
The Worker.

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IN WENDELL PHILLIPS' MEMORY.

Socialists of Boston Hold Meeting in Historic Faneuil Hall and Franklin H. Wentworth Pays Tribute to the Great Agitator Who Spent His Life Fighting Chattel and Wage Slavery.

lin H. Wentworth delivered the oration of the evening, and it is herewith given.]

The life which we are to consider tonight is no ordinary life. Standing as we to to-day at the threshold of a new era; bringing to bear upon all men and events the scrutiny of a new philosophy, we Socialists find scant occasion for the thing called hero-worship. Before many a monument builded to per-petuate the fame of individuals we may pause in contemplation; we may sympathize; we may sometimes pity; but few, indeed, are those before which we are moved to shed-a tear.

Of all the men whom the period of the American civil war has written into history-from John Brown dying with the kiss of the slave child upon his lips, to Charles Sumner, struck ss upon the floor of the United States Senate-of all those who so nobly and unseffishly threw themselves into the struggle against chattel slavery there is but one, who, when the fight was over turned serenely from the plaudits of the world his matchless eloquence had served to awaken, and, wrapping his cloak once more about him, went forth to meet a greater

"When Others Fell Away."

The special claim of Wendell Phil-lips to our regard does not lie in the fact of his self-devotion to the cause of the black man, in the fact that he suffered revilement, calumny, mob-vioence, in voicing the inarticulate cry of the slave. It is great to have stood then as he stood. It is great to suffer abuse and revilement in defense of any truth. But others stood with Wendell Phillips in that crisis; others suffered; others died in the fight which he sur vived. It is because of what he stood for when the others fell away—when William Lloyd Garrison turned from him in disdain, and Ralph Waldo Emerson, his friend for thirty years, no longer welcomed him at Concord— it is because he saw that the freeing of the chattel slave was but the pre luge to the freeing of the wage slave, that he draws our hearts to him by an honor Wendell Phillips because we know, not only from his actions, but from his written words, that were he alive to-day his white plume would be waving upon the barricades of the working-class revolution.

His work in overthrowing chattel slavery; his aid to the cause of Irish freedom; yes, even his efforts to secure the ballot for women have had their meed of praise. For all of these things a grateful people lay laurel and rose upon his grave. But for that we find in him; for that which calls us together here to-night; for that which makes our hearts bent close to him as a friend; for that we find in all the tributes, all the orations, all the memor written and spoken words, no sin-

"The Voice of To-morrow."

of Massachusetts, of his native city of Boston, to make the first public recognition of those qualities of insight prophecy which raise him so majestically above the men of his period; which make of him more than the voice of yesterday; which make of him the voice of to-morrow. And I myself account it a blessed privilege to stand here on this platform where he so often stood, within these historic walls which have so often echoed to his burning eloquence, and lay the tri-bute of a vaster anti-slavery movement at the feet of its most distinguished

The claiming of Wendell Phillips by the Socialist movement is by way of a re-discovery. It is certain that many re-discovery. At the present social order, who accord to the great Abolitionist the conventional praise of the schoolbooks, and uphold him as an example to their children, would revise ions of him in a panic if they knew he was voicing, thirty-five years ago, the very principles of working class politics which are disturbing the possessors of unearned incomes to-

It is also probable that there are few active working men now living who re-member their devoted candidate for Governor in 1870. Wendell Phillips dwells in the common minds as an Abolitionist, as America's greatest orator. It is for us to give him a new, a larger, and a more significant setting. Circumstances do not make men—they exhibit them; but oftentimes a single happening may determine the direction in which a strong life-current is to

"The Dangerous Man." Wendell Phillips was a born aristo-crat. His birth, his associations in

[On last Tuesday, Dec. 4, the Socialists of Boston held a meeting in Faneuil Hall to commemorate the birthday of Wendell Phillips. Frankopposite direction to that which he followed. But there is a force which at heed can set at defiance every outward influence, and every claim of family and environment. It is integrity of soul, and Wendell Phillips had it. The very flower of Boston youth, beautiful of face and figure, of distinguished family, graceful and courteous in manner, president in turn of all the social clubs of Harvard, coveted and welcomed in the drawing-rooms of aristocratic Beacon Hill, such was the man, who, for twenty years, was destined to be scoffed at, and reviled, and hated as a-traitor by the class from which he sprung. There is one whom the class of wealth and privilege can never forgive, and that is the man, who, accepting and embodying all the best it has to offer, forsakes its service and throws all he is and all he has acquired upon the altar of the common life. He,

> Never had privileged society greater pride in a son than it had in this youth of twenty-three when he crened his law office in Boston in 1834. "He saw limself," says George William Curtis, "succeeding Fisher Ames, and Harrison Gray Otis, and Daniel Webster, ris ing from the bar to the Legislature, from the Legislature to the Senate, from the Senate-who knew whither?the idol of society, the applauded orator, the brilliant champion of the elegant repose and the cultivated conser vatism of Massachusetts."

above all others, is the dangerous man,

for he can not be bribed nor deceived,

nor flattered from his purpose. He has

counted the cost; he has judged his

own class, and he knows what he re-

"The Turning Point of Destiny." For a year he practiced law.

It was the afternoon of October 21, 1835, that was to determine his des-tiny. He sat in his office window in School street reading. He heard the noise of a disturbance and looked out. There was an excited crowd in Washington street. He put on his hat and went down to it. He found it was a

A man, bareheaded, with a rope about his waist, his clothing torn and bedraggled, was dragged toward the City Hall.

"Kill him!" "Lynch him!" cried the

"Who is that?" asked Phillips. "That?" answered one, "Why that's Garrison, the damned Abolitionist They are going to hang him."

The young man caught sight of Col. Park, commander of the Boston militia.
"This is outrageous," he cried, "why doesn't the Mayor call for the regi-

"Why," retorted the officer, "don't you see that the regiment is in the mob?"

Profoundly astonished, he saw that t was. He had always identified mobs with the rabble, but this rabble was in broadcloth. He recognized "gentlemen of property and standing"—his friends and associates on Beacon Hill.

n was put in jail to save his life, and the next morning the newspapers extolled the mob and gloried in

Hoor Phillips! It was a body-blow. and the law was to him something holy, something sacred,—a thing for a man to give his life to. Now he saw that it was not worth the parchment on which it was written, when it collided with the prejudices of the rich. He saw that in spite of all the theories of abstract justice, an unpopular min-ofity had absolutely no rights which the state was bound to respect. It was his first lesson in capitalist govern-ment; but it was by no means his last. He knew little of the abolition move ent. For four years Garrison had been publishing "The Liberator" Boston, but Phillips had never read it. He had thought as little about slavery as an institution up to that time as the gilded youth of Brookline have thought about capitalism up to now. But he was stung to the quick by the Garrison outrage, and was not in ignorance long. For a year he went about his work as usual, but a mighty wrath was rising in his heart. At last it blazed forth. Phillips and Garrison! The impossible had happened.

"Suicide."

The news that Wendell Phillips, the orilliant, the talented aristocratic hope of conservative Boston had become an Abolitionist shook Beacon Hill and Cambridge to their centers. People refused to believe it. His family were torn with pity for his weakness and bowed by a sense of their own dis-

"It is suicide—political, professional, social suicide;" was the cry. It was, indeed.

So soon as it was proven true, the

circle in which he had been moving cut him dead. Old acquaintances passed him on the street with a sneer Doors which had opened to give him eager welcome were shut in his face. The class from which his professional advancement was to come withdrew their business from his hands. His prospects crumbled to ashes before his He was an outcast in his native city-deserted and avoided as though stricken with leprosy.

An Abolitionist! The friend of nig-

Polite Boston turned from him in unspeakable discust

"Ears Stuffed With Cotton."

You cannot attack capitalism anywhere without attacking capitalism everywhere. The "best" families of the North and the "first" families of the South were one in sympathy. The abhorred Abolitionists, in attacking slavery were attacking the principles of privilege. Wendell Phillips had, without knowing it, taken his place in the historic class struggle, and encountered a bitterness and hate under the polite exterior of his former associates which it was almost impossible for him to comprehend. Since the in vention of the cotton gin, which made chattel slavery profitable, a financial the economic life of the South, and which the North cringed and truckled to. Slavery had already imprisoned the moral sense of the nation. The ears of the commercial classes were stuffed with cotton. They could no more hear the agonizing cries of the shackled millions than they can to-day, hear the walls of the little children as they are rudely shaken from their warm beds and driven in the gray dawn into the Southern cotton mills. And as every organized institution invariably defends the system from which it derives its financial support. church and college foined hands in the defense of chattel slavery. They would not even allow the subject to be dis-

"They have locked it up in the Senate Chamber; they have Midden it behind the communion-table; they have appealed to the superstitious and idolatrous veneration for the state and the Union to avoid this question!" cried Phillips.

The Storm Breaks.

But if the North fought the Abolitionists by conspiracies of silence; by refusing them halls for their meetings, and by every form of petty persecution, the rage of the South was open and rank with hate. The state of Georgia offered \$5,000 to any gang of ruffians who would kidnap Garrison and deliver him into that state for hanging. South Carolina, followed by four other Southern states, passed resolutions asking the Northern states to suppress all Abolitionists. These resolutions were forwarded to the Northern governors. How aid they receive such insolent demands? In vulgar subser-

Edward Everett, Governor of Massachusetts, whose portrait hangs to-day on Beacon Hill; Edward Everett, the silver-tongued and eloquent statesman, who is still honored by those who read his speeches on liberty and do not know of his infamy; Edward Everett outran the rest of Northern governors in their race of servility, and recommended that the state make it a penal offense to speak or print against sla-

For once the Massachusetts Legislature had n ore self respect than respect for its lackey-governor.

The legislation was attempted, but

it did not carry. Then came the murder of Lovejov shot down like a dog at Alton, Illinois, for printing an anti-slavery paper. It was like the gun at Sumpter. It crystalized the sentiment of the country and set hearts aflame. Dr. Channing asked for Faneud Hall for a meeting

to denounce the outrage. Faneuil Hall was refused!

An Historic Moment.

He appealed to Boston in an open letter, and the municipal authoritie backed down. The meeting was held. The hall was filled to suffocation. The enemies of the cause were here as well as the friends, beside great numbers who had as yet no opinions. The resolutions of protest were read; they were seconded, but before they could be put James T. Austin, Attorney General of Massachusetts, politician and practiced demagogue, pushed himself to the front and began to speak. He attacked the resolutions; he covered them with ridicule: he complimented the Alton murderers by comparing them to the patriots who threw overboard the tea in Boston Harbor, and declared that their victim "died as the fool dieth". The friends of slavery thundered

their approval of the Attorney General, and the object of the meeting

But it was not lost. At this wild moment, under the very shadow of catastrophe, there bounde to the platform a youth of twenty-six. His grace, his repose, the classic beauty of his face hushed the tumult into silence. Then he begun to speak. His voice, sweet as a song, clear as a

Continued on page 2,

"MORGAN WEPT."

His Man, Spencer, Paid Penalty of His Own Neglect, Meeting Fate He Had Visited Upon Thousands.

Another one of those frequent disasters that accompany railroad manage ment in this country, occurred near Lynchburg, Va., last week and the dead included the president of the road. It appears that indifference to human life in the operation of the road is responsible for the "accident". Train schedules have been so inefficient that mails to the South are usual ly from six to twenty-four hours late in reaching Atlanta and other points on the Southern Railway. The management has been devoted to acquiring other lines to the neglect of improv-ing the service and providing for the safety of traffic. This scramble for a wider domain and more dividends made the sacrifice of life unusually high and the damage suits and proper ty loss due to "accidents" the past year has reached the total of \$2,500,-

But this disregard brought its retribution for once. The Lynchburg wreck had among its dead the president of the road, and the space devoted to his death by the press is suggestive of the life value of the capitalist as compared to the worker. Thousands of workingmen are killed and crippled annually and a few lines or a column at most make up their obituary. In the case of Spencer, the dead president of the Southern road, no less than two pages in some papers was required to tell of the fate that overtook him.

