestricted competition has undoubtedly brought abou astounding results in the field of technica discoveries and their application to indutry and commerce. But one of these sults was also the great division of society into two bostile classes a small number o wealthy capitalists and an immense aur ber of laborers-which classes are usually designated respectively as "capital" and "labor." But above all, the proletariat, tha timeless floating population of our great cit les which has already assumed gigantic prons, is the almost inevitable res siern industry, in so far as by its ma chinery it practically precludes the existence of independent tradesmen and pronotes the concentration of great masses o factory laborers.

Incredible as it may seem, it is Cath ein himself who thus accepts and applies the essence of the materialistic conception of history which he has afterward to "refute."

He proceeds to a very fair and intel ligible exposition of Marx' economic and historical theories and a review of the progress of Socialism, including both an account of its numerica strength in different countries and of important epochs in its development as, for instance, the Gotha Congress of 1875, the Erfurt Congress of 1801, and the more recent Revisionist controver There are hints and implication to which we might object as mislend-ing, but definite facts are generally truly stated.

In his second and third chapters

Cathrein examines first "the principal basis of Socialism, the materialistic

conception of history," and then the

rights of all men, the iron law of wages," and so forth. He is not so happy here as in the earlier part, and the reader is often tempted to suspect that he sometimes found his task of "refutation" a distasteful one and wished himself free to write in another tone. The established method, the only practicable method of one who writes with a predetermined purpose to make the premises fit the conclusion, is to distract attention from main princ ples by dwelling on more or less revant defails, exaggerating their impo ence and so distorting their signi feance. This Cathrein is forced to de throwing to the winds all politica m Adam Smith on, in or upon exceptional and imaginary case instead of real and typical ones. Every qualification which Marx has himself nade, every definition of terms which Marx has insisted upon, Cathrein con strues into a confession or a contradiction; "thus Marx unwittingly pens hi own refutation." is a sweet morsel un der Cathrein's tongue. Where 'Marx makes it clear that his law of value or any general ow of value, does and can apply only to typical commodities under the capitalist system, Cathrein wants a law that will apply particular ly to "old manuscripts, rare prints, at cient medals," and the like. He has law of value of his own, backed by authority of two medleval saints according to which "in the products of human labor the exchange-value is determined in the first place by their artistic qualities or other intrinsic per fections." Adopting his own method of criticism, we might point out that, according to this theory, Marie Corel it's latest novel must have several thousand times as much "intrinsic perfection" as Milton's "Paradise Lost" or Poe's "Raven;" adopting a faire or Poe's "Raven;" adopting a fairer method, we might ask whether he-really thinks that the cheapening of cotton goods which resulted from the introduction of the power-toom was due to a diminution of their "artis-tic quality." But it were idla to take such things seriously; some of our Sin-gle Taxara and "philosophical" An-archists can give Father Cathrels

deals with the practical application of social theories. Here he is sometimes franker and often more amusing. It is delightful, for instance, to follow his protest against the doctrine of equality of rights. Thus:

Bebel, however, may permit us to ask him: Must, then, men in turn with their wives rock the cradle, cook, knit and darn, and attend to all the womanly household duties? And, again, must women as well as men descend into the mines, perform the duties of coachmen, draymen, sailors?

Cathrein asks this, apparently, in all seriousness and thinks he has demol-ished the theory of equal rights by a reductio ad absurdum. He might have earned even from Aristotle and Tho as Aquinas, whom he is fond of quot ing, that "equality" is not an exact synonym for "identity."

Another serious objection is that the waiters under Socialism, being com-rades, would probably be very disrespectful.

But in spite of such absurdities, our author does intermittently get down to

a real discussion of Socialism as a liv-

ing force in present society, and then it is interesting to note whither his predetermined refutation leads him. "Not withstanding all the protestations of the Liberals," he tells us, "we cannot but consider Socialism as the lineal decendant of liberalism." Understand ing, as does our author, by the word "ilberalism" all the body of theories, tendencies, and institutions which dis-tinguish modern from medieval lifepersonal liberty, equality before the law, representativo self-government, freedom of conscience, popular education, and so forth-we quite agree. Liberalism is the social and political re-flection of the dominant economic interests in capitalist industry and So cialism is the corresponding reflex of the resulting and antagonistic interests of the industrial proletariat: they are is closely related as egg and chick eed and plant. We have quoted from Cathrein to show how well he compre ends this truth. Now when we folow him to the section beginning on p. 223 we find that, in order to refute So cialism he feels himself compelledand he is quite right in this-to repudiate and anothematize liberalism as a It is not only Socialism. finds, thta is "atheistic" and "subversive," but the whole scientific, philoso phical, ethical, and political trend of the nineteenth century is as bad. The universities are fountains of infidelity: Darwin is displacing Moses ;the wick-ed Liberals abolished absolute monarchy and hereditary nobility, and it serves them right if the workingmen now think of abolishing economic oligarehy and putting into practise that shameful motto of "Liberty, equality, and fraternity." In all this portion of the municipal elections, which are to take place in the spring, the Demothe book Eather Cathrein is quite logi cal (though not very original), and it must be deleful reading for his patrons. The only conceivable way to get rid of Socialism, it seems, wou to turn history backwards, restore the

indertake. Let us repent: This is the best book ngainst Socialism we have yet seen. And let us add: If this is the best that can be done, we have not much to Year in that line.

Cathrein is perfectly right; by no oth

We have just received fram Loui Bertrand, well known as a Socialist member of the Belgian Parliament, and as the author of the "Histolre de la Coopération en Belgique," a pros pectus of his "Histoire de la Démo-cratie et du Socialisme en Belgique depuis 1830." Comrade Bertrand has played a very active part in the move nent ever since the early seventies and his personal observation as well as his studies of men and documents qualify him to write a valuable history. It will, of course, be much more complete than "Le Socialisme en Belgique" by J. Destrée and Emile Vandervelde, which is the only book we now have on the subject. Vandervelde will write the introduction. The work is issued in twenty monthly parts, form ing in all two volumes of each, and the price is put at ten francs (\$2). Orders and subscriptions may be addressed to M. Louis Bertrand, 17 rue James Watt, Brus

JAURES AND THE

GOVERNMENT BLOC. Some English delegates to the Amsterdam Congress seemed very dis-posed to claim Jaures as an ally in the policy of constant compromise, of whittling down of the program and of readiness to coalesce with dominan bourgeols parties. Others, on the cor trary, failing to appreciate the extrem danger of Clerical domination in France, were too ready in accusing Jaurès of abandoning Socialism so a to participate in the government of the country and the sweets of office. The facts of the case are at present work ing out the other way. Jaures has a ways been a stendfast advocate of Sc cialist unity. That unity has now been effected in France; and if it was useful to belong to the Bloc when Combes was in office, the union of the Socialist parties has decided that this is no longer necessary now that there Therefore, at a recent meeting of his party, Jaurès moved that the National Council of the Parti Social iste Français was convinced: "Tha under actual circumstances, the action of the Socialist Party is more appeals to the opinion of the country, and by hold intervention in the public debates of Parliament than by delegates sent to negotiate with the groups (formed by the other parties) whose (formed by the other parties) whose good intentions as Republicans have been too often paralysed and faisified during now some months by intrigues and even by treachery with which the Socialist Party can in no wise be associated." Aristide Briand thought that. gie Taxars and "philosophical" Anarchists can give Esther Cathreia
cards and spades and still beat him is
the production of economic monetrosities. Still, we are sorry to see a man
of Cathrein's evident ability indulging
in such cheap apphistries.

We like Cathrein better when he
gets away from pure economics and
carried by 33 against 13, and 7 abstenon the contrary, it was no

tions. But though Jaurès was thus supported by the majority of the Na-tional Council of the Parti Socialiste Français, he was in the minority, so far as the vote of the members of Parliament who belong to that party are concerned. The members of the Chamber of Deputies who voted for the Jaurès resolution were Bagnol, Cardet, Fournier, Jaurès, dePressensé and Rouanet. The members of Parliament who voted against were: Aldy, Augagneur, Baron, Breton, Carnaud pentier, Calliard, Devèze, Gérauit-Richard, Normanel and Pastre. Six yotes to eleven. The capitalist press hope that this will lead to another split. In the Socialist ranks; but to avoid his the whole matter has ferred to the Congress of the Parti So-cialiste Français which is to meet in a few weeks at Rouen.-London Justic

AN ENGLISH VIEW

OF A DANGER HERE.

