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The Worker.

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VOL. XV.—NO. 1
NEW YORK, APRIL 1, 1905.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

\$60,000,000 A YEAR TO DRESS 10,000 CAPITALIST WOMEN.

One Little Example of What Capitalism Costs the Working Class.

My Lady's Fine Apparel Costs as Much as One Hundred and Twenty Laboring Families Spend for All Their Clothing—What Are We Going to Do About It?—Two Views.

ESTIMATE OF THE AMOUNT SPENT ON DRESS PER YEAR BY MANY RICH WOMEN OF AMERICA.

Pay and for accessories	\$5,000
Dinner gowns	5,000
Ball and opera gowns	8,000
Opera cloaks, evening and carriage wraps	2,500
Afternoon visiting and luncheon toilettes	3,000
Morning gowns, shirt-waists, and informal frocks	3,000
Automobile furs and costumes	2,000
Negligees	800
Lingerie	1,500
Hats and veils	1,200
Shoes, mitts, boots, gloves, etc.	750
Shoes, slippers, and hosiery	1,300
Pans, laces, small jewels, etc.	2,500
Gloves, cleaners' bills, handkerchiefs	2,050
Annual total	\$38,000

Qu the whole then I see no reason to modify my estimate that SIX THOUSAND NEW YORK WOMEN SPEND OVER FORTY MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR ON CLOTHING. And that means Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia and the rest of the country out of consideration. There are certainly ten thousand rich women in America who could have for the poor at least thirty million dollars a year by simply reducing their annual dress allowance to three thousand dollars. And after all a woman could manage on three thousand dollars a year! In his "Social Progress" (1904), Josiah Strong concludes (page 70), that the amount spent for clothing by the average tenement family is \$40.85 per year. That means clothing for the entire family of six or seven persons, and there are doubtless a quarter of a million such families in New York alone. So that even if a rich woman denied herself to the extent of spending only three thousand dollars a year on dress, she would still be spending enough to clothe sixty poor families. And the thirty million dollars that might be saved—that is, the excess above three thousand dollars now spent on dress by our rich women—could at this rate clothe six hundred thousand families.

Wearing Out One Hundred Women's Lives.

I stopped once at a quiet New York hotel, and in the dining-room happened to sit near a married couple who nearly always ate alone. And I noticed that every evening the lady wore a new gown. After about a week I began to watch for the reappearance of gowns I had already seen, each more elaborate, one would say, than the others. This actually continued for about six weeks, when I left the hotel. I am sure I saw that lady in at least thirty gowns—costly gowns, imported gowns, velvet gowns, embroidered gowns, lace gowns. I felt like saying to the lady: "Madam, I see that you have thirty very handsome gowns. Each one of them stands for days and nights of your toilers. These few yards of fine brocade kept a dozen girls working an hour a day for weeks. That lace-trimmed eye and neck of a lace-trimmed gown for long months. Altogether, when you wear your thirty gowns, you are wearing part of the life-force of a hundred wretched women—do you see them plying their needles in long silent rows, do you see

The foregoing are extracts from Cleveland Moffett's third article on "The Shameful Misuse of Wealth" in the April number of "Success." They give but a few examples of the luxury indulged in by our ruling class. The tale seems almost incredible at first, but there can be no reasonable doubt that Mr. Moffett keeps well to the truth.

Think of it: The average lady of our great capitalist class spends as much to clothe and adorn her precious person as one hundred and twenty average families of the common laboring class can afford to clothe fathers, mothers and children. And all those fathers and mothers and many of their children are doing hard and useful work all the time, while My Lady Diddada does not even comb her own hair.

Think of it another way: The average yearly pay of all the wage-workers in the factories of the United States, allowing for four weeks' loss of work as a fair average, is barely \$400; the average lady of the small class that owns most of these factories, then, spends on dress alone each year as much as fifteen of those wage-workers get for their labor to supply all the wants of themselves and those dependent upon them.

Thus Mr. Moffett a remedy to suggest? Oh, yes! Here it is: "I make bold to suggest an easy way for the rich to lessen the envy and discontent not to say hatred that are now stirred by their prodigalities; let them give something openly to the poor at the moment of their grand entertainments; let them give it as a part of these entertainments so that a clear connection appears between the charity and the fête and that people may say: 'Yes, there were feasting and frivolity but there were also gifts to the poor.' We know that Mr. Bradley-Martin wore eight jeweled buttons on his Louis XVI. coat worth a thousand dollars each, but he gave so many hundred tons of coal to perishing families. And we no longer laugh at Mrs. Bradley-Martin blissing with jewels and approaching her throne with two small boys to carry her twenty-foot velvet train, because she gave thousands of quarts of pure milk to sick children."

We speak to those hundred and twenty workingmen whose families live in want. We say to them, in Byron's words: "Who would be free, HIMSELF must strike the blow."

We say with Marx: "Workingmen, UNITE! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain."

We say with Shelley: "Rise like lions after slumber In unvanquishable number. Shake your chains to earth like dew Which in sleep has fallen on you: YE ARE MANY: THEY ARE FEW."

We say to them: You have right on your side, because you are useful workers; you have might on your side, because you are the vast majority; learn to act together, before it is too late, to use your power peacefully to establish your right.

NEW YORK'S MAY DAY CELEBRATION.

On or about the First of May class-conscious workingmen all over the world demonstrate in one way or another their fidelity to the principle of the international solidarity of labor, the united interest of the world's workers against the world's exploiters.

Local New York of the Social Democratic Party has decided that its demonstration this year shall take the form of a grand meeting and revolutionary concert in Carnegie Hall on Sunday afternoon, April 30. There will be two speakers—Benjamin Hanford, Socialist candidate for Vice-President in 1904, and John W. Brown, a National Organizer of the Socialist Party. Both are workmen, both Socialists, both orators worthy of the occasion.

DETAILS OF ELECTION

In the village election held in South Glens Falls, N. Y., on Mar. 21, there were three straight tickets in the field except for one office, the Republicans and Democrats fusing on the nomination for Treasurer. The Social Democratic Party had 115 straight ballots, besides a number of "spliffs" for each candidate. Calvin E. Moore, our candidate for President, got 130 votes to 157 for the Democrat and 147 for the Republican, and was elected; Owen Conlin, one of our candidates for Trustee, got 158 votes and was elected; the other, Frank D. Sherman, had 135; Robert Kennedy, for Treasurer, got 127 and John B. Bover, for Collector, 146.

Comrade Danahy writes: "How was it accomplished? A systematic distribution of Socialist literature has been carried on inside the International Paper Company's mill for two years, with the result that more than 50 per cent. of the employees are Socialists. Last fall they nominated a full county ticket, and the town of Moreau (South Glens Falls) polled 102 votes for Debs and Hanford out of a total of 739. About a month ago a local of the party was organized with a membership of 115.

"When the polls opened at 10 o'clock the candidates of the Demo-Republican party, their heels and hangers-on, were on hand in full force, but to their surprise there was no great number of Socialists present, and apparently no preparation for the contest. The 'gold dust twins' had once concluded that the Socialists had given up all chance of winning, but when the voting commenced they were awakened from their dream to a full realization that they were up against the real thing—votes. Immediately carried away in all directions, beer flowed freely, and cigars went up in smoke. But all to no avail. When the vote was counted 115 straight Socialist votes appeared, to the consternation of the candidates of capital. On the split votes of the Republicans and Democrats our candidate for village president, Calvin E. Moore, and Owen Conlin, candidate for trustee, received enough to secure their election. All the other candidates on our ticket polled the full vote of the voters they ticked straight.

"While the candidates of the two old parties were wading in snow nearly to their knees in a blinding storm, straining every effort and resorting to every means to secure votes, our candidate for president, Comrade Moore, worked all day in his barber shop and stopped only long enough to vote, and then returned to his shop to resume his labors. Comrade Owen Conlin, our successful candidate for village trustee, who was working on the night shift in the paper mill, stayed up until the polls opened to cast his vote, and then went home and went to bed to be ready to resume work again at 6 o'clock. Our other candidates went about discharging their regular duties as if there were no election.

"Last Sunday afternoon the local met and elected two comrades whose names are to be presented by our newly elected representatives to the village board for appointment to the only two appointive offices, village clerk and street commissioner.

This proceeding was a revelation; to be asked to vote for candidates for appointive offices and to have a voice in their selection was a new departure in politics. As one of the comrades, who is past sixty years of age, remarked at the close of the meeting: 'I have voted the Democratic ticket all my life, and thought all the while that I was a member of the party, but I have just learned this afternoon that this (the Socialist) is the only party that I ever really had MEMBERSHIP in!'

FOR THE DAILY.

Growth of Fund to Establish a Socialist Daily.

Financial Secretary Gerber Acknowledges Receipt of Further Contributions—Meeting of New York Conference—Gluten Hall Fair Voted at Least \$300.

Financial Secretary Gerber of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association acknowledges the receipt of the following sums for the fund to establish the "Daily Call":

PAID ON PLEDGES.
Geo. H. Strobel, Newark, \$100; R. Biechschmidt, West Hoboken, \$2; S. Heller, New York, \$10; A. A. Heller, New York, \$10; previously acknowledged, \$3,757.10; total, \$3,870.10.

CASH CONTRIBUTIONS.
R. Zelig, Chas. Gackenhelm, B. Kaufman, Chr. Wuest, D. Albrecht, Chas. Krestschmer, H. Macke, J. Mueller, A. Ruckentopf, H. Moske, M. M. Mohr, J. Strauss, D. O'Connor, M. Mullah, Bartholomew Gill, Geo. Fuchs, J. Schnacke, Brooklyn, 45c. each; G. Michelson, Dorchester, Mass., 50c.; F. B. Forster, Pittsburg, 50c.; X. Y. Z., \$2; coll. at meeting of 60, Brooklyn Div., S. D. P., \$12.54; Gliders' Union No. 803, \$25; H. G., \$10; Punch Card 422, \$2; previously acknowledged, \$4,148.55; total, \$4,208.54.

RECAPITULATION.
Paid on pledges, \$122; cash contributions, \$50.90; total, \$181.90; previously reported, all sources, \$10,885.80; total income to date, \$11,067.75.

Letters containing contributions should be addressed and checks and money orders made payable to James Gerber, Financial Secretary, 64 E. Fourth street, New York.

LECTURE CALENDAR FOR NEW YORK.

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

FRIDAY, MARCH 31.
People's Institute, Cooper Union, Eighth street and Third avenue, John Spang, Forces that Make for Socialism in America.
West Side, 533 Eighth avenue, near Thirty-seventh street, Algeon Lee: The Socialist Movement.
Independence Hall, 138 East Twenty-ninth street, Courtenay Lemon: Do We Need the Capitalist?
Yorkville, 1528 Second avenue, James M. Kelly: Social Evolution.
Harlem Socialist Club, 250 W. 125th street, W. J. Ghent: Getting Things Done.
Verein für Volksbildung, 64 E. Fourth street, Willy Hebrauer, in German: Inventions the Products of Society.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 5.
Harlem Socialist Club, 250 W. 125th street, Debate between West Side Socialist Club and Harlem Socialist Club: Peasants, That Municipal Ownership Under the Capitalist System is Beneficial to the Working Class.
Breakfast.
ERIDAY, MARCH 31.
Wm. Morris Educational Society, Teback's Hall, corner Thirteenth and Pittkin avenues, Edward King: How Karl Marx Became a Socialist.
SUNDAY, APRIL 2.
Buffalo Hall, Buffalo avenue and Fulton street, Nathan A. Cole: Co-operation and What It Does.
Young People's Social Democratic Club, Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiltshire avenue, at 3 p. m. Jas. M. Kelly: Social Evolution.

FRIDAY, APRIL 7.
Wm. Morris Educational Society, Teback's Hall, Thirteenth and Pittkin avenues, Leonard D. Abbott: The Religion of Socialism.
Hedden's Hall, 65 Reeves Place, L. B. Houdin: Socialism, What It Is and What It Is Not.

Queens.
SUNDAY, APRIL 2.
Phil. District Hall, 230 Fulton street, corner Rockaway Road, Jamaica, Chas. A. Vanderpoort: Municipal Ownership.

A. L. U. PRESIDENT RESIGNS.
Daniel McDonald has resigned the presidency of the American Labor Union. This will bring Vice-President David C. Coates to the head of the organization. Mr. Coates, it will be remembered, served one term as tenant-Governor of Colorado six years ago, and was elected on the Democratic and Populist tickets. While holding that office he declared himself a Socialist, though, so far as we know, he is not a party member.

The Butte "Miner" of Mar. 20 says: "Mr. McDonald's plans are at present unknown, but it is thought possible that he may have resigned in order to take a position with the new organization which will be formed shortly, the plans for which were laid in Chicago recently." How much there is in this suggestion The Worker does not know.

COAL MINE ACCIDENTS.

Occupation More Perilous Even than Railroad.

Far Worse in the United States Than in Britain—Growing Worse from Year to Year—Pennsylvania Mine Inspector's Report Shows the Reason.

In connection with the series of coal-mine disasters involving the loss of many workingmen's lives which have been reported within the last few weeks, some extracts from the latest report of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Mines will be timely. This report is for 1903, the report for last year not being ready yet, and covers only the anthracite field.

During the year named 518 men and boys were killed and 1,325 injured in the anthracite mines. This means that of every thousand miners five or six were killed and of every thousand miners' laborers four were killed. The chances are about three to one against a mine worker getting through an ordinary working lifetime in the mines without injury and there is at least one chance in five that he will be killed at his work.

This makes anthracite mining an even more hazardous occupation than railroad, which is more perilous than military service in the Philippines has been for the whole period since the battle of Manila. Each year three or four out of every thousand railway workers are killed.

In the bituminous mines conditions are in many respects still worse. It is significant that just as accidents on the railways in Great Britain are fewer, proportionately to the amount of traffic than on the American railways, so it is with coal mining. During the same year of 1903 in all the mines of the British Isles, the number of workmen killed was hardly more than one in a thousand.

Capitalist interests undoubtedly have fallen away from the other side of the water, and proportionately more workingmen's lives are sacrificed. James F. Boderick, Chief of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Mines, points out that in the anthracite field, great as is the loss of life from gas explosions, the danger from falls of rock and coal is six times as great, and he says that "there is no reason why the number of accidents from this cause should not be reduced by at least 50 per cent." The cause, as he assigns it, is the negligence of the mine owners or their representatives. He says: "The companies expect . . . that the first duty of the foreman [whose special duty it is to look out for props and timbering] shall be to guard their interests, especially in seeing that the coal is taken out of the water, and the men at the working faces is the last thing that is considered. . . . The companies should engage a sufficient number of assistant foremen for the very responsible duty of examining the working places in the mines."

The reason they do not is plain—it will increase expenses—and reduce profits. The statistics indicate that fatal accidents are becoming more numerous in the mines as the years go by—and the mining companies are at the same time making bigger profits.