Last month forty workingmen were roasted to death in a wreck in northern Indiana, and these forty had, in some cases, but a few paragraphs to tell of their tragic end.

Now for Reform.

But the significant thing about the Southern wreck is that the death of Spencer has called forth suggestions and advice for better safeguards for human life than what he and his kind have provided for others. The death of one capitalist and the possibility of its repetition sends a shiver into the ranks of that class which may develop into a crusade for "reform". J. Pier-pont Morgan was "overcome" by the news of Spencer's death and "wept". Morgan knows that wrecks are expensive and dead managers bring no dividends.

The order was given that the road suspend all operations for five minutes during the funeral of Spencer When workingmen are immersed in molten steel or crushed by massive cranes in the service of the steel trust, Morgan sheds no tears and the roar ing blast continues to toll the funeral march of victims. He has no tears to waste or profits to curtail as a token of respect to those whose life blood is sacrificed to make his and others'

But Morgan himself must ride trains. His class must ride. What if the fate of Spence overtake them? Estimate the dividends, then balance then with death and Morgan "weeps at the result. This gives the cue as to how the capitalist class is moved to "reform"

Why Capitalists Are Immune.

If the beef packers of Chicago could steers and ptomaine sausage; if the owners of sweatshops could be forced to wear germ infected clothing; if capitalists had to take their lives in their hands tending unguarded machines, what a "wave of reform' what a regard for human life would sweep thruout the country!
But capitalists don't have to eat rot

ten meat, they sell it; they don't wear germ-infected clothing, they sell it; they don't tend unguarded machinery. they own it. The workers must tend the unguarded machinery and must cat the diseased meat and wear death breeding garments. The capitalists own these things but do not have to use them.

Died Not in Vain

It is different with the railroads The capitalists not only own out must use them also. But in the struggle for dividends they have overlooked the fact that, the called to "divine" proprietorship by Baer, a capitalist might be mangled or even killed like those of baser clay. The fate of Spencer proved that his class could not throw dice with death and win every throw Spencer lost and Morgan "wept". Spencer got the dividends. Morgan appreciates the Spencerian type of

To-day the Spencers are considered of more worth than all the workers killed on the Southern railway system. They do not build the road; they do not operate it. The workers who did build and who do operate it are ciphers. When the workers own a well as build and operate the railroads they will be considered of as much worth as one capitalist and, in fact. more.

Now is the time to subscribe to a So-cialist paper. The Worker, 50c. a year. Worker.

SUPREME COURT DECIDES AGAINST MOYER, HAYWOOD AND PETTIBONE.

Denies Writ of Habeas Corpus, Thus Endorsing Kidnapping From Colorado and Gooding, McParland & Co.-Immediate and United Working Class Action Necessary-The Fight for Justice Must Go On With Renewed Vigor. The Supreme Court of the United | Neither guaranteed the citizen any protec | President Roosevelt sent Secretary of States on Monday last handed down a | War. Taft to Idaho Court |

decision on the appeals of President Charles H. Moyer and Secretary William D. Haywood of the Western Federation of Miners and George A. Pettibone, a member of that organization, from the refusal of the Idaho Supreme Court and the Federal Court in that state to release them on writs of habeas corpus from the Idaho peniten-

dary. The appeal was based upon the extradition of Mover, Haywood and Pettibone from Colorado, their home state, to Idaho, without being given a hearing, according to constitutional and The Idaho Supreme Court and Federal Court in that circult refused their release on the ground that the question as to whether they were unlawfully extradited from Colorado was unimportant in view of the fact that they were then in the custody of the Idaho authorities.

The United States Supreme Court, in its decision, has upheld the ruling of the lower courts, and the three labor representatives will now have to stand trial in Idaho, under charge of complicity in the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg.

A Washington dispatch to the New Yorker "Volkszeitung" reports:

The Decision.

In delivering the opinion of the court Justice Harlan said that the grounds upon which the three men based their applications for relief were that their rights un der the Constitution had been violated be-cause an opportunity to be heard on the question, whether or not they were fugitives from justice had been denied them. There was, he said, no duty resting upon the Governor of Colorado to give a hearing on the subject and he had full authority on the subject and no and this authority to determine the facts and act accordingly. His failure to do so could not be regarded as an infringement of any rights of the petitioners under the Constitution or laws of the United States.

The court holds in effect that it was not received for it to invarious the manner of

proper for it to inquire into the manner of obtaining possession of the men, as had been several times decided by the court. The main thing was that the state had pos-session and their guilt or innocence would be determined by the trial.

The court also held that it was not ma ferial whether the men were not, as as-serted, within the state of Idaho when the murder was committed in 1905. That could also be determined by trial, and by that

To the contention that arrests and deportations from Colorado were the results of fraud and connivance so arranged and carried out as to deprive him of a hearing on the question of legal deportation, Jus-tice Harlan says it cannot be perceived that the facts made a case in violation of that the facts made a case in violation of their rights. That they had no reasonable opportunity to present the facts before be-ing taken from Colorado constitutes no legal reason why they should be discharged from the custody of the Idaho authorities. Their guilt or innocence would be deter-mined by the court of Idahe, which would also pass upon the claim that they were not within the state at the time the murder was committed. The question therefore was whether in these proceedings the Idaho court could properly be prevented from proceeding with the trial on that Issue. As the petitioners were within the jurisdiction of Idaho and were held by its authorities for trial. It was not material as to how or trial, it was not material as

cisions in the Keer case in Illinois and the Mahon case in West Virginia, both so-called "legal kidnapping" cases, in which the court had declined to grant like relief, and he said that the question had been settled clusively that so far as the constitution and laws of the United States were con-cerned, the court would not interfere with the state courts under such circumstances

it was not necessary, said Justice Har-lan in conclusion, that the court go behind the indictment and inquire how the petitioners came to be within reach of the process of the Idaho court in which the indictments were pending; and any investi gution as to the motives which induced action by the governors of Colorado and Idaho would be improper as well as irrele-

vant to the real question. It must be con

clusively presumed that those officers proceeded throughout the affair with no evi

purpose and with no other motive than to enforce the law.

Justice McKenna delivered ajvigorous dis sent to the conclusion reached by the ma jority, denouncing the courts pursued to-ward the three prisoners as a violation of personal liberty in the highest sense.

What It Means.

What does this decision mean? In plain language, without the legal verblage of the Supreme Court, it means that a representative of a labor organization is not subject to the same laws as are other citizens of the United States. It means the "Constitution be damned" when the capitalist class wants troublesome working class representatives out of the way It is admitted that Moyer, Haywood

and Pettibone were removed from Colorado, stealthily and without being given a hearing by the Governor of Colorado before he signed the extradition papers, and without being given

an opportunity to consult counsel.

The Constitution of the United
States (Art. 1, Sect. 2) provides: "The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety ay require it."

The Constitution also provides (Art. 5, amendments): "No person . . shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law.

But in the case of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus HAS been suspen they WERE deprived of their liberty without due process of law. They were kidhapped as much as Cudaby's child was kidnapped by Pat Crowe.

Decisions Do Not Always Decide

"But," says the wise and great Su-preme Court, "THAT has nothing to lo with it. Aren't they in prison now! Well, then, let them show whether they are guilty or not.

Oh, wise judges! Oh, great judges! Once before did the United States Supreme Court render a wise decision. That was the Dred Scott decision, before the civil war. Then the Supreme Court declared that a negro had no rights white men were bound to respect and that it was the duty of citizens to capture escaping negroes and restore them to their Southern masters. And that wise decision has-tened the abolition of chattel slavery in the United States and drenched its soil in the blood of its best and noblest sons.

Will this latest decision arouse the working class of the nation to working class inequality before the law? Will it hasten the abolition of wage slavery, not thro war but thru the peaceful exercise of the ballot?

Immediate Action Essential. In the meantime, quick action must

be taken by the organized workers There is every symptom everywhere. of a close knit conspiracy to hang Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. From the first moment they were seized in Colorado this has been apparent.

And now a power higher up than Gooding is undoubtedly at work. When

election to make a special plea for the re-election of Governor Gooding, when Taft publicly eulogized Gooding for his actions toward Moyer, Haywood and l'ettibone, it was made clear that Roosevelt desired the conviction of the imprisoned men and his action was a hint to the Supreme Court what kind of a decision to render in the habens

We have no longer only Gooding, McParland and the small corporation lackeys to combat. The whole force of the national administration is to be contended with. Only united national action on the part of the working class will suffice in this emergency.

corpus proceedings.

The Hypocrisy of Gooding.

Governor Gooding is quoted as saying that Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone will get a "fair trial," that it was never intended they have anything but a fair trial, and that the workingmen of the country have been misled in thinking otherwise. But we know Goveraor Gooding for a liar and we do not intend to believe him now. If he thinks he can deceive the workers into blind trust of him, he is mistaken. He is as false as the charges made againstour comrades; as infamous as the de-

cisions handed down against them. The New York "Sun" heads Gooding's interview, "Fair Trial for Assassins-Stuenenberg Murderers Have Only Law to Fear." Damned as assassins and murderers before trialand then they will get a "fair trial!" Then "they have only the law to fear." Only LAW INTERPRETED BY CAPITALISTS have they to fear. Only courts controlled by capitalists have

Can we look for a "fair trial" where Gooding, who has condemned our comrades before they are tried, and a Roosevelt publicly denounces them and uses the power of his administration to secure their conviction, are concerned?

The Only Guarantee.

The only guarantee of a fair trial must come thru the swift and definite action of a united working class-a working class united in spite of temporary differences of opinion on other questions and determined that in this crisis the capitalist class will be met with unbroken ranks and a commou, unifying, inspiring purpose.

To accomplish this a national conference appears to us the most feasible. It is reported that the trial of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone will take place in the January term of court A national conference held before the trial begins, open to all labororganizations, regardless of political and economic differences, and devoted solely and wholly to the question of securing a fair trial, to the raising of funds and the faithful reporting of the trial to the labor press of the country. This should provide the medium thru which the workers can be united in whole hearted support and the general public aroused to the importance of the case and the enormity of the crime against human life and human liberty which all signs- indicate is about to be committed.

The Executive Committee of the Moyer-Haywood Conference of New York is called to meet at 66 E. 4th st., Thursday, December 6, 8 p. m., to consider the situation caused by the United States Supreme Court de-

BROCKTON ELECTION.

Socialist Candidate for Mayor Defeated by Small Margin-May Have Recount

(Special to The Worker.)

BROCKTON, Mass., Dec. 4 .- At the municipal election held here to-day. Clifford, the Socialist Party candidate for Mayor, was defeated by 177 votes, polling about 3,600 votes. A Repub-lican manufacturer was elected, Election returns indicate peculiar actions. as strong Socialist precincts are given to Democrats on face of returns. We

will demand a recount on Mayor. We elect three Aldermen, an increase of two over last year.

A CHAMBER OF HORRORS. Chicago is said to have more kinds

of things to eat than any other place on earth. What really happens is that it has more kinds of labels on the same old food. Artemus Ward could turn his wax-works figure of Julius Cresa into a whole Chamber of Horrors by merely changing the clothes. In Chi cago their Julius Casar is the pig. and wonderful are the transformations he

GENERAL MEETING AT RAND SCHOOL.

W. J. Ghent, Secretary of the Rand School, has issued the following call A general meeting of the students of the Rand School, in conjunction with the members of the American Socialist Society and the Rand School Society, will be held in the library on Sunday morning. December 9, at 11 o'clock. Friends of the school, other than students and members, who wish to cooperate in its work are also invited.

It is proposed to have an informal discussion of the school's work and welfare. Criticisms and suggestions will be asked for. The strengthening of the Rand School Society and the setting apart of an evening for social gatherings will also be considered. Members of the class in Rheteric

and Composition expect to invite their friends, soon afters the holidays, to hear the reading of some of the themes written in the course. Arrangements have been made by which members of the class can get, at reduced rates, tickets to theatrical performances in New York.

In stating that the "demagog and corruptionist often work hand in hand". Roosevelt knew he could prove Horrors, the food factory.—Brisbane it by presenting his receivers of stolen Worker.

AMERICAN AID FOR RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

Secretary Rubinow and Treasurer Romm of the Russian Social Democratic Society of New York acknowledge receipt of the following contributions for the Russian revolution:

E. Besselmann, San Francisco, \$1; W. S. & D. B., Br. 93, Peorla, 111, \$13.85; do., Br. 136, Maiden, Mass., \$1; do. Br. 29, Newburgh, N. Y., \$1; do., Br. 210, Lorain, O., \$3.40; do., Br. 185, Milwaukee Wis., \$5; Männergesangverein, Liberty, Newark, N. J., \$5; Brewers' Local 63, Kingston, N. Y., \$2: do., Local S, Baltimore, Md., \$10; do. Local 44 Ponver, Colo., \$10; Workingmen's Local 4 Paner, Colo., \$10. Workingmen's Circle, quarterly amount, \$37,45; election bet lost by S. Lewin to D. Rubinow \$5; per "Ellore" (Albert Moklofsky, \$1; Odön, Perent, 50c.t, \$1.50; Brewers') Local 18, Union Hull, N. J., \$5; Br. 195, W. S. & D. B. F., Taunton, Mrss., \$7.10; Reer Drivers' Union No. 148, Newark, N. J., \$1); Brew-ers' Union No. 5, Philadelphia, Pa., \$5; do., 66, Butte, Mont., \$10; do., 163, Wilkes Barre, Pa., \$5; friends of Russian Revolution, Baltimore, \$40; Local Cleveland, S. P. (proceeds of a raffle), \$19; W. S. & D. B., Br. 80, Rdigewood, \$25; do., 27, Elizabeth, N. J., \$7,50; per "Volkszeltung", \$13,50; previously acknowledged, \$11,88735; total,

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All communications should be written with ink and on one side of the paper; words should not be abbreviated; every letter should heer the writer's mane and address; and another should be put in as few words as possible, consistently with clearness. Communications which do not comply with these requirements are likely to distribute the second of the distribute of the tension of the writer of the same of the writer of the work following receipt of money.

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THE SOCIALIST VOTE

The Socialist Party has possed through its cird general election. Its growing power is indicated by the increase of its voice:

11c0 (tredicential) 98,961

11c2 (State and Congressional) 229,762 1104 (Presidential)408.230



The Worker will not publish any more unofficial reports of the recent election, but only give official returns as they are issued. 111

Next week The Worker will pub lish in full W. J. Ghent's article, "You Retainers," which appeared in "The Independent," July 5, 1996. This is one of the most brilliant and scathing arraignments of the hired retainers of the capitalist class ever written and it will probably become a classic in Socialist literature. It is worthy of the widest circulation, and comrades would do well to place orders for extra copies of our next issue, which can be had at the usual rates.

UPTON SINCLAIR ON "THE

In the "Times Magazine" for De cember Upton Sinclair writes on "The Co-operative Home". A good deal of his criticism of the bourgeols ideal of the lome and of the wastefulness and inconvenience of private housekeeping is quite sound; the we think there may something to say on the other side. But it is not our intention to comment upon the article as a whole, since the subject is only incidentally connected with Socialism. Our purpose here is to enter an emphatic protest against certain passages, which, in our judgment are an insult to our class and a disgrace to their author. We quote:

n person of too low n grade to be made into a professional of any sort, according to our exacting modern class, for which science and civilization do not exist. She is generally a servant because she is not clever enough to be a factory girl, nor attractive enough to be a prostitute."

know a single home among people above the laboring class which is not compelled to admit one or two or perhans half a dozen utter strangers, who who come from we know not what tenements, and bring we know not what diseases and vices, and who thrust their vulgar manners upon us and pry into our most private affairs

We expect this sort of stuff from the "ladies" who write on what they call the servant problem in the columps of the "Ladles' Home Journal" and the New York "Evening Post". liely mallen the poor girls whom they privately exploit; we are not even of the French Revolution": grieged, but only moved to just hatred of the whole class of masters and mistresses. But we are both grieved and astonished when a man of supposed fessed Socialist to boot, vies with them

It has been the lot of the present.

in their foul slanders.

who earned her living as a servant in the bouses of the rich or the well-to-do. He has had some occasion, too, to mingle in the society of the employing class. As a Socialist, he has counted himself an equal in either circle, tho an outsider in the latter. He is glad of this opportunity to declare his conviction that, in the average, the girls who cook and wash dishes and sweep and make beds and care for the children and dress my lady's hair are not a whit inferior in genuine morality, in native intelligence, or in nobility of soul, but only in formal education and what is technically called "manners". to the women who accept these services from them, who expect them to rise fresh and cheerful after six hours' sleep in a windowless closet and to be thankful for the occasional gift of a worn garment that would otherwise go to the rag-man, and who presume to establish an inquisition and censorship over their most personal interests and affections.

"The servant is a person of too low a grade to be made into a professional." sava Upton Sinclair. Does be. then, fall back upon that gratuitous hypothesis by which the possessing classes seek to justify their privileges, that the poor are poor because of their low grade of mental capacity? Does he suppose it is natural inferiority that distinguishes the cook's son from the duke's son and the son of a hundred kings? He knows better; or, if he does not know better, he should go to his books of biology and anthropology, if he does not care to read in the open book of life before him.

"The servant class belongs to the outcast class, for whom science and civilization do not exist." says Upton Sinciair. Her father may be a carpenter or a baker, her brother a tailor or a miner. She belongs to the class that feeds and clothes and houses the world. An outcast class, perhaps; outcast from the comfort and security of life enjoyed by the class designated by Upton Sinclair's "we"; nevertheless, neither a stupid nor a base class; a class-to play upon his phrase-but for sawhom science and civilization would not exist; a class that is learning the lessons of science and preparing to take possession of the benefits of civilization.

"See is generally a servant because she is not clever enough to be a factory girl nor attractive enough to be a prostitute," says clever Upton Sinclair. "I do not know," said Edmund Burke, "how to frame an indictment against a nation." But Upton Sinclair has discovered how to frame an indictment against a class. In the school of bourgeois lionizing he has learned not to faiter or blush in saying that a million workingmen's daughters in the United States would be prostitutes if only they were pretty enough.

"We are compelled to admit into our homes utter strangers, who bring we know not what diseases and vices." says Upton Sinclair. Let him consult medical specialists, let him examine the records of prisons and of hospitals and osylums, and inquire whether the working class has more than its share, whether the master class has less than its share, of degrading vices and of unnameable diseases. The results of such an investigation may surprise

But the worst is yet to come. With the instinct of the true artist. Upton Sinciair has led up to a climax all that has gone before is but a prelude to the shocking fact that these servant She belongs to the outcast girls "thrust their vulgar manners upon us and pry into our affairs and discuss us over the back fences." Well, let us enter a plea of guilty. We think it is true that servant girls often discuss their masters' and mistresses' af-"We talk about the privacy and fairs "over the back fence". But we sanctity of the home; and we do not cannot work up much indignation over it when we consider how ladies at the ten table and gentlemen at the club beguile their time with malicious gossip, in broad jest or in delicate risquerie. Doctor Johnson held that it was possible for a man to be a fool in several learned languages. We hold that it is possible for folk to be disand discuss us over back fences in the gustingly vulgar in the best of Fifth Avenue English, just as well as in the dialect of Avenue A or Hester Streetwe know it is possible, for we have een it demonstrated.

This talk about the vulgarity of the lower classes and the culture of the We are not surprised when they published upper reminds us of some phrases in the early chapters of Cat, vie's "History

"Then, how 'sweet' are manners; ing decent (as established things, making regulation for themselves, do); be oming almost a kind of 'sweet' virtue! intelligence and liberality, and a pro- intelligence so abounds; irradiated by wit and the art of conversation, Close viewed, their industry and func-

tion [of the noblesse] is that of dresswriter, having been born and bred in ing gracefully and eating sumptuous writer, having been harn and bred in iy. Louis XV was wont to the working class, to enjoy personal catechize his very girls in the pare-pettibone protest demonstration had ought to sequalitative with more than one girl aux-cerfs, and pray with and for been forcibly broken up by the police, Parland.

them, that they might preserve their-

Our esteemed bourgeoiste-Unton Sinclair's "we"-if they prayed with and for the servant girls, would doubtless pray that they might be abundantly blessed in mechanical servility.

We are truly sorry to have to speak so severely of anything of Upton Sinclair's. We would not do it, but that his reputation as a Socialist might, if these words of his went unchallenged, fix the responsibility for them on the Socialist movement. We suppose that he has erred thru ignorance and carelessness, not thru malice-the ignorance of a student and the carelessness of an artist. He has studied the working people, indeed; but he has studied them as something apart from his life, as "material" for his books. He does not know them, and will never learn to know them by that method. When he cares to forget that he is an author and a colony promoter and to remember that he is a comrade, when he cares to mingle in the life of the working class rather than merely to observe it, we can assure him a forgiving welcome. Meanwhile, let him leave to our avowed enemies the task of maligning our sisters and daughters.

The Postoffice Department is conducting what is assumed to be a rigid investigation into the second class privileges, with a view to proposing legislation to limit these privileges. It is known that if such legislation be enacted no papers will be harder hit than the Socialist and labor press. The capitalists will look after that. It is up to Socialists to see that our papers get all the subscriptions possible under the existing laws, before restrictions are made. Readers of The Worker can take particular notice and assist as far as possible in strengthening the paper while the present opportunity offers.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

It takes President Roosevelt many words to say little. If we were to judge the merits of his latest message by its length its quality would be indisputable. As it is, its verbosity is only exceeded by its ingenousness. If there is any subject on earth, in heaven above and hell beneath that is not touched upon in this message it is either because Roosevelt ran out of white paper, or else that subject was unknown to him-which is to suggest the impossible and to risk insulting him.

Words, words, brave words, that is all. Dodging, evading, abusing, distorting, threatening, running the gainut of sycophantic expression; sugcesting nothing that he knows likely of enactment, proposing that which he knows will not be enacted. Above all, the egotist, the autocrat, the typical 'He-Who-Must-Be-Obeyed."

It is true, as the New York "Evening Post" suggests, to be a demagog does not require one to be an officeseeker. The office holder can also be a demagog, even the he revile his own kind. And the loftier the office the more dangerous the demagog. Thirty thousand words cannot then hide his deception, but only accentuate it.

NOTE, COMMENT, AND ANSWER.

A correspondent somewhat indighantly rebukes us for our editorial omment last week www of graft made against Mayor Schmitz (not "Schmidt", as an error made us say), on the ground that we are condemning him before his trial. claim being also made that this is inconsistent with our attitude on the Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone case If there were no other evidence of the truth of the charges made against Schmitz than that furnished by the daily press, the rebuke of our correspondent might be justifiable, but the contrary is the case. For months be fore the capitalists and their press had begun to expose Schmitz and Ruef, the Socialists of San Francisco were exposting them. At the very time that capitalist publications of all kinds, from coast to coast, were eulogizing Schmitz for his ability in handling the situation following upon the earthquake (an opinion inspired chiefly by Schmitz' act in appointing capitalists only upon the Safety Committee thus ignoring the working class that elected him), at that very time, the Socialists of San' Francisco and Oakland were protesting against the willful corruption and mismanagement displayed in dispensing the relief fund and trying to get a public hearing for More, a revulsion of feeling against Schmitz and his administration had already gained strong ground among the trade unions before the capitalists opened on Schmitz and Ruef. The mayor's act, reported in The Worker at the time, in furnishing the ship owners with "protection" for their scabs in the sailors' strike, had called forth repudiation of him and his administration from the Central Labor Union and other representative labor organizations. We must also recall that a few days before the

under direct orders from Schmitz, and number of our comrades impriso for resisting, in self-preservation, the police attack. We had in mind Schmitz' general career known as Socialists and to be judged by the Socialist standard when our comm was written, and we see no reason That the capitalists are to change it. now discrediting Schmitz, probably to make him the "horrible example" mong "labor mayors", does not alter the case. It only makes it more regrettable that labor is to be held responsible for the record of a man whom Socialists never considered support and who worthy of labor's grossly misplaced the confidence of those who trusted him.

***************** BETWEEN OURSELVES

···· The rich admirers of Signor Caruso will pardon his alleged insult to a woman so long as he doesn't insult them by talking anything like Socialism.

Since the Socialists are not responsible for Mr. Platt being Senator, they are resigned to his refusal to resign.

Tom Watson is now telling how many kinds a knave and liar Colonel Mann is, all of which may be true, but it required Tom's discharge as editor of the scab magazine to make him squea!.

The rich were undoubtedly thankful there were so many poor people to be stow Thanksgiving charity upon.

Session of Congress is going to have lots of business to transact, but nobody pretends that attention to labor's in terests will cause any serious dimculty.

Curious thing about "The" Allen and other gamblers contributing to lerone's campaign fund is that anyone should see any thing curious about it.

Well to remember that American women mixed up in royal scandals abroad come from the "better class," and were not working girls.

Next to building automobiles, the orkers can enjoy the privilege of being killed by them. .

E. H. Harriman says "it is impossible for a railroad company to carry on its business properly if the people are constantly criticising and suspecting." Mr. Harriman will be saved all this bother when the people run their own busi-

Senator Tillman is a loud argument for race suicide.

By voluntarily paying taxes not egally collectible, Seth Low furnished indisputable evidence of the rule of perjury and dishonesty which governs his class, the he didn't mean it that way.

Capitalism provides equal opportunity for all workingmen to remain workingmen.

Mr. Bryan's herole struggles for the ommon people" have left him such little time to study geography that we are not surprised he appears unaware of the existence of a state named Idaho.

After his conquest of the stricken miners the President felt inspired to incorporate in his message the assurance of "even and exact justice to all."

The "poor widows and orphans" are poor defenders of a system that made them poor in the first place.

If those Chicago teamsters are guilty we do not wonder at the indignation caused by their attempt to usurp the

Some of us might lose faith in the existence of the class struggle were it not that the capitalist never falls to put our doubts at rest at every oppor-No doubt, Count Boni is not found

on the Socialist side of the Chamber of Deputies because of the "free love" that Socialism will bring. Roosevelt's new edition of "Winning

the West" should contain a chapter on "Idaho; Her Kidnappers and How I Those who believe that Socialism

will not change human nature are at

least unanimous that it will change

their income, which is the same thing

-for them.

A young woman has gone to Africa to study the monkey language, apparently ignorant of the rich material the Hearst movement provides for her studies

Football having now been placed on the shelf the labor bills in Congress will make a convenient substitute.

It has been decided that the feeble minded in the English House of Lords shall retain their seats, evidently taking the United States Senate for example.

So far we haven't heard of any aristocrats being arrested for indecent exposure in the divorce courts.

Since there may be another vacancy on the Supreme bench the Presiden ought to consider the claims of Mc-

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

(Continued from page 1.)

flute, never before heard by a large audience, charmed and fascinated the

He was the master. He spoke of the men of the Boston tea party and the men of the Alton mob, and passed their metives and their actions in review, and at the end uttered these his toric words, which even now quicken the pulses of the reader: "Sir." he exclaimed, "when I heard

the gentleman lay down principles which place the murderers of Alton side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American—the slanderer of the dead!" The effect was tremendous. Faneuil Hall fairly rocked with the applause. The resolutions were carried over

whelmingly. Phillips quietly concluded. "I am glad, sir, to see this crowded house. It is good for us to be here. When liberty is in danger, Fancuil Hall has the right, it is her duty to strike the keynote for these United States. I am glad, for one reason, that remarks such as those to which I have alluded have been uttered here. The passage of these resolutions, in spite of this oppo sition led by the Attorney General of Massachusetts, will show more clearly, more decisively the deep indignation with which Boston regards this out-

The time, the occasion, the place of this speech revealed Wendell Phillips to the world and fixed his destiny. Not in American history is there another so striking, so dramatic a revelation of a man. Up to this time Faneuil Hall had belonged to James Otis. Now it had received a new consecration.

The Orator of Abolition.

From that day, December 8, 1837, Wendell Phillips was the orator of the Abolition movement, Scoffed, hated despised, mob-heaten he was soon to be, but his lofty soul rose above it all, year after year, with serenity and poise. Everyone who knew him testifles to the nir of divine carelessness with which he hurled the thunderbolts forged in his brain.

"Howl on!" he cried, one night amid hissing, and cat-calls, and insulting epithets, "Howl on! I speak to thirty millions here!" and he pointed to the representatives of the press.

We have no time to-night to follow the interesting incidents of his year's agitation. They are replete with did triumphs and with calm and heroic sacrifice. Side by side with his work for the slave stands his work woman suffrage, for Irish freedom, for all the revolutionary movements Continental Europe which made the "forties" heroic. No cause was too great or too small for the onslau of his fremendous powers, if that cause involved any desecration of human life. It was his splendid race consciousness which made of him the

highest expression of his age. It was not until 1842 that he awoke to the full significance of the Consti tution of the United States. He had learned at Harvard to consider it a noble document to be approached in a spirit of reverence, but he found it, indeed, when he came to study it "a covenant with death and an agreemen with hell." There was the clause legalizing the slave trade for twenty years; there was the clause which al lowed the masters to count three-lifth of their slaves in the basis of nationa representation; and there was the clause which made provision for the return of fugitives thruout the Union. Slavery was entrenched in the funda law of the nation. The mas ters had done their work well. He was amazed that he had not discovered this before.

"A Piece of Parchment."

In October, 1842, the mulatto, Lati mer, escaped to Boston from Norfolk, Va. He was arrested and thrown into jail for theft-for stealing his own trial by jury. "No," replied Judge Shaw, "he is a fugitive slave. The Constitution of the United States authorizes the owner of such a one to arrest him in any state to which he may have fled." Boston was wild with excitement. The following Sunday uight Wendell Phillips stood again upon this platform of Faneuil Hall, and, referring to the ruling of Judge Shaw, declared, "When I look on these rowded thousands and see them trample on their consciences and on the rights of their fellow men at the bidding of a piece of parchment, I say my curse be upon the Constitution of United States!"

It was three years later that he made the thrilling speech at Concord which Thoreau has commemorated. Frederick Douglass was hiding in Bos ton, his denial of his identity his only protection from arrest and return to his master. Phillips had done his best to hide him, and was enraged that the noble state of Massachusetts should be engaged in the vulgar business of man-hunting. "This Concord speech," says Thoreau, "contained a prayor which concluded, not like the Thanksgiving proclamations, with 'God dash it into a thousand pieces, till there shall not remain a fragment on which a man who dare not tell his name can stand!"

Phillips now turned the key in the door of his law office, never to practice again. Lawyers had to take to support the Constitution. "When ist" said Charles Sumner, "he with drew from the roll of Massachusetts lawyers the name of the greatest.'

"A Man Without a Country." From this time until the outbreak

the Civil War-nineteen years-Phillips stood, flinging his scathing denun-

ciations at the Constitution and the slave union it bound together, a man without a country. He was the most conspicuous and most hated man in New England. "I'd like to put a bullet thru the heart of that scoundrel," said one gentleman to another one day as they passed Phillips in a carriage. 'Polite, wasn't it?" said he laughingly to his wife.

Years after, in one of his greates speeches he said: "When the pulpit reached slave-hunting, and the law bound the victim, and society said 'Amen! this will make money', WE were fanatics, seditious, scorners of the pulpit, traitors! Genius of the past drop not from thy tablets one of those honorable names! We-claim them all as our surest title-deeds to the memory and gratitude of mankind. We, indeed, thought man more than Constitutions, humanity and justice of more worth than law. Seal up the record If America is proud of her part, let her rest assured we are not ashamed of ours!"

"No Revolution Made with Rose-Water."

When he was charged with using intemperate language he replied criticism is of little importance. Stupor and palsy never understand life White-livered indifference is always disgusted and annoyed by earnest con-

Webster has taught the North the bate-l breath and crouching of the slave. It needs with us an attitude of independence that is almost insolent; it needs that we should exhaust even the Saxon vocabulary of scorn, to fitly utter the righteous and haughty contempt that honest men have for man-stealers. Only in that way can we wake the North to self-respect, or teach the South that she has met he equal—if not her master. On a broad canvas meant for the public square the tiny lines of a Dutch interior would be invisible. You cannot make a revolution with rose-water!"

He perfectly understood why it is that the pulpit can never be depended upon to widen the horizon of human liberty. "It is too busy getting men to Heaven to concern itself worldly duties and obligations," he said. "And when it tries to direct the parish in political and social ways, it is bailled by the fact that among its supporters are men ready to take ofse at any word which relates to their earthly pursuits or interests spoken in criticism or rebuke. As the minister's settlement and salary depend upon the unity and good will of the people he preaches to, he cannot fairly be expected to antagonize his flock. If all clergymen were like Paul, or Luther, or Wesley, they might give, not take, orders. But as the average clergyman is an average man he will be bound by average conditions."

At this time the colored childre

were not admitted to the public schools of Boston. They were taught in inferior buildings by inferior teach ers. Phillips began to agitate against this, and in a few years had the satisfaction of seeing the separate colored schools abolished. He appealed to the legislature of Massachusetts to com pel the railroads as common carriers to admit colored men co the cars to which their tickets entitled them. This too, he won in the end. Thus he got things done even while agitating for the final great result. And all this made local sentiment.

Humanity Paramount. Frederick Douglass tells how it was Phillips' habit to share with him the

wretched negro accommodations. one occasion," he says, "Mr. Phillips, after delivering a lecture to the New Bedford Lyceum before a highly cultivated audience, when brought to the travel in a first-class car, but was compelled to ride in a filthy box called the 'lim Crow' car) stepped to my side in the presence of his aristocratic friends, and walked with me straight into this miserable dog-car, saying, Douglas, if you cannot ride with me, I can ride with you.' On the Sound, between New York and Newport, in not rllowed abaft the wheels of the steamer, and had to spend the night on the forward deck with horses sheep, and swine. On such trips, when I was a passenger, Wendell Philitpe preferred to walk the naked deck with me to taking a state-room. I could not persuade him to leave me to bear the burden of insult and outrage alone.

It is in such side lights as this that ve catch glimpses of the Abolitionist's cobility of soul.

In the dark days of the forties slaves were constantly making their way to the North, and constantly being recaptured and carried back. Massachu setts vessels, Massachusetts shipwners. Massachusetts captains, play ed the part of slave-hounds. Phillips, Garrison and the others hid the escaping black men in their attics and their cellars, and tricked and defied the au thorities of the state at every turn. "Let us proclaim," cried Phillips one evening on this platform, "that law or no law, Constitution or no Constitution, humanity shall be paramount in Massachusetts. I would send a voice from Fencuil Hall that should reach every hovel in South Carolina, and say to the slaves, 'Come here and find in Massachusetts an asylum!

"We Are for Revolution."

He appealed to Massachusetts to save her honor by withdrawing from the slavery-cursed United States. He asked the legislature to authorize the Governor of Massachusetts to proclaim her withdrawal from the Un to recall her senators and congressmen from Washington, and to provide for her foreign relations.

"You that prate of disunion," ex-claimed Daniel Webster, "do you not know that disunion is revolution? 'Yes", retorted the agitator,

know it, and we are for a revolution! We say in behalf of these hunted beings, whom God created, and whom law-abiding Webster and Winthrop have sworn shall not find shelter in Massachusetts,—we say that they may make their little motions, and pass their little laws in Washington, but that Faneuil Hall repeals them in the name of humanity and the old Bay

And the next year, Daniel Webster arose in the senate and put his soul in pawn to Hell by speaking and voting for the damnable "fugitive slave law." He thought it would make him president. It only made him infamous. At one stroke he committed moral and political suicide. Millard Fillmore signed the bill and called Webster into his cabinet.

The fugitive slave law made every citizen a slave-catcher, and fixed the penalty for harboring a black man at one thousand dollars and six months' imprisonment.

Was all the heroic work of the Abolitionists in vain? Was slavery fastening its clutches only the more tightly upon the throat of the nation? Apparently so. But Massachusetts now showed the first signs of her awakening conscience.

For twenty years, night and day, Phillips and Garrison had been cease-lessly striving to rouse her from her lethargy. This atroclous law, passed through the influence of her own son, awoke her, now, at last. The next year she atoned for Webster by sending Charles Sumner to the senate. With Wendell Phillips in Fancuil Hall and Charles Sumner at the Capitol, the friends of the black man lighted the tapers of their faith anew.

After Twenty Years.

And Phillips. What was his tem-per at the end of so many years of ceaseless agitation? Listen to him in his tribute to Garrison on the twentieth birthday of the Liberator:

"My friends, if ye never free s slave, we have at least freed ourselves in the effort to emancipate our brother man. From the blindness of American prejudice, the most cruel the sun looks on: from the narrowness of sect: from parties quibbling over words; we have been redeemed into full manhood -taught to consecrate life to some thing worth living for. Life! What a weariness it is, with its drudgery of education, its little cares of to-day, all to be lived over again to-morrow; its rising, eating and lying down-only to continue the monotonous routine! Let is thank God that he has inspired anyone to awaken us from being these dull and rotting weeds-revealed to us the joy of self devotion—taught us how we intensify this life-by laying it, a willing offering, on the altar of

In this spirit of patience and of devotion Wendell Phillips spent ten more years of his life. He built up the Lyeum system to give him a platform on which to agitate, and the lovers of liberty came to know and honor him from Maine to California. Year by year without haste but without rest slowly leavened the mass and lifted it tirelessly upward soward the plane of his own manhood. He traveled thousands of miles in stage coaches, sleeping in wretched places, often not sleeping at all. He used to say he knew the color and depth of the mud in every road in the country. We would find it difficult to believe a man could undergo such hardshipe year after year without complaint, did we not in the propoganda of our own cause know men who are to-day doing the same thing. We, too, can say, as Phillips himself said in reviewing the devotion of the Abolitionists after his

fight was won: "It has taught me faith in human nature. When I read a sublime fact in Plutarch, of an unselfish deed in a line of poetry, or thrill beneath some heroic legend, it is no longer fairy-land—I have seen it matched."

"Like the Great

Spirit of Justice." I would that I might relate to to-night the incidents of Wendell Phillips' service during the Civil War, but the wealth of interesting material is too great. His defense of John Brown, his conferences with Sumner and with President Lincoln, his unceasing agitation all through the war-and after the war—that the black man might not be robbed of the fruits of the nation's conflict, all these exhibit this man as the greatest single force and personality in American history. He lo like the great spirit of justice, brook ing over the conflict. Every Nothern newspaper published his constant broadsides upon every phase of the war and the country's policy. Congress, Cabinet, President yielded to the public sentiment roused by this man's pen. He had not traveled the dreary country roads for thirty years in vain

"What does Wendell Phillips say?" asked the millions at the North, as they reached for their newspapers after every great event. They knew the man;—a lofty soul whom God gave light enough for those in the dark to steer by. The gun fired at Sumpter had worked a miracle. The hated Abolitionist awoke to find himself the people's ideal. We see Abraham Lin-coln growing under his influence from shifty politician to a great national igure; from one who was willing to sacrifice the black man's cause to save the Union, to one who saw the he of political action and fearlessly climbed them.

Was it not worth the thirty years of effort?

It was Phillips more than any other colored regiments of Massachusetts As you come down the steps of the

Continued on page 6

PHILOSOPHY vs. INDIVIDUALISM.

By Peter E. Burrowes.

gave scholastic form to the doctrines of Socialism were themselves the product of that which was so essentially true in their teaching, they were the product of recent more than of uni-

After the so-called French materialism of the eighteenth century, Gerbecame the field of a romantic reactions, where, under the beautiful es of idealism the priest and other black despots crept to political dominion over the lives of men. Marx and Engels were among the many world-souls who were ated with this public relapse to childhood and deceit, and their work of counteraction was therefore sternly objective and critical of it.

Since then the Socialist attitude of mind has become international, and the scholastic Germanism of its earlier utterances is fading out of Socialist ght. In the Socialist movement is involved the world's advance, it envelopes the world's saving thought, it contains and presents the world's one ortunity for a deceut human life. The pens and voices of those primary men are no longer in our service to speak as they would have spoken un-der the guidance of present events; their message to mankind has become our inheritance and it is our duty to

keep it open as they would have done. For the duty of the living to the truly great dead is to see that they never die; that is, to see that their ught continues flexible and fluent thru the channels of actual contemporary life. To seal your prophets up within the clasped covers of their own volumes is but to make them shining mummles wrapped in their own half uttered thought.

No more disastrous dishonor could done, even to a god, than by supposing him to have for once become maining forever volceless in the af-fairs of men. Let us bury not our gods or our living or our dead intel-lects in their volumes.

The founders of mere sects may thus by their writings have only built their own pyramid and their own tomb, for their own followers may content to camp for centuries around dead ashes, but this because they do not know that to keep the wise mortal you must keep them alive en, you must continue their thought and apply it currently. The prophet who is immortally wise can-not be honored in death, his principles will flow thru the veins of society and will refuse to be crystallized in printed pages of men's books, if he is the prophet of democracy, the religion and science of humanity.

Now what have we been doing with the great unfinished and unapplied principles of Marx and Engels? Have the been completing them, have we been applying them vitally in the de-veloping affairs of men?

To make a cult, or to make a political party is not enough to make with world mind stuff which was quickened in motion by the early Socialist philosophers. The doctrine of concenclass struggles always diminishing in number, focussing economi cally with intensified power and in one form of oppression on the common people of all nations, taken together with the doctrine that mind, manners ople of all nations, taken together and even religions are determined by the movements of economic environent, pointed inevitably to the forma tion of the new mind, the new manrs and the new religion of whose ap proach the one mind of the human oming conscious. And as the snows of old winter surely melt before the coming spring and blossoms sometimes appear even amidst the crystal whiteness, the capitalist in his trust and the trust in its international unions of commerce called states, are yielding the buds of Socialism while solving the delusions of the individ-

It is put up to us to provide not only planation of the meaning of life. For when you wound capitalism the only maining issue of property lies ounded. When you take away profit slavery you take all the present world away, literature, altar and

functions of teacher, lawmaker, author and prince of the intellectual world; individualism, with all the teacher. and all that it stands for, high or low has its last entrenchment in capital-. When that falls the world floor ism. When that falls the world floor is swept clean for a new life and a

We have not sought so great a responsibility, we poor downtrodden laborers, but the logic of evolution has sternly imposed it upon us, so that, in the present cause and affairs of the working class, and not elsewhere, is to be found the long sought for secret of mankind, the meaning of life.

Now have we been duly cultivating the rea! vine of this magnificent mission or have we been attending unduly to some of the minor branches? Have its local politics? Have we been over indulging in the word building of new thods? Have we been preing our cause and movement too view? Have we been only seeking to better individualism by our Socialist suggestions or have we been consist-ently assailing that which cannot be improved and which must disappear as socialism advances? Is the superiative

re of one, and as human affairs have at culture can only be acished at the cost of many; reus individualism means the secret

The distinguished intellects that first | salvation of each one, which is to be consummated in another existence away from this world as far as their buried bodies of the egoists are from the streets of men. No social gain ac crues from sainted lives, no aid comes to us poor sinners from their victory and cultivate their alleged spiritual life to secure their own salvation, to leave us for their heavenly Zion, the city of those selfish, silent, unprofitable religious centuries which gone before.

From that city the accumulation of all the best experience of a looted world, the finest lives and the most successful wisdom comes no ray of guidance to us. This is the donation of individualism, this is its barren best when it flees from our world to its god. In whatever aspect individualism appears it is the attitude of selfconceit, it holds the keynote of the aristocrat and no other. And whether in property or morals, in rags or armor, individualism only seeks for and expresses the invidious difference between the man of property and us.

Totally opposite to all this is Socialism, which builds with the living for the living and outside of itself, it stores not in its soul the greatest riches of the world's experience to be carried away with it to heaven, but it trains all its energies to the production of a public and self-surviving life.

Individualism is based upon the invisible self, and as this self is in need of other demonstration than words it talls into demonstration by property. outside of or without which it never had existence. It is manifestly absurd therefore to think of the poor man as an individual; he, to play that rôle, must get off the earth or get money

One of the reserved doctrines of the church and the ruling class is this: The masses of the people are nonadults, and whatsoever we, who are writers or preachers, may speak of among ourselves philosophically is not for them. But Socialism is an intellectual revolution, it avers that whatsoever has not filtered thru the living experience of the working classes will not be found among the abiding truths of the world in the years that are coming, there is no other philosophy than of the people.

Individualism has one eternal must no more; it must hold on to private property. After that it throws in its morals and its religion, etc., but only as accesories. Yet its actual property is always disrupting its theoretical ego, and its morals and religion can only touch each other to contend, for the most of property is robbery and everything pure and holy is its hired drudge

Individualism specializes good char acter, but character has never yet been defined. Individualism is compelled to cover itself with the semi-Socialis ry of utilitarianism when som test is required to make valid the good character it makes. Thus Spencer constructs the individual ethic, as all individual thinkers must, by hiding ego idol under the mantle of public

The truth is, and it is the all embracing truta, the truth which I con-ceive to be Socialism's grandest gift to the world and which shall direct the human race thru all ages to comethe reason of man is a socializing process and individualism, even in its best moods, is a rebellion against

human nature for personal advantage. All who fall to see that philosophy is human reason itself, that there can not be two philosophies, that the mind can only reason one way, that is, as the mechanism of collective life, are still immersed in the God and devil controversy of dualism. But it is the grand opportunity of Socialism to lay et rest forever the phantoms and follies of that great disease of humanity, the individual mind. The whole grand movement of little man and his great universe is towards one mind. and I for one propose not to hitch myif to a star but to march with al stars as a Socialist.

Mental activity certainly is not philosophy, the construction of a theory of ethics to bridge the property classes over the period of one declining faith until mnother one is made ready for them (even when it is a Spencer that makes that attempt) is not philosophy; philosophy is the utterance of the human mind unbroken by egolsm. How little of such there has been in the world is but evidence of how much the mind has been strained in the wild clashings of class broken society; yet to see how unconquerably persistent it is, you have but to glance at the world of new thought and literature which has sprung into existence in half a century-amazingly and

absolutely new. Whether the individualist wears the garb of priest or king or professor, the thing about Socialism which he really fears is its philosophy. And whether the wealthy molders of men and constructors of society are engaged in the service of feudal property or commercial property the manner of man they do not want to make is the philoso pher who stays with the world and thinks. Man-owning and man-scourg-ing character can flourish by the aid of any known religion, but not by the aid of philosophy; that is, pure reason can only advance Socialism. Individualism in church or state can have no morals but for the preservation of property and it cannot tread upon the threshold of philosophy without being shamed away. So be sure the thin they fear in Socialism is less our bal-

which enables one to know which man is good to eat, which is good to fight with and which to sit upon, we can dismiss the whole individual contention as outside the realm of philoso phy. It is not men that differ from always that the individualist wants either, but men who differ from each other to their hurt, and if he can plant in the breasts of the people a faith consenting to differences and looking upon them as essential to and inseparable from human life he has a people that will consent to disparities of rank and station. Individualism is not a doctrine to elevate man, but to make contented the downcast, to keep them away from philosophy and to give them a religious and political faith in the divine order of a world of

damning differences.

The Christian church arose as a protest against the individualist debauchery of the Roman nobility before it became the religion of Roman individualism. noble when they defend the church by the example of the ascetics and monks of the early ages the philosopher reminds them that the ascetics were men at war with the church which taught, but did not give, individualism; and they, believing in that teaching, went forth to the deserts only to find the fact that with no other property but what he calls his soul, the spiritual aristocrat finds nothing but mental torture And so, to avert madness and to get bread again they abandoned their trustful quest, of an individual life within themselves and returned to the bosom of a church which had lots of property, tenants, workers and beg-gars, the real provender of the individualistic life. If they see a man today unruffled by their ambitions, unattracted by their wealth, one who stands calm and indifferent in the midst of money temptations, never think of calling him a saint, they call him a philosopher

Again, I say, individualism is not and has not any philosophy. It is no more than the blind side of the philosopher who will soon see wholly.

The reasoning faculty with which man is distinguished from other living creatures is the social faculty, it cam not from above or below or beyond mankind, but out of many ages of his social experience, it grew, essentially his own. And its origin is also its end: from social experience it arose, on social relations it grows and to social uses it naturally applies.

If you are just beginning to think your way hither and find it difficult, fear not, the very nature of the human mind is with the cause of Socialism. It is not another philosophy that your mind is contending with, it is conten ing with the nightmare, the mental disease of the solitary atheist, the so-

THE COMING OF THE LIGHT.

The signs of the times are, without doubt, showing that we are about to see a mighty upheaval of the present dominating plutocratic system. The working class all over the world seem to be aware of the fact that there is a millstone around their necks that prevents them, as workers, from obtaining a just return for their labor, at the same time barring the way to industrial and moral progress. Workers all over the world are rising. As an illustration, notice what is going en in that hot-bed of plutocracy, Rus-What a splendld fight our rades in that country are making against their tyrannical oppressorsrushing even on to the bayonets of the paid murderers of the Tsar-daring everything, giving their lives for the right to live as human beings. Not only in Russia, but all over the world, the same fight for freedom is going on. Even in Australia the people are steadily but surely striving to reach the same goal-the downfull of a dominating plutocracy and their just rights. What does this all tend to show, but that the people are tired of pleading for their lives, homes, and liberty? What a glorious occasion, comrade when we shall end this night of capilight-Socialism.-The Socialist, Melbourne.

"GIVING WORK TO THE POOR".

When protest is made against extravagance, we are told that the waste of the rich is the salvation of the poor; that if the rich did not roll in luxury the poor would starve. If that is so, it is the strongest indictment that could be drawn against modern industrial society. It could not be true in a scientifically organized society, for then, life, not work, being the end, it would be plain that the waste of anybody would mean work for somebody. But it is a fallacy any way you take it. The more the rich waste the more the poor must work.

The idler and spendthrift who prates that his profligacy and extravagance give employment to others, should be that the pauper and the criminal do the same. The more thleves there are in society, the more yment there is for officers of the law and of penal firstitutions. It is not employment that men want, but life, and giving some sorts of employment may mean depriving men of the opportunity to live.-Prof. Ira W. How-

MOTHING DOING.

"Well, sir?" said the great lawyer.

The visitor spoke trethulously.
"I am a defaulter," he said, "and I want ou to defend me."

The other shook him by the hand. "Cer-

will defend you, my friend," he Clearly understanding that individualism is an interest from the point of view of the property class and not a philosophy, it is only a manner of differentiating men differentiating men and the did you say"— And now many hundred thousand?" the client interrupted. "Oh, sir, den't think me worse than I am. It is only \$400 in all, and I expect to pay back every cent before I die." "George," he said to the office boy, "show this dishonest rascal out."—Kansas

THE PRACTICABILITY OF CAPITALISM.

"Your scheme is impracticable." is the substitute for argument often fired at the Socialist, by the defender of capitalism. The inference to be drawn is that his own pet hobby is an eminently practicable thing. But the events of every-day life in the capitalst world rather seem to deny the practicability of capitalism, even at its present stage of development, and the more highly developed it becomes the

worse it gets. Webster defines the word impracticable as meaning anything that is im possible; "not to be overcome, persuaded or controlled by any reasonable method; unmanageable; intractable not capable of being easily dealt with used in a general sense, as applied to a person or thing that is difficult to conrol or get along with.

The whole world is in continual turno!l and uproar under the dispensation of the capitalist system. War follows war with the regularity of clock-work Nearly every nation maintains its bands of armed ruffians ready to hurl at the throat of its neighbor, or to use in beating its own receletrants into submission. The differences arising between nations, as well as between individuals, spring from the present system of property in the means of production and furnish a splendid tesimonial as to its practicability.

Nation wars with nation over addi tional territory in which to extend their respective commercial influence Based upon the exploitation of the wealth producers, capitalist production, in any given country, must soon er or later extend its dominion over additional territory in order to find an outlet for the surplus values wrung from its wage-slaves at home. As this applies to every capitalist country, it ay be readily understood that these clashes between nations, that often result in widespread bloodletting, de struction and disaster, are inevitable. They are the logical result of a system of property based upon the production of surplus values in the shape of commodities, and which, of necessity, must be disposed of in order that the proc ess may continue.

As to the clash between individual capitalists little need be said. Even mong themselves, the relations established by the very nature of the system of production itself, makes of their very existence a dog-eat-dog affair. The big ones swallow their more dim inutive brethren, the respective statgres, of course, being measured by the relative amount of capital at their com-

Between workmen and their capitalist masters there is no peace. There can be none. Between master

slave exists a relationship that inevitably results in open rupture sooner or later. No sooner are the workers out of one strike than they are into anther. The economic pressure brought to bear upon them through the ever increasing intensity of capitalist exploitation renders it impossible that peace should long prevail. Outbreak after outbreak occurs, spreading destitution and suffering among the workers and commercial stagnation and disaster among the exploiters and their

gents and hangers-on. With every rebellion of the slaves of capital against its exactions the entire ndustrial machinery of society is thrown more or less out of joint. This again demonstrates the practicability of a system of production based upon a principle that works out so disas trously to the workers that they periodically throw down their tools as protest against its terrible exactions.

The defenders of capitalism need not waste time in attempting to show the impracticability of Socialism. If they will devote their time to clearly showing the practicability of capitalism it will do quite as well.-Western

CLEMENCEAU AND MATERIALISM.

It is a crude mistake (unworthy of e brain as Clemenceau's) to contend that Socialism is materialistic in its aims. Why, the increase of leisure for idealistic ends (ends to be accomplished by agencies existing at present in the shape of churches, artistic, philosophical, literary and scien tific societies, and ethical teachers) is the unwearying claim of Socialist writers and propagandists of every hue, and always has been. They de mand that the writers shall have leisure in order that all the noble in fluences of civilized life may be brought to bear on them. Is this materialistic?-The Socialist, Melbourne,

THREE GREAT QUESTIONS.

Let me mention three of the great questions of our time: Evolution, the higher criticism of the Bible, and Socialism. We are talking now of Democratic culture as it affects the life of the world; and these are vital subjects You may take one view or the other, after examination; but examination you must make.

Socialism is either the greatest menace or the greatest hope of the world. We are either going to have a socialistic society that will regenerate the world, or we are going to have to fight that thing. Surely, it is your interest and mine to know what is likely to happen. It is our business to know where we are going. Yet there are men and women who do not know the meaning of Socialism.-Prof. Charles, Zueblin.

-Luxury is, indeed, possible in the future-innocent and exquisite; luxury for all, and by the help of all; but lux ury at present can only be enjoyed by the ignorant; the cruelest man living could not sit at its feast unless he sat blindfolded.—John Ruskin.

THE INDIVIDUAL IN SOLIDARITY.

By Hugh O. Pentecost.

[On Sunday, Nov. 25, Hugh O. Pen- | ranged, a scheme-but what are you tecost spoke at Lyric Hall on the subject, "The Individual in Solidarity". following is a condensed report of his address !

I will say frankly that the subject which I have chosen this morning was taken for the express purpose of trying to get myself understood upon the question of the relation of the individual to society, and incidentally to try and make plain the idea that is lying in my mind of the love of the individual for the whole. Now what is the proposition? (I am

addressing myself this morning to Individuals, or Individualist Anarchists) The proposition is this: That perfect individual liberty is impossible of attainment in this world. When we come into the world, from the very start we are dependent beings, and a we grow up into that larger babyhood which we call maturity, the situation loes not change essentially, and cannot change if we live in society at all. The clothes that you have on your back, the food that you ate for breakfast, you did not produce. The house that you live in you did not build, the employment by means of which you sustain yourself you don't get yourselves under this system of soclety, and the great mass of people could not and would not get it for themselves under any system of soclety.

You are completely interlocked with other human beings, and there is no escape from that unless you live in utter isolation and separation from the race, like Robinson Crusoe, and even then you have not perfect liberty, for the you may be free from restrictions imposed upon you by other people, you are still subject to restrictions imposed upon you by nature.

People who live in society are constantly and necessarily taking from society something, and they are giving back to society something, even if it is only advance, or trouble, or a dangerous disease. Everyone is so intermingled with the collectivity that it is impossible for him to live a separated. independent life of perfect freedom. He must necessarily impose some restrictions upon others, and must submit to some restrictions.

The mere fact that you exist makes absolute freedom for everybody else impossible; for if you exist, you must occupy a certain place in space, which will keep others from occupying it. All this seems to me to be self-evident.

What Individualists Want.

Now, what is it that the advocate of extreme individual freedom wants? I suppose he will admit that this limitation of his freedom I have been describing is true; but what he says is "I want to be free from the forcible control of others to do what I please, or to refrain from what I please, so long as I do no injury to anyone else," and in this I entirely agree with him. I do not suppose the most extreme Individualist would clamor for freedom to do any harm in the world. He would not expect society to permit him to steal, or to go through the streets assaulting people without in-

To be sure, some people to-day have succeeded in educating society to the extent that it permits them to steal and to commit assaults. But this is what the exreme Individualist claims the right to do.

But when this form of liberty which the Individualist claims is achieved, and nobody interferes with anybody who does not wish to do any harm, still, he is not satisfied. The bugbear that he sees he calls "majority rule". I have said that I supposed under Socialism a great factory would choose its foreman or manager by a majority vote of the operators. For my part I cannot conceive how people can work in co-operation, and make their arrangements in any other way except by a majority of the people expressing their wish in the matter.

have thought about it a good and I do not see it can be done. How would it be possible to conduct any industry in a socialized manner in any other way? I wish it were not so, but the fact is we live in a world of limitations, and I cannot see it would be possible for human beings to work toing arrangement, and how there can be any other kind of a working arrangement except that the wishes of the largest number should prevail. I cannot see. And as long as there is always permission to withdraw if one than all the race put together, is an undoes not like the will of the majority, it seems to me that is all the freedom anybody can expect in this world.

Socialism and Freedom.

I have been asked how I, an extreme Individualist, could ever go into the Socialist Party, the most tyrannical party on earth, they say, the party that holds its members to a strict adherence to doctrines and to certain vidual. courses of conduct? Because I know that there cannot be perfect liberty in any party or organization or in any against with all our souls. If a maany party or organization or in any group of people, whether they have anything like a majority vote or not: and I went into that party, knowing what it was, for the purpose of being more useful, of gratifying myself more -and knowing that the instant it tries to put any pressure on me that I don't like the door is open and I can go

"But," the extreme Individualist says, "admitting that human beings may be free under Socialism, neverthe less it is a scheme, it is a plan, and I don't like them, even if they are of the most benevolent nature. The fact that it is a plan repels me."

I can understand that. I can see how a man would dislike anything son, by argument, by an appeal to his that was mechanical, that was prear- tory, to philosophy, to the mind. Isn't under his management.

cause things don't go as fast as you think they should, that you should become an agent of force? going to do? Suppose you are an An archist, what are you going to do? Are you going to live apart from

human family, doing your work apart from everybody's assistance, and re-

fusing assistance to everybody else?

Is that your idea of the world, or are

you going to work in harmony and co-

person, you have got to have a plan.

ome other system than Socialism

a thousand men and produce goods to

Extreme Individualism.

ask it of all other persons here. Are

social beings? I mean by that, are

tions, upon their desire to have a beau-

tiful world in which to live-is any

body who takes that extreme Individ-

ualist position, a social being; is he

prepared to live in society, that is the

Not long ago a young man attended

meeting in this city and made a

speech which the detectives said was

in violation of the law against what

is called criminal anarchy, that is, the

doctrine which, among other things.

advocates the overthrow of organized

government. This young man was ar-

rested, was bailed out of the Tombs

and later attended a meeting called for

another purpose. He went on to the

platform and said: "I know this meet-

ing was called for the purpose of pro-

testing against the suppression of free

speech, but it was not so called by my

authority, and I am going to make it

the same kind of a meeting that was

held last Saturday night, and I am going to discuss so-and-so." The young

man was promptly arrested again, and

some other people were arrested with

Individual Tyranny.

Now the question that I ask is this:

Was that young man, admirable as be

may be in all his other characteristics.

a social being? I think not. There

was a case of that one individual im-

posing his will and his wish upon two

or three hundred people, refusing to

submit himself to their wish and will

-is that kind of a man a social being?

I think not. And I am going to say,

that, after years and years of ac-quaintance with extreme Individual-

ists, I have discovered that they have

a strong tendency to be personally

tyrannical themselves over other peo

Now, I would like to live in a world

where there were no laws. I would

like to live in a world where, if a per-

son wanted to express his opinions on

any subject on earth, bar none, he

should have the right to do so. I would

like to live in a world where anybody

could do anything without interfer-

ence from anybody else. But I know

that I cannot live in such a world un-

til every individual in the world lives

in the consciousness of every other in-

So that as long as there is one person

in the world who insists upon living

his life in his own way, without regard

to the lives of the people round about

him, there cannot be such a world as

that. To live in the consciousness that

you are an inseparable part of the

whole, this is what I mean by the indi-

vidual in solidarity. I don't think the

Individualist says outright that the

whole ought to be subject to the indi-

vidual, but he does say that the indi-

whole; he does say that the whole

must give way before individual

Socialism and the State.

When he says that the collectivity

should not subject the individual to its

will, I agree with him; but when he says that the individual is more im-

portant than the whole, I disagree

with him. It is an untenable position.

A race of beings who believe, each

one of them, that he is more important

social race, an uncivilized race. For

my part, I would rather subject my-

self to the majority of a people who

didn't want to do me any harm, than

to take my place beside those people

who are so careful of the individual

that they will let the whole mass rot

poverty because of

the circumstances.

and fester in ignorance and crime and

jority are tyrants, they are just as

much the product of conditions which

exist as we are; we have all grown up together, we all belong to one family

we are all pulling out of the morass as

fast as we can the majorities are just

better to be patient under the domin-

ion of an ignorant majority even, than

to submit to a rule of the majority by

a minority? I don't mean to abjectly

submit to the majority, like a slave,

mission to its will by thoughts, by rea-

fear that some-

rights.

nuestion?

him.

their purity of mind or inten-

it, and as I once was myself.

gether without some kind of a plan.

operation with somebody else?

True Solidarity.

it better to sit down and fight your

battle with your brain rather than be-

I have not the slightest antagonistic eeling against those who are in favor of bloodshed. They have come up along with the rest of us, and are growing in their own way, but I say to you that, after long thinking on the subject. I believe it is better to love your enemy than it is to kill him.

I say that the man who has not come The moment you work with another to the point where he loves the whole If you are going to co-operate under human race better than he loves himwhere there isn't any majority and is not a truly social, civilized being. I say that the people who live for themwhere nobody decides anything, you still have got to have a scheme; for selves as separate entitles, who live for you cannot take fifty or a hundred or themselves, and their wives and their children and friends as separate entities, are the people who are bolding this world back to-day. I say that the man who cannot love the whole bet-Now, I have tried to represent the ter than he loves himself and his own Individualist position fairly, not to does not know what it is to be a full, caricature or ridicule it. I have tried great, happy man. to represent their position as I know

of money for their wives and children. There is a serious question that I but who have given themselves over to what they call the cause of humanhave asked myself, and I am going to ity, and are living in poverty and are these extreme Individual Anarchists compelling their wives and children to live in poverty with them, some of they, without reflecting in the least the most splendid intellects in this country to-day. What would you say of those people.

I know men who might make plenty

that they should stop and grub for themselves and their own, and let humanity go to the dogs? You would not say that. You know that those men are grander men than those who only think of themselves. They are the heroes in this world, not the ones who stand aloof and ask always. "Where do I come in; what is there in it for me; I. myself, the great individual? I must stand by and see that no harm, no inconvenience, no trouble comes to me. I am above the whole, the state, the community."

I don't believe the world is going forward by those people, but by those who say, "I am only one of a great mass, and it is a matter of little consequence what becomes of me, so long as the race goes forward." Those people are the hope of the world.

THE MISSION OF THE WORKER.

A state, therefore, which is ruled by the idea of the working class, will no longer be driven, as all states hitherto have been driven, unconsciously and against their will by the nature of things, and the force of circumstances, but it will make this moral nature of the state and its mission, with perfect clearness of vision and complete consciousness.

Nothing is more calculated to impress upon a class a worthy and moral character, than the consciousness that it is destined to become the ruling class, that it is called upon to raise the principle of its class to the principle of the entire age, to convert its idea into the leading idea of the whole of solety, and thus to form this society by impressing upon it its own charac-

The high and world-wide honor of this destiny must occupy all your thoughts. Neither the load of the oppressed, nor the idle dissipation of the thoughtless, nor even the harmless frivolity of the insignificant, is henceforth becoming to you. You are the rock on which the church of the present is to be built.

It is the lofty moral earnestness of this thought which must with devouring exclusiveness possess your spirits, fill your minds, and shape your whole lives, so as to make them conformable to it, and always related to it. It is the moral greatness of this thought which must never leave you, but must be present to your heart in your workshops during the hours of labor, in your leisure hours, during your walks, at your meetings, and even when you stretch your limbs to rest upon your hard couches, it is this thought which must fill and occupy your minds till they lose themselves in dreams.—Las-salle, The Workingman's Program.

IT IS STILL DIVINE.

To-day the syndicate rules at the White House and makes laws in the capitol, courts of justice are its ministers, senators and legislators are its lackeys. It controls the preacher in his pulpit, the professor in his lecture room, the editor in his sanctum; it swaggers in the drawing room, it rules at the clubs, it dominates with a rod of iron the affairs of society. Every year enlarges its power, and the men and women who protest against crimes that are committed by organized greed in this country-who talk of protecting the American people, are ostracized, re vilified, are bounded and imprisoned. It seems madness even to question the divinity of the American syndicate.-John P. Altgeld.

THE DISADVANTAGE OF BEING A MAN.

A well-formed horse will, in any thing might happen to some one indimarket, bring from twenty to as high I admit that majorities do much that as two hundred Friedrichs d'or; such is his worth to the world.

A full-formed man is not only worth nothing to the world, but the world ould afford him a round sum would he simply engage to go and hang him-Nevertheless, which of the two was the more cunningly devised article, even as an engine?

Good heavens! A white European man, standing on his two legs, with his two five-fingered hands at his being patient, about waiting? Isn't it | shackle bones, and his miraculous head on his shoulders, is worth, I should say, from fifty to a hundred horses .-Thomas Carlyle.

> There is more serrow in capitalism at the death of one railroad magnate than over the thousands of rallroad workers who were killed and malmed

CONGRESS OF ITALIAN PARTY

Membership of 34,000—A Strong and Growing Force.

In a recent number of "Le Courier Européen" Paul Louis gives some ac-count of the congress of the Italian ialist Party, held at Rome in October. Reports showed that the party has over 34,000 dues-paying members. Reggio-Emilia was able to show the gest local organization, with Turin, Rome, Mantua, Florence, Pisa and Milan following in order. The South and the islands-Sicily, Sardinia, etc.-had altogether only 1,650

The congress at Rome, says this writer, brought no surprises. It was known that of the three elements-reformists syndicalists and integralists, as they are called—the lutegralists would be by far the most numerous and vigorous. Their position, according to him, is not altogether clear, but they have the merit of striving to itain the unity of the party. Ferri set this forth in terms which seemed to associate him more closely with the ormists, such as Turnti and Bissolati, than with Labriola and Leone, the syndicate leaders. The reformists supported the integralist resolutions, while the syndicalists tend more and more to rdinate parliamentary action to trade-union action and to regard the conflict. The debates, while extremely earnest, were notably free from personriminations. The syndicalists signified their loyalty to the party, while volcing their dissent from many of its decisions, and hope at some later time to find themselves in the ascendant. About the same time there was held

at Milan another congress composed of delegates from national trade unions and local central labor bodies, to constitute a national federation of labor. The preliminary steps for such a federation were taken a year ago. Some 40,000 workingmen, industrial and agricultural, were represented at Milan. There was a lively controversy between the reformist and evolutionary wings, in which the former had the advantage. The revolutionary delegates withdrew from the congress, but made a formal declaration that they would not attack the new federation. deeming it criminal to break the unity working class on the field of

The daily papers of all parties paid unusual attention to both congresses, two or three of them giving as full and accurate accounts of their proceedings as di-l our own journals, "Avanti" and "Il Tempo." It is certain that all sections of the Italian public are watching the labor movement in its various phases with great interest.

Regardless of its internal difference over questions of theory or of method, this movement is certainly a strong and aggressive power. The general strike of 1905 demonstrated its energy in one direction, and the 300,000 Socialist votes-about one-fifth of the total voting population-showed the wide extension of Socialist thought and feeling. The greatest obstacle is the dark ignorance and the degrading and paralyzing poverty which prevails in the South.

ANARCHY OF CAPITALISM.

Modern bourgeois society with its and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of | ble to capitalism, he should pause and industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property re-lations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisle and of its

It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return, on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the bourgeois society. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, is periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absur-dity-the epidemic of overproduction.

society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism: it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroy ed; and why? Because there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property.

The conditions of bourgeols society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thoro exploitation of the ofd ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.—Communist Manifesto.

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CAPITALISTIC PATERNALISM AND THE WORKINGMAN.

Alonzo G. Walsh was the next speaker, and, in the course of his remarks said: "A man goes into office for the workingman, yes: but he also goes into office to give justice to the man who makes life possible that we must have .- Lowell (Mass.) Courter-Citizen.

The Socialists' description of the social and economic status of the workingman as that of a wage slave, dependent upon and controlled by those who permit him to work, has been publically verified as correct by at least one representative of the capitalist

A resident of this city, who is a broker, mill man and prominent Republican politician, also president of the local Board of Trade, in the course of his remarks at a rally the night before the recent election, avowed that a man goes into office not only for the workingman, "but to give justice to the man who makes life possible for that workingman."

Henceforth, whenever a wage earner who has a job finds himself grumbling at his hard lot and the evils attributareflect that his oenefactors, the capitalists and non-producers, have kindly given him the privilege of exchanging his labor power for an existence, and be duly grateful. If only the workingman could live upon air for a time and develop a coat of fur or feathers, thereby being independent of work and wages, wonder what the other man would do?

So customary is it for the capitalist press and the agents of certain interests to refer to the workingman as a free, independent, and self-respecting being, that the gentleman quoted really deserves a vote of thanks for his frankness and sincerity in helping to dispel that delusion.

For he himself has said it, And 'tis greatly to his credit, That he'll own an honest fact when plain-

Of his capitalistic brothers, situation does not try to screen

For the shrewder ones would show They really do not know, The worker's life is one of toll and woe; And they tell bim he is free,

Just as a man should be.
That everything's all right, and let it go Hanna-"Let well enough

But the Socialists have told The story 'till it's old, That the workingman must use right;

Or a wage-slave he will be, "Till he's bright enough to see, The profit system is the enemy to fight.

MISS. H. HAMLIN.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

The capitalized value of Great Britain is a thousand million more than it was sixteen years ago, yet despite that almost fabulous growth of national wealth the proportion of pan pers to the population is as great now as then. The slums are as wide in their extent and there is not one hungry child less.-Keir Hardie.

JUST LIKE FREE AMERICA.

The way in which the forces of cap-Italism unite to suppress the protesta tions of the proletariat, and in which their tools, the civil authorities, are ever ready, for this purpose, to lend a belping hand to another nationality, is well illustrated by the following frontler incident. Two German citizens, miners in Oettingen, Lorraine, have just been sentenced, in Luxemburg, at first to pay a fine of 50 francs, and the sec ond to a fortnight's imprisonment, and this, after a four weeks' detention of the latter. The enormity of their crime will become apparent to all law-abiding citizens on hearing that the punishment is for having held an open-air meeting for purposes of agitation, a procedure forbidden alike in Germany and Luxemburg. The incident arose in consequence of the owner of the room, in which the meeting was to have taken place, refusing his permission at the last moment, doubtless on the hint of the authorities. It was then decided to hold the meet-

ing in an adjoining field, but the arrival on the scene of an officious gendarme caused a further migration. Shadowed continually by this conscientious guardian of the law, the miners at last resolved to escape his none too welcome attentions by crossing the frontier, which is close at hand, where they hoped to be free from further interruptions. But official malice was not to be baulked so easily, and the Luxemburg police were at ouce in-formed by telegraph of the "invasion," who took prompt measures and chased the intruders back over the frontier, capturing the two slowest. It is degrading to think that citizens, who by a bitter mockery are supposed to be free and independent, can thus be hunted down like game when they attempt to voice their wrongs in an open peaceful assembly.-London Jus-

CAPITALIST CLASS RULE.

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pittlessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "nat ural superiors", and has left remain ing no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than cal-lous "cash payment". It has drowned the most beavenly ecstacles of religious tervor, of chivalrous enthuslasm of philistine sentimentalism, in the water of egotistical calculation, It has resolved personal worth into exberless indefeasible charactered freedom, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom-Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political iliusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.—Communist Mani-

-Mankind are under one common law; and if so they must be fellow citizens, and belong to the same body politic. From whence it will follow that the whole world is but one commonwealth.-Marcus Aurelius.

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PARTY NEWS.

National Executive Committee, acting upon the motion submitted by Comrade Kerr, decided that the party be represented at the convention of the Socialist Federation, Boston Mass., Nov. 29-Dec. 2. G. Cotti of New York and Certuro Meunier of New Jersey were selected as the rep-

resentatives.
The National Committee is now voting on the following motion:

A motion or referendum that has gone to a vote of the National Committee shall the declared lost if the total number voting of said motion or referendum does not constitute a majority of the National Commit teemen entitled to vote. Provided this rule shall not apply to a third ballot in referendum as provided in Rule 10. Vote wickness of the condums as provided in Rule 10.

Since last report the following locals have endorsed the resolutions sub-mitted by Local New Orleans, La... (providing for action toward with the S. L. P.), issued Sept. 15: Goldfield, Nev.; Kalamazoo, Mich.; New Castle, Pa.; and Lake Charles, La.

Certain actions and recom tions of the Finnish Socialist convention, together with the proposition of establishing a translator's office has been referred to the National Executive Committee.

Lena Morrow Lewis and Arthur Morrow Lewis sold literature for the nal Office to the amount of \$1,250,55.

Nominations for awen members National Executive Committee and for National Secretary will close Dec. 5; acceptances and declinations close Dec. 15. Nominees are being notified immediately upon the receipt of the information at the National Office.
The names of nominees not heard from on or before Dec. 15 will not appear on the ballot. A complete list of the nominees and record of locals inating will be published upon the close of nominations.

NATIONAL LECTURERS.

J. L. Fitts: West Virginia, under direction of State Committee.

George H. Goebel: Washington, under direction of State Committee.

M. W. Wilkins: New Hampshire, under direction of State Committee.

J. E. Voss, National Committee member of Tennessee, explains his failure to vote on the Plate Matter Committee by reporting that he did

The monthly financial report of the National Secretary for November shows total receipts of \$2,227.15 (of which \$1,226.35 was for dues), expen-\$2,185.17 and a balance \$122.23 on hand. Dues were as fol-

Organized states: Alabama, \$10 Call-ornia, \$50: Colorado, \$1: Connecticut, \$20: 'Portida, \$5: Idaho, \$10: Illinois, \$106; En-lina, \$40: Iowa, \$15: Kanasa, \$25: Ken-nekr, \$5: Lolislama, \$4: Maine, \$10: Issaachusetts, \$50: Michigan, \$35: Mins-otta, \$55: New Hampshire, \$5: New Jer-er, \$100: New York, \$100: Ohlo, \$70; Ohlo-coma, \$30; Oregon, \$25: Pennsylvania, \$40: thode Island, \$7: South Dakota, \$10: Ten-tessee, \$10; Texas, \$21.15; Vermont, \$4: Vashington, \$85; West Virginia, \$15; Wis-onsia, \$80; Texas, \$21.15; Vermont, \$40:

Unorganized states: Washington, D. C., \$6; Georgia, \$2; Maryland \$17.10; Nevada, \$7; New Mexico, \$10; Members-at-Large, \$1. The largest items of expense were: Office wages, \$444; speakers, \$974.03; expense, \$485; express and freight, \$25; postage, telegrams and telephone, \$143.26; other items, \$288.65. Balance on hand, \$122.23.

ESSEX COUNTY. Leonora O'Reilly will lecture in Newark at 230 Washington St., Mon-

day, Dec. 10, 8 p. m. Subject, "The Masters of the Bread". State Committee met at New Haven Nov. 25. Comrade Hull of Naugatuck

elected Chairman; Wm. Applegate, Recording Secretary. Present: Frank Vogt, Hartford; M. Geiner, Water-E. D. Hull, Naugatuck; E. S. ley, Shelton; A. Verneris, Hamden; Geo. Hummel, Ansonia; E. Toomey, R. J. Waterbury; Wm. Apple-gate, F. Mueller and L. Maass of New

and accepted and correspondence read and filed. Bills of acting State Secretary for \$2.10; R. W. McKinney print-\$2.75, and H. Bussman \$50 for printing of ballots ordered paid.

Secretary reported receiving since Nov. 11, \$25.05. Treasurer reported balance, Nov. 11, \$85.99; received, Nov. 25, \$25.05; total, \$111.04; expenditures to date, \$23.25; balance, Nov. 25,

Reports of Secretary and Treasurer received and referred to auditors; de-cided that \$3.50 balance due National Office on one-day wage fund be paid, and that 500 celfuloid party buttons be ured. Secretary was instructed to ne call for nominations for Nation-

nitteeman; nominations to close port to petition the State Legislature to frame a law, making the use of voting machines legal, m all state, city, and town elections, was lost. Secretary was instructed to issue the remaining.

ng State Coupon books (of ons, amounting to \$1.20) to locals 60 cents. Next meeting will be nrades having unsold State on books may return same and new books issued to them on

have new books issued to them on which 60 cents is to remain with the local instead of 20 cents. This in order to enable the locals to clear their debt, or to raise money for an Organizing and Agitation fund.

Ella Reeve Bloof will speak in New Haven, Monday, Dec. 10, and will be present at the next State Committee

n, Monday, Dec. 10, and will be not at the next State Committee ng. Dec. 9, to outline a plan of

NEW HAVEN.

A special meeting will be held at hendquarters, 748 Chapel St., Wednes-day evening, Dec., 12, to decide on

maintaining a permanent organizer. Organizer Mass has resigned but will hold over till Dec, 12.

Ella Reeve Bloor will speak at War-ner Hall, near Hyperion Theater, Mon-day, Dec. 10, 8:15 p. m. Subject: "Child Slavery in America". Com-rades should hustle sale of tickets and

our New Year's Ball will be held Monday, Dec. 31, at Colonial Hall. Massachusetts.

BOSTON.

Edward Sunderland of the Typographical Union spoke for Ward 7-9 Club, Dec. 2, in reply to Henry Abra-ham's speech, "The Policy of the Trades Union in Politics". The ad-

in Boston for some time. On Sunday, Dec. 9, 8 p. m., John Fitzpatrick will address a meeting in Homestead Hall. Subject, "Emigration"

dress was conceded to be the best

The Dorchester Socialist Club gave an entertainment and dance Wednes-day evening, Nov. 8. Two short plays were presented by the Progres Dramatic Club-"The Curate's Dream' and "The Upper and Lower Class" Comrade Levenberg successfully play-ed the typical employer and angry father, and Comrade Lass as a tru type of wage earner. Comrade Rubin-ovich, the lover of his employer's daughter, Miss Snoplin, as the employer's daughter, who dared to love "be neath" her class, were all that could be desired. Mrs. Goodwin, Mrs. Eilis, and Mrs. Hall each rendered their parts in a manner that places the dramatic club in a position to count as an important factor in the propagands of Pocialism. Miss Bernice Gilman of Somerville gave a reading, "When Greek Meets Greek", with great effect, and Mrs. Emma Goodwin gave several readings which were excellently rendered. Closing with a dance every one went home greatly pleased. ments of this kind in the future. At the regular meeting Dec. 2, it was deto vote against the centraliza tion of the branch clubs of the regular Boston Club.

Pennsylvania. PHILADELPHIA.

Nineteen new members were admitted during the week. Report for October shows 715 members on roll. Literature sales for November were \$130.49. The local has decided to carry stock of scientific and liberal books and comrades should find their way

around headquarters to build up a good library. The following officers and committees were elected for the ensuing term: Organizer, Edwin H. Davies Recording Secretary, Wm. Sutton, Fi-nancial Secretary, R. Barclