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# The Worker.

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PRICE 2 CENTS.

## MAXIM GORKY TO THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA.

The Great Russian Author and Revolutionist Issues a Stirring Manifesto and Appeal.

**"Hangmen and Thieves Surrounding the Russian Throne and Supporting It with Blood-Stained Hands"—"The World is My House"—"The Earth For All, and Everybody Has a Right to Its Joys"—"Are there in This Country Living Men, and Will They Hear Me?"**

The Tsar has dispersed the Duma.  
This small man, trembling on his throne for his life and power like an aspen leaf, has with one stroke of the pen, with a convulsive movement of his hand, destroyed all semblance of law in Russia, and called into life a new series of murders, robberies, and outrages.  
The Russian government will now inaugurate a policy of brutal and bestial reprisals.  
The hangmen and thieves surrounding the throne and supporting it with blood stained hands have of late heard many bitter and insulting truths from the lips of courageous and honest men.  
They will avenge themselves for it, and their vengeance will be severe.  
Embittered, accustomed to shed blood, and encouraged by the reign of lawlessness they will once more appall the world by their deeds.  
They will commence to annihilate and destroy the leaders of the people, and having destroyed the leaders they will again declare war on the people, the unarmed and defenseless people who are dreaming of peace and civilization, and who had been so impatiently hoping for the triumph of justice.  
The black blood soaked wings of death will flutter over the country for months. The exhausted earth will swallow thousands of corpses of men whose only crime was the desire to live a human life.  
Many women and children will perish from bullets, swords and clubs.  
Many crying outrages will be perpetrated.  
The world will be seized with horror and indignation.  
Here and there public meetings will be held at which the speakers will eloquently denounce the Tsar and his band of savages.  
The speakers will be rewarded by applause and the public will leave the meetings in the proud conviction that

they have responded to the call of the unfortunate people of a foreign land and thus discharged their duty to humanity.  
At the same time the blood of the Russians will flow in wide streams.  
Are we civilized people or are we not?  
I think we are not. We only pretend to love life and mankind, to respect the law and to abhor criminals.  
If my neighbors assault and torture human beings in their house, and I hear the groans of the victims, and I pity them, I do not run to their aid—am I a civilized person?  
If I live in a town where countless murders, robberies and outrages occur every day, and I am familiar with those occurrences but do nothing to prevent the robberies and to stamp out the crimes—am I a civilized person?  
If on the earth on which I live and rear my children such deeds of horror and lawlessness are enacted, as in Russia and Turkey, and I, while condemning these acts, console myself with the thought that in my country life is easier, safer and better, and thus console myself with my hole—am I a civilized person?  
People whose hearts are devoid of the consciousness of the brotherhood of nations are not civilized, they are still savages.  
People who live quietly when everything around them is soaked in blood, strangled in violence—are not civilized, they are simply satiated animals.  
People who have children and allow them to grow up amidst wild anarchy and lawlessness and to poison their hearts with the sight of all the corruption which deforms the world. No such people are not civilized.  
The world is for all, and everybody has a right to its joys.  
Whoever realizes that will not suffer himself to remain a passive witness to the torture of his fellowmen.  
Men are brothers. Whoever feels that will not remain an indifferent spectator at the murder of his brother;

be the latter Anglo Saxon, Jew or Russian.  
More love and consideration for mankind!  
That is what makes a person truly civilized.  
The endeavor to increase in life the number of conscious, wise and honest people, people believing in the good of their kind, this is the most important feature of true civilization.  
All truly civilized persons must help the suffering, martyred people of Russia.  
This is their duty, this should be their pleasure.  
For to help a human being to live a human life, in this help men must find for themselves the consciousness of their own significance in the world, the proud justification of their own lives.  
The life of the animal is senseless, the life of the beast is abhorrent—and ignoble and disgusting is the life of the beaver, and other animals who live in the warm darkness of their underground holes.  
Men should take life in a wider and deeper sense.  
The world is my house, and nothing that happens in it should pass by me without touching my heart. And if such crying horrors occur as those which we now witness in Russia, true men and women cannot remain quiet at their sight.  
To help the people of Russia to conquer their freedom is humane and is noble.  
To help the people of Russia is necessary for everybody who considers himself a civilized person and truly desires to be such.  
Help the people of Russia to free its body from the parasites which suck its life blood.  
The duty of mankind is to help mankind.  
Are there in this country living men, and will they hear me?  
MAXIM GORKY.  
Hurricane, N. Y., July 28.

## "AMERICANISM"

**That Is What the Hearst League Is For.**

**Its Executive Committee Declares It Is "Opposed to Socialism," and That It Is "Not Opposed to Capitalism, Large or Small"—Reply to Comrade Stokes' Letter of Resignation.**  
The Independence League has accepted the resignation of J. G. Phelps Stokes, and makes a reply to his letter of withdrawal which is of great value at this time. It has long been next to impossible to get an explicit declaration of an authoritative nature regarding the principles of the Independence League.  
For the first time we have a document of that kind. It is issued by the Executive Committee of the League, and is signed by W. R. Hearst, Samuel Seabury, J. Clarence Shearn, M. F. Ilmense, John Ford, and others, and has the great and unexpected merit of being clear and explicit in a negative way.  
It declares of Mr. Stokes that the League recognizes the earnest work he has done, his sincerity of purpose, and his honest desire to be of service to his fellow men.  
**"The American System"**  
The paper then goes on to state in glittering generalities the purposes for which the League claims to stand. It declares that "the American system is not a failure," whatever that may mean; that it ("the American system") only needs "to be restored and respected," that that the country requires is a "return to fundamental American methods," and declares that the prosperity and happiness of the people will be secured by something or other which it is pleased to call "Americanism."  
So much for the positive statements in the letter regarding the League's position. They may be best described as bomb, buncombe or meaningless phrases. After reading it carefully no one will be any the wiser as to what the League stands for than they were before.  
Regarding certain things that the League does NOT stand for, however, the paper is a meritorious one. Comrade Stokes deserves the thanks of every Socialist for having been the cause of forcing the League to make the three following statements:  
**The League is Conservative.**  
"The Independence League is conservative."  
**League is Opposed to Socialism.**  
"The Independence League is opposed to Socialism."  
**League is Not Opposed to Capitalism.**  
"The Independence League is NOT opposed to capitalism, large or small."  
Those three statements are worth while. It is to be remembered that they are signed by William Randolph Hearst. No doubt there are still those who will rise up and say that "Hearst is a Socialist, too," but the statement will be useful to clear the minds of some who think themselves "almost Socialists, too."  
**All Things to All Men.**  
Of course, Mr. Hearst, like Mr. Bryan and every other office seeker, would like Socialists to think him a Socialist; he would like anarchists to think him an anarchist, and so on, all the way down the line. But it sometimes occurs that a man doing his best to ride two horses is compelled to relinquish one or ride for a fall. Mr. Hearst no doubt wants everybody's support as a candidate for office, and no doubt he wants everybody to believe that he is "with them," but from time to time he will find it necessary to "declare himself," and this he will do, in the future as in the past, in accordance with what he considers to be his political and business interests. So doing, it will be well for Socialist propagandists to remember that Mr. Hearst has declared in express terms that he is "NOT opposed to capitalism, large or small."  
Comrade Stokes is to be congratulated for having been the instrument which compelled the Independence League to make to tell us what it is NOT for.  
The reply to Comrade Stokes was issued last Saturday. On Tuesday the State Committee of the Independence League met and issued an address to the voters of New York. We shall give the address consideration in these columns later.

## HOW'LL YOU HAVE IT?

**Do You Prefer to Be Killed or Suppressed.**  
Democratic Senator Tillman Says "Shoot Socialists Like Niggers"—Republican Congressman Campbell Says "Bayonets" May Be Required to "Suppress" Them—They've Both Got Another Guess.  
Recently Senator Tillman of South Carolina, in a public speech in Pennsylvania, declared that if the "Socialists come into the South and become troublesome, we'll just have to shoot them like niggers." Tillman is known as a Democrat, but this declaration showed that he was as much an "anarchist of the deed" as ever Crookings was. The great difference is that Tillman hides behind the cloak of Senator to attack and threaten an "unpopular but righteous cause."  
But Tillman is not the only member of the United States Congress that harbors bloody reprisal upon the Socialists, who dare to question and threaten the rule of capitalist plunder and seek to restore to the working class what has been wrong from them by the capitalist class. Congressman P. P. Campbell of the Third Kansas District, has been showing his teeth too and revealing what hides in the hearts of all those capitalist retainers who note the rise of Socialism with dread alarm. Campbell is a Republican and he is reported as saying "the Socialists should be suppressed before they become so strong that it will require bayonets to suppress them." So Campbell, Republican, and Tillman, Democrat, are no further apart on questions affecting working class interests than the parties they represent usually are.  
The Socialists of Campbell's district are out after him and in their district convention they adopted resolutions declaring that Campbell's utterances do the Socialist Party a great injustice and demanding his reasons for making such statements. It is safe to say that Mr. Campbell will have to do some tall explaining before the campaign is over.

## HAYWOOD'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

**A Message Alive with Inspiration to the Workers, and Bristling with Defiance to Capitalists and Their Retainers.**

**His Body Is in Prison, but His Voice Is Heard, His Spirit Is Abroad in the Land, and His Great Cause Goes Marching On—Sons of Toil, Awake!—Haywood Breathes the Working Class Spirit of Our Age, and from the Cell of a Capitalist Jail Shows the Way to Proletarian Victory.**  
Ada County Jail, Boise, Idaho, July 14, 1906.  
State Committee, Socialist Party of Colorado:  
Comrades and Fellow Workers—While sitting with my lately widowed, gray-haired mother, in the shadow of this jail, surrounded by guards, I received your message notifying me that I had by acclamation been nominated the Socialist Party candidate for Governor of Colorado. After brief reflection on the duties of a member of the party, I said to mother, "I will accept the nomination." The maternal luster in her eyes was partly veiled with a mist gathered from a lake of tears, while, like a benediction, she spoke these words: "It is well, my son." Thus your notification was received and the nomination accepted.  
**Nothing to Arbitrate.**  
The Socialist platform is the corner stone of industrial liberty. The program is clean, clear-cut, uncompromising. Principles cannot be arbitrated. Let the campaign slogan be, "There is nothing to arbitrate." The class struggle must go on as long as one man eats bread in the sweat of another man's face.  
Capitalism is the common enemy of the working class. Whether in the realms of tsars, kings, emperors or capitalists of industry, if there be a difference it is against the last named breed of despots, monarchs of wage slaves instead of serfs or subjects; they attempt to shirk every vestige of responsibility in a mad, wanton lust for the power of gold. Under a system that mortgages the inventive genius of man, capitalism assumes, in fact, claims a vested right of private ownership in the collective production of society. It is the aspiration, the object, the sole purpose of the Socialist Party to dispel the illusion, to quash the presumption, to take and control the means of production and distribution, to vest in every producer the honest right to the full equivalent for the product of his toil.  
**Corporation-Cursed Colorado.**  
No other state in the Union presents the same ghastly, emaciated, hollow-eyed skeleton of political government as poor, fagged, corporation-cursed Colorado. Thru every artery capitalism has dragged its slimy, poisonous length, defiling, contaminating everything it touched, until a modern Diogenes, with the proverbial lantern, would search the several departments of administration in vain for an honest man. Proud, beautiful, noble Colorado, the tentacles of capitalism are sapping her life blood; her vestal garments are besmirched, debauched, ravished and dishonored by her own sons in Legislature.  
Four times has her Supreme Court plunged the murderous, poisoned stiletto of the assassin into the very vitals of her Constitution, while the Governors whom the "King's Bench" crowned with the blood-soaked royal prerogatives, danced and clapped their hands with the glee of a mad Dervish.  
**A Gabbertized Supreme Court.**  
For a capitalistic chief justice, a fitting name is Gabbert, an invective that oozes like slime on the first syllable and accents with the sting of an asp, a name with which to conjure the maledictions of all the Imps of Dante's inferno. There is in Australia a non-descript creature with fur-covered body, four legs, wings and beak. It lays its eggs and suckles its young. It is defined as a bad case of fusion, a pervers, a sphyrrus, a gabbert.  
So low has the Supreme Court of Colorado sunk below the level of common decency, a windless will be required to hoist them into the presence of his satanic majesty. Under the black robes of iniquity Beebezub will recognize the prototypes of Iscariot and Arnold; the five "King's Bench" advocates are distinguished by the traitor's symbol.  
So coarse, so flagrant is the last fell decision of the Supreme Court the dilittante politicians are aroused; sitting on their haunches they are howling like a pack of nappy coyotes; their dwarfed mentalities are unable to discern the CAUSE of the corruption in the Supreme Court, which is a bolt on the body politic; it needs landing and a strong poultice of Socialism; the supposition is the natural result of a diseased system. Eliminate the virus of profit, interest and rent from the industrial arteries of the state, and the commonwealth will no longer suffer the soul-racking tortures, the EFFECT of capitalism.  
**The Socialist Party.**  
The Socialist Party is the medium thru which these results can be ac-

## ABOLITION OF WAGE-SLAVERY.

While to me every effort that tends toward a Socialist triumph is a labor of love, it is but human to admit that in aspiring to election to an office that could be used to materially assist in the overthrow of capitalism, one would be somewhat imbued with the spirit of pleasure that controlled the Irishman when he wrote to his brother Denny, saying, "Come over on the next boat, this is a foine country. I have a noice job pullin' down a Protestant church, and O'llm gettin' paid for it." The Celt's sense of fun was skin to the Socialist's enjoyment to see the squirming of the exploiters when Upton Sinclair threw his "Jungle" harpoon clear up to the hilt into the Beef Trust and dragged out entrails, filth and corruption for public inspection, compelling the band to stop playing long enough to permit President Roosevelt to relieve himself of two speeches, eulogies on the man with the rake, and the genus homo (homo) with patches on his pants, while Gen. Miles, before his mirror, with curling tongs and powder puff, relates the weird tale of Armour's colossal crime, three thousand dead soldiers all in a row, from Welcome Arch to the Supreme Court chambers, a ghastly sight, a corduroy road of corpses; at the head of each dead body a broken hearted, disconsolate, weeping mother, sobbing over her darling boy. There were no shattered limbs, no empty sleeves, the bloated faces did not have the resigned, almost cheerful look of a soldier killed in battle. Every countenance was distorted, twisted, writhed in pain; the stomachs swollen, burst. Poisoned, they had all died like dogs. A mile of dead soldiers, three thousand anguished mothers, capitalism's magnanimous reward for love of country and the patriotism of American youth. Armour and his ilk had Krag and Jorgensen beaten a Mormon block; every

## JAILS IN FIVE CITIES.

**Their Merits Tested by Socialist Speakers.**  
Fool Officials, Democratic and Republicans, Strive to Prevent Socialists from Speaking on the Street—Among the Victims on the Roll of Honor Are Arthur Morrow Lewis, Harry McKee, Geo. H. Lockwood, and Geo. H. Goebel.  
Regardless of the more or less general understanding of Socialism there are still civil officials in different parts of the country who, either thru profound ignorance, or an exalted sense of their own importance, downright malice, or all three, make it a practise to interfere with Socialist meetings and without just cause arrest Socialist speakers and subject them to humiliation and inconvenience. These officials have yet to learn that Socialists are not suppressed but rather made more determined by such stupid actions.  
During last week, four Socialist Party speakers went up against meddling officialdom. At Kansas City, Mo., National Organizer Arthur Morrow Lewis of California was addressing a large street meeting when he was interrupted by the police and ordered to stop speaking. This Lewis refused to do, and he was thereupon arrested, along with a local Socialist, Guy Ebertson, who was selling literature. Next morning Police Judge Kyle dismissed the case, after hearing lengthy arguments on both sides. At an interview afterwards with the police board commissioners, an understanding was reached that Socialist meetings would not be disturbed in future. That night Lewis held another large meeting of 1,000 people. As the streets of Kansas City have been closed for some time to the Socialists the result of this contest is taken as a great victory for them.  
But Lewis' troubles were not over. From Kansas City he proceeded to Parsons, Kans., where he was arrested at a street meeting for selling books without a license. The case has not been tried yet, but in the meantime Parsons is having the largest street meetings ever seen there.  
At Council Bluffs, Ia., which has tried for years to keep Socialist agitators from using the streets, Harry McKee, working under direction of the Socialist Party State Committee, was arrested for addressing a street meeting and charged with making "an inflammatory speech against the government."  
At Detroit and Kalamazoo, Mich.,

## SOCIALISTS IN ACTION.

**Our Milwaukee Aldermen Score Against Old Party Officials.**  
MILWAUKEE, Wis., July 28.—Alderman Seidel (Socialist) delivered a severe and telling rebuke to the mayor and chief of police in the last City Council meeting. Seidel had previously called the attention of the chief of police to certain disreputable saloons and resorts where girls of the working class are frequently trapped and ruined. The chief of police paid no attention to this complaint, but recommended that these saloons be granted licenses. Seidel then gave an appalling account of the work of ruin done in these dives, unchecked by the mayor and the police. The result was that the licenses were not granted, and the city authorities were placed in a very bad light. While all Socialists of course realize that only the abolition of the profit system can end the social evil, it is none the less their duty to lessen as far as possible the number of these places where the victims are inevitably the workingmen's daughters.  
At the same meeting the Socialists introduced resolutions demanding that bills be introduced in the next state legislature authorizing cities to own and operate street railways, telephones and gas plants, and that existing systems be acquired thru condemnation proceedings.

## OHIO MINING CASUALTIES.

The annual report of Chief Inspector of Mines Harrison of Ohio for 1905, just issued, shows the fatal accidents numbered 114, a decrease of four as compared with 1904, serious accidents amounted to 372, and minor, 171. Total number of casualties, 5,337. The number of persons employed for each life lost was 288; one serious accident to every 119 employed; 226,028 tons of coal were mined to each life lost.

## LONG STRIKE WON.

After a struggle lasting nine months and five days the strike of the maintenance-of-way employees of the Denver & Rio Grande Railway in Colorado and New Mexico is just ended, the officials of the road having conceded the full rate of pay for foremen that had been demanded by the committee representing the strikers.

## The Private Graveyards of Colorado.

Such disclosures remove obstacles in the way of Socialist education. Colorado's corporations are no less cruel and vicious than the Beef Trust, only they are dealing in different products. As dispensers of heartaches the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and American Smelting and Refining Company take the palm. Like the packing companies, they have their private graveyards of men killed in their employ.  
But the worst wrong they inflict upon the state is, in company with railroad and utility corporations, the manipulation of legislation inimical to the welfare of the people. Laws they cannot control they ignore. With reckless abandon the corporations of Colorado have trampled under foot the mandates of the people. They brook no interference in their nefarious schemes. Individuals who have the temerity to discountenance crime in high places are subjected to every imaginable indignity. At the instance of these law and order brigands hundreds of Colorado's best citizens have been vilified, mangled, persecuted, robbed, flogged, imprisoned, disfranchised and deported. Murder has been resorted to and is not the least of corporation crimes. Thru bribery, blackmail, browbeating and coercion to effect their ends, they have fastened their bloody talons into the people's throats and strangled free government.  
Law and equity, the foundation, the life and liberty of state and nation, is spurned, insulted and ignored. "To hell with the constitution!" "To hell with the law!" is the cry and the daily practice of Colorado's disciples of capitalism. Every statute supposed to restrict and prevent opposition has been spat upon.  
The eight-hour law is a page of history that won't stay turned down. The bi-monthly pay day law, the audit and ventilation law, the check weighman law, the anti-script law, the contract labor law, are all being daily violated by the corporations, and when that part of the working class directly affected inaugurated an industrial strike TO ENFORCE THOSE LAWS, their determined and just action was referred to as "superlative folly" by those who are now buying at the Supreme Court. It was not folly to strike against oppression, but it would be a crime against society, against family, against self to vote for the continuance of the political parties responsible for the cesspool of iniquity Colorado presents at this time.  
**Unite at the Polls.**  
No amount of cleansing, repairing, whitewashing and fumigating can make the pest points of Democracy or Republicanism a safe refuge for a self-respecting working class. The time has come when men and women who work with brain or muscle must unite at the polls.  
The aggressive forces of Colorado must concentrate every effort at the coming election. Let the Socialist Party be the reflex, the political expression of the material interest of every wage worker. The economic power of organized labor is determined by united political action. To win demands made on the industrial field it is absolutely necessary to control the branches of government, as past experience shows every strike to have been lost thru the interference of courts and militia.  
**A Working Class Government.**  
The same functions of government controlled by a class-conscious working class will be used to inspire confidence and compel the wheels of industry to move in spite of the devices and stumbling blocks of capitalism. Strikes will be averted by enforcing the demands of labor, ultimately to control industrial pursuits, which this principle is firmly fixed in the mind of the producer. Then will the spellbinder, that capitalistic microbe, sing in vain the siren song, "pointing with pride and viewing with alarm," to lure the unwary to political shores of destruction. You will recognize the political jade of capitalism! she change her wrapper and assume a different alias every time you meet her, preening herself, and in dulcet notes, whispers of the brotherhood of capital and labor, the identity of interests so faithfully portrayed by dogs with gold filled teeth and diamond collars, and hungry, bare-footed children.  
The champions of the system, with swaggering blasphemy between squirts

Continued on page 6.

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THE SOCIALIST VOTE. The Socialist Party has passed through its third general election.

1900 (Presidential) 96,981. 1902 (State and Congressional) 229,793. 1904 (Presidential) 408,230.

New York State Ticket

- For Governor—John C. Chase, of New York. For Lieutenant Governor—Gustav A. Ströbel, of Syracuse.

WELCOME THE MUTINY.

Our comrades of the organized Socialist movement in Russia have been doing all in their power to postpone the actual armed outbreak.

oppressed workingmen, who have believed that the military would always be against them. It is not for us to attempt to predict the course which the movement in Russia will follow.

cannot be evaded. It is not here as the result of schemes or resolutions on the part of smart politicians. It is here as the result of conditions. It will remain here as long as those conditions remain.

forcement in favor of the contractors. Roosevelt's action may result in some temporary enforcement of the law to the inconvenience of small, very small, contractors.

Current Literature. All books noticed in this department can be obtained at the published price, from the Socialist Literature Company, 15 Spruce Street, New York.

DeLEON'S "MARXISM". Social's Summing up of the Two Main Contentions of the S. L. P. Professor of Sophistry. To sum up, DeLeon contends: 1. That according to Marx the law of value, which, as formulated by Marx himself, applies to all commodities.

by the noise and turmoil of the new system of production, recovered in some measure its senses, its resistance began, first in England, the native land of machinery." Even so reluctantly, ever so ineffectually at first and inadequately for a subsequent period of long duration.

# THE CITY OF MAMMON. By MAXIM GORKY.

From the August number of "Appleton's Magazine". Copyright, 1906, by D. Appleton and Company.

A gray mist hung over land and sea, and a fine rain slivered down upon the sombre buildings of the city and the turbid waters of the bay. The emigrants gathered to one side of the steamer. They looked about silently and seriously, with eager eyes in which gleamed hope and fear, terror and joy. "Who is this?" asked a Polish girl in a tone of amazement, pointing to the Statue of Liberty. Some one from the crowd answered briefly: "The American Goddess."

I looked at this goddess with the feeling of an idolator. Before my memory flashed the brilliant names of Thomas Jefferson and of Grant. "The land of liberty?" I repeated to myself, not noticing on that glorious day the green rust on the dark bronze. I knew even then that "The War for the Abolition of Slavery" is now called in America "The War for the Preservation of the Union." But I did not know that in this change of words was hidden a deep meaning, that the passionate idealism of the young democracy had also become covered with rust, like the bronze statue, eating away the soul with the corrosive of commercialism. The senseless craving for money, and the shameful craving for the power that money gives, is a disease from which people suffer everywhere. But I did not realize that this dread disease had assumed such proportions in America.

## The Treadmill of Toil.

The tempestuous turmoil of life on the water at the foot of the Statue of Liberty, and in the city on the shore, staggers the mind and fills one with a sense of impotence. Everywhere, like antediluvian monsters, huge, heavy steamers plough the waters of the ocean, little boats and cutters scurry about like hungry birds of prey. The iron seems endowed with nerves, life and consciousness. And it seems as if all the iron, all the stones, the wood and water, and even the people themselves are full of protest against this life in the fog, this life devoid of sun, song, and joy, this life in the captivity of hard toil. Everywhere is toil, everything is caught up in its whirlwind, everybody obeys the will of some mysterious power hostile to man and to nature. A machine, a cold, unreasoning machine, in which man is but an insignificant screw!

I love energy. I adore it. But not when men expend this creative force of theirs for their own destruction. There is too much labor and effort and no life in all this chaos, in all this bustle for the sake of a piece of bread. Everywhere we see around us the work of the mind which has made of human life a sort of hell, a senseless treadmill of labor, but nowhere do we feel the beauty of free creation, the disinterested work of the spirit which beautifies life with imperishable flowers of life-giving cheer.

## Independence a Phantom.

Far out on the shore, silent and dark "skyscrapers" are outlined against the fog. Rectangular, with no desire to be beautiful, these dull, heavy piles rise up into the sky, stern, cheerless, and morose. In the windows of these prisons there are no flowers, and no children are anywhere seen. These structures elevate the price of land to heights as lofty as their tops, but debase the taste to depths as low as their foundations. It is always so. In great houses dwell small people. From afar the city looks like a huge jaw with black, uneven teeth. It belches forth clouds of smoke into the sky and sniffs like a glutton suffering from overconcupiscence. When you enter it you feel that you have fallen into a stomach of brick and iron which swallows up millions of people, and churns, grinds, and digests them.

The people walk hurriedly along the pavements. They push forward, all hastily driven by the same force that enslaves them. But their faces are calm, their hearts do not feel the misfortune of being slaves; indeed, by a tragic self-conceit, they yet feel themselves its masters. In their eyes gleams a consciousness of independence, but they do not know it is but the sorry independence of the axe in the hands of the woodman, of the hammer in the hands of the blacksmith. This liberty is the tool in the hands of the Yellow Devil—Gold. Inner freedom, freedom of the heart and soul, is not seen in their energetic countenances. This energy without liberty is like the glitter of a new knife which has not yet had time to be dulled; it is like the gloss of a new rope.

## Unhappy New York.

It is the first time that I have seen such a huge city monster; nowhere have the people appeared to me so unfortunate, so thoroughly enslaved to life, as in New York. And furthermore nowhere have I seen them so tragically self-satisfied as in this huge phantasmagoria of stone, iron, and glass, this product of the sick and wasted imagination of Mercury and Pluto. And looking upon this life, I began to think that in the hand of the statue of Bartholdi there blazes not the torch of liberty, but the dagger. The large number of monuments in the city parks testifies to the pride which its inhabitants take in their great men. These statues covered with a veil of dirt involuntarily force one to put a low estimate upon the gratitude felt by the Americans toward all those who lived and died for the good of their country. The mammoth fortunes of Morgan and Rockefeller wipe off from memory the significance of the

creators of liberty—Lincoln and Washington.

"This is a new library they are building," said some one to me, pointing to an unfinished structure surrounded by a park. And he added importantly: "It will cost \$2,000,000. The shelves will measure 150 miles."

Another gentleman told me, as he pointed out a painting to me: "It is worth \$500."

## That Theatrical Trust.

I meet here very few people who have a clear conception of the intrinsic worth of art, its religious significance, the power of its influence upon life, and its indispensableness to mankind.

It seems to me that what is superlatively lacking in America is a desire for beauty, a thirst for those pleasures which it alone can give to the mind and to the heart. Our earth is the heart of the universe, our art the heart of the earth. The stronger it beats the more beautiful is life. In America the heart beats feebly.

I was both surprised and pained to find that in America the theaters were in the hands of a trust, and that the men of the trust, being the possessors, had also become the dictators in matters of the drama. This evidently explains the fact that a country which has excellent novelists has not produced a single eminent dramatist.

To turn art into a means of profit is under all circumstances a serious misdemeanor, but in this particular case it is a positive crime, because it offers violence to the author's person, and adulterates art.

The theater is called the people's school; it teaches us to feel and to think.

But perhaps the Americans think that they are cultured enough? If so, they are easily in error.

## A Lack of Culture.

The first evidence of the absence of culture in the American is the interest he takes in all stories and spectacles of cruelty. To a cultured man, a humanist, blood is loathsome. Murder by execution and other abominations of a like character arouse his disgust.

In America such things call forth only curiosity. The newspapers are filled with detailed descriptions of murders and all kinds of horrors. The tone of the description is cold, the hard tone of an attentive observer. It is evident that the aim is to tickle the weary nerves of the reader with sharp, pungent details of crime, and no attempt is ever made to explain the social basis of the facts.

To no one seems to occur the simple thought that a nation is a family. And if some of its members are criminals, it only signifies that the system of bringing up the people in that family is badly managed.

I will not dwell on the question of the attitude of the white man toward the negro. But it is very characteristic of the American psychology that Booker T. Washington preaches the following sermon to his race:

"You ought to be as rich and as clean outwardly as the whites; only then will they recognize you as their equals." This, in fact, is the substance of his teachings to his people.

But in America they only think of how to make money. Poor country, whose people are occupied only with the thought of how to get rich!

I am never in the least dazzled by the amount of money a man possesses; but his lack of honor, of love for his country, and of concern for its welfare always fills me with sadness. A man milking his country like a cow, or bawling on it like a parasite, is a sorry sort of inspiration. How pitiful that America, which they say has full political liberty, is utterly wanting in liberty of spirit! When you see with what profound interest and idolatry the millionaires are regarded here you involuntarily begin to suspect the democracy of the country. Democracy—and so many kings; democracy and a "higher society". All this is strange and incomprehensible.

All the numerous trusts and syndicates, developing with a rapidity and energy possible only in America, will ultimately call forth to life its enemy, revolutionary socialism, which in turn will develop as rapidly and as energetically. But while the process of swallowing up individuals by capital, and of the organization of the masses is going on, capitalism will spoil many stomachs and heads, many hearts and minds.

Speaking of the national spirit, I must also speak of the morality of the nation. That side of life has always been a poser to me. I cannot understand it; and when people speak seriously about it I cannot help but smile. At best, a moralist to me is a man at whom I wink from the corner of my eye, and drawing him aside whisper in his ear: "Ah, you rascal! It isn't that I am a sceptic, but I know the world, I know it to my sorrow."

## As to Morality.

The most desperate moralist I have come across was my grandfather. He knew all the roads to heaven, and constantly preached about them to everyone who fell into his hands. He alone knew the truth. He knew to a dot everything that God wanted, and he used to teach even the dogs and cats how to conduct themselves in order to attain eternal happiness. But with all that, he was greedy and malicious—he beat his domestics on every spare and suitable occasion with whatsoever and howsoever he desired.

Since that time I regard all discourses on morality as a useless waste of time. And, moreover, being from my youth up a professional slayer, like all honest writers, what can I say about morality?

I wish it to be understood that in this speaking of moralists I do not mean those who think, but only those who judge. Emerson was a moralist, but I cannot imagine a man who, having read Emerson, will not have his mind cleared of the dust and dirt of worldly prejudices.

Man is by nature curious. I have more than once lifted the lid of the moral vessel and every time there issued from it such a rank, stifling smell of lies and hypocrisy, cowardice and wickedness, as was quite beyond the power of my nostrils to endure.

I am willing to think that the Americans are the best moralists in the world, and that even my grandpa was a child in comparison. I admit that nowhere else in the world are there to be found such stern priests of ethics and morality, and, therefore, I leave them alone. But a word about the practical side. America prides itself on its morals, and occasionally constitutes itself as judge, evidently presuming that it has worked out in its social relations a system of conduct worthy of imitation. I believe this is a mistake.

The Americans run the risk of making themselves ridiculous if they begin to pride themselves on their society. There is nothing whatever original about it; the depravity of the "higher classes of society" is a common thing in Europe. If the Americans permit the development of a "higher society" in their country, there is nothing remarkable in the fact that depravity also grows apace. And that no week passes without some loud scandal in this "high society" is no cause for pride in the originality of American morals. You can find all these things in Europe also.

I must yet mention the fact that in America they steal money very frequently and lots of it. This, of course, is not natural. Where there is a great deal of money there are a great many thieves. To imagine a thief without money is as difficult as to imagine an honest man with money. But that again is a phenomenon common to all countries.

A magnificent Broadway, but a horrible east side. What an irreconcilable contradiction, what a tragedy! The street of wealth most perfers give rise to harsh and stern laws devised by the financial aristocracy, by the slaves of the yellow devil, for a war upon poverty and the Whitechapel of New York. The poverty and the vice of the East Side must perforce breed anarchy. I do not speak of a theory. I speak of the development of envy, malice, and vengeance, of that, in a word, which degrades man to the level of an anti-social being. These two irreconcilable currents, the psychology of the rich and the feeling of the poor, threaten a clash which will lead to a whole series of tragedies and catastrophes.

America is possessed of a great store of energy, and therefore everything in it, the good and the bad, develops with greater rapidity than anywhere else.

The children in the streets of New York produce a profoundly sad impression. Playing ball amid the crash and thunder of iron, amid the chaos of the tumultuous city, they seem like flowers thrown by some rude and cruel hand into the dust and dirt of the pavements. The whole day long they inhale the vapors of the monstrous city, the metropolis of the Yellow Devil. Pity for their little lungs, pity for their eyes choked up with dust!

## The People's Awakening.

I have seen poverty a-plenty and know well her green, bloodless, haggard countenance. But the horror of East Side poverty is sadder than everything that I have known. Children pick out from garbage boxes on the curbstones pieces of rotten bread and devour it, together with the mold and the dirt, there in the street in the stinging dust and the choking air. They fight for it like little dogs. At midnight and later they are still rolling in the dust and the dirt of the street, these living rebukes to wealth, these melancholy blossoms of poverty. What sort of a fluid runs in their veins? What must be the chemical structure of their brains? Their lungs are like rags fed upon dirt, their little stomachs like the garbage boxes from which they obtain their food. What sort of men can grow up out of these children of hunger and penury? What citizens?

America, you who astound the world with your millionaires, look first to the children on the East Side and consider the menace they hold out to you! The boast of riches when there is an East Side is a stupid boast.

However, "there is no evil without a good," as they say in Russia, country of optimists.

This life of gold accumulation, this idolatry of money, this horrible worship of the Golden Devil already begins to stir up protest in the country. The odious life, entangled in a network of iron and oppressing the soul with its dismal emptiness, arouses the disgust of healthy people, and they are beginning to seek for a means of rescue from spiritual death.

And so we see millionaires and clergymen declaring themselves Socialists, and publishing newspapers and periodicals for the propaganda of Socialism. The creation of "settlements" by the rich intellectuals, their abandonment of the luxury of their parental homes for the wilds of the East Side—all this is evidence of an awakening spirit; it heralds the gradual rise in America of the human life. Little by little people begin to understand that the slavery

of gold and the slavery of poverty are both equally destructive.

The important thing is that the people have begun to think.

After all that I have said, I am involuntarily drawn to make a parallel between Europe and America. On that side of the ocean there is much beauty, much liberty of the spirit, and a bold, vehement activity of the mind. There art always shines like the sky at night with the living sparkle of the imperishable stars. On this side there is no beauty. The rude vigor of political and social youth is fettered by the rusty chains of the old Puritan morality bound to the decayed fragments of dead prejudices.

Europe shows evidence of moral decrepitude, and, as a consequence of this, skepticism. She has suffered much. Her spiritual suffering has produced an aristocratic apathy, it has made her long for peace and quiet.

America has not yet suffered the pangs of the dissatisfied spirit, she has not yet felt the aches of the mind. Discontent has but just begun here. And it seems to me that when America will turn her energy to the quest of liberty of the spirit, the world will witness the spectacle of a great conflagration, a conflagration which will cleanse this country from the dirt of gold, and from the dust of prejudice, and it will shine like a magnificent cut diamond, reflecting in its great heart all the thought of the world, all the beauty of life.

## A SOCIAL PARABLE.

There was once a beautiful garden wherein grew all manner of pleasing plants. They were well tended, for the strong plants helped the weak, and the wild, ambitious plants were kept in check by constant pruning and restraint.

Now the gardener was a philosopher, and read strange books. And in one of these he happened on a truly marvellous doctrine called the "Survival of the Fittest", in which it was said that plants should not be meddled with; that it was perfectly natural and lawful for them to fight for the sun; and that the weak must always go to the wall—or the rubbish heap. Now the gardener was a philosopher, and he believed this gospel.

Then said he to himself: "No longer will I tend the flowers; they shall have free competition". And so he left the garden to the wild winds and the scorching sun, and went away.

Years later he came back, expecting to find that the best had succeeded, and that the finest plants were blossoming as he had left them. Oh! he was a philosopher.

His garden was a wilderness. His pure white lilies were dead, choked by the powerful, grasping bindweed. Of his gorgeous roses nought remained but a few insignificant blossoms, battling for their existence against a tangle of bryony and the misnamed traveler's joy. Everywhere the strong and ambitious thrived. Heartsease was stifled by hemlock; ivy-leaf-bleeding struggled in vain under the bitterness and yew. Thorns took all the nourishment which should have gone to love-in-a-mist. Everywhere the little flowers strove for the sun, only to be oppressed and thwarted by their larger fellows. Puny, distorted plants lifted up the creepers which crushed them.

"What a mistake I've made!" said the gardener. "And how my poor plants have suffered. That is enough of the pernicious 'Survival of the Fittest'. I see that it is not the best plants that survive, but merely the strongest and most crafty. In future the best shall enjoy the sun's bright rays, to which they have the best right.—Walter Higgins, in London Labor Leader.

## PROGRESS OF THE I. L. P.

Latest Annual Report Shows Growth in Party Membership and in Political Power.

This year's annual report of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain shows that there are 428 branches in the directory list, as against 274 in last year's report, an increase of 54. Since the list was compiled 30 to 40 new branches have been added.

The list of members elected to public bodies is as follows: Members of Parliament, 7; Elective auditors, 11; Guardians, 111; County Councilors, 10; Parish Councilors (England), 34; Rural District Councilors, 8; Urban District Councilors, 103; Town Councilors, 192; School Boards (Scotland), 18. Total, 494. There are said to be some omissions in this list, however, and the total number of I. L. P. representatives must be reckoned as well over 500.

The highest I. L. P. representation on a town council is at Woolwich, which has ten members of the I. L. P. Then follows Bradford 8, Manchester 7 (though it only figures as 4), Leicester 7, Nelson 6, West Ham 6, Huddersfield 5, Brighouse 5, St. Helens 5, Workington 5, Blackburn 4, Colne 4, Halifax 4, Glasgow 3, Middleton 3, St. Pancras 3, Salford 3, and Swansea 3. Leicester leads the way in the I. L. P. guardian list with ten members.

The list of speakers contains 563 names. The campaign fund of the last general election amounted to £7,330.

## FASTIDIOUS IGORROTTES.

Our Philippine guests—Igorottes—I've read.

Are indignantly threatening to riot. Or return to their islands, unless they are fed

Upon dog-meat, their favorite diet. Whereat I am moved to rejoice and be glad

To find, in this food-poisoned land, There yet remains one kind of meat to be had,

That a savage's stomach can stand. J. L. McC.

# LETTERS TO A STUDENT.—I.

By Harry Rogoff.

Dear Friend.—On the last day of our college life, when we were all filled with solemn emotions, you reminded me of my promise to continue with you the discussion of Socialism after we had parted. It is just on occasions like this, when the heart is suffused with a love for mankind, when our successful achievement inspires us with the ambition to labor for the interest of humanity, when we inwardly resolve ever to follow the path of justice and truth, it is then that the noblest ideal places itself before our eyes as the goal for us to seek, and the cause for us to adopt. Your words, therefore, sounded to me like the confession of a soul that sees the errors in its previous beliefs, but is doubtful of the new ideas that seem rational on the outside. I shall gladly do all in my power to reassure you and to remove some of the doubts and fears I know you to entertain.

You once told me that college education had done you one great service; it made you a firm adherent of the theory of evolution. This theory, when applied to biology, recognizes as the two chief forces in the development and progress of life, environment and the struggle for existence. In other words, it is the particular circumstances under which an animal is placed that determine not only its internal and external physical structure, but also its mental characteristics, such as the passions, the habits, and the instincts. The ancestors of the lamb and the wolf might have been the same, but the habitat, the climate, the neighbors of the one made it a cruel carnivore, while those of the other made it a meek herbivore. The dog and the cat came most probably from a common stock, but circumstances made of the one a false, treacherous creature, while of the other they made a faithful, devoted servant. Conditions it was that implanted in many fishes the instinct of swallowing one another alive, and in the bees the diametrically opposite instinct of living in harmony for mutual aid and mutual protection. The constant necessity of fighting the enemy and conquering the resisting prey gave the tiger his terrible claws, while an altogether different set of circumstances endowed the nightingale with its sweet melodies and the peacock with its beautiful plumage. Change the fields of ice in the Arctic region into forests of green, allow the sunbeams to reach it to more abundance, and the polar bear will paint his coat yellow or brown instead of white. All is the result of environment and conditions, both the good and the evil, the harmonious and the chaotic. This is a fundamental principle in the evolution of life.

Socialism bases its theory upon this sound principle. It recognizes no innate, indestructible bad instincts in man. True, at present it discovers in us more evil than does the anti-Socialist. What to the religious conservative appears good morality is to us an abomination, a crime of the first magnitude. We see a corrupt, most shameful perversion of morals in what those people consider the very basis of ethics, the very soul of religion. Private ownership of the means of production is to us an outrage, an outright robbery, the greatest evil of all time. We see in the methods of government and in the social institutions upon which modern society rests the gravest injustice and meanest hypocrisy. Many cherished ideals and dear emotions are to us symptoms of human stupidity and barbarity. We indeed have quite a long list of iniquitous and vicious beliefs and institutions with which we charge present man. Yet are we infinitely more charitable in our view of the virtual human nature than those "friends" of man who pat him on his back and sing praises to his progress and civilization. We do not flatter man by exaggerating his achievements or by minimizing his failures. But we don't, on the other hand, deny him the possibility of attaining to the highest state of perfection. Unlike his "friends", we do not limit his powers. We believe that although he is at present quite defective, he possesses the power to advance far beyond the boundaries those optimists assign to him. And this, we believe, is a much friendlier attitude toward human nature than the one our opponents take.

The full significance of this great truth will become more evident when connected with another of equal strength and importance. To discover this second truth we will have to cast a rapid glance upon the road which led man from barbarism to civilization. This will reveal to us several important things. In the first place, it will show us more clearly what the fundamental social instincts of human nature really are. It will also disclose to us the forces that have been paramount in leading man in his tiresome, weary upward march of progress. But chief of all, it will give us the laws of human progress, from which we will be able to foretell the future development of society, and how we may best work for that development.

It will be impossible for us in the limited time at our disposal to travel over the entire distance which man has already covered in his march of civilization. Let us rather mount on some of the lofty peaks that rise at intervals on this road, and from there get a bird's eye view of the entire space. The first great institution we find looming up before us is patriarchal society. There we see no organized state, no universal, catholic religion,

no codified laws. Everything is decentralized. Men live in small groups of one family with the father at its head, he being the priest, the king, the judge, the master, all in one. The means of support in this society is pasturage. Each family has its flock of cattle from which it derives a livelihood.

We now leap over to the next high prominence on this road, and we find ourselves standing at a village cottage. We look around and see quite a changed state of affairs. The religion is no longer different in different families. It is now the same for the entire village. There is a more or less organized state, with chiefs, assemblies, codified laws, markets of trade, etc. The father of the family no longer rules; it is the elders or chiefs of the community that wield the power. We also observe that the chief industry of the people has also changed. Instead of pasturage it is now agriculture. There is another remarkable thing which is very interesting and worth remembering: the new rulers of the community are just those who are most prominent in this new leading industry of the cultivation of the ground.

We next stop at a high stone wall, surrounding a small dirty space, which is filled with narrow dirty streets flanked by small frail buildings. It is the primitive city. And now we discover many new changes. The religion is universal; the entire country is more or less centralized under one head and an assembly made up of the leading laborers. In the cities we find a subordinate class of handicraftsmen; occasionally struggling against the rulers, but always forced back into submission. In the country there live the lords in high strong castles, surrounded by men who are attached to the ground far life. Society is now mostly occupied in wars, crusades, opposition and strife of all kinds.

We now traverse a large area covered with human skulls, and the ruins of human energy and skill. The earth is saturated with blood, and strewn with corpses and remains of castles, mitres and crowns. Finally we spy the gigantic chimney of the modern factory. Mounting upon it we look down into a transformed society. The various nations are well centralized; but the rulers are no longer the landowners, but those lowly, vulgar manufacturers. There are no more serfs, no more castles. Religion is smashed in the background; the church is swayed in a thousand fragments. The city is now in the lead and not the country.

It seems that there is no regularity, no continuity upon this peculiar road, as I sketched it. And yet it is a perfectly straight path with no turns, no windings, no zigzags whatsoever. In this utter confusion and change one thing stands out clear: Methods of securing a living have become safer and easier with every forward step taken in civilization. An acre of ground when cultivated will support many times more people than when it is used for pasturage. Life in a village with some governmental organization is more comfortable and safer than life in a nomadic state amid constant shifting and strife. Many more human wants can be satisfied by manufactured articles than by natural products. Machinery and invention spare human labor and save much waste. Every new social arrangement that we met in our review has, therefore, this one advantage over its predecessor—it affords a better means of securing a livelihood. Progress, then, from barbarism to civilization is a continual improvement in the economic life of the people.

Now, take up any other social institution and examine it in its various stages, and you will find that it changes according to the requirements of the new industrial arrangements. Political power lies always in the hands of the class which is economically most important. Religion becomes insignificant as soon as it cannot be utilized for some economic purpose. War or peace prevails according to whether the industrial interest of one country comes in conflict with that of another. Religious dogmas and doctrines are modified and even repudiated by the very guardians of the church if they interfere with the industrial progress of the country. Laws of ethics are changed to suit the demands of every department of human activity and thought and find them a reflection of the economic conditions of time and place.

Let us take for further verification the very society we live in. Looking upon it impartially, we cannot deny the glaring facts that the rich people of this country direct the politics of the nation, and that our industrial interest forms the criterion by which we measure the validity of all policies and legislative acts. The best proof of this is the Congress that has just finished its work in Washington. No man indeed be a stupid ox not to notice the handwriting of the railroad combinations in the Rate Bill, and not to recognize the voice of the Beef Trust in the Pure Food Bill. The leading clergymen, the most prominent university men, the greatest teachers of ethics either defend or at least tolerate the unspeakable evils perpetrated by the captains of industry. Child labor, adulteration of food, forced idleness, pauperism, are tacitly justified by every man who does not keep up a continual chorus of protest against them. Ethics and religion as well as

legislation and police are the hand-maids of trade and industry. In other words the economic force is the strongest in society.

Apply this truth to the entire past of human history and you will find the readiest explanation of the appearance and disappearance of the rise, the flourish, and the downfall of the various institutions in the various historic epochs. A feudal system, in which the land, which is the chief means of support, is in the hands of individual lords, will give rise to conditions such as prevailed between the ninth and fourteenth centuries. It will tend to break up the country into small principalities, for agriculture needs no consistent national policy. The only way of increasing one's wealth under this system is by robbing the neighbor. War and robbery must therefore be the great rule in such a state of industrial development; and this was actually the case. Notice that the ethics of that time saw no great evil in the highway robbery and constant warfare that the lords conducted. True, there were isolated men who realized the evil, but these were exceptions, and their admonitions were unheeded. The popular ethical sense was not at all affected by the perpetual plunder and strife among the lords. Even the church tolerated it. True enough, it made several attempts to mitigate the fierceness of the struggles, but the fundamental principle it never attacked. It can not be said too many times that religion and ethics tacitly endorse what the stronger power—the economic—proclaims. Economic conditions dictate religious dogmas and ethical doctrines.

It would mean re-writing the entire history of civilization, were I to apply this principle to all historic epochs. Let this much suffice. I trust that with this divine torch in hand, you will travel the long and dim road of human history, and will never find it failing. It will banish all shadows, all mists, all clouds. It will make of history a science, a study that lies within the ken of human understanding and experience, and not a metaphysical speculation that has recourse to some hidden, transcendental, mystic agencies that lie beyond our senses and our mental faculties.

We have now arrived at the second fundamental principle of Socialism. It is known as the materialistic conception of history, or rather as the economic conception of history. Briefly stated, it means that the most potent power in moulding human actions and mind is the prevalent economic conditions. The general structure of the economic machinery determines the type of human character, the general religious and ethical beliefs, and all the various institutions under which man lives.

Putting our two foregoing principles together we get a scientific foundation upon which we may proceed to erect the Socialist philosophy. Human nature is not fixed; it is changeable. Man may be made better, may be made as good, as pure as an angel; or may be made worse, as bad, as corrupt as a devil. All depends on the external conditions under which he lives. But which particular conditions are they that go to determine this moral state of man? Is it religion, ethics, politics, art, literature? Must we change these in order to effect a reform in human character? No! These in themselves are subordinate to a higher influence. We have no power over them. We cannot alter them; for they are the inevitable results, the natural outcrops of a first cause; of the omnipotent, all-dominating power—the power of economics. An effective change must be made there first, before we can hope to bring about any change in the other social institutions, and thru them better human nature. Industrial reform alone, therefore, will effect an internal improvement in men. But what is that reform to consist in? This in my second letter.

## CIGAR MAKERS' FIGHT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Capitalism shows the same nature wherever it takes root, and the class struggle in all capitalist countries develops similar features. London "Justice" prints the following letter from the General Secretary of the South African General Workers Union:

The attempt of Hermann and Cabard [cigar manufacturers] to have me sentenced to three months' hard labor, following on their dastardly breach of agreement, has given us the complete sympathy of the public, and the strenuous support of the other unions, with the result that we have been completely successful in establishing our locked-out workers, as the employees of the S. A. G. W. U., in a flourishing industry. We have experienced and capable men in our ranks, and an agreement with the best bleeder in South Africa, and we hope to compete successfully against the duty paying imported articles and against the local machine-made products of the American Tobacco Trust [which has factories of its own in South Africa]... The establishment of Africa... our members as their own masters, under a management board controlled by the S. A. G. W. U., will be an incalculable strength in all future struggles, and we therefore appeal to all unionists to support this attempt to free ourselves from the domination of unscrupulous and heartless employers whose expressed aim has been to supplant our members with child labor, female labor, and contract labor at sweating terms. The Cigarette Makers voted 1350 of their fund, and subscribed individually another 2150. The Tramway Workers' Group voted the whole of their fund as a loan and subscribed 475 individually. The Cabinet Makers and the Painters' Group the whole of their funds as loans. The Tailors have voted 230, and Premier have voted. The Hebrew Dividing Society have voted 215 and promised more. The Self-Defense Committee have voted the whole of their funds. The other societies are considering the vote of some hundreds of pounds each. Our motto is: "The unity of labor is the hope of the world."

THINGS I HAVE THOUGHT.

By Peter E. Burrowes.

There will be, one day, a recognized goal of Socialist success, and it will be the freest and largest access possible for the total of each personal life to the rest of humanity—the success of intercourse. Not the intercourse of a shaken hand, but the intercourse of a frank, fearless, open life.

Utility was to have been the success of Bentham and Mill; and if it had not been a utility for sale, it would be a word still good enough for the success of Socialism. But profit damned it.

Bentham and Mill believed in men thru things; I believe in things thru men. They believed in men for things; I believe in things for men. Utility as the watchword of predatory commerce meant the most money for the smallest number. It therefore could not receive such a universal definition as would make it a watchword for all mankind. But we, who believe in all our faith to the sanity of democracy, say: Give all people free intercourse; and collective labor and thought will soon provide us with all success, such as international money, speech, art, music, religion, government, industry, and peace.

A simple true conception of society, as a whole, is better than much complex learning. My thought of it is normally that of world labor feeding and clothing itself, while a band of bums, like those who sometimes frequent bathing places, keep labor forever unclothed and hungry, by forever stealing what it produces. Of course the capitalist activity is viler than this simile; but this is simple.

Society, thus becoming well dressed and fat, complacently looks down on the denuded laborers and thinks and speaks of them as things plus the notion—necessary plusses, perhaps, but still appendages, always capable of being replaced. And so long as replacing is easy, this lie is easy to be believed.

The parasite and profit-mongering classes being regarded as merely temporary and abnormal creatures, labor is no longer the plus and surplus-value-making element of society, but is revealed to be society itself—the whole of society and nothing else but society. And when it exerts itself in behalf of its own economics, its own organization and intercourse, it is realizing humanity.

The laborer is the source of all wealth and his class attributes are social intelligence, organization, intercourse. These things cannot be separated from him. Without these things he is but an active savage producing victuals for himself, or storing up glittering bonds in the trust company for the bums that run away with things. To measure life by something dead, to get a tape upon the pace of a laborer and then on the average of all its industrial paces we discovered money. First it was only a definite numeral relation to some labor; and then, as it grew, all labor was forced into a definite relation to it—the average price of a living, so many minutes for a mouthful.

In some things the dead always win. A net fastened to the piers of a bridge will catch more than many fishers. Happy is the bum class that can turn all currents into one stream, and can force all fish up against one money net. Some very little ones may get thru, some big ones just smile and go back; but the average gets caught by the gills at a dollar or so a day.

What is that comparative something by which capitalism establishes the value of the working day? It is its power to hold the slaves together, its power to take from them their labor, to send them home tired and unrequited at night, and yet constrain them to come again to-morrow. It is the hunger power.

Whence can one man get such power over another? He is one of an organization of masters known as the power of the state. Labor, therefore, which is simply the scatterlings at hired work on matter, has been cast outside the true social organism, the power of the state, and is used only as a tool, a pick, a shovel, lying outside the city ramparts in the dew until to-morrow's work begins. Poor old tool, used in building up the state ramparts which fortify the capitalist class against yourself, the rust of centuries' night dews is on you, and yet you are the only live, the only real thing on earth. Arise!

Arise to what? Just turn the ramparts around, and then the city will be outside, and you will be within. How shall we turn the ramparts around us? By organization. You are not only the one live, real thing in modern society; but you are the whole thing from the moment you become class-conscious. You are the nation and all else is outside of you dead, unreal, useless.

FACE THE FACTS SOBERLY. Let us be plain about it: Whether A. P. of L. or I. W. W., whether trade autonomy or industrial unionism, unionism can go to a certain point and no farther. Organized on the economic field, the wage-workers may improve their conditions by strikes and boycotts. Trade unionism has accomplished much in the past; it will accomplish more in the future; but as an economic organization it can not go beyond a certain line of demarcation.

You may try to make us believe that your patent medicine of the general strike will cure the social ills under which the working class is suffering to-day. But while you may be singing the I. W. W. songs, the capitalists will not remain inactive. They are as well organized as you are on the economic field, and they may give you a "hammer cure" at any time.

It is not always to be the laboring man's question as one of a class that Socialism stands for, but the affirmation that there can be no class antagonism in the true social organization, and that capitalism and all forms of private property when at war with one another or with the laborers or with the state is a social disease leading to anarchy.

Monetary society is an international union for exchanging the products of industrial slaves among the aristocracies of the world. Stripped of its crowns and feathers it can be studied to advantage in the conditions of the international postal union. Postal stamps, bills of credit and exchange, and regular dollars constitute the current signs and symbols of a successful organization and intercourse between the master classes. When the achievement of monetary parasite society, now an alien achievement, becomes the achievement of society at work, then civilization will be established thruout the earth; and universal society as an organism, which is the theory and hope of Socialism, will become a breathing fact.

Whatever else gold, the money of to-day, does not represent, it does represent, every grain of it, the sweat of the world's toilers. And it also represents a deliberate, definite, intelligent effort, on the part of those who directed that toil to extend the area of, intercourse between men. Whether for their own interest or not, matters nothing; it was for intercourse, and therefore, a proper laboring goal, that gold money was commanded out of the earth.

After the gold of the world ceased to be sought for as mere personal ornament and it had actually facilitated human intercourse, it became a clean and wholesome thing, proper enough for labor to expend itself upon; and to-day it stands for, and holds within it literally, quantitatively, in grains or chunks, by far the greater part of the world's labor that has been organized for intercourse. It is unconsumed labor dedicated to the purposes of intercourse and exchange. It is a commodity, a symbol, the golden link of nations, the holy sacrament of society. Yes, every ounce of it represents labor cruelly wronged; but in it is the message of rescue. It is that much of human effort consecrated and set apart for social purposes, for a little while dominated by capitalism.

Gold has achieved, and been itself the achievement of, the largest and freest organization and intercourse of human families. Its place among men is that it is a portable, measureable, transferrable object, concretizes their greatest success, their social labor and intercourse.

That man has unfortunately chosen to work out his destiny in metal is to be deplored; that he has chosen to work it out in something visible and measureable is a mighty advantage; that he will not continue always to congeal himself into a dead metal is to be the achievement of a better society, a firmer faith, and a surer hope in man as a citizen.

Social stability will then have a foundation. Human ability in correlated labor will find more obvious utterance in some other embodiment. The power of society and its ability to organize, encourage, and reward will be more clearly manifested to all men than by the dubious tongue of gold.

If it continues to be necessary to express the average value of one man's socially industrial life by days or weeks, we will not be forced to find the measure of it in some common substantial difficulty overcome. Difficulty overcome being no longer the personal equation, gold as the equilibrium difficulty of international overcoming, will not be our money. Our money will represent the social organization of the world when it is at work.

The spirit of separate accountings will be gone. The impossibility of separate working and valuing for the individual life will be recognized. Social success, which to-day has for its beginning a measure, shall down such a measure the very crown and glory of human wisdom. A truly social money will be the last and best achievement of mankind, the first of its longest and best experience. In the meantime, gold, which stands for the best average embodiment of labor and which is the equation of international intercourse, is the best money for Socialists. When all mankind's labor as a whole number can be reduced to equivalents for each man in fractions, science will have finally triumphed; and the problem of ego and the state will be solved forever.

An I. W. W. stomach will feel the pangs of hunger as readily as an A. P. of L. stomach, and we know cases where even A. P. of L. unionists with all their conservatism remained on strike for eighteen and twenty long months.

Let the Anarchists waste their time and energy in talking "revolutionary unionism"; that has always been their favorite work. As Socialists we have more important work to do. Sober up! Study the international labor movement! Learn by the experience of our Socialist comrades in other countries! Up with the banner of the Socialist Party—G. A. Hoehn, in St. Louis Laborer.

FOR A SOCIALIST DAILY PAPER.

The members of the Socialist Party are familiar with the details of the Moyer-Haywood case and also know the history of the labor troubles in Idaho and Colorado, of which this case was the aftermath. Outside of Socialist circles, however, we find an astonishing condition of ignorance regarding these events—not great in the history of capitalist society, perhaps, but great in their meaning to the working people.

In seeking to learn why Socialists are well informed of these events and others, even the great mass of workers to whom they are of vital importance, know so little of them, we find the explanation in the fact that only thru Socialist publications was it possible to obtain a knowledge of those proceedings, and as these publications appeared only once a month or once a week their circulation was limited and their influence small. Hence it is that the Moyer-Haywood affair, the standing without a parallel in the history of this country as a dastardly attack on the very foundations of political and personal liberty, is scarcely known outside the territory where the actual attack was made.

In this one incident, therefore, altho many others might be cited, appears a powerful argument for a workingmen's daily newspaper. Had such a paper been in existence at that time, spreading the news of the outrage over the land, daily protesting against the infamous acts of the capitalist agents involved, and daily calling upon the workers everywhere to demand justice for their imperilled brothers, in all probability they would now be free and restored to their families instead of languishing in a far-off jail.

We have mentioned just this one case, but there are hundreds of other crimes of almost as great importance, being committed against the workers every day, of which the world at large hears nothing, because it is against the interest of the capitalist-serving press to give them publicity. With a daily paper established to voice the wrongs of labor, it would be possible to reach millions of readers who, being now dependent upon a hostile press for information, are blinded and misled.

The way to cure an evil is to make

It known. The evils of the capitalist system are covered up by its beneficiaries; hence their continuance. Given a daily paper whose mission is the exposure of capitalist oppression and crime, together with the teaching of Socialist ideas, and our dream of wage-slave emancipation would have a promise of realization.

There was never a more opportune time for the launching of such a publication than now, nor a time when the prospect of its financial success was brighter. The capitalist Cossack is now in the saddle, booted and spurred to trample down the industrial slaves who would oppose his tyranny. Drunk with the possession of wealth and power and blind to every instinct of justice or humanity, he is riding rough-shod over every obstacle in his path, sparing neither age nor sex. In his mad fury, however, he is making enemies instead of destroying them, and all unconsciously working for his own destruction.

This new energy of capitalism has created a condition which makes a workingmen's daily paper absolutely necessary. We must have such a weapon of defense and of offense to save us from annihilation: Capitalist oppression, violence, and crime must be exposed. The workers must be apprised of their larger and educated, not only to defend themselves against this monster of capitalism, but to take the aggressive against it. When the workers once rid themselves of the delusions that their employers are their friends, the battle is half won.

To those, therefore, who are enlisted under the banner of Socialism and are actively engaged in the great class struggle, we appeal for aid in establishing the "Daily Call". The Association has now in hand about half the required amount, so that a little earnest effort by all the comrades will quickly raise the balance. A share in the Association costs only \$5 and entitles the purchaser to a voice and vote in the control of the paper. Write to Julius Gerber, 461 Bushwick avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., Financial Secretary of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association, for application blanks and other desired information.

THE PRESS COMMITTEE.

WANTED—TALENT FOR ORGANIZATION.

Thos. L. Breckon, in Chicago Socialist.

The Socialist movement is going ahead with leaps and bounds. Eco-industry are doing their work and doing it well. The intelligent, organized, political expression of this great movement is in its swaddling clothes. There are untold thousands of loyal comrades thruout the country, who stand ready to fill any and all tasks assigned them. But one highly essential factor is missing—a talent for organization, an organization leader with highly developed executive and initiative ability, and, above all, a proletarian. When he is found in each of our political divisions the problem is solved. Until he is found and placed at the head of the various militant Socialist divisions, the work must lag.

My experience down the State (Illinois) emphasizes the above fact most keenly. There are any number of counties in whose precincts the Democrats are outvoted by the Socialists, and in which there is practically no organization. This gives emphasis to the fact that when we become properly organized the political world is at the feet of the proletariat.

Wanted—Talent for organization. We need it, must have it, and will agitate, speak, write and work till we get it. It is simply amazing the amount of well-digested knowledge there is of Socialism in this State. One runs in to it everywhere and all the time. But it has no form or shape. It is but a mass. It must be analyzed, classified, arranged, made effective.

A Brilliant Authority. Let me paraphrase a bit of holy writ to drive home my points. Paul in 1 Cor., 13th chapter, speaks glowingly of charity, but had he lived in our day he would have written it as follows:

The I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not a talent for organization, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. And the I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and the I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have no organization, I am nothing.

Organization suffereth long and is kind, organization saitheth not; organization vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh not evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth. And now abideth faith, hope, and organization, these three, but the greatest of these is organization.

Hurrah! Old Paul may turn over again when this issue of the paper comes out, but we need practical political organization, and we have as good a right to use Paul to that end as the preachers. They have made him carry some awful burdens, and in his name have heaped a few on the backs of the dear people. We are going to get rid of these burdens, and organization is the means to the end. Every delegate district with a chairman and every precinct with a captain means every legislative seat occupied by a Socialist.

A militant proletarian political organization. That's it.

I just say that I am highly pleased with the Worker in its present shape, it's a big improvement. Success to Socialism and Socialism! writes Comrade John in the Worker.

A SUGGESTION.

To the Editor of the Worker.—One of the most depressing things which usually visit the new convert to Socialism is trying to answer the thousand and one questions of how the world will be governed under the new regime. Thoughts roved in on his mind, the answer to which would require the experience of years and the intelligence of an expert. In conversation with friends the young Socialist, proud of his new-found theory, tries to make clear, questions, which he but faintly understands himself, and not being conversant with what he is discussing, naturally is unable to act as instructor to others. My advice to beginners is to avoid the deep problems of government which he is but faintly acquainted with and stick to those questions which need not the education nor expert knowledge of an economist to answer.

The great questions of the iniquity of the capitalist system, the burdens of the poor, the inequality of the people, the inability of the wage worker (no matter how industrious) under our present system to get on an equality with those who exploit his labor, and the failure of the present system to solve the great question of distribution of the product of men's labor, with the absolute assurance that these questions can only be solved by the workers themselves, and that, thru the agency of the Socialist Party, will be found of sufficient interest and quite within the capabilities of the average convert. If he will stick to these questions, meanwhile, of course, educating himself to be able to take hold of the greater problems which will have to be answered some day, and which, by reason of such study, will become clear as light, he will avoid the pitfalls that his enemies and friends of capitalism will set for his unwary feet.

H. E. ROSENTHAL.

A CRITICISM.

To the Editor of the Worker.—In the Worker of July 14, I came across an article by Ben. Hanford on the I. W. W. It seems to me that Comrade Hanford has no argument against the I. W. W. When he stoops to personalities and cheap satire, no doubt, it would be a good thing for the I. W. W. to secure him to interpret the preamble to the constitution and to say how and when the members of the organization should strike. Criticism of the I. W. W. is in order and is desirable, but the above mentioned article shows that some of the opposition have nearly lost their heads in trying to stem the tide.

Comrade Hanford says that Debs, Simons and others have denounced the A. P. of L. and those connected with it in unequalled and harsh language, but I may say that I have yet to hear of Debs, Simons, or other K. P. members of the I. W. W., using the cheap personalities and scurrilous insinuations, such as appeared in Comrade Hanford's article, against K. P. members who are in the A. P. of L. unions.

I was surprised to see the article in the Worker as I had thought the Worker was above printing such letters. In fact, letters of that kind would, in my opinion, be more suited for the columns of the "Weekly People" or the "Social Democratic Herald". H. ARTHUR MORGAN, 1420 Dorr St., Toledo, O.

IT IS OUR OPINION, TOO.

To the Editor of the Worker.—It is my opinion that from this time until election, every person who makes a Socialist speech anywhere within the United States ought to call attention to the fact that a vote for the Republican or Democratic ticket is a vote for the assassination of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone, and that a vote for the Socialist ticket is a vote for their freedom.—FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH, Des Moines, Ia., July 23.

At a meeting of the General Federation of Women's Club, held in St. Paul, Minn., a resolution was passed to stand by the working girls in their demand for an eight-hour day wherever made.

PUBLICATIONS.

"A Great Little Book on a Great Big Issue", HEARST'S. An analysis of Government Ownership by J. B. Osborne, former State Organizer of California. 10c. a copy, prepaid; 4 for 25c.; 13 for 50c.; 100 for \$1.00. Send stamps or money order to: SOCIALIST VOICE, OAKLAND, CAL., 1128  
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SOCIALIST WORKING WOMEN'S SOCIETY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—Branches in New York, Brooklyn, Paterson, Newark, St. Louis, Control committee meets every second Thursday in the month at 11 A. M. in the Clubhouse, 206 E. 86th street, New York City.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS & JOINERS OF AMERICA, LOCAL UNION NO. 348 meets every Tuesday day at 8 P. M. in Bohemian Club, 321 E. 73d street. L. E. Krueger, 319 E. 67th street, Recording Secretary; H. M. Stoffer, 221 E. 101st street, Financial Secretary.

UNITED JOYRMEN TAILORS' UNION meets every second and fourth Monday in Link's Assembly Hall, 221-223 East Thirty-eighth street.

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PARTY NEWS.

R. C. Aug. 6, Laurens; Aug. 7, Spartanburg; Aug. 8, Union; Aug. 9, Clinton; Aug. 11, Columbia.

National. Mother Jones is improving in health but it will be several weeks before she can leave the house of State Secretary Dan Hogan, Huntington, Ark.

Massachusetts. The Dorchester Club held its weekly meeting July 26, corner of Gibson and Adams streets.

Pennsylvania. Reading Socialists have nominated Phillip F. R. East and Elwood W. Leffer for the legislature.

ONE DAY WAGE FUND. Local secretaries in organized states should return these subscription lists with two-thirds of the amount collected.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE. The National Committee has adopted the following motions. By Hillquit, with reference to the congressional campaign.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MOTION. National Committeeman Berlyn of Illinois moves: That the National Executive Committee place four speakers at the disposal of the State Committee of Colorado.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. N. E. C. Member Work has submitted the following: That Charles H. Kerr and A. M. Simons be appointed as a special committee.

NATIONAL ORGANIZERS. Dates for National Organizers and Lecturers for the coming week are: May Beale; Aug. 1, 2, Rockwood, Tenn.; Aug. 3, 5, Knoxville.

PHILADELPHIA. Four applications for membership were received at the last meeting of the City Central Committee.

ALLEGHENY COUNTY. A Moyer-Haywood protest meeting will be held at Washington Recreation Park, Bedford avenue, Pittsburgh.

NEW YORK STATE. Schenectady comrades have nominated Charles Noonan for Senator in the 28th District.

BROOKLYN. At the last regular meeting of Local Kings County 12 new members were admitted to the party.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN NEW YORK CITY. The Eighth Congressional District includes the entire 1st A. D. and parts of the 2d, 3d, 4th, 10th, and 21st.

SENATE DISTRICTS IN NEW YORK CITY. The Eleventh Senate District is composed of the 1st, 2d, and 4th A. D.

CONGRESSIONAL. The 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th Congressional District Conventions of the Socialist Party will take place on Friday, August 17, 1906.

5,000 small buttons; that he be authorized to procure suitable clerical assistance during the campaign.

CONNECTION. We are in receipt of a communication from Organizer Reilly of Local Bridgeport to the effect that a substitute platform is to be offered for the one adopted by the recent state convention.

NEW JERSEY. The Newark Labor Lyceum Association, whose object is to create a permanent home for the working class of that city.

HERE AND THERE. A state convention of the Socialists of Delaware will be held at Labor Lyceum Hall, Wilmington, Aug. 15, 8 P. M.

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OPEN-AIR MEETINGS IN NEW YORK CITY.

Open-air meetings will be held by Local New York, Socialist Party, as follows:

FRIDAY, AUG. 3. 8th A. D.—N. E. corner Eldridge and Grand Sts. J. Fox, William Karlin.

SATURDAY, AUG. 4. 10th A. D.—N. W. corner Forty-eighth St. and First Av. John Murphy, E. Phillips.

MONDAY, AUG. 6. 30th A. D.—West Side—N. E. corner Bleeker and Christopher Sts. Tim Murphy, Wm. Mendelson.

TUESDAY, AUG. 7. 30th A. D.—(East Side)—N. W. corner Sixth and Second Sts. John Mullen, Fred Paulsch.

WEDNESDAY, AUG. 8. 10th A. D.—N. W. corner Fifty-second St. and Eighth Av. Mark Pelsor, T. Phillips.

THURSDAY, AUG. 9. 5th A. D.—N. W. corner Fifteenth St. and Eighth Av. A. B. Demitt, T. Lewis.

FRIDAY, AUG. 10. 5th A. D.—N. W. corner Broome and Clinton Sts. Abe Panzer, Wm. Karlin.

SATURDAY, AUG. 11. 5th A. D.—N. E. corner Forty-sixth St. and First Av. Sam Edelstein, Wm. Mendelson.

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place on Friday, August 17, 1906, at 8 p. m. at the following places:

Fourth Congressional District, at 65 E. 4th St. Tenth, 256 E. 4th St. clubrooms.

Fifth Congressional District, at 237 E. Broadway, clubrooms. Twelfth, 237 E. 4th St. clubrooms.

SIXTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT. By authority of the New York County Committee of the Socialist Party.

Rosa Luxemburg Freed. "Vorwärts" announces that Rosa Luxemburg has been set at liberty after an imprisonment of more than four months in a prison at Warsaw.

CHICAGO FEDERATION ACTS. In response to the appeal from the Silver Bow Trade and Labor Assembly of Butte, Mont., the Chicago Federation of Labor has decided to hold a mass meeting Sunday, Aug. 5, to join in the general demand upon the authorities in Idaho.

BORO OF RICHMOND BRIMARY. A primary will take place on Saturday, Aug. 4, 1906, at 8 p. m. at the Labor Lyceum, 200 West 11th St.

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR. In response to the appeal from the Silver Bow Trade and Labor Assembly of Butte, Mont., the Chicago Federation of Labor has decided to hold a mass meeting Sunday, Aug. 5, to join in the general demand upon the authorities in Idaho.

ATTENTION!! Following is a list of pamphlets, JUST THE KIND YOU WANT, and especially adapted to district street meetings.

MERRIE ENGLAND. A plain exposition of Socialism, what it is and what it does for you. Price, 10c; one dozen, 85c; 100 copies, \$6.

WHAT SOCIALISM MEANS. A call to the unconverted. A lecture delivered for the Fabian Society, by Prof. E. Webb. 112 E. Price, 5c; one dozen, 45c; 100 copies, \$3.

MAN AND MACHINE. An eloquent arraignment of the present social system. By Geo. J. G. Adams. With What Has the Church Done for Labor? A stinging arraignment. By L. W. Rogers. Also, Private Business, a Public Affair. By Prof. E. Webb. Price, 10c; one dozen, 85c; 100 copies, \$6.

HOW TO TEACH SOCIALISM. Per-sonalities and technicalities should be avoided. A series of lectures for the Manchester and District Fabian Society. By R. J. B. Price, 10c; one dozen, 85c; 100 copies, \$6.

THE SOCIALIST CATCHPHRASE. J. J. Joyce. Disputes of total capitalist systems, their supplies, methods of extortion, machines and their use, distribution of wealth, theories of profit, inadequate objects, class and the results, revolution, 60,000 sold. Price, 5c; one dozen, 45c; 100 copies, \$3.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. First chapter from Principles of Economic Socialism. By E. J. B. Price, 10c; one dozen, 85c; 100 copies, \$6.

**YOUR UNCLE IS DEAD.**

**Russell Sage "Lived" Ninety Years, and "Got" Ninety Million Dollars.**

**He Was a Model of Sobriety, Industry and Thrift—All Workingmen Should Follow His Example—Do Not Delay—Begin Now.**

After an existence (it could not be called a "life"), of ninety years, after having "made" ninety million dollars, Russell Sage is dead. Dead and buried in a steel coffin and in a steel vault, equipped with electric burglar alarms and other devices to safeguard his wretched body from the attempts of those who might have designs upon it. Of course, no one wants his body for its own sake. But there are those who would like to steal it and use it as a means to extort from his widow a ransom for its return.

Sage on his own account has passed the point of arousing acute human interest. Not so the ninety million dollars he has left behind. They are very interesting to the widow and to all those who for any reason "have hopes".

**Nothing to Charity.**

The old man left to charity—nothing. It is said that the widow will give to charity. Twenty-six nieces and nephews are to get \$25,000 each. This is to be denied them if they make any effort to "break the will".

There are those who harshly criticize the old man because he made no bequests to schools, colleges, hospitals, or other regular objects of orthodox charity. The criticism is undeserved. Provided he work no injury to another, the question is not what a man DOES with his money.

**How Did He Get It?**

The real question is, HOW DID HE GET IT?

How did Russell Sage get his ninety millions? That is the question to be asked after death, and it is the question that should have been asked, and answered, while he was alive.

When a boy Sage worked in a grocery store for his board and \$12 a month. It is clearly to be seen that he never got ninety millions in that way. Later he had his wages raised, and received the sum of \$4 a week and board. But even his long "life" of ninety years was not long enough to get ninety millions in that way, even for a man as "industrious" and "thrift" as Russell Sage.

**Where Did He Get It?**

Where and how did he get it? He became a horse trader, but sharp as he was, Sage never got ninety millions trading horses. He went to Congress, but that was many years ago, before the days of the immense corporations of the present, and while he had a wonderful eye for the main chance, Sage never could have got ninety millions in Congress—the in our present day there are those (Senator Bailey, for instance) who may crowd the ninety-million-dollar mark if they can remain in Congress till they are as old as Sage at his death.

**Where and how did he get it?**

**He "Got" It by Robbery.**

Mr. Workingman, Mr. Sage "got" his ninety millions by robbing you. A man may become the possessor of wealth in one of three ways—it may be given him, he may steal it, or he may labor and produce it. Away back in those days of \$12 a month Sage labored and produced wealth. That was these many years ago. He only began to get wealth of consequence when he left the grocery store and took to the robbers' highway of high finance.

He "invested" his means. He shaved notes. He sold money. He became the owner of railroads—and robbed the men whose labor produced and operated them. When he shaved notes and sold money "on the Street" he robbed a robber who had already robbed a wealth producer—a worker.

When he became the OWNER of street cars and railroads, he became the MASTER of the men who were FORCED to work on those roads. We say FORCED to work on those roads.

**Forced to Work and He Robbed.**

FORCED to work for Russell Sage as long as he lived—and he lived a long time. And now that he is dead, there is to be no change. They will still be FORCED to work on the same old roads. It is of no consequence whether the widow becomes the owner, or the twenty-six nephews and nieces become the owners. No difference will it make if his railroads are given to charity and the best possible of benevolent societies becomes the owner. Still those men whose labor constructed and operates them will be FORCED to work there, and while they work there they will be robbed.

Why don't those workers quit? If they quit they'll starve—that's why.

Why do they submit to work under conditions where they are robbed? Because there are thousands of other men who are starving because they have no chance to work and be robbed—that's why.

When an old chattel slave owner died his will sometimes freed his slaves. No will of the owner of wage slaves can do that. When he dies his property goes to another—and that other by owning that property becomes the master of its slaves. The serf stick to the soil, the wage-slave sticks to the job. Who owns the means of

**THE HOUR AND ITS DUTY.**

By Ben Hanford.

It is campaign time. In all states Congressmen are to be elected. In many states elections are to be held for Governor and other state officers, also members of one or both houses of the Legislature. In many places there are to be chosen judges of the lower and supreme courts. In some cities a Mayor and aldermen are to be chosen, and numerous counties elect a sheriff and other officials.

It is the first duty of the members of the Socialist Party throught the country to make every effort to nominate candidates for every office for which the people are allowed to vote. In places where the party has no official standing this is no light task and it is not an easy matter to get the requisite number of signatures to the nomination papers. But remember that to ask a man to sign Socialist nomination papers is in itself Socialist propaganda. Many a man who is today a member of the Socialist Party was first interested in Socialism when asked to sign a nominating petition.

Where the party has official standing there should be candidates for every office to be voted for—the highest, the lowest, and all of those between.

Candidates duly nominated, every man to his post of duty. Let each give of the best that is in him. So he gives the best that he has to the Great Cause, there is no high nor low in the Socialist movement. The man who carries the heavy platform to the street corner (and gets it there on time) is as great, as useful, and as much to be honored as the man who speaks from that platform, and he should be on time. Let the one do HIS BEST to have a good platform and set it up properly; let the other do HIS BEST to have a good speech and deliver it effectively.

**Socialist Leaflets**

At every meeting there should be leaflet literature for free distribution. Not a large assortment of different leaflets distributed together. But ONE good leaflet at a time. Better that a man should READ one leaflet and remember it than receive a number of leaflets and read none of them. The distribution of literature should not be confined to party meetings. Party members, EACH AND EVERY ONE, should get some leaflets and distribute them wherever possible—in the shop, on the street cars, to acquaintances, in the neighborhood in which they live; in short, wherever there are workmen, and that is everywhere nearly. The man who distributes a leaflet is doing a service equally honorable and equally useful as the man who writes it.

**Socialist Papers.**

The distribution of literature should not be confined to the giving away of leaflets. A leaflet can only arouse a man's interest on one or two points. Its purpose should be to AWAKE the reader. After his interest is aroused, after he has been awakened, then we must INSTRUCT him. For this purpose nothing is of greater primary importance than a Socialist paper. To get full knowledge and equipment a man must read books as well as papers. But nothing is better calculated

production owns the workers who use them.

What can be done? One thing, and only one thing. Take the railways and all other means for the production of wealth and make them the collective property of all the people. That would be had for the Russell Sages. To be sure. But it would be good for the thousands of wage slaves whose robbery enriched him, and out of whose poverty was coined his ninety million dollars.

**FOR JOHN C. CHASE.**

**Socialist Candidate for Governor of New York Has Been Addressing Splendid Meetings.**

In his speaking tour of the state Comrade John C. Chase, the Socialist nominee for Governor of New York, has had large and enthusiastic audiences with but few exceptions throught his trip.

Last week he addressed great meetings of the workers in Geneva, Auburn, Oneida, Rome, and Watertown. In all his meetings the people have shown the closest interest, and in many places numerous questions are asked the speaker.

Many new subscribers to The Worker have been secured, and there seems to be a great interest in the subject of Socialism in the minds of all classes of people.

**SELLING GOOD LITERATURE.**

Comrade M. Tausler is one of the best hustlers for The Worker and "Volkzeitung" in New York. He attends street meetings and sells large quantities of each paper, besides many books and pamphlets. Comrade Tausler's experience is that The Worker can be easily sold at street meetings instead of given away. Where meetings are held regularly a steady sale to constant customers can be quickly built up.

to get a man into the running current (which is to become a torrent) of the Socialist movement than the reading of a Socialist paper. There are countless thousands of men who are today outside the organized Socialist movement for no other reason than that they have not had a Socialist paper of the right kind. This can be and should be remedied. It will be remedied if every comrade will do his full duty, and see that the intelligent non-Socialist workmen of his personal acquaintance are supplied. At street meetings it is usually easy to SELL Socialist papers. But among personal acquaintances and shopmates it is generally best to first give them the paper for a few weeks, then ask them to subscribe, and then you will soon have a new party member to assist you in your work. One other thing. If you belong to a labor union, see to it that at every meeting every member who will accept it is given a copy of a Socialist paper. You can't afford it? Well, then, get other comrades to help you. Whether a man writes for, edits or distributes Socialist papers, the honor is the same. Each is necessary to the movement.

**Give of Your Means.**

And you must give—give to the regular organized work of the Socialist Party, give to the incidental personal work of yourself and other Socialists, give to the Socialist press. I do not mean that you are to give what does not belong to you. You are not to give to the party your family's bread. You cannot serve the Socialist movement best by becoming a pauper. But few there are who cannot give something. A trip the less to Coney Island means twenty cents. A glass of beer less a day is thirty-five cents a week. A glass of beer and a cigar less per day means that you can there-by release seventy cents a week. And you and your family might be better off for it.

**Above All, Give Your Service.**

Regardless of all else, whether you can give much money, little money, or no money at all, GIVE YOUR SERVICE. Every member of the Socialist Party can do some of the great work of propaganda. Encourage others. Go to the party meetings of your local or branch. When asked to serve on a committee, do so, unless you know yourself to be unfitted for that particular work. In that event, serve on some other committee. Go to the meetings in your locality. Encourage the speakers. Encourage the workers, and BE A WORKER. Explain Socialism to the men striking with you. Explain it to the scab who takes your job if you get a chance. If you get arrested for doing picket duty, explain Socialism to the turnkey of the jail. If you sicken, talk Socialism to your doctor, and if you die, rise up in your coffin and talk Socialism to your grave-digger. If after death you go to hell, talk Socialism to the devil, and if you convert him he'll make that a better place for an honest man to live in than capitalism will ever be.

**BE A WORKER. BEGIN NOW.**

**\$40,125,033.**

**That Is the Amount of the Net Earnings of the United States Steel corporation for the Three Months of April, May, and June of This Year.**

If you wish to know just how far the trust busters have succeeded in their work, you should make note of the net earnings of the United States Steel Corporation for the second quarter of 1906. Those net earnings were, to quote the report published in the New York "Commercial", \$40,125,033. This is the largest amount "earned" by the Steel Trust in any quarter of its history. From this showing it is not apparent to the naked eye that this trust has been seriously injured by the attacks upon the octopus engineered by the so-called radicals and reformers.

When came that forty million dollars of net earnings? whether will it go?

The major part of it came from the sweat and blood of the thousands of men who are compelled to work for the Steel Trust in order to live. A portion of it (through the trust's monopoly power) was exploited from the people of the country who have to use steel, and that includes all of us.

That forty millions will go to people who did none of the work of producing steel. They will spend it in the further exploitation of wage slaves and in such ways as suits their pleasure or caprice.

But all of it was produced by the working class and none of it will be enjoyed by that class.

If any workman who reads this is hard up, let him remember that those forty million dollars are only a part of the exploitation of the workers in one industry for one quarter of the year, and let him remember that it is simply impossible for the workers to be well off so long as they turn over to others forty-million-dollar chunks of the wealth produced by their labor.

When those whose labor produces wealth get the wealth they produce they will have wealth a plenty. When those whose labor produces wealth over the means of production then they will get the wealth which is the product of their labor. Not before.

**IN A FEW WORDS.**

The Shaw-White case is to be realistically dramatized but it can hardly be hoped that the realism will be carried to the point of, actually shooting a capitalist at every performance.

Providing a \$25,000 steel coffin for himself was certainly extravagant in Russell Sage. Did he really think anyone would ever wish to resurrect him again?

Mr. Hearst's patriotism is unquestioned. He is even willing to sacrifice his political independence to get the Democratic nomination for governor.

Busy as President Roosevelt is with his campaign against the trusts he can't help sparing a little time to re-electing a few trust Congressmen this fall.

The biggest opening left by the San Francisco earthquake was the one for graft in the relief fund department.

If there are no classes in the United States why is labor legislation called "class legislation"?

Capitalist respect for womanhood never extends so far as not to fall to buy its labor at the lowest possible price.

Some anti-Socialists might explain why every political proposition of real merit is usually called "too Socialist."

Every time a capitalist dies it helps demonstrate what little need the world had for him.

Even in death Russell Sage and steel are not divided.

The Maharajah Gokhwar of Baroda declared before leaving for home that he saw no beautiful women in this country, which shows what he missed by hobnobbing with the aristocracy.

Perhaps one reason the capitalist press considers the present marriage institution so essential is that there would be no divorce scandals to report without it.

The bonds Russia wants to get rid of are not the kind the 'Bear is trying to dispose of.

An improved method of milking cows by electricity is being put into use but the capitalists consider the present method of milking the working class above improvement.

There may have been more graft in Washington's days than there is now, as Gov. Higgins says, but the grafters of those days have the greater merit of being dead ones.

That Central American war was a tame affair, compared to a Cossack raid of a Pennsylvania mining camp.

The woman missionary who is telling about seeing South Sea cannibals kill and eat human beings doesn't know how fat her story falls after reading about jungle beef.

Mr. Carnegie must be rather embarrassed by the persistency of the workers in furnishing more money than he can give away.

Railroad companies are now charging many recent wrecks to "sun kinks" since the sun is not in a position to prove an alibi.

Spencer Cannon says the way to succeed is to keep busy—and keep the capitalists busy piling up the fruits of your labor, of course.

That workman is helping himself best who helps his class first.

It looks as if Mr. Hearst is about ready to scab it on the Independence League.

Marshall Field was three times as rich as Russell Sage, but they are both equally poor at this writing.

The man out of work has at least the consolation of knowing that it is better to have lost a boss than ever to have been bossed at all.

The delegates to the New York Central Federated Union who opposed the Socialist Party last Sunday are to be congratulated upon receiving the congratulations of the union haters, union baiting "Times".

Mr. Corey has kindly provided for one home less for Socialism to break up.

The father of twenty-six children has landed in a Brooklyn jail where he can do no further harm for six months.

**BISHOP DENOUNCES GORKY.**

In the press dispatches Bishop McPaul is credited with the following temperate language in referring to Gorky in an address before the American Federation of Catholic Societies at Buffalo:

"Look at Maxim Gorky, the Russian Socialist, coming to America to ask us to turn upon Russia. See him living with a woman who cannot be recognized as his wife. That villain and scoundrel and polluter of womanhood would preach to us the gospel of human liberty."

The dispatches also state that he declared that "Socialism would stretch out her foul hands upon the property of our people."

**DID THE BOSSES THROW THE BOMB?**

**The Plumbers' Unions' Quarrels Over, They Were About to, and Since Have, Amalgamated—This It Was to the Interest of the Bosses to Prevent.**

With an unanimity that is as significant as it is striking the New York daily papers have dropped all mention of a bomb throwing scare-head story to which they gave much space last week. The bomb was said to be thrown from a Third Avenue elevated train into a group of members of Local Union No. 480 of the United Association of Plumbers on the sidewalk below, injuring several. The papers immediately charged that the bomb was thrown thru the instigation of Local Union No. 2 of the Associated League of Plumbers, which was then striking for increased wages and being opposed by L. U. No. 480, a rival union. This charge was denied by L. U. No. 2's officials and the circumstances bore out the denial.

For this reason: On the very evening the bomb was thrown the officials of the two rival unions were about to hold a conference to amalgamate the two unions and thus stop the fighting between them. Since that evening the amalgamation has been effected and the plumbers' strike is settled. It is clear, therefore, that the members of neither union would have had any reason to be guilty of committing an outrage which would prevent what each was trying to accomplish.

But one other thing does become clear: If any persons were interested in keeping the unions apart it was the employers, and there appears to be justification in the countercharge made by the officials of L. U. No. 2 that the bomb throwing was actually the work of the employers' association for the purpose of prolonging the union feud which was about to be ended. In this connection, it is worth while pointing out that the alleged assault upon employees' watchmen on the Plaza Hotel roof three weeks ago, and of which the iron workers arrested have been cleared of blame by the coroner's jury, occurred at the exact time the union officials were conferring for a settlement of the existing strike, a settlement since reached to the workers' advantage.

That these two events should have transpired under practically the same circumstances, that the daily press should so unanimously denounce the unions for committing outrages there would be no reason for the unions to commit, that the interests of the employers' associations require division and not unity among union men, and finally, that notwithstanding the hostility toward them which usually exists among police and other officials, the union men have cleared themselves of the murderous charges made against them—all these things warrant the belief that the employers' associations may be the real instigators of murder and law-breaking.

And the actions and utterances of anti-union fanatics like Post, Parry and Elditz are not such as would inspire doubt of their incapability of resorting to any means to justify their bitter, conscienceless war upon the organizations of labor.

**"NEARLY 70 YEARS BEHIND GERMANY".**

**The Railway Employees' Liability Law of New York.**

The last New York Legislature passed an amendment to the railroad law in relation to liability for injury to employees. But how progressive do you suppose it was? How will it compare with the railroad employees' liability laws of other countries?

On page 245 of the New York State Department of Labor Bulletin, No. 29, issued under the direction of Mr. P. Tecumseh Sherman, Commissioner of Labor, we find the following:

"While New York has with this act reached the point attained by England in 1850 [TWENTY-SIX YEARS AGO] it is still nearly SEVENTY YEARS BEHIND GERMANY, inasmuch as it was in 1888 that Prussia enacted a law requiring railway companies to pay compensation for ALL accidents whatsoever excepting such as were due to the victim's own carelessness or to Providence."

That ought to make you feel rather proud, Mr. Free American Workman. You have reached a point that the British workman passed twenty-six years ago, but you have not yet the benefit of liability laws such as guarded the German workman when the first railroads were being constructed.

And the Supreme Court has not yet passed on the constitutionality of this law. When it does so, it will very likely be found either that it is unconstitutional or that it isn't there.

**WANTED.**

Men who would like to add a little to their earnings by working a few hours in the evening.

Address:  
**BUSINESS MANAGER, 15 SPRUCE ST., NEW YORK.**

**GRAND ANNUAL PICNIC AND SUMMERNIGHT'S FESTIVAL**

**BROOKLYN FEDERATION OF LABOR**

TO BE HELD ON SUNDAY, AUGUST 5,

**A. FALKENMEYER'S RIDGEWOOD COLOSSEUM**

Prize Bowling for Cash and other valuable Prizes. Also Prize Drawing. And other Amusements.  
**TICKET, admitting Gent and Lady, 25 CENTS**  
To commence at 2 P. M. Music by Prof. Aug. Schneider. THE COMMITTEE.  
The Proceeds of this affair will be used for the progressive labor movement.

**"SOCIALISM" BY JOHN SPARGO**

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**HAYWOOD'S LETTER**

Continued from page 1.

of tobacco juice, tell of the nation's prosperity, per capita the richest country in the world, but neglect to say that 4 per cent of the people own 70 per cent of the wealth and practically control the balance. While the workers toil and sweat, the shirkers are this year spending four millions of dollars in Europe. This is only a part of the wealth, the prosperity, that the producers are bucceted out of by playing at the capitalists' political shell game.

The working class are neither bigots nor fools, but they have been lulled to sleep with the lethe weed of patriotism, while scoundrels who chirp "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" are plotting a further downfall, asserting commercial supremacy "demands a lower standard of living among the American working class." Are you prepared for it? Already the wife has been dragged from the home, the children from the school room, harnessed like beasts of burden to the industrial wheels of capitalism which grind all wage slaves down to the level of a "Scarlet Empire".

**To Be Free, Control Your Job.**

Capitalism has decreed that my companions and I shall never leave these prison cells alive. I do not mention this to divert your attention to us, but to warn you not to put the seal upon your own death warrant. If you feel that you are free, reach out, assert yourself, and see how quickly you will feel the restraining arm of the master of your job. To be absolutely free the worker must control his job and the proceeds of his labor. Use your ballot as a weapon to dispel coercion, the grovelling, groping limp of force, and entrapment reason with the beacon light of emancipation's real freedom, industrial liberty. Organized industrially, united politically, the working class can and must free the human race from bondage. I wish to assure you of the deepest appreciation of my imprisoned comrades and myself for the splendid support and confidence reposed in us.

It is my purpose, whether in jail, in the Governor's chair or in the field of labor, to use any best efforts to establish an industrial government wherein the working class will own, operate, control, and supervise the means of production and distribution for the benefit of the working class alone. In this program there is nothing to arbitrate.

**Remedial Measures.**

While it is the duty of the Socialist Party candidates to at all times advocate its platform and ultimate intentions, still there is certain remedial legislation requisite to the immediate welfare of the state. The first essential is the health of our people, as there are tons of canned filth on the markets of our state, labeled meats of divers kinds; which, by investigation of the national government, are shown to be certain bi-products of well-known packing plants, entirely unfit for food; therefore necessary laws should be enacted providing for inspectors and authorizing the confiscation, collection, and destruction of all canned meats from packing plants known to be unclean; further, to prohibit the sale of such goods until proper sanitary precautions have been installed in the establishments for the manufacture of canned goods. Some such measure is necessary, as otherwise cheapened prices will force the whole bulk of rottenness down the throats of the working class.

**Personal Rights Outraged by Court Decrees.**

The courts of the state are the barometer of its morals, and certain of the courts, from police magistrate to the Supreme Court of the state, have assumed prerogatives not vested in the judiciary. In the lesser courts the vagrancy laws are operated like a sawage mill, much to the discomfort of the proletariat, while the higher court renders decisions that make a franchise fit a corporation like a tailor made suit. Positive laws should be enacted restricting the courts from overlapping the other branches of government. Particularly should the courts

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be relieved of the burden of deciding or weighing the vox populi, which must remain determinative and imperative, even to the extent of abolishing the presumptive court.

Certain court decisions have resulted in violent outrages to personal rights, by decreeing extraordinary power to be vested in the state executive. This should immediately be remedied by law to positively re-establish the great writ of habeas corpus.

I would at this juncture comment on the question of martial law, but as the Governor is the commander-in-chief, it may not be advisable to dishard the militia, because being the defenders of the state's honor, it could be used to good advantage as bull pen guards in the event of being confronted with an obstreperous Supreme Court.

Claims have been filed against the state by citizens who suffered personal and property injury during quasi martial law by being deported, robbed, and violently used. Among other wrongs the most severe was the enforced loss of franchise. Appropriation should be made to cover the claims filed and others that may be properly presented.

Provision should be made to protect and prevent further encroachment upon the state's property; the leases of coal lands in Rountt County, and the coal bearing lands in the southern part of the state should be investigated, and where such lands are fraudulently held action should be taken to recover them for the benefit of all the people.

Proper effort should be made to direct and promote the Campbell system of dry farming, even to the extent of negotiating state aid for that purpose in the event its practicability is demonstrated.

The farmer should receive encouragement and protection from the state in proportion to his importance to society. A fifty in the value of his products without regard to market quotations will effect permanent relief to the farmer and dismay to the stock jobber.

**The Right to Bear Arms.**

I have mentioned provisions for the health, moral and personal rights of the people, and state property. The working class are so slightly encumbered with private property, it is needless to suggest protective legislation at this time other than to reassure every citizen of the right to bear arms as a means of self-protection and the maintaining of the law.

At once upon convening, Colorado's Legislature should direct to Congress and to all sister states a memorial recommending the abolishment of every form of the pernicious slave system of apprenticeship, urging the establishment of industrial training schools where every boy and girl would have the opportunity to develop the productive faculties of trade and art, thus preparing them to become useful members of a Co-operative Commonwealth.

With these and other absolutely essential and opportune measures, a guarantee to enforce and uphold the law as it exists until changed by proper legislation, combined with the general revolutionary platform of the Socialist Party, our success is the people's victory.

WM. D. HAYWOOD,  
Socialist Party Candidate for Governor of Colorado.