AMERICAN AID FOR RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

Secretary Loopoloff and Treasurer Urganer of the Russian Social Democratic Society of New York acknowledge the receipt of the following contributions for the assistance of the revolutionary movement in Russia: Previously reported, \$1,022.11; Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society, Br. 128, New Britain, Conn., \$6; Br. 4, Brooklyn, \$5; Br. 200, Bayonne, N. J., \$2; Br. 100, New York, \$2; do. coll. by members, \$4; Br. 75, Brooklyn, \$5; Br. 204, Plainfield, N. J., \$1; Social Democratic Women's Society, Philadelphia, \$3; Local North Yankina, Wash., Socialist Party, \$5.75; Local Patterson, N. J., coll. \$8.02; Local Albany, \$1; Local Louisville, Ky., \$1; Local Minneapolis, Central Comm., \$10; do. members—T. H. Lucas, \$4.50; Joseph Andre, 50c.; coll. through "Neues Leben," Chicago, \$14; Russian Social Democratic Society, Milwaukee, \$13; Dr. A. Konikow, Boston, emp. Co., \$2.30; do. emp. of Anthony's, 85c.; emp. of Walt & Bond Cigar Mfg. Co., coll. by Ch. Lamb, \$3.70; emp. of Fradley's cigar factory, Grady's floor, additional, \$2.80; Manchester Turnverein, coll. \$6.00; M. Schonen, Brooklyn, coll. \$6; Louis Jacobson, Minneapolis, \$1; F. Schade, Wilkes Barre, Pa., coll. \$1.25; P. H. Heeneberg, Rock Island, Ill., \$1; H. W. Polter, Langolis, Ore., \$1; R. Rudbeck, Goodland, Colo., \$2; M. K. Commander, Burley, Wash., coll. \$2.50; Mrs. N. E. New York, coll. \$2.50; Mrs. N. E. Arnold, Dayton, O., coll. \$2.50; total for Mar. 23, \$1,910.78.

Contributions should be sent and drafts and orders made payable to J. Loopoloff, Secretary, 121 E. One Hundred and Twenty-third street, New York.

THE POWER OF ENVIRONMENT.

The nature of one's surroundings and the method of gaining one's daily bread combine to make one's character. This truth is well expressed in the words of John Burns: "For Arthur Balfour or the Archbishop of Canterbury to sit at a sum as I have entered in Berkeley, with his front door up against a city railway arch, and his back up against a railway, and with his wife, three children and himself living in two rooms, and Arthur Balfour would become an Aristocrat and the Archbishop a Workman."

BELMONT IN A DUAL ROLE.

Head of Civic Federation and Interborough Company.

Last Sunday's Session of Central Federated Union a Lively One—"Harmony" Tricksters Roundly Denounced by Delegates.

Not for many months has there been so interesting a meeting of the New York Central Federated Union as that held last Sunday. It was a bad day for the "safe and sane labor leader" from Gompers and Mitchell down. The Civic Federation was freely discussed and roundly denounced. At the close of the discussion a resolution was adopted calling on all affiliated unions that are represented in the Civic Federation to sever their connection with that body. It was proposed also to exclude from the C. F. U. any delegates who are connected with the Civic Federation, but this was lost by a vote of 55 to 45. Finally, by an almost unanimous vote a resolution was carried condemning as Chief Stone of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers for his betrayal of the New York rapid transit strike.

This ill-fated strike and the miserable service that has since been given on the Subway and Elevated formed the starting point of the discussion. Herman Robinson, Organizer of the American Federation of Labor, reported for the committee sent by the C. F. U. to interview August Belmont, President of the Civic Federation and also of the Interborough Company, to ask him to take the strikers back. The committee got little comfort from Belmont. He refused to promise anything, said that eventually from 3,000 to 1,500 of the strikers would be taken back (less than one-fifth of the whole number), but was only concerned to look out for the interests of the stockholders; the men had given up their jobs and if they wanted to get back they would have to take their chances along with other applicants. In a word, the committee's visit was absolutely without effect.

Comrade Morris Brown, of the Cigar Makers, made a supplementary report for the committee. He said that Belmont had declared that the Subway and Elevated service now being given was "the best possible under the circumstances"—which was a more polite way of saying what Vanderbilt said so bluntly: "The public be damned! I'm not running this road for the benefit of the public. I'm running it for my own benefit." Belmont gave notice that he intended to have the roads run on the "open shop" plan from now on. He also declared himself in favor of compulsory arbitration.

Delegate Hatch took the floor to disavow any connection with the Civic Federation. Delegate M. had been the boss of all we can against labor movement." He introduced a resolution calling on affiliated organizations to cut loose from the Civic Federation.

Delegate Hand of the Wagon Workers supported the motion in strong speech. "Morris Brown told us many months ago," he said, "that the Civic Federationists were fakirs. Facts have proved that he was right. No honorable workingman can any longer have anything to do with it. Any union man who remains in the Civic Federation after this must be considered as a tool of the bosses. And if President Gompers remains in it, I say that of him." He spoke of the recent banquet of the Civic Federation, at which Mr. Gompers acted as toastmaster while scandalous attacks on unionism were being made, and said that the replies which Gompers and Mitchell made were sorry affairs.

Delegate Damon of the same organization said: "Just what is now being said about the Civic Federation by many delegates the Socialists said of it the day it was established. They told us then, and they were right, that no harmony of interest between Labor and Capital is possible, that there is a class struggle and that under existing conditions there can be no peace. Gompers has attacked and abused the Socialists for this, but now Belmont has proven that they spoke the truth. Such labor leaders as Gompers have done the cause of unionism much harm, and this rapid-transit strike is an example of it. They could not have worked better for Belmont if they had been in his pay. Just the same thing was done at the time of the great American Railway Union strike. The strike was on the way to success, when Gompers appeared on the scene, held a conference with other labor leaders of the same sort—and then the strike was killed. They did good service for the Pullman Company, as they have now for the Interborough Company."

Organizer Robinson made a rather weak defense of the Civic Federation, deprecating the bitterness of the attack and urging that the men in that body deserved respect, and made a vague charge that here in the C. F. U. there were enemies of the labor movement. Delegate Hand explained that he did not believe that Gompers was actually in the pay of the capitalists, but that they had bought him cheap with satisfaction.

The Slaughter House Workers' gate also spoke in condemnation of the Civic Federation and of "labor leaders who go around wearing 'settling' strikes to infection."

WISCONSIN LEGISLATURE.

Work of the Socialist Members.

Pushing Various Bills of Vital Interest to the Working Class—Several Widely Awake in Opposition—Majority Will See that Labor Do Not Pass.

MADISON, Wis., Mar. 13.—All the Socialist bills in the Legislature are having extremely hard luck. Both of the Eight Hour Day bills, one applying to city work and the other to employment in manufacturing and at unhealthy factories, have been reported back to committee room for indefinite postponement. This means that a hard fight was waged against them by the corporation attorneys, who are likewise waging war against the bills relating to contributory negligence. Two afternoon bills have already been given up to the hearings upon new measures and the antagonists are not yet through with their arguments. It is needless to say that our comrades legislators are also putting up a strong fight for the bills, but these measures will also be reported back for indefinite postponement.

To give the comrades some idea throughout the state an idea of the corporations take a hand in making and killing of laws, it may be interesting to quote from two letters which have been sent to all Assemblymen. Both of the letters are from Milwaukee firms and are aimed at the contributory negligence bills. Says one of them, from Milwaukee Malt Company, "What a measure would be taken to offering a premium to drunkenness, its cause, its epidemic and general disaster. Thus, for instance, a night were passed a factory accident deliberately lifted the bar of the elevator shaft and hurt the men of committing suicide seriously maiming himself with help of collecting damages."

do you think of that? I have a picture of all the workers in the city throwing themselves down the shafts, and being crippled for just in order to have the opportunity of attempting to collect damages from the boss! The letter continues: "The proposed legislation is vicious, archaic in the extreme, and we request you to use every effort to frustrate its enactment." The Socialists are going to have these bills framed as memoranda of their legislative experiences. The other letter is from the Johns Manville Co. and it states "that the present law is entirely satisfactory and impartial to them, and that they would consider the passage of the bill as unfair, unjust and detrimental to the common interests of the state."

Comrades are also agitating several measures which will further their purpose the lowering of the amount of the laborer's wages which is exempt from garnishment. Comrades Aldridge and Brockway have spoken against the bills upon the floor and they were listened to with interest. The fight of the railroads against the Rate Commission Bill is centered in the Senate. The conditions are using all imaginable means in their attempts to defeat the bill. They are even trying to grip on our Senator. Comrade Mel was invited out to supper one evening by one of the road officials, but it is needless to say that he ate his supper at the table with the rest of the Socialists. The railroad official who had invited him to come over and talk over the question of the Commission, but Hummel refused to be interviewed, where the matter was discussed.

The experience which is getting in the Legislature is a most getting value not only to them, but to the Social Democratic Party as well. Two years hence when Wisconsin sends about twenty more men to the Legislature, our five men who are now there will be the leaders of the Socialist hosts upon the floor, or perhaps they will then be in Congress! Who can tell—Ira Cross, of Social Democratic Herald.

mission against the granting of any more franchises to the Interborough Company, which had shown itself able or unwilling to give decent service, and also to arrange a mass meeting in the interest of public ownership of the whole rapid transit system.

It may be noted that German Typographical Union No. 7 set the example several weeks ago of withdrawing its delegate, Oberwager, from the C. F. U. because of his connection with the Civic Federation, which the union held, was inconsistent with his duties as a representative of the union.

The few who, last Sunday, opposed the principal resolution, did so on ground that men who belonged to the Civic Federation were there only their individual capacity, not as leaders. The argument found no favor, however, for every one knows that these men were invited by Mr. Belmont's "house" organization only because of the influence they were supposed to have in the union. The feeling was that, if the union had a certain position in the

The Worker.

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THE SOCIALIST VOTE: In the State of New York, the Socialist Party received 95,991 votes in the general election of 1904.

NEWS FROM MILWAUKEE: The Milwaukee Socialists are active in their efforts to improve the lot of the working class.

NEWS FROM MILWAUKEE (continued): The Socialists in Milwaukee are working for the abolition of child labor.

NEWS FROM MILWAUKEE (continued): The Socialists in Milwaukee are fighting for the eight-hour day.

NEWS FROM MILWAUKEE (continued): The Socialists in Milwaukee are demanding the right of collective bargaining.

NEWS FROM MILWAUKEE (continued): The Socialists in Milwaukee are opposing the use of force by employers.

NEWS FROM MILWAUKEE (continued): The Socialists in Milwaukee are supporting the workers' strike.

NEWS FROM MILWAUKEE (continued): The Socialists in Milwaukee are demanding the right of peaceful picketing.

NEWS FROM MILWAUKEE (continued): The Socialists in Milwaukee are fighting for the abolition of the convict lease system.

NEWS FROM MILWAUKEE (continued): The Socialists in Milwaukee are demanding the right of free trade unions.

NEWS FROM MILWAUKEE (continued): The Socialists in Milwaukee are opposing the use of spies by employers.

NEWS FROM MILWAUKEE (continued): The Socialists in Milwaukee are demanding the right of peaceful picketing.

NEWS FROM MILWAUKEE (continued): The Socialists in Milwaukee are fighting for the abolition of the convict lease system.

NEWS FROM MILWAUKEE (continued): The Socialists in Milwaukee are demanding the right of free trade unions.

NEWS FROM MILWAUKEE (continued): The Socialists in Milwaukee are opposing the use of spies by employers.

In all these cases we ask: Is a vote for this ticket a vote for or against Socialism and the working class? One or the other it must be. There is no middle ground.

We have seen non-partisan tickets of various sorts here in New York, and we know that they are just as obnoxious to working-class interests as straight Republican or Democratic tickets—sometimes worse, by just so much as a disguised enemy is worse than an openly avowed one.

In 1901 we had a non-partisan aggregation of "municipal reformers" in the field in this city, whose sole effort was "to keep Tammany out of office."

We got a "non-partisan reform" administration for two years; it was a very good administration for the capitalists; it did all the dirty work of the capitalist class cheaper than Tammany had done it before.

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point out to their fellow workmen the injustice that occupies the bench as well as the corruption that fills the legislative hall and the tyranny that sits in the executive chamber.

That was bad enough. But when "Wahrheit" goes further, when it changes a negative error into a positive one, when it advises Socialists to vote for a capitalist candidate, when it holds out the delusive hope that the working class can benefit by the election of "good men" on "non-partisan" tickets.

There can be no doubt about the intention of the Nevada militia bill reported elsewhere in this paper, or of the Dick Militia Law, or of the scheme being pushed by the War Department for the organization of rifle clubs.

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the A. F. of L. We have only to say that he has more indignity than a dog. We should have taken the same position in case some prominent Socialist had taken part in a conference for the purpose of disrupting the A. F. of L. in the interest of the Federation.

We have often enough and sharply enough criticized the administration of the A. F. of L.—for instance, when it was sending its agents to the Rocky Mountain region to try to disrupt the A. F. of L. and when it refused charters to unions of Mexican and Japanese workmen in California who wished to affiliate and on many other occasions.

We may quote with hearty approval a part of what the "Socialist" of Toledo has to say about the case of one J. Carlos Becker, who has been making a meteoric career—or, perhaps we might better say, a rapid succession of sky-rocket careers—in Kansas, Oklahoma, Indian Territory, and elsewhere.

Comrades are too often prone to accept in good faith the protest of any one professing to be a Socialist, without investigating, or at least making some inquiry into his standing or record in the party.

Whenever the comrades are deceived in such a manner it is their duty to send out a warning to the party at large to be on its guard. It is a mistaken sense of sympathy which prompts comrades to do otherwise.

It is not too much for locals to see that a speaker engaged as a Socialist is a member of the party in good standing before he is allowed to speak as a representative of the Socialist Party.

We may add that modesty and frankness should be regarded as desirable qualities and their presence or absence looked for as a test of the quality of new acquaintances in the movement.

The man who "blows into town" from nowhere in particular, who talks in large and vague terms about the work he has done for the party and the martyrdoms he has suffered, and who undertakes to "put new life into the movement" right off wherever he shows up, is pretty often just the type of man who looks out for Number One above all and, if given a free hand, supplies the comrades with a larger store of "experience" than they really have time to digest and assimilate.

The union bricklayers and the employing builders in New York have concluded a treaty which helps to explain why Socialists find so much difficulty in converting trade unions. Under this arrangement the regular pay of a bricklayer is to be seventy cents per hour for an eight-hour day.

The statement that the union bricklayers' scale in New York is \$5.00 for an eight-hour day, with double pay for overtime, is true. The intimation that they can regularly make overtime is not true. The work is so heavy and so "rushed" that eight hours' work is all an average man can stand, except now and then for a few days at a time.

with the bricklayers, as in other trades—just as good progress, if not better, on the whole, in the skilled and relatively well paid trades as among the unskilled laborers and factory operatives.

The Chadwick mystery has ceased to be a mystery. Mrs. Chadwick wasn't a hypnotist nor a sorceress nor anything else so very wonderful. She was just a rather "nervy" swindler and she had to do with eminently respectable, conservative, pious bank officials who were willing to take the risk of partnership in the swindle for a liberal percentage of the loot.

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

Table with 2 columns: Item and Circulation. Includes Single subscriptions, Outside bundles, Samples, Exchanges, Sold at office in bundles, and Totals.

This is one of the worst weeks we have yet had to report since opening this department last August. A gain of only three on the list of individual subscribers! At this rate it would take us half a century to get the paper on a self-supporting basis.

The following, taken from the columns of the San Francisco "Examiner," shows the trend of legislation by which corporate and commercial interests hope to subvert the rebellion of labor against the despotism of exploiting aristocracy:

RENO, Nev., Feb. 23.—Senator Lord of Storey county introduced the most important measure of the session in the Legislature at Carson today. It practically makes every citizen of the state a member of the militia, placing him at the command of the governor.

For years the population of Nevada has dwindled to such an extent that the matter of attaching Nevada to some other state or relegating it to the territorial domain has been seriously considered.

The bill introduced by Lord is the product that has sprung from the mercenary brain of a mine owners' association that is now arranging the preliminaries of an assault upon the membership of organized labor in the famed gold belt of Nevada.

The Pioneer Boot Workers, a co-operative society of Socialists in Northampton, England, has turned \$680 into the treasury of the Social Democratic Federation in the last ten months.

AN ELEMENTARY COURSE IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

XVI—The Ethics of Opposing Classes—The Capitalist's Morality of Contract versus the Wage-Workers' Ideal of Fellowship in Useful Work.

(This is one of a series of articles, begun in The Worker of Dec. 4, as an attempt toward a systematic and correct and popular statement of the fundamental principles of scientific Socialism for the assistance of those who really wish to study (not merely to read something easy) and who have too little time to undertake larger and more complete treatises.)

XVI—The Ethics of Opposing Classes.

We tried last week to make clear the relation between the moral and the material forces in evolution—ideals, sentiments, and beliefs, on the one hand, and the economic conditions of individuals and classes, on the other.

Directly, we said, the moral forces often seem the stronger of the two and always play an important part. But these moral forces are controlled by material conditions. The ideals, sentiments, and beliefs of the members of various classes are shaped and colored by their economic environment.

Let us apply this principle to the two most important classes in existing society—the capitalists and the wage-workers.

I take the liberty, in so doing, of appropriating the expressions used by W. J. Ghent in his "Mass and Class," because I think they are hardly to be improved upon for the purpose.

The ethic or moral code of the capitalist class is the ethic of contract—the belief and feeling that the fundamental right is the right to make any agreement that anyone else will accept and that the fundamental duty is to fulfill the terms of agreements once made.

We do not mean to say, of course, that capitalists always keep their agreements. That would be far from true. Capitalists, like other men, do many things that they feel to be wrong and even sometimes excuse others—especially others of their own class—for doing such things.

Not only in law, but in other fields, even in theology, we may see the influence of this theory of contract; Protestantism, particularly in its Calvinistic form, which is distinctly the theological expression of capitalist as distinguished from feudal life, constantly puts its dogmas—of the Fall, the Atonement, and so forth—into terms of purchase and sale.

In the economic activity of the capitalist class and the political activity following from it, contract reigns triumphant. "Caveat emptor" is the rule of capitalist business—"Let the buyer beware." Does he complain because I sold him shoddy clothes because he adulterated food? He has no right to grumble. I did not force him to buy. It was a free contract. If he lost by it, that is his affair; I am not responsible.

IT IS INTENDED TO JUDGE THE ORIGINAL, CONSIDERABLY REVISED, IN BOOK FORM, AFTER THE COMPLETION OF THE SERIAL PUBLICATION.

A TALK WITH LIFE.

Two men who had been deceived by Life, so wild and so pitiless, once stood before her face to face. "What do you want of me?" asked she.

"One of them answered in low tones as follows: 'The cruelty of your contradictions appears revolting to me; my mind tries in vain to solve the riddle of existence, and my spirit is veiled by the darkness of doubt. But my reason tells me all the time that man is the most perfect being in all creation!'"

"What do you seek from me?" interrupted Life, with sphinx-like face. "I want happiness! And in order that I may be able to realize it, I must conciliate the two opposed principles that divide my heart in making 'I want' agree with 'You ought.'"

"You have simply to desire what you ought to do for me," answered Life in rather harsh tones. "No; I cannot desire to be your victim!" cried the man. "I who would like to rule you, I am condemned to live under your laws. Why?"

"Don't talk so boldly," entreated his companion, who stood a little nearer to Life. "Don't talk so boldly!"

"I claim to have the right to live in harmony with my ideals. I do not wish to be compelled either to be the brother or the slave of any man. I want to be either brother or slave to my own sweet will, obeying only my own inclinations. I cannot be happy while Society disposes of me as a kind of lifeless stone which is only good to build up the prison walls of the common good. I am a man, I am a spirit, and I ought to be free!"

"Say no more," remarked Life, with a cold smile. "You have said a great deal, and anything you could add would be simple platitude. You demand liberty? Why do you not fight for it? Try a battle with me! Suppose you are victorious! Become my master, and let me be your slave! You know what that designation I yield to my conqueror! But you must conquer first! Do you feel able to cross swords with me in order to free yourself from your chains? Do you feel sure that you will triumph over me? Have you confidence in your own power?"

And the man replied with a very discouraged look on his countenance: "You have forced me to an inner battle with my own self. Your words have sharpened my judgment, and now, like a keen blade, it plunges its edge deeper into my soul and wounds me all the time."

"Speak to her more boldly," pleaded his companion; "don't begin to whimper!" But the man continued: "Would that your tyranny would grant me a little breathing space! Oh, leave me for one short minute to my own happiness!"

Life had now a fresh smile on his face. "Tell me," he said, "do you of me as a favor?" "I ask it as a favor," answered the man, like a beggar.

TRY TO DISRUPT AUSTRIAN UNIONS.

The trade-union movement having recently developed great strength in Austria and its members showing a strong inclination also toward Socialism on the political field, an attempt is being made to divide and weaken it by the organization of "Christian trade unions" under the leadership of the priests, as has been done in Holland, Belgium, parts of Germany, and elsewhere and even, in a half-hearted and ineffectual way, in this country.

In the long run, it is safe to say, the scheme will defeat itself, though it may do much harm to the working class for a time.

URIONISM IN GERMANY. Since the coal strike in Germany last January, the Catholic trade unions in Westphalia have increased their membership from 40,000 to 75,000. The Miners' Federation, however, which is in sympathy with Social Democracy and to which the Catholic unions are hostile, has grown from 20,000 to 120,000. What is still more satisfactory, the members of the Catholic unions are by no means so docile under priestly leadership as in previous years. The weekly organ of the Miners' Federation has now a circulation of 155,000, as against 90,000 at the beginning of the year.

HOW ABOUT THE REST OF US? The world "do more," as Uncle Joseph would say. The Nebraska Legislature has passed a law making it a crime to work in connection with a hard organ for more than eight hours a day. May the good work go on until similar provisions are made for the balance of our time—the Western States.

A VALUABLE AUXILIARY. The Pioneer Boot Workers, a co-operative society of Socialists in Northampton, England, has turned \$680 into the treasury of the Social Democratic Federation in the last ten months.

NOTE.—Many requests are being made for the back numbers of The Worker from Dec. 29, containing the earlier articles of this series. Such requests can no longer be complied with, as the supply of copies of several of these numbers is entirely exhausted.

PARTY NEWS.

National. W. E. Farmer of Denison has been elected National Committeeman of the Communist Party...

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ELECTION OF N. E. O. The first ballot for members of the National Executive Committee was inconclusive...

For Robert Bandlow of Ohio-White of Connecticut, Carter of Idaho, Berney of Illinois...

Richardson of California, Healey of Florida, Potvin of Louisiana, Tower of Kentucky...

For A. M. Simons of Illinois-Andrews of Alabama, Platon of Colorado, Lamb of Connecticut...

For Charles G. Tower-Bryant of Indiana, McAllister of Kansas, Kearns of New Jersey...

For James F. Carey of Massachusetts, will start on a tour of the State at Berlin on April 13...

Report blanks for the financial statement of locals for the quarter ending with March...

third anniversary by a theatrical and social entertainment on Saturday evening, April 1, at Manhattan Lyceum...

The paragraph in this department last week in reference to the "temporary organization of the 24th A. D." should have read 20th A. D.

Comrades in Kings County are organizing a musical society, to consist of chorus and orchestra...

The 6th A. D. will have a reading from "The Struggle for Existence" on Sunday, April 2, 10 a. m.

Notwithstanding the waning of the entertainment season, the Brooklyn comrades are not relaxing any in their activity...

The many comrades in New York and Brooklyn who know Frederick E. Martin will sympathize with him and his wife...

Lectures will be held by the Eighth Ward Branch of Jersey City at Arcanum Hall, Jackson and Clifton avenue...

A dance and entertainment will be given by the Boston Socialist Women's Club on Friday, Mar. 31, 8 p. m.

Comrade Carey will visit Boston on April 7, 8 and 9 and clubs desiring to engage him for any of these dates should inform the Organizer at once.

are to be divided—30 per cent. going to the state debt fund, 20 per cent. to The Worker and 10 per cent. to a Belgian labor paper...

The German Club has just heard the report of its committee on arrangements for the Commune celebration...

Comrade Cutting spoke at the Trade Union Movement at a meeting of Wards 17 and 21 at Warren Hall...

Leaflets for propaganda work, organizers' postal cards to be used at meetings, leaflets for the Organizer...

Local San Francisco desires all traveling speakers who are working in harmony with the regularly organized Socialist Party...

A result of recent referendum the seat of the State Committee has been changed from Erie to Reading...

Gaylord Wilshire spoke in Old City Hall, Pittsburgh, Sunday, to an audience of 1,800 persons.

The Socialists of Ohio will hold their state convention at Columbus on May 28.

The Socialist Labor Party has been denied a place on the ballot in the St. Louis city elections on the ground that its program is not in accordance with the provisions of the state constitution...

Denver, and to establish loose and unsafe methods of conducting the Socialist Party; and the charges preferred by the Denver County Committee...

The State Secretary was instructed to warn the locals and the comrades generally to beware of the many itinerant speakers who are representing themselves as Socialist speakers or organizers...

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Local Perry, Okla., adopts resolutions disapproving of the employment by Socialist organizations of speakers who charge exorbitant fees...

The Chicago Socialists are making a red-hot city campaign. For the seven days ending Friday no less than forty-six hall meetings were announced...

A REALISTIC NOVEL OF THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA. THE WHITE TERROR AND THE RED.

BY A. CAHAN, Author of "Yaki" and "The Imported Bridegroom." WHAT THE CRITICS SAY: "A thrilling story aptly illustrating the situation in Russia today..."

Sold by all booksellers or by the publishers: PRICE \$1.50. A. S. BARNES & COMPANY, 156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

MODERN SOCIALISM, 5th Edition; 180 Pages; Paper 25c, Cloth 75c. PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM, 4th Edition; 238 Pages; Paper 35c, Cloth \$1.00.

TEST OF GENERAL STRIKE THEORY. A writer in the "Röschischer Arbeiter Zeitung" points out how events have belied the theories of those who have argued the usefulness of the general strike...

THE CONSERVATOR, PHILADELPHIA. ONE DOLLAR A YEAR. EDITED BY HORACE TRAUBEL. EUGENE V. DEES: "The Conservator," edited by Horace Traubel, is a source of genuine delight to me...

Dr. Anna Ingerman, 121 E. 112th St. Returned from abroad. Office hours 10-12 a. m., 5-7 p. m.

Dr. C. L. FURMAN, DENTIST, 121 Schermerhorn Street, Brooklyn. Telephone No.: 3113 Main.

DR. S. BERLIN, DENTIST, 22 E. 108th St., Corner Madison Ave., N. Y.

ABBOTT BROS' Lunch Room, 110 Bleeker St., nr. Green St., NEW YORK. Kangaroos are welcome. No line drawn on smaller animals.

PUBLICATIONS. IF THERE ARE ANY GERMANS in your neighborhood, be sure to send their names and addresses at once to "Vorwärts," 184 William Street, New York...

Subscription Price: ONE YEAR, \$1.00. SIX MONTHS, .60. THREE MONTHS, .35. Address: VORWAERTS, 184 William Street, N. Y.

Two Socialist Novels. A few months ago there was in the English language no socialist novel worthy the name...

"POVERTY" BY ROBERT HUNTER. This book is the result of several years of original investigation of social conditions in New York, Boston, Chicago, and London...

"DIE ZUKUNFT" (THE FUTURE) A Monthly Magazine of Popular Science Literature and Socialism. In Jewish language, published by the Zukunft Press Federation...

CHANTS COMMUNAL BY HORACE TRAUBEL. An artistically printed and well bound volume, containing forty of the author's contributions to The Worker...

WORKMEN'S FURNITURE FIRE INSURANCE. Organized 1872. Membership 15,000. Principal Organization, New York and Vicinity.

LAWYERS. MORRIS HILLQUIT, Attorney-at-Law, 320 Broadway, Tel. 2576 Franklin.

ENGINEERS, FIREMEN, ELECTRICIANS. We recommend the following books as the most popular and the best ever published on the subject of Steam Engineering...

ART IN CAPITALISTIC SOCIETY.

Are Republics Unfavorable to Art?—History Proves the Contrary, but Even a Monarchy is More Beneficial to Art Than Our Highly Developed Capitalism—Present Conditions in Exhibitions and Museums.

By Clara Ruge.

Like an enormous burden capitalism is pressing down the progress of art in this country. So heavily is this burden that art can scarcely lift it. It is crushed down to an extent that artists through the constant hindrance of free movement, lose also the ability of a free conception of causes and effects.

"Republics are not favorable to art," is an oft repeated saying. "The patronage of poets and artists is lacking." The art masterpieces of past centuries were mostly rulers of principalities or high dignitaries of the church. Many even prophesied the dying out of art altogether in a republic on a socialist basis.

But it has been already shown that the republican form of state is capable of producing and promoting high art. In the XVIIth century during the republican era of Holland, Dutch art freed itself from the arms of the church. It received orders, as well as well as motives, from the people, from the state and the cities. Even then the patronage of art through the church and the aristocracy had reached a decline.

A new free art sprang up in the North. An awakening in all branches of knowledge was the result of the free republic of modern times. The free commonwealth did not last. It is true, progress always goes in spirals. But that Rembrandt and his contemporaries stand to this day unexcelled as teachers of modern art, this demonstrates the fact that art may grow and flourish in a republican state. In our time the "art nouveau" (new art) in France, which has influenced the arts of all nations, furnishes another example that a republic in itself is certainly not adverse to artistic development.

In the highest degree a republic on a socialist basis would be favorable to all arts and crafts, because great talents and geniuses would no more be ruined through the struggle for existence, before they are able to give to the world the fruits of their work. Daily life would be a stimulus instead of a hindrance, because favorable circumstances would transform and harmonize life, forcing it from crude and petty.

But, indeed, a republic like ours, based on highly developed capitalism, is still more unfavorable to art than even a monarchy. The prevailing conditions in our art museums will not be abolished, to the benefit of the little support that the government gave to the World's Fair Art Department.

Our Metropolitan Museum has existed only since 1870. It was founded and supported with private endowments. When the collections had accumulated the city consented in the year 1870 to erect the museum building in Central Park. The city has for several years also appropriated annually considerable sums for maintenance. But the selection and purchase of art works is left to private initiative.

In other cities the governments are also scarcely of more assistance in purchasing works of art. If this is entirely left to private people, to rich donors, the taste of these donors will, of course, be prevalent. One cannot claim that it differs always favorably from that of the German Emperor. Very often donations were not accepted if they did not please the taste of the leading authorities. Especially among artists it has caused great offense that very valuable art works have been refused because they did not suit our politicians or money magnates. This mostly happened with gifts from artists or art clubs. In other cases such donations have been accepted, but buried in the basement forever, "want of space" being the excuse. But a donation from an industrial millionaire will never be refused, and space for it can always be allotted, whether the gift is worthy or not. Further, one is always much more anxious to have the name of the donor inscribed on the wall than the one of the artist who created the work. Until lately it was customary even when a statue was erected, only to name those who gave the money, but not to mention the sculptor. Lately this has changed to some extent since our sculptors have organized and acquired a more important position. But only very few monuments are now erected by the government. And only lately official buildings begin to be decorated with sculpture and paintings. Most of these government orders could, until now, only be secured by political influence, and politics and capital are hitherto closely related.

Concerning the donations to the museum even our capitalists are not very extravagant. They have rather neglected their names will in the first place be thankfully remembered, and the loans can be made when it suits the family; namely, in cases of a royal museum is a safe storage place—or when the palaces of the wealthy man are reconstructed. Through such an incident the museum came for a few years into possession of the wonderful gallery of W. K. Vanderbilt.

The comparative exhibition held this fall had also a commercial background. It was certainly a great artistic success, and made every one feel immensely sorry that these treasures of art cannot be seen at all times. But the reason for showing them on this occasion was not to give to the public the pleasure of once viewing them, to artists the benefit of studying them or to the charitable societies a money donation—but to advertise the pictures, because many of them will be put on auction in the near future by their wealthy owners.

Indeed, our politicians are in that respect much less broadminded than European politicians. On the private friends, that means a few members of their own class, are allowed to see their art collections. Even artists are not invited to see them. It is only to the charitable societies a money donation—but to advertise the pictures, because many of them will be put on auction in the near future by their wealthy owners.

MAY DAY NUMBER OF THE WORKER.

The Worker for April 29—will go into the mails on April 27—will be a special May Day Number, intended particularly for use in propaganda. It will consist of eight pages instead of four, but will be sold at the usual price.

Among the features of this May Day Number we are now able to announce the following: State Secretary James S. Smith of Illinois will write on the work of the two Socialist members in the Illinois Legislature, State Secretary E. H. Thomas of Wisconsin on the work of the Social Democrats in the Legislature of that state, and Alderman Frederic Heath on the record of the Socialist delegation in the Milwaukee City Council.

Morris Hillquit will contribute a review of the recent progress of the revolutionary movement in Russia and of its present situation and prospects. Benjamin Hanford, our Vice-Presidential candidate in the last campaign, will give us an article, and Eugene V. Debs, who headed our ticket, will do so if possible.

Fred W. Long, Franklin H. Wentworth, Jos. Wanhope, and W. J. Ghent have promised special articles—and the mention of their names is a sufficient guaranty that the articles will be good. There will be a plain exposition of the main principles and purposes of the Socialist movement, intended particularly for the man who as yet knows nothing of Socialism but is willing to learn.

There will be another article about our party organization and its tactics and methods of work, showing why Socialists should not only vote the ticket but also join the party.

There will be a general review of the progress of the Socialist Party at home and abroad during the past year, showing the achievements of the International Army of Labor which we invite all lovers of liberty to join. These and other articles—to the exclusion, so far as possible, of routine or controversial matters—will make the May Day Number an especially good one for distribution at public meetings arranged by the party, in shops and unions, in its house-to-house work, or otherwise. Every local or branch should get a bundle. To ensure prompt delivery it is desirable that orders should be sent in as far in advance as possible.

Bundle prices are: 100 copies, 75 cents; 200 copies, \$1.20; 300 or more, 50 cents a hundred; as these prices hardly cover cost of paper, press work, and mailing, cash must accompany all orders. Address—

THE WORKER, 184 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK.

Their names are famous enough to be invited to a reception. And American artists have a hard struggle to become famous! Therefore the private ownership of art works does not even benefit the art students. Money buys art. Artists are the slaves of capital.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

By Luolen V. Rute. The short-sighted self-interest of some capitalists is amusing. The other day a Louisville merchant advertised for a workman. He was so overwhelmed with applicants that he wrote to the "ad." editor thus: "I placed an ad. in your want column on the 28th of February. There has been a constant stream of men calling on my office ever since that date. I did not have the faintest idea of being so overwhelmed. I believe I have enough addresses to make a small directory." And the only meaning he got out of this small army of the unemployed looking for a job was that the paper in question "is certainly a great advertising medium."

I have another striking proof of the pressure of unemployment on the "intellectual proletariat" of Louisville. A well-educated, worthy, and hard-working young woman of my acquaintance had me recommend her the other day for a position in Carnegie's library in Louisville, to open shortly. One of the prominent trustees replied thus to my letter of recommendation: "The truth is that there are no vacancies at this time, and perhaps I ought to confide to you that a sufficiency of applications are on the waiting list to officially populate half of the libraries in the United States."

H. Rider Haggard is now on his way South and West to investigate conditions amongst the farmers and report to the British government. "I am free to say," says he, "that the outlook for the poor in England in the country leads to the poorest of a state. I have recently visited the usual capitalist peripatetic, thus delivers itself editorially on the farmer problem: "The American map is dotted with prosperous farms. The statistics of the past year show that American farmers are receiving for their crops twice as much as they received ten years ago. This gratifying fact may aid in overcoming discontent and inducing men to remain in the country. It may prove to them that wealth is possible on the farm, and that they are taking great chances in moving to the city. It may thus simplify the whole problem in America."

The afternoon edition of the same paper contains the following news item from Indiana, not thirty miles away: "Both being a devoted and successful Joseph Schaefer and wife of Scott County have been sent to the insane asylum. Schaefer lost his mind by worrying over short crops and hard times." Capitalist editors either do not read or do not understand their own news columns. If Rider Haggard made a truthful report of the small farmer in America he would say: "The outlook for the small farmer in America leads to the mad-house."

The last United States Census report makes the following revelation regarding how the working class of Louisville are housed: Homes owned, 2,062; homes, rented, by working class, 2,160. The local small capitalists are squealing lustily at the pressure of a notoriously corrupt municipal government. There is \$100,000,000 worth of taxable property in city and county. The present tax rate is 84 cents on \$100, the highest in the history of Louisville. The money is to be expended on the new jail and armory! City charity commissioners report more misery than ever was known before. The houses for the fallen women and girls are overflowing. The orphan institutes turn away applicants for lack of room. And Socialists know this is both a local and universal condition.

"Poverty," by Robert Hunter, is a book that should be in every Socialist club-room and should be studied by the members. Price, \$1.00. Socialist Literature Co., 184 William Street, New York.

"I wonder they allow such a cruel restriction as that 'Catch me alive, oh paper,' said the spider tearfully as she sat in her web."—P. Anstey, "Fables of Pity."

MARKED PASSAGES FROM GOOD AUTHORS.

VI.—From Karl Kautsky's "Social Revolution."

The contrast between reform and revolution does not consist in the application of force in one case and not in the other. Every juridical and political measure is a force measure which is carried through by the force of the state. Neither do any particular forms of the application of force, as, for example, street fights, or executions, constitute the essentials of revolution in contrast to reform. These arise from particular circumstances, are not necessarily connected with revolutions, and may easily accompany reform movements. The constitution of the delegates of the Third Estate at the National Assembly of France, on June 17, 1789, was an eminently revolutionary act with no apparent use of force. This same France had, on the contrary, in 1774 and 1775, great insurrections for the single and in no way revolutionary purpose of changing the bread tax in order to stop the rise in the price of bread.

Measures which seek to adjust the juridical and political superstructure of society to changed economic conditions are reforms if they proceed from the class which is the political and economic ruler of society; they are reforms whether they are given freely or secured by the pressure of the revolutionary class, or compelled through the power of circumstances. On the contrary, those measures are the results of revolution if they proceed from the class which has been economically and politically oppressed, and who now have captured political power and who must, in their own interest, more or less rapidly transform the political and juridical superstructure and create new forms of social co-operation.

While the bourgeoisie were still revolutionary, the catastrophic theory still ruled in natural science (geology and biology). This theory proceeded from the premise that natural development came through great sudden leaps. Once the capitalist revolution was ended, the place of the catastrophic theory was taken by the hypothesis of a gradual imperceptible development, proceeding by the accumulation of countless little advances and adjustments in a competitive struggle. To the revolutionary bourgeoisie the thought of catastrophe in nature was very acceptable, but to the conservative bourgeoisie these ideas appeared irrational and unnatural.

In the case of Darwin we know positively that his natural science hypotheses were influenced by Malthus, that declares opponent of revolution. It was not wholly accidental that the theories of evolution of Darwin and Lyell came from England, whose history for two hundred and fifty years has shown nothing more than revolutionary beginnings, whose point the ruling class have always been able to break at the opportune moment.

There is a synthesis of the old catastrophic theories and the newer evolutionary theories, similar to the synthesis that is found in Marxism. Just as Marxism distinguishes between the gradual economic development and the sudden transformation of the juridical and political superstructure, so many of the new biological and geological theories recognize alongside of the slower accumulation of slight and even infinitesimal alterations, also sudden profound transformations or catastrophes—that arise from the slower evolution.

The idea of the gradual conquest of the various departments of a ministry by the Socialists is not less absurd than would be an attempt to divide the act of birth into a number of consecutive monthly acts, in each of which one organ only would be transformed from the condition of a fetus to an independent child, and meanwhile leaving the child itself attached to the navel cord until it had learned to walk and talk.

Among the great nations of modern times England is the one which most resembles the middle ages, not economically, but in its political form. Militarism and bureaucracy are the least developed. It still possesses an aristocracy that not only reigns but governs. Corresponding to this, England is the great modern nation in which the efforts of the oppressed classes are mainly confined to the removal of particular abuses instead of being directed against the whole social system. It is also the state in which the practice of protection against revolution through compromise is farthest developed.

Ever since the Reformation the weapons of war have become more and more perfect, but also more costly. They thus become a privilege of the government. This fact alone separates the army from the people. In those places where universal suffrage prevails, unless this is supplemented by popular armament, which is not the case in any great state. Most important of all, the leaders of the army are professional soldiers separated from the people, to whom they stand opposed as a privileged class.

Money capital is that form of capital which most inclines towards violence, which easiest leads to monopoly, and thereby attains boundless power over the laboring class, which is most estranged from the laborer, which most threatens the capital of the private industrial capitalist, and more and more comes to rule the whole capitalist system of production.

Much more important for the proletariat than the co-operatives are the trade unions. This is true, however, only when these are fighting organizations, and not when they are organizations for social peace. Even where they conclude contracts with employers, either as individuals or as organized unions, they can only secure and maintain these through their fighting ability. However important, or indeed in-

dispensable, unions may be for the battling proletariat, they must sooner or later reckon with the union of employers, which, when it takes the form of a close agreement, of a cartel, or of a trust, will find it only too easy to become irresistible to the union.

TENTH ANNUAL ENTERTAINMENT AND BALLET OF THE PROGRESSIVE WORKINGMEN'S SOCIETIES OF THE BROWNS.

FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE 34th and 35th Assembly Districts of the Social Democratic Party. TO BE HELD AT Ebling's Casino, 156th Street and St. Ann's Avenue. ON SATURDAY EVENING, APRIL 1, AT 8 P. M. TICKETS 15 CENTS.

opinion: It will play a great role in the revolutionary battles of the future. A general strike is foolish in the sense that all the laborers of the country at a given sign shall lay down their labor presupposes a unanimity and an organization of the laborers which is scarcely possible in present society, and which, if it were once attained, would be an irretrievable state. Such a strike would be necessary, such a general strike would, however, at one stroke render impossible the existence not simply of existing society, but all existence, and that of the proletariat long before that of the capitalists, and must consequently collapse uselessly just at the moment when its revolutionary virtues begin to develop.

The political strike is a powerful proletarian weapon that is applicable only in a battle which the proletariat fights alone, and in which it enters against the total bourgeoisie society. In this sense it is perhaps the most revolutionary weapon of the proletariat.

The ethics of the proletariat flows from its revolutionary efforts, and it is these which have strengthened and ennobled it. It is the idea of the revolution which has brought about that wonderful elevation of the proletariat from its deepest degradation, which elevation stands as the greatest result of the second half of the nineteenth century. To this revolutionary idealism we must above all cling fast, then come what will, we can bear the heaviest, attain the highest, and remain worthy of the great historical purpose that awaits us.

DO YOU WISH TO JOIN THE SOCIALIST PARTY?

This paper goes every week to several thousand persons who are favorable to Socialism, but who do not yet belong to the Socialist Party. All of these ought to join the organization. To carry out this purpose, it is necessary to have a large, well-organized, and self-governing body of Socialists. Our party is not run by leaders. It is not controlled from above nor financed from below. It is run by the rank and file of the party, and the right path—because it depends on its organized rank and file for guidance and for support.

If you are a Socialist, we want YOU. It is your DUTY to join, to do your little part in the work, to contribute your little share to the expense, and to exercise your equal influence in selecting the party's candidates, in electing its officers, and in directing its whole policy. The dues vary in different localities from 25 cents to 50 cents. When you are unable to pay by reason of sickness or unemployment, it is excused and does not lose standing.

If you can contribute more, of course there is always a place for it, but it is not required. You will be invited to attend the monthly or fortnightly meetings of your local branch and to give suggestions, to take part in the work of the party for the greater portion of the work is done by volunteers.

DO NOT DELAY. FIND OUT WHERE YOU BELONG, AND JOIN NOW. For information as to the time and place of meeting of the branch which you should join— If in New York City, address Organizer, J. F. Solomon, 64 E. Fourth Street, New York. If in Kings County, address Organizer, Fred Schaefer, 83 Stockton Street, Brooklyn. If elsewhere in the state of New York, address State Secretary John C. Chase, 61 Fulton Street, New York. If in any other state, a card of inquiry to National Secretary, J. Mahlon Barnes, 263 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, will bring you a prospectus, and will also give you the name of the state secretary and other needed information.

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For the use of committees in New York and the vicinity, the following list of speakers we print the following list, which makes no pretension of course, to complete the list. ALLEN, J. C.—9 W. Sixty-third Street, New York. BROWN, C.—11 E. One Hundred and Eighth Street, New York. BROWN, P. E.—11 Cooper Street, New York. BRIDGES, WILLIAM—404 Westminister Road, Flatbush, Brooklyn. BRIDGES, B.—122 Rockaway Avenue, Flatbush, Brooklyn. BRIDGES, MRS. BERTHA M.—802 Union Street, Brooklyn. BRIDGES, DR. CHARLES L.—121 Schermerhorn Street, Brooklyn. BRIDGES, W. J.—290 W. Fifty-fourth Street, New York. BRIDGES, G. H.—14 Bridge Street, Newark, N. J. BRIDGES, BEN—781 Marjorie Avenue, Brooklyn. BRIDGES, MORRIS—320 Broadway, New York. BRIDGES, ALEXANDER—184 William Street, New York. BRIDGES, J. R.—255 Beach Street, Brooklyn. BRIDGES, FREDERICK—29 Reservoir Avenue, New York. BRIDGES, ALGERNON—184 William Street, New York. BRIDGES, COURTNEY—184 William Street, New York. BRIDGES, J.—1024 Broadway, City. BRIDGES, REV. OWEN N.—24 Ninth Avenue, Mt. Vernon, N. Y. BRIDGES, WILLIAM—404 Lexington Avenue, New York. BRIDGES, E. T.—52 Westcott Street, East River, New York. BRIDGES, I.—216 E. Seventh Street, Jersey City, N. J. BRIDGES, MRS. M.—285 Barrow Street, Jersey City, N. J. BRIDGES, MRS. ELLIS P.—365A Fourteenth Street, Brooklyn. BRIDGES, MRS. CLARA—8 E. Fifty-fifth Street, New York. BRIDGES, SCHLEIFER, F.—801 Flatbush Avenue, Brooklyn. BRIDGES, EUGENE J.—152 E. Eighty-eighth Street, New York. BRIDGES, J.—102 Belmont Terrace, Yonkers, N. Y. BRIDGES, J.—121 E. One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street, New York. BRIDGES, CHARLES G.—422 W. Twenty-ninth Street, New York. BRIDGES, VERA—4121 Boulevard, West Hoboken, N. J. BRIDGES, MRS. MARGUERITE V.—243 E. Eighty-sixth Street, New York. BRIDGES, WILSHIRE, H. GAYLORD—125 E. Twenty-third Street, New York.

NEEDS OF THE NEW TIME.

Old weapons, like the strike and boycott, are well-nigh obsolete. They have outlived their usefulness, because they are met on almost every hand and rendered powerless by either legislative action or judicial decision. This being the case, no argument is necessary to prove that the class which elects a legislator and appoints a judge is the class which will be always in the right and therefore successful. —Machinists' Monthly Journal.

THE TRANSFORMATION.

The transformation of scattered private property, arising from individual labor, into capitalist private property, is, naturally, a process incomparably more protracted, violent, and difficult than the transformation of the capitalist private property, already produced, resulting in socialized production, into socialized property. In the former case we had the expropriation of the masses of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter, we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people.—Karl Marx.