Having now seen and examined, from every possible point of view, what is the voting strength of the American Socialists, the next question is the manner of use that will be made of this strength. At once we are as sailed by the terrible problem of tac ties. It is so easy to vote for the socialization of the means of production and exchange, but what are the best steps to take towards this end, not byand-bye but to-day, at this very minute, and under the obnoxious and unfavorable circumstances that now pre-vail? For instance, in America some thing like the Mifferand difficulty threatens, at least on a small scale. We have seen what a very big Socialist vote was given in Illinois, but especialbeen explained that it would be facto folly to count all these votes as emanating from class-conscious Socialists. Indeed, several papers noted at the time that in some of the best quarters of the town Debs obtnined many votes. ed, in American parlance, it was said that "the Socialist candidate had obtained the slik stocking vote." As Socialism is essentially a matter of education and of scientific interpretation of history and of economic development, undoubtedly the wearers of silk stockings have better means of acquiring a scholarly knowledge of these problems than the working class. Still I would not place too great a reliance on the absolute steadfastness and dis-cipline of this silk-stocking Socialist vote, particularly if there is a Miller-Now, when in Chicago, I was told, and this after the results of the presi-dential elections were known, that for

eratic party will run either Judge cratic party will run either Judge Dunne or Attorney Clarence Darrow. The latter, it will be remembered, rep-resented the workingmen before the official commissioner appointed to inquire into the great strike of the ankings and berons, rebuild the Bastiles, restore a third of the property to the Roman church and the rest to the feuthracite coal miners. Attorney Dar-row calls himself a Socialist. He is a nan of great ability, has acquired con dal lords, smash the printing presses siderable influence, and could render notable service to the Socialist cause. very old ones and a few very dry ones Further, he declared that he would and let no one but monks teach school vote for Debs as President. So far, therefore, so good. But I was also fold that he supported a Republican method can one hope to exorcise the "red specter"—but it is rather a big candidate for Congress in order to de-feat the Democratic candidate who ontract the "Socialist-killers" have to was a brother of Mayor Harrison of Chicago. Let me haste to add that I am far too ignorant of the details and too much of a stranger in America, to form any sort of opinion as to wheth-er, in so doing, Attorney Darrow was or was not following a wise line of tactics. All I can say is that in so doing, he was, I am also informed, acting against the rules of the Socialist Party. On the other hand, he is not an affiliated member of the Socialist Party, and therefore he is not obliged to follow their rules. Now this is ex-actly the position of Millerand. Like Darrow, the ex-Minister of Commerce is an eminent attorney or barrister. No one can deny the excellent Socialist sentiments and principles of the "Pro gramme de Saint Maudé" as propounded by Millerand on May 30, 1896, and loudly applauded by the audience, consisting, among others, of Dr. Flais sières, the Socialist mayor of Mar elles; Delory, the Guesdist mayor of Lille: Jules Guesde himself and lant. Nevertheless Millerand, like Darrow, was not an affiliated member of any Socialist party; and we know how the tactics Millerand subsequently followed were strenuously denounced by praise at St. Maudé. In spite of this Millerand remains to-day a great power in France. There is likewise rica the danger that men of ability candidates and obtain a good many of the votes which the S cialist Party is tempted to-day to consider as its ows There is a danger that a certain nun. ber of elever men, lawyers and others, will constitute a sort of self-appointed committee to manipulate the growing feeling in favor of Socialism will be encouraged to do this by rea-son of the occasional incompetence and frequent bickerings and jealousies displayed within the ranks but insufficiently disciplined Socialist Party. The American it is true, generally insists that he shall vote before he obeys; but the propor-

> where the parliamentary and repre-sentative form of government exists.— A. S. Headingley, in London Justice. THE FATE OF SKILLED LABOR.

> tion of affiliated Socialists who pay a

weekly subscription, and are there-fore, entitled to a vote within the

party, is very small as compared to the

There is no reason why able manipula

tors should not appeal to these electors over the heads of the disciplined and

organized members of the party. How

this is to be prevented is a matter that

but all Socialists who live in countries

er of electors who vote in a So

sense at legislative elections

If, as we are being daily told, men bore a right to work, why are so many out of a right to work, was at a supple answer is, there employment? The simple answer is, there are a greater number who want work than there are jobs. As a result of this conof the line. They first utilize the children; then the women; then the cheapest men who can be used. As improvement in maworkers will have the "last chau-."-T Fisher, in Los Angeles Common Scuse.

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Mational.

W. E. White of New Haven has been ted National Committeeman for

Carl D. Thompson of Milwaukee has been elected additional National Committeeman for Wisconsin.
National Secretary Barnes has reteleved a letter from A. M. Huyanan, Becretary of the International Social-ist Eureau at Brussels, urging the col-lection of money for the assistance of the revolutionary movement in Rus-

By a vote of 26 to 4 the Nationa Committee has adopted Hillquit's mo tion: "That the National Committee proceed to elect two party members to act as international secretaries of our party on the International Socialist Bureau; the said secretaries to make orts to the National Committee at ast once in three months, and to least once in three most the next International Congress. The mode of election of said international secretarshall be the same as that adopted by the National Committee for the dection of an Executive Committee.

The noes were: McAllister, Ray,
Trautmann, Gilbert; not voting—White, Putnam, O'Nell, Floyd, Lovett, Ber-

Local Milwaukee, Wis., has adopted the following resolutions:

In view of the fact that it is our chief ire to educate the workers of all ne tionalities, irrespective of color, creed of

And, whereas, we, who are familiar with the economic development of capitalism in [80] bratches of industry throughout the Dulled States of America, can see from the press and other sources of information that the Southern states have become inocuthis transition we can see the old form of agriculture transmitted into the new and more economic form which lated with the virus of capitalism, and it

And whereas the manufacturing interest on account of the opportunity of securin ap labor, it being a commodity exence, they have taken, therefore, advan

petition, coupled with the unstable met ods of capitalism with its modern machin Its former status of existence, hence creat ing a discord which they, the capitalist class, are incompetent to harmonize;

And whereas the great industrial arm of that portion of the country are nearly equally divided as to negroes and whites, and owing to the unfortunate prejudices which exist between the two races, mean-ing the enhancement of capitalism from the atamipulat of exploitation; therefore be

Resolved, that we, the Social De Party of Local Milwaukee, with its con-tributary branches, recommend to the Na-tional Executive body that there be a competent negro appointed as National Organ ther: and it it further Resolved. That his territory shall be where

ne can reach the greater number of the scople of his race, notwithstanding the fact that we, as Socialists, cannot, and not, fuse or cater to any political to the present unavoidable condition of race prejudice which does exist, we deem it exn to take this course, as the majority of negroes are workers and in our class, hence must be reached and educated. the Central Committee of Local Milwauker recommend the engagement of Courade E.

Sims of Milwankee, Wis., for the postnittee of Local Milwaukee request the tional office of the Socialist Party to call

for and receive contributions at its offic the Russian laboring classes and for By a vote of 48 to 14 the National

Committee decided that the additional members elected in Ohlo and New Jersev should be entitled to vote in the lection of the National Executive Committee.

Healey, Carter, Berlyn, Work, Towner, Po ochn, McHugh, Kearns, Lampenan, Bandby, Maschke, Ramp tillbert, Hastings: Noes Richardson, White, Reynolds, Putnam,

ELECTION OF N. E. C.

The fourth ballot of the National Committee to choose the seventh member of the National Executive Committee did not result in a choice and a fifth ballot is being taken, to close Mar. 21. The result of the fourth bal-

Work of Iswa, Hillquit of New York White of Connecticut, Gilbert of Utah, Ray of Nebraska, Towner of Kentucky, Fox of Maine, Maschke of Oklahoma-to-

hetir of Arizona, Carter of Idaho, Headley of New Jersey-total, 3. P For John Kerrigan of Texas-Bandlow,

Hautings of Wyoming, Kerrigan, McHugh of Mentena, Lowry of Arkansas, Healey of Piorida, O'Neil of New Hampshire, Lamp man of North Dakota, Putnam of Louis Inna. Richardson of California-total, 10. Per A. M. Simons of Hinois-Trautmann of Obio, Arridson of Vermeut, Andrus of Albienta, Pleaten of Colorado-total, 4.

For Seymour Stedman of Illinois-Hochu urt. Lamb of Michigan, Gibbs of Massechusetts, Holman of Minnesota, Ber-ger of Wisconsin-total, 5.

For Chas. G. Towner-Reynolds of In diams, Kearns of New Jersey, Floyd of Island, Ramp of Oregon, McAllister of Kansas-total, 5. Phiers six votes being cast, 19 were re-

sicol for a choice. Goebel not having is dropped, and Bandlow, Kerrigan, Signons, Stedman, and Towner remain as can-

Dan A. White spoke in Peckskill on

Mar 9 The very bad weather made the autience small, but those who came were greatly pleased. It is hoped that White will soon visit Peckskill again, isator Ladoff lectured before the Conkers People's Forum last Sunday in The Revolutionary Movement in

Russia. The audience showed its keen interest both by frequent applause and by the many questions that were asked after the lecture. Next Sunday afternoon Rev. Meric St. Oroir Wright will lecture on Religion and Modern Science. The Forn mineets in Odd Fellows' Hall on N. Broadway.

Dan A. White is now filling his dates in the dy-state cities and has held some good meetings. The audience in

in the up-state cities and has been some good meetings. The audience in Peekskill was much pleased with his presentation of Socialism. On Friday, Mar. 10, he spoke in Borlin, an unord place, to a good audience for se of the town. The comrad the size of the town. The comrad-there who arranged the meeting say that the whole town is talking nothing else but Socialis msince the meeting All were evidently well pleased an sensus of opinion was tha Comrade White was 't'he finest speak-er that ever came to Berlin." An or-ganization will be formed there in the ear future, and they are anxious to have more speakers. Comrade White spoke in Albany on Sunday to an audi spoke in Albany on Sunday to an addi-ence somewhat smaller than usually attends the meetings of the Socialists; the poorer attendance is accounted for by lack of proper advertising. White's date for Monday was in Glens Falls. Up to this writing we have no repor of the meeting. There is much interest manifested, however, in our move ment in Glens Falls and in S Glens Falls. In South Glens Falls So cialism is the talk of the town. The omrades have nominated a full village ticket and are making things hum. Secretary Wright informs us that the village has not been stirred up so thor oughly over politics for years and there is so much talk of Socialism among the papermakers there that the old ders have instructed their followers to cease arguing with the Socialists in order to check the move-ment. Comrade White's dates for the next week are as follows: Utica, Mar. 16 and 17; Rome, Mar. 18; Auburn Mar. 19; Syracuse, Mar. 20; Watertown, Mar. 21; Rochester, Comrade White reports that the meet ings are not properly advertised and urge all locals arranging meetings do their utmost to make the meeting There is no reason why speaker sent through the state she talk to Socialists only. The general public must be reached, and if the meetings are boomed more there will

be much better audiences. For all

nish advertising matter in the shape

of posters or handblus so that all

meetings will be more thoroughly ad-

State Secretary will endeavor

vertised.

speakers and meetings, the

The next speaker to go through the state will be James F. Carey of Massachusetts, ex-member of the Massachu setts legislature. Comrade Carey's wide experience as a Socialist legislator and speaker should insure him a list of dates. The commencement posely delayed until April 15 in order to allow the comrades to have time to handle White's meetings and to make arrangements for Carey. Dates have een assigned for his tour as follows: Albany, April 16; Glens Falls, April 17: Schenectady, April 18; Johnstown April 19; Gloversville, April 20; Utica, April 21; Rome, April 22; Auburn, April 23; Syracuse, April 24; Geneva, April 25; Rochester, April 26; Batavia, April 27; E. Aurora, April 28; Gowan-da, April 29; Buffalo, April 30 and May 1: Jamestown, May 2: Salamanea, May 3: Wellsville, May 4: Hornellsville, May 5: Corning, May 6: Ithaca, May 7: Yonkers, May 8: Port Chester, May 9. Promptness in acceptance or rejection of these dates is very necessary so that the tour can be arranged in the most mical manner for all concerned. It must be borne in mind by the locals that the price charged for speakers is insufficient to cover all the expenses of the tour and that the State Committee has to stand a part of the expense. The Committee is willing to do this just as long as it possibly can. It cannot continue to do so, however, unless the locals are more prompt in their remittances of dues. Already a marked improvement from all over the state in this matter is noticeable and there is no doubt about having a much better organization after the speakers been through the state. The coin order to carry on the work of orcanization in the unorganized places. If the necessary dues paying I ship can be secured, the State Com-Hichardson, White, Reynolds, Patham, coming summer. We must have organizers constantly on the road when the time comes when they can hold outdoor meetings. Letters are being that the state convention of the Socialists in the state convention of the Socialist Party shall be held in Newark page. outdoor meetings. Letters are being received from individual Socialists in all sections of the state asking that a speaker be sent to speak to the people and to help them organize.

New York City.

CPTY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The City Executive met on Feb. 27, Licht that districts buy dues stamps regularly in accordance with their needs and delegate, were accordingly instructed to bring the matter to the attention of the districts; re ported tickets for May Day celebration ready. Elected members of C. E. C. were assigned to agitation districts to help and assigned to the work, as follows: First, Lichtschein: Second, Obrist; Murray Hill, Edwards; West Side, Berlin; Yorkville, Kelly: Bronx, Ehret. Recommended that General Committee ask State Committee to initiate referendum for city convention t ratio of representation be one delegate for each district and one additional for each

City Executive met again on Mar. 6, Ed. wards presiding. Ninetean applications for membership were received and favorably recommended. The Orenniser reported vis made financial report showing receipts of \$000, expenses of \$675, and debts of \$75; will work in the unions: Courade Frost engaged as speaker; the 6th and 10th A. D. in had condition. The West Side reported successful lectures; communication from Comercie James calling attention to bill for \$7.50 due to Comrade Habnemann, which was referred to the West Side for payment to enrolled voters; lectures are well attends
ed. Verkville reported successful lectures;
will try to build up Br. 1, 26th A. Dr.; plans
are on foot for organizing as Issian
branch; will some organize 28th A. Dr.; Hungarian branch is doing well; outlook is
bright. Mariem reported successful lectures; lettrus will be sent to enrolled
voters; 21st A. D. and 34th A. D. are not
in very good condition, but steps are being

taken to build them up; 31st A. D. and 23d A D. are doing well. The Organizer r ported preparations being made for isse-ance of leaflets on issues of municipal can paign, which should be published early, and was instructed to proceed; is niso making arrangements for out-of-town speakers and has already engaged Spargo; instructed to take steps in regard to draft of municipal platform; authorized to print 50,000 leaf-

ets on the rapid-transit strike. was held on Mar. 8. Mayes presiding. The with the strikers' committee, extending sympathy and wishing success; also to

John Spargo will speak in Cooper Union, Sunday evening, on A Socialist View of the People's Institute. On Mar. 3f he will lecture there on Forces That Make for Socialism in America.

by the West Side Agitation Committe at Dispensary Hall, in West Thirtysixth street, was a great success finan-cially and otherwise. Although many comrades of these districts fail packed. Prof. Beringer, his daughter Miss Kate Beringer, and his nine-year-old son rendered the musical pro-gram, ably assisted by Prof. Joseph Eberle and the Musical Section of the V. E. A. of Yorkville. Julius Hopp. President of the Progressive Stage So-ciety, spoke to the assemblage on art and the working class, and invited the comrades to attend the next performance given by the society. Com-rade August Funk, as a German comedian, and Comrade Charles Hoins, as magician, entertained the audience ipring the evening; but the feature of the program was the appearance the little daughters. Florence and Ida, ing and dancing acts. The little one were received with great applause and were so well liked that they will repeat their performance at later party

BROOKLYN.

At the Speakers' Class in the Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby avenue, on Friday evening, Mar. 17, a part of the time will be devoted to the discus of plans for the future. All are cor

International Labor Day will be salahustad in Brooklyn on April 30 at the Labor Lyceum by addresses in English and German, entertainment, moving pictures, illustrated songs and ball. Admission, 15 cents.

A sociable, with entertainment and refreshments will be held by Branch 1, 21st A. D., this Saturday evening, Mar. 18, at Wohlrab's Hall, 675 Glenmore

Dr. E. P. Robinson will lecture at Buffalo Hall Sunday evening. There should be a good attendance. William should be a good attendance. William Epstein has kindly consented to give four violin solos, accompanied on the piano by Miss E. T. Marr, so that artistic as well as scientific minds may be gratified at this meeting.

QUEENS. Queens County Committee met Mar. 10 at headquarters, 65 Myrtle avenue, Ever-green, Organizer Hahn in the chair. Comat headquarters, 63 Myrile avenue, Evergreen, Organizer Hahn in the chair. Communication from State Secretary Chase,
asking if Local Queens had any objection
to the city convention being held in New
York on May 30, and to representation being by districts, was favorably received land
no objection made. Glendale reported that
it held a successful festival on Mar. 4 and
received one proposition for memberahin
at least meeting. Jamalea and Wyckoff
Heights reported progress. Masspeth will
hold a festival on April 1 at Marienthal
Hall, Maspeth. The following branches
were absent: Evergreen, College Paint,
Woodhaven, Woodside, Long Island City,
Fresh Pond, Long Island City, Rohemian
Winhield, Bohemian. Picnic Committee re-Wintield, Bohemian. Picnic Co. ported that Branches 50 and 190 of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund Queens County elected committees to of Queens County elected committees as act in conjunction with the committee elected by Local Queens, and that the other branches will be visited in the near future, and requested to appoint committees for the joint festival on Sunday, Mar. 28, at Liberty Park, Evergreen. All comrades who are members of the said committees are requested to attend a meeting on Sat-urday evening, Mar. 18, at headquarters, 63 Wyrtle avenue, Evergreen. County Organ-Myrtie avenue, Evergreen. County Organ-izer Hahn was instructed to have 15,000 leaflets printed by the Co-operative Press. Comrade Uhl, committee to buy books for systematized form of bookkeeping, reported progress. The next borough meetin will be held at Schaible's Hall, Harma

on May 30. Each branch, or local not divided into branches, is entitled to one delegate and one additional for each ten members in good standing or major fraction thereof. Locals and branches will now proceed to elect delegates. The attention of branch resolution adopted by the State Com mittee on Mar 12-

That the Branch Secretaries shall furnish the County Secretary with the names of delegates elected by the branches at least two weeks before such convention, and that the County Secretaries furnish a list

fore said convention.

The State Organization Committee has decided to send out Geo. H. Goebel for a short tour of central and southern New Jersey, beginning sometime around the end of March. Local desiring his services should write at once to the State Organization Committee, 229 Washington street, Newark.

Massachusette

A monster meeting was held in Law-rence last week in aid of the Russian revolution. Mrs. Alice Stone Blackwell, Dr. Antoinette Konikow of Boston, and Dr. Howard A. Gibbs (the two latter Socialists) spoke and Comrads P. Tep-per presided. A large amount of money has been raised here to help the cause BOSTON.

Cheries Albortson will speak at Homestead Hall, 724 Washington street, Mar. 19, 5.p. m., on the subject: Why I Am a Socialist. Mr. W. Wilkins will speak for the West End branch at 164 Canal street

ington street. Tickets cost 25 cents, Part of the profits will be given to the state debt fund. The Boston Socialists will hold of May Day Festival in Knights of Honor Hall, 730 Washington street, Mon-dny, May 1, at 8 p. m. Two plays will be acted. There will be music, tableaux and a short address.

G. G. Hall spoke at the meeting of Wards 17 and 21. A discussion followed and several new members were ad mitted. Another meeting is to be held on Sunday, Mar. 26, 8 p. m., at which Geo. Cutting will speak on The Trade Union Movement. The meeting takes place at Warren Hall, 67 Warren street, and all readers of this paper

The Agitation Committee met, and judging from reports received, nearly all the clubs are quite active. Those which are not will be taken up and ssisted, or if they cannot be moved the clubs will be reorganized. The subscriptions for The Worker are slowly increasing, new subscribers coming

in daily.
This Sunday, Mar. 19, the German Socialist Club will hold its Communi testival, and Heinrich Bartel, from Austria, an able exponent of Socialism will deliver an address befitting the oc casion. The Roxbury Macnaerchor will participate. The affair will come at 7:30 p. m. Admission for

Comrade Levenberg visited Wards 6 and 8 at their last meeting and gave were proposed, and the comra all active. The meetings are held regplarly every Thursday night at 164 Canal street.

Local Boston has requested the State Committee to arrange a tour for Hein-rich Bartel of Austria, knowing that he is an excellent speaker, and would the German comrades of this state from their pre lethargy. The request was favorably considered.

East Boston held a fair meeting at which the resolution submitted by the City Central Committee was discussed at length. Each and every comrade copied a few names from the list of sympathizers and caucus voters, and they are now all at work soliciting criptions and increasing their

Comrades Marcus and Dr. Konikov addressed the meeting of the Jewish club at 164 Canal street. It was an enthusiastic gathering and several new ecrnits were enlisted.

The Organizer has now a comple list of all the speakers available for open air or hall meetings and a list of the same will be mailed to each club

Continued on page 4.

HOW ABOUT THE FARMERS?

To the Editor of The Worker:--If a pro ound conviction of the fundamental justiof industrial equality makes a Socialist, in have been one for years, undisturbed by a single doubt of the ultimate triumph of th ause. The evolution is irresistible, and helpers. There is little danger of impedi ent to the movement on that side. Its professed friends.

There is so much in the current discussion of the subject which appears to me to be incheate, and so much indeed that seem to be merely wild, that a feeling of pro quickly follows the enthusiasm inspired on the theoretical side. For example, to hear elsewhere: "The land is yours, the house are yours, the goods are yours; demand them take them, possess them," and so on: Now of course those who have studied out the sound ethics of "maker's right" wil understand this to mean the final issue social evolution, when the worker wil to the average American, hard-working Brother Hayseed, for instance, whose indus try and thrift has built up a cozy home for himself and his children? He and his friends are in the majority, let me tell you at him with the logic of the tramp, the drope and the burgiar, namely, "The world it," he will reject you and your theorie out of hand. It will be impossible for you to explain to him that you mean it in different way. Your wild talk has preju liced your good cause hopelessly, and you until you can accumulate a small stock o

The finel appeal of Socialism must be to the small farmer. Nearly all of the talkfellows, who have been accustomed to the throngs of the streets and the big shops, where thousands, ten thousands, hundreds of thousands of men in the same class nagnetism and the solidarity of the great throng, the enthusiasm and the power of a heat in co-operation. You look upon such a spectacle daily and you come to imagine that what you see is the big end of the world. You are mistaken. The world lives on the farm, tills the land, inhabits the quiet little villages, and it is to this ma sority of quiet and busy people that Social sm ninst make its final appeal. Now send your wild man to these people, the man who shouts for revolution instead of evo-

"Essays on the Materialis lution, and see what the result will be, be among the workers in our cities, a resul been jossessed with the practical wisdom of our German comrades. Let us hope that will come to pass without delay, and we will see a sufficiently large vote rolled up in the immediate future among the urban workers to threaten if not to hold the bal auce of power between the two dominant parties, and thereby bring about safety valve legislation in the interest of the valve legislation in the interest of the workers. We see symptoms of this aircady is the efforts of the administration to curb the rapacity of resironds and trusts, and we will see more of it, we will see govern-ment ownership of railroads and trusts, when the Socialist Earty begins to count its roles in seven flavors. So for so most, when the Socialist Earty begins to count its rotes in seven figures. So far so good, yeery good, but we will never see Socialism in the saddle, in the White House, in con-trol of Congress, until Brother Haysed; is completely won to the cause. Best that in mind, and teach Comrade Wild Man how to hold bit tourses.

hold his tongue.

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eays Job.
I am at home playing with the children. The children are fat and lively. We are waiting for dinner, no uncer The evidence of things unseen is borne in from the kitchen. The sub-stance of things hoped for is broiling. The door bell rings—not the short

peremptory signal of the letter carrier or of the dun, but it is a feeble, dubi ons ring. The door is opened and en-ters the "tramp." I am in the pres-ence of a reality. I look him over. His coat is pinned together at the neck. His gaiters look as if at some time they had been worn by a minister. They have given out at the side and run down at the heel. He has a strip of red flannel around his neck. He has not got a cold, but cold has got him by the throat, and by the lungs. He seems to be full of chinks and the weather has beaten in on him and whistled through him. I listen to his story. He is from Great Falls, N. H., a factory town. He has smelt oil and breathed cotton fuzz ever since he was eight years old. It is against the law for a child under fourteen to work in the factory, but the labor of this child was necessary to the support of the family. So the law is charitable and permits it. He has made his way here somehow. He wants work-will shovel coal, do anything. I have to tell him that wherever coal is shoveled there are men ahead of him.

I don't think he is strong enough for miner, his life in a factory has made him feeble. His muscles are paper twine, good enough for doing up small parcels of yarn, but not good enough for a pick. Division of labor has fitted him to do one thing well and unfitted him for anything else. All his life has gone to learn to do one thing, and now all he has to show for it is a discharge. had shops, where the whole of a thing was made. A man made a wagon, or an ax, or a horseshoe. Now a man in ble shop, in a blg city, only makes a piece of a thing, the twentieth part of a thing. He is fitted to do that, but alone he is not able to make the whole of a thing. He is only good in combin-ation. Alone he is helpless. Suppose a dray horse out of a job should apply at Jewell Park for a position as a quar-ter horse. Maud S. is not good for street car purposes. The race horse is a result of the breeding of centuries. It requires ages to make a sheep dog into a shepherd dog. He cannot change

works with a pointer. To fit this fac-tory hand for the factory unlitted him for anything else.

To surrender one special skill and learn another requires time; without food a man can starve in nine days. Nine days is not enough time to learn a new trade. It is in making the transi-tion from one kind of labor to another that a man becomes a tramp. Even to saw wood for wages requires practise; there is a skill in that, even in th art of chopping and of plain sawing. Does not man become a chronic tramp as he becomes an invalid, as shoe wear out gradually. He asks for work and does not get it; he asks for food, at first with reluctance, but it is easier the second time. He hardens to the business. "The hand of little employ-ment hath the daintier sense." I look at my visitor. He is dirty, uncombed. unpleasant to every sense. The wear and the soil of the long road and of strange lodging houses are heavy upon him—I think I detect the odor of a jail about him. But how soon without repair one of us will run down. You know how you think you look after a long journey—you know how you think you feel. The outward man has rela-tion to the inner. The slouch and shuffle and unmanly front of the tramp is not necessarily because of a lack of heart. The lack of a shirt will account for it. George Washington, in contisental coat, cuffs, waistcoat, knee breeches, silver buckles, and frills and dignity. But let him exchange raiment with the tramp, and the father of his country will not be recognized by his child. Oh, no; he will begin to shirk and shuffle, and get behind himthe top of one foot, with heel of the other. Array yourself in stylish gar-ments and visit a fashionable watering place, and mark your reception by hotel clerk. Then go into the woods roys and moccasins, unshaved and unibed, appear upon the scene. The optation to seek an entrance by the temptation to seek an entrance by the back door and sneak upstairs and get to your trunk is tremendous. I remem-ber an awful day in Detroit. My trunk had gone on and I had on the uniform of the pinery. The citizens looked at me as if I was off the reservation and I felt lonesome.

With dirt and rags and cold victuals come rudeness of manner, coarsenes of speech. Let hunger in and hov long will civility and urbanity last?

Consider the tramp; he is alone. Consider what you do and refain from doing for the sake of wife and chil-dren, father and mother, friend and acquaintance; for the sake of society. Now for the time abolish these, let these braces all be taken away, be e, out of money, in a strange city. perhaps you will do strange city, perhaps you will do strange things. Men in tents, soldiers and miners are not precisely what they were at home. The trainp is always away from home. Now, when you give him a dime and watch him, and see him point for a saloon, need you be shocked at his

draws on life heavily. Unless the furice is fed, frost comes in. Before the re with plenty of porterbouse steak accompaniments and variations and accompaniments and variations, one can keep warm and behave well. But the tramp, walking about during the day, fed irregularly on cold messes, and sieeping in the tramp's bed, feels below par. Food is force, alcohol to force. For fifteen minutes it will lift him out of the depths, out of cold, and out of hunger and health this the out of hunger, and beside this the tramp is a social being, and likes com-pany. Perhaps the only kind word he

gets during a day is from a barkeepe You have read De Quincy's story of his life. He was a sick vagabond child in London streets, with no frien except a woman named Ann, and "sh but she did not abandon him. But be fore she took him up, he had learned to soothe the pains of hunger by opium. A little opium filled the lack of much bread. So he formed a habit that held him till he died. Let us get on the merciful side of the question. If you wish men to be better you mus make them happier. There are home in this city that are not very attract tive. No color; no light. Dismal places: Mr. Sleary stated that "the people needed to be amuthed." Why should we expect the tramp to be a saint of a hero? Suppose that he should ever steal a pair of mince ment now and then! Is that such a remarkable thing? People with large salaries, healthy prosperous men, who give dinners and have fine wines for their dinners, have been known to steal-never anything so little as a pail of mince of meat, bu a railroad, or something like that. A tramp is not a savings bank or a township trustee. Gall Hamilton, a fey years ago, advised that a tramp rested. Treat hunger as a crime. It is terferes with my fine ladies' comfort to see ragged people coming in at the gate. She desired that the state of Maine organize for the protection of the nerves of the best society. The ar-rival of the tramp agitated her poodle

Certainly, if a man will not work let him suffer. But where is work to be had? You put a notice in the paper that you will pay \$6 a week for any kind of labor, and see whether men are willing to work. I remember that the Chicago "Tribune" a few years ag week, and it was answered promptly by more than six hundred people. Cor wages that people work for especially women, making overalls a 55 cents a dozen. That shows willing willing to work. It is curious; ware houses full of ciothes, warehouses full of grain-abundance, but not to be earned. That is an Indian's idea of hell. "Water, water everywhere, but not a drop to drink." Of course some men lack energy, vim, take everything by the blade and nothing by the han-dle. But I do not to blame a man for lack of a native gift. Energy is a gift, an inheritance Not all have it. The tramp innocen and the tramp guilty are facts. Wha will we do? The comfortable citizen dding home late at night watche plodding home late at night waters, the alleys. Poverty, ignorance, neglect evolve into crime naturally, man compelled to stand with his l

in his pockets all day is the next day tempted to put his hands in your Gall Hamilton complained that th tramp is no gentleman. It is possible that a certain set of circumstance might make her no lady. "What's done we partly may compute, but never what's resisted." It is possible that th tramp made a good fight—is the hero of a lost cause. I am going to give him the benefit of the doubt. Here in this city where is a man out of money to find a place to sleep? Seventy-one slept in the station house the other cold night. That is better than nothing, but it is not good to send crimes and misfortunes in at the same door They will get confused and come ou the same thing. We need in this city "A Friendly Inn," with some work, so that the homeless can pay for lodging and for food, and so keep their self-respect and so that we can keep ours. A neglected class soon get to be ou

of all sympathy with society. Robert Burns long ago met the "Jolly Beggars" at Poosie Nancy's in the town of Mauchline, and photo graphs them, and makes a note of the song they sang:

"Life is all a variorum We regard not how it goes, Let them prate about decorum

Who have character to lose. A fig for those by law protected, Liberty's a glorious feast, Courts for cowards were erected, Churches built to please the priest.

When hope goes out of a man, fear comes in. My visitor told me his story, and picked with nervous fingers not insolent, he was not hard. I do not think he lied. I think there ought to be some work for him. Some place, some foothold. I think there are good some footbold. I think there are good brains enough, good hearts-enough to devise a way to save a man from be-coming a tramp. I listened to his story, opened the door and he "moved on." It made me think of something I had read in Dickens' "Bleak House," and I took down the book and turned dirty piece of bread sitting down to his breakfast on the doorstep of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." There he sits, looking up at the great cross on the summit of St. Paul's cathedral. He does not know what that cross means Poor little heathen!—poor Church o England, too! His breath draws a heavy as a cart. "I am moving on," he says. "I'm moving on to the bury in' ground, that's what as I am up to."

It is only a little while and the breath that draws as heavy as a car is too heavy. "The light has com-upon the poor benighted boy—dead dead, your majesty! dead, my lords and gentlemen! dead, right reverends and wrong reverends of every order dead, men and women born with heav dead, men and women born with neav-euly compassion in yours hearts; and dying thus around us every day." But that was in London, crowded center of the earth. Here things are different Yes, they are. American rags are not so ancient as those of London. We are young. We are not far on the road but the question is: Is it the name old evil road? Is pauperism to be an American institution?

save out of your business failure?" "My honor." "Gad! Total loss, ch?"-Cleve

OUTSIDE OF LIFE.

By Peter E. Burrowes.

It is the sorrow and weakness of art to be outside of life. And the study of this outsideness of art is akin to the study of workingman's wrongs What is the first thing that makes the loy or sorrow of a child's life? To be one in the ways of the family, or to to be one not included in the ways of the family. The child's first experience of consciousness is had through its sense of inclusion in the family ways. When it has its chair at the table, its own vessel and spoon, it is not as a private right and ownership that consciousness comes, but as a participation. It first becomes conscious of the order of family life, and then of itself as part of that order. There is no private, separate pursuit of happiness for that child; for it is not by pursuit but by admission its happiness is procured. There is for it a school time and a play time, a bathing time, a bed time, a time when father goes to work, a time when mother goes to market, a time fo paration of meals, a time for father' return, a time for the family rest and chat, a washing day, a mending day, an ironing day, a Sunday, a holiday There are periodical visits paid and re ceived. All these family movements soon assume to the consciousness a wholeness, a unitism-let us call it the family motograph, or way of going-and the happiness of the child is the fullness of its participation in that

unity movement.

In country places the succession of the seasons invite an order of labor as of pleasure. And even among the child population of the city pavements, so tenacious is our human family of or der, that there is a time for time for balls and whistles, a time for hop, skip and jump, a time for mar-bles, for buttons, for paper boats, for kites, for leap frog, and for those dear old ring games with their curious chants out of the dim past, the long sustained hereditary habits of the old children.

The country village, which is no only an ambidulness between a jelly population and solitude had one its own soul and movement. The children and the folk stepped from one month to another in village order, and the village found the first social tone and keynote of the farms around it. But now I could name you here in this state large aggregations born at the bidding of real estate and swaddled in mortgages which are as

dal castle.
To be sure the little parasite churches are there providing an eccle-siastical motograph for the naïve and actual life of the people. You have church euchres, cake sales, rummage sales and various moral monkey jumpings for the parson's penny, but of a self-evident, simple life, homelike as the vidage stream, such as reason and fact should assume there, you have none. They may have a fire depart-ment building or a bank, or perhaps a lock-up, to form what they deem ough to be the center of it. But who shall declare its center which has no unity and holds only hideaways from on another, Around the simpering un realities of local church movements they seek themselves, and flit like empty bodies vainly looking for separate souls. Unsatisfied and unrefor they pass through a fretful, fitful life of sermons and revivals, still without reality; still without soul they pass on to their gloomy graves. They never find society, that body with the soul of man inside of it.

There may be a farm house away

outside the village which looks lonely but yet which, compared with the vil lage, is a thing of character. Here there is a unitary movement. The cows know their milking time; the sheep are looking for the evening fold; the poultry have sounded their notes and flapped their wings and picked their corn; and the men with the teams are coming home. All of them are conscious of being inside the farm's unitary movement while the villagers are only conscious of being outside the city. Though the farm movement is not big enough to be the world's movement it has this advantage over the city movement of merel selling for a profit, that it is compati-ble and can easily incorporate with the for a profit, that it is compati-

ultimate social world.

If it were possible for capitalism to find a place in its way of going for all of us, if it could offer us an order of society from which none of us would be necessarily left outside, I know of no reason why Socialists would longe agitate. For the question of relative shares in the product of the race's do ing is a minor demand compared with our earnest cry for everybody's share in that doing itself. For humanity's need is of a place to work and live inside of society and to be wholly un-divided from the race.

Inside of the movements of the work shops we may say, without fear of contradiction, is to be found the essencontradiction, is to be found the essen-tials of social existence; yet the men of the workshops are sternly kept out-side the life of society. It is an un-natural divorce, and one which in time

The pendulum swing which sets this human world agoing is between two contra activities, the activity of making and the activity of unmaking (pro-ducing and consuming) not for the mere sake of making but for a common need, which is of itself neither a maker nor a destroyer; and that need is the physical supply of life. If in the midst of a multitudinous maze of divers erratic and whimsical motio purpose, from which it never desists, that movement will in time draw to it/all the others; it is power. The strap running from wheel to wheel in a fac

running from wheel to wheel in a fac-tory, by its own invariable uniform-ity of going, is the sustaining power of their variety; such also is the piston moving up and down, and the water surely and always falling at one place. Power never differentiates, it simply moves one way and has no reference to anything else but that performance. In human motions that power is labor force, for the supply of life, to which all the functions of the state and all

more ments have been derived and the race as a totality has developed its soil. Now when the laws of property ostracized labor and drove it outside of

the social life, which pro tem is the property life, it could not hold the soul of society in its palaces. The producer and consumer are not a distinguishable number of persons, separnetd from each other on either side but a world wide corporation of per-sons, every one of whom can present the dual activity of producing and con suming. As producer every such one can give more than he requires as con sumer: and it is this surplus supply witich yields the possibility of a finer human life to all of us. If the workshops had not been placed outside of society, like the treadmills of the prisons, every producer and consumer would be a rich participant in the amenities and pleasures of the social life. But what in its nature is wrong, outrageous and unnatural, is the very thing that has taken place. The work-ers are outside of life as consumers: they are there as slaves and they take free part in the life which hiefly make possible.

If anything created by labor during

its present slave ostracism from life presents the appearance of art, I say t is not art but a dead duplicate ther of; for art must have the whole and satisfaction of social need and the expression of social emotion. I am sorry to say it, but I fear it must be so, that even the humanly sacred proletarias movement of to-day must struggle over its thorny path back into the whole life without any considerable ald from art. A struggling class butthe redemption of itself to its foes, and of its foes to itself, is still but the struggle of a broken humanity; and, greatly holy though it may be, art must linger on tremulous wing until she can express the united need, triumph and life of the whole. She cannot utter herself on the rent canvas, nor by fragmentary marbles, nor on the broken strings of either side of warring divided mankind. She was sensations and to them alone she lends

ier spiritual power.

If capitalism could indeed make way for all men within its movements the Socialists would enter; for it is a way with all that we are seeking. If art could forget the misguided humanity that fights against us; if she could be taught to serve any theory, or any truth abstracted from the actual, she could sing our songs and paint our pictures and build our hopes in glori-ons walls and sculptures. But she is the actual glance of the whole race, and ess she cannot be, nor for any fewer than the greatest number of the living can she do. For the present she is, like labor itself, forced to remain outside of life and her harp is on the

Can you not imagine what different persons we poor ones might have been had we been brought up in a civilization which included us. What dignity of men, what largeness of thought, what generosity of soul would have been ours. Not by entering into us and making us shining special men would the soul of the race have morally enriched us; but, within, and being of the social movement, we would have become simply strong harmonious men. The virtue of our lives would have been our aptness for, and repose in, organization. There would have been no hysterical holding on to the ocial virtue of organization and going together; that would have been our strong unconscious simple way for we would be inside, and of, society. In barbarism the savage found a

refuge from outsideness, combining the chase, agriculture, pasturage and the crafts within the general welfare of the tribal life. Work was subordinated to humanism which, though not world wide, was in that time able to include without enslaving it; the tribe was first and all its doings subordinate and after. The soul of a man was among men and was therein anchored. His will and his habits were of the rest of them. There was o self-broken, care-worn to hold on. It mattered little whether he knew the man he met in the dark, they passed each other as frankly as fish in the sea. Were they not the idence as to the things they needed. For what could one man need that another did not? Yet good as it was the tribal integument was not able to save itself from deterioration. A thing there was in it, greater than it—world work, the power of the future. World work broke forth into the feudal and then into the capital circles, but it was too

I may not like the commercial way of going. I have many objections in fact to offer against it, but no objec-tion can be offered to it greater than this, that it is a national way of going which necessarily throws a large part the trader's way of going in search of his market, of laborers, material, ships, railroads, etc., be stripped of all other objectionable features and be it judged alone on this: that while the men of a nation may be all workers they cannot all be shopkeepers; it is therefore socially damned.

-A profit is not without honor, ever its own country.—Philadelphia Rec

—Debs' "Unionism and Socialism: Plea for Both." Price, 10 cents. O from this office.

The eight-page May Day Number The Worker will be good for propagan 100 copies, 75 cents; 200, 81.20; more at cents a hundred; cash with order. —To all-correspondents of The Worker we recommend a careful reading of the matter that appears every week in small type (like this) at the head of the first column of the second page,

column of the second was consin, the scialist Party is known under the name Social Bemocratic Party. In New Yor the emblem is the Arm and Torch. That Recretary is John C. Chase, who address is 64 E. Fourth street, New You

Just as capital grows, so grows also pauperism, that millatone round the neck of civilization, the revolting cruelties of our factory system, the squalor of great cities, and the presence of deep poverty, seated hard by the gate of enormous wealth.—Karl-Marz.

FROM GOOD AUTHORS. V .- From Ernest Belfort Bax's "The Ethics of Socialism."

If the individual contains his end within himself. as, person, where car the obligation lie to prefer a painful course (let us say) which can never possibly redound to the ulterior inte est, "enlightened," or otherwise, of his personality, to a pleasurable one which cannot (we will suppose) result in any ulterior pain to himself as individual? To talk of obligation in the case supposed is plainly absurd, if the standard of obligation be supposed to lie, so to speak, within the skin of the individual; for on the above hypothesi neither the enlightened or the unen-lightened interest of the individual is concerned in the matter. To affirm merely that "enlightened" self-inter est always lies on the side of virtue s simply to beg the question in the baldest manner, and to explain noth ing.

The way of the nuclent social mo ality was broad and clear, a knowl edge of duty had not to be conscious neither had it to be sought out in the mysterious depths of the individual conscience. But this broad highway to moral justification did not satisfy the new individualist ethic. The broad way was declared to lead to destruction. Now it was the task of every man to search out by the narrow, tor-tuous and labyrinthine paths of casuistry and personal introspection, his

The social medium in which moral ity first arose has changed, the indi-vidual and his interests has supplant ed the community and its interests eco nomically, socially, and politically hence the ethical consciousness can, by no possibility; find satisfaction in the real world. The most that reasoning can do for it is to seek to explain it away by Epicurean or Benthamite theories of "enlightened self-interest" and the like. These, however, as the ries, for the most part only touch the man of learned leisure, and exercise but little influence on the world at

The whole life of the working class

of to-day under the conditions of the great industry is a collective one, inasmuch as the labor of the individual is merged into the labor of the group the group again in that of other groups, and so on throughout the entire industrial and commercial system The workman of the great industry has never, as a rule, paid much atten tion to his soul to the yral the beau the bien, as embodied in his character. Personal holiness has never been his ethical-aim, as it has been the professed (and in some cases, doubtless, sincerely professed) aim of the moral man, and still more of the moral woman, among the middle classes. The idea of a "holy workingman" is even grotesque. The virtues which the working classes at their best have recognized, have been rather those of in tegrity, generosity, sincerity, good comradeship, than those of "meekness," "purity," "plety," "self-almega tion," and the like; in short, social and objective virtues—those immediately referable to the social environmentrather than those individual and sub jective ones referable to the personality as such. The workingman has no time, be will commonly tell you, to trouble about his 'soul;" he leaves that to the man of leisure.

The ethic and religion of modern So clalism, on the contrary, look for regeneration from without, from mate rial conditions and a higher social life The ethic and religion of Socialism seek not the ideal society through the ideal individual, but conversely the ideal individual through the ideal society. It finds in an adequate, a free and harmonious social life, at once the primary condition and the end and completion of individuality.

The new ethic of Socialism has no part nor lot with asceticism. In the first place it grudges the amount of energy required to be expended by the individual in his effort to acquire the only another name for the moral tightrope dancing which the ethic of in-wardness postulates as its end. It striking an ethical attitude. The mere discomfort or the sacrifice of the in-dividual per se is for it no virtue, but a folly unless it be a part of the means to a clearly defined social end.

To say that I am actuated by self-

interest when I, among others, place myself in front of a mitrailleuse with the dead certainty of having my, natural self annihilated and without any kind of belief in a personal immortality—to say that this is self-interest, that I do it to please myself, is either the most insipid of platitudes or else where of the wildest confevrable nona piece of the wildest conceivable non a piece to the man who sincerely, that is, without personal advantage in view, works for a cause, by this very fact tacitly admits the inadequacy of the bimself. himself as an end to himself.

It is no longer self-renunciation of self-glorification in the abstract, but the identification of self-interest with social interest. Men are now beginning to feel that any morality of which self-renunciation is an end or even an essential element is one sided and fallacious. In a concrete ethic, self-sacrifice can never be more than an accident; the substance of such ethic consisting not in the humiliation of self before God, but in the identification of self with humanity, not the of self with numanty, not the "living for others" of current Christian ethics, which at best means sacrificing one's self for other individuals, as individuals, but that affirmation of self with, or identification of tion of self with, or identification of self in society, which in the first in-stance can only be brought about by the identification of the material con-ditions of individual well being with those of social well being.

cialism, ethics be In Socialism, ethics becomes polifi-cal, and politics becomes ethical, while religion means but the higher and serve far rescaling aspect of that ethi-cal sense of obligation, duty, frater-ally, which is the ultimate bend of every day society. Yet nevertheless, all that was vital in the two earliest stages of the moral consciousne be preserved in this one; the so ject of the first, the conscious definiteness of the second.

The intellectual attitude of all edu

cated men in the present day, among all peoples, kindreds and tongues, is separated by a yawning chasm from the intellectual attitude of those of all previous ages by this fact alone, the conception of the reign of law, an essentially unchangeable order of nature just as the material conditions of life n the nineteenth century throughou the civilized world are separated by a similar abyss from those of all pre vious ages by the invention of machin ery as applied to industry, of the rail-way, the telegraph, etc. The significance of this change of mental attitude can hardly be exaggerated. All previous changes have left the cardin al principles of supernaturalism practi-cally untouched. It is now for the first time, that the principle of the fitvariability of law is universally estab lished. Yet strange to say—and here lies the main intellectual contradiction of our age-while all our science, all our commerce and industry, all the actions of our daily life, are based on this great truth, it still remains so to speak, officially unrecognized by man-kind. Old creeds based upon an entirely alien conception of the universe still remain, outwardly, at least intact. Men are categorized as Christians Mussulmans, or as Catholics and Protestants, irrespective of their real be-liefs—churches and religious movements abound, and priesthoods exist Now and again simple-minded persons try to carry out the principles of supernaturalism to their natural conclupernaturalism to their natural conclusion; they trust in the providence of God, and dispense with medical attendance for their dying children, and, mirable dictu, a Christian country arraigns them for manslaughter, and then perhaps, this latent contradiction involved in our civilization comes to light for the nonce.

What is it that prevents the realization-ay, and even in most cases the conception-of nobler aims, of a higher intellectual, artistic, and moral existence for men? It is a true saving that though false ideas may be refuted by argument, yet only by true ideas can they be expelled. The true ideal which alone can effectually exorcise the spec-tre of the Christian theology from our midst is unfortunately confined to a few. And why is it so, but because modern civilization is composed of two classes, the worshippers of capital and the victims of capital?

A glance around at our various bodies and organizations, charitable or otherwise, of a Christian character will show that at least two-thirds of modern Christianity is simply "capitalism" masquerading in a religious guise Even were this not the case, Christianity is none the less an integral part of the status quo. The privileged classes instinctively feel this. So long as human aspirations can be kept along the old lines, so long as the further gaze of men can be kept directed heavenward to the cloud-shapes God, Christ, and immortality or ward on their own hearts and concience and averted from the earthly orizon of social regeneration, all will go well.

It is necessary for the "lower orders" to believe in a sort of something which will afford them consolation, and at the same time tend to the stability of society by preventing discontent. As a matter of course, from the three main contradictions—the industrial, the political, and the religious-issues a strain of discord through every spher

How vain are the efforts of the In-ternational Peace Association at effect-ing the abolition of war in a political system based on the rivalry of nation-alities, and consisting mainly of halfa dozen powerful states, each with armaments outvying the other, which of the landed classes, and of which the trading classes are glad enough to avail themselves when they want new markets or fresh commercial channels opened up. little as they may like their cost at other times. The arbitration ists may succeed in getting up a bril liant meeting now and then in which war is declared to be un-Christian, but uch attempts will continue to be regarded by society at large, and justly,

nor prophet, but of the humanity whose religion is human welfare—not the welfare of a race or a class, but of the whole; our doctrine is its attainment, through human solidarity, or, in other words, Socialism. What in earlier phases of human evolution has in the struggle for existence, in other words, what has been hitherto accom-plished physically or unconsciously, must in the future be done physically must in the tuture be done physically or consciously—the struggle for existence must give place to co-operation for existence, and this co-operation, though in one sense the result of commercial revolution, implies on another side a correlate change in the basis of athles and religion. Then and not full ethics and religion. Then and not till then will the contradiction of our age be resolved in the unity of a fuller and be resolved in the unity of a fuller and more complete life than any yet experienced by humanity.

Socialists who recognize individual character to be the child of social condition could not expect a class degrad-

in the character of modern capt-s may be roughly indicated by

as the visionary scher "philanthropic" talkers.

We come in the form of neither god

ed materially to the condition of prole-tarianism not to bear the mark of this degradation on the character of its members. The particular class-qual-ties in the character of modern capi-

Grand 3 Days Fair and COMMUNE FESTIVAL, for the Benefit of the "Daily Call".

March 17, 18 and 19, at Clinton Hall, No. 151 Clinton St., N. Y. City. Under the Auspices of the Workmen's Co-Operative Publishing Association, New York and Brooklyn Call Conference and Allied Trades Unions; under the Massagement of the Ways and Means Committee, East Side Districts of the S. D. P. and the Socialist Literary Society.

Rich and Entertaining Program — Grand Musical Concert with participation of foremost Vocal and Instrumental Solists—Grandy Gymnastic Exhibition and BAZAAR—Celebration of the Communel—Dramatic Performance—Socialist Choral Union—Dancing Admission 15 Cents Every Evening.

your morning paper, and you will see | pression Breeds Revolution. Admission both illustrated in its columns. They is free. are the obverse and the reverse of the same medal-modern civilization.

With the workingman culture, in the natural course of things, is a direct avenue to the elevation of the class ing, with the middle-class man it too often only cements it with a thicker varnish of hypocrisy. The educated workman knows that human progres is bound up with the ascendancy of his lass. The educated bourgeol that human progress is bound up with the decay and overthrow of his class so that where we have among working classes whole sections that are Socialists, we have among the middle classes only isolated individuals.

Mere class instinct, which per se is necessarily anti-social, can never give us Socialism. The lower class in-stincts are capable of being purified of their grosser elements, and trans-formed into that higher instinct which, though on its face it has the impres of a class, is in its essence above an beyond class; which sees in the imme diate triumph of class merely a mean to the ultimate realization of a purely human society in which class has dis appeared. With those who have atclass interest has become identical with humanity or human interest.

One thing there is which will give

us cause to take heart of grace: Ther has been no evil of which mankin has once become conscious as such that mankind has not already half van quished. The acute dramatic evils of the middle ages-insecurity of life and property, feudal trammels and imposts ecclesiastical abuses—three centuries ago filled the field of human vision. Thinking, forward looking men saw in the vanquishment of the evils of their upas-tree-effete fendalism—the goal of all human hopes. It steadily and surely withered, and now it is long since first its place knew it no more. The evils they saw were van-quished, with what result we now know. We in our turn see a fatal upas tree, blasting all human aspirations and happiness. The fact tout we see it as it is, is an earnest that its de struction is nigh.

One can scarcely conceive the no-bler life which will result from generations of satisfied, rather than repress ed, animal desires, once they are the lot not of this or that class but of all. With food, drink and other creature comforts to be had for the asking the will cease to occupy the attention o human beings to an extent previously unknown in the world's history. Ther for the first time will the higher aspir ations of man have full play, the sor thing more, the "odd trick," which is the real goal of human life, will as sume a new character, and be pursue with an energy rivalling that hithert devoted to personal gain, ambition or glory, since the path to these things, as in the old sense, will have bee closed forever.

We have to do with no mere circle continuously returning in upon itself but with a movement which never touches the same actual spot twice though it continuously recurs to on analogically the same. All concrete evil, etc., passes away never to return, and the issue of the process of which it forms part is a relative "good" (hapknowledge etc.) That a ing the category of evil in anothe shape, need not trouble us since we know that here also the final result must be similar, and the end of every cycle is the good

PARTY NEWS.

(Continued from page 3.)

an da regular circuit will be started as soon as the weather permits; in the meantime hall meetings will be arrang ed. He has also taken steps to secur stand on the Common for Sunday fternoon meetings.

Pennsylvania.

The Worker recently noted that one Father Miller was giving a course of lectures against Socialism for a lodge in Sharon, and that the lectures were in Sharon, and that the lectures were being fully reported in the Pittsburg "Leader"—remarking also that they were merely a poor rehash of Victor Cathrein's book. The Sharon comrades did not let the attack go unanswered They advertised in the "Leader" tha on Feb. 28 a public meeting would be held in Leslie Hall, Sharon, at which held in Leslie Hall, Sharon, at which Father Miller's attack would be replied to, and that gentleman was invited to be present and take part in the discus-sion. He did not appear, but a good sion. He did not appear, but a good audience did. Three-quarters of an hour was devoted to answering questions, while waiting for Father Miller, and then Comrade Sturgis spoke at length, exposing his sophistries and misrepresentations. A Socialist meeting is held in Leslie Hall every Sunday it 2:30 p. m. and public notice he

PHILADELPHIA.

On Sun day evening, Mar. 16, Edwin H. Davies will lecture in Jefferson Hall, Ninth street below Dickinson, on The Lesson from Russia, or How Sup-

The Socialist School holds its sessions in Logan Hall, 1305 Arch street. On Mar. 19, at 2 p. m. and 8 p. m., Henry L. Slobodin will give the first two of his four lectures on Basic Principles of Socialism, Algernon Lee and John Spargo will follow Comrade Slobodin n April and May. The price of a membership ticket for the course of nineen lectures (fifteen still to be given) s \$1; single lectures, 10 cents. members will hold a short business meeting after the afternoon lecture

this Sunday. this Sunday.

The City Committee of Philadelphia-has adopted the following Jesolution:

"We, the City Committee of Local:

Philadelphia hereby protest against
the action of the State Secreta, in
the following matters: I. Sending of ficial communications to two past sec-retaries, while in constant communiention with present Secretary: 2. Not notifying local when nominations for National Committeemen should be in; 3. Throwing out Philadelphia nominations, which were sent three weeks after receipt of letter asking for nominations, nominations being made at first meeting of local after receipt of

letters; 4. Asking to vote for one Committeeman instead of two which Pennsylvania is entitled to; 5. Not sending. Philadelphia any party bulletins; 6. Not allowing thirty days for referendum vote which constitution provides for." A March celebration under the suspices of Local Philadelphia in commemoration of the French Revolution

of 1789, German Revolution of 1848, and Paris Commune of 1871, will be held at the Labor Lyceum, Sixth above Brown, on Friday, Mar. 24, at 8 p. m. John Spargo will deliver the address

Connecticut.

John W. Brown will lecture at the Bridgeport Socialist headquarters, 176 Fairfield avenue, Sunday, Mar. 19, at 3 p. m. An admission fee of 10 cents will be charged.

A city election is approaching in New Haven and the comrades sho all be doing their utmost to spread s

knowledge of Socialism. Here and There.

James Pirle of Montpelier, Vt., one of the oldest party members of that state and the first Socialist candidate

for Governor, died on Feb. 20. The Socialists of Pasadena, Cal., at the last general election, polled 100 more votes than the Democrats. The Republicans are going on the ballot by petition. The Socialist Party will therefore appear in the first colu the official ballot in the election

April 3. A new local at Calumet, Mich., starts off with fifty charter members.

The national office has chartered at new local at Sparks, Nev., with fourteen members.

Comrade Yarwood of Portland, Ore., writes us of the great opportunity for Socialist education and propaganda that will be presented by the Lewis and Clark Expositoin which is to open within a few weeks and which will within a few weeks and which will probably attract 200,000 visitors. He

mys: During this year Portland must not be neglected as it has been in the past, Speakers must be had, educators are an disolute necessity, if we would meet the sophistry of the capitalist class. Not only movement for working-class emancipation. may become able to explain the mission of the Socialist Party. Is there an educate who will take up this work and establish a school in this vast field away from the sweatshop atmosphere of the East?

We suppose he will be glad to receive correspondence on the subject. Address: H. C. Yarwood, 846 Division street, Portland, Ore.

Comrade Wanhope, who is on the road for "Wilshire's Magazine," speakroad for Wishire's Magazine, speak-ing and working up the circulation, is having great success. At Cincinnati on Mar. 5 he had an enthusiastic audi-ence of over a thousand persons. At other Ohio towns also—Newark, Canton, Akron, Portsmouth, Ironton, Ham-liton, and Piqua—he addressed good meetings. The Worker can safely say

that it pays to get out a good audience for Wanhope; he "delivers the goods." Secretary Alfred T. Regan of Local San Francisco asks The Worker to announce that Joseph L. Kaufman has been expelled from party membership.

SLEEPER, AWAKE.

By Lucy Scott Bower

From thy rude limbs the shackles fall, And falling thrones thy slumbers shake.

Thy helpless ones upon thee call, The strife is on. Awake! Awake! What were thy dreams? Of gratitude

For crumbs that fell from Dives' plate? Siberia's chilling word for food? Thy masters lash? Awake! Awake!

The promised land before thee stands With Freedom's draught thy thirst

Close up the ranks! Awake! Awake!

-- Hand your colored neighbor a copy of Vall's "Socialism and the Negro Problem." At this office, 19 copies for 25 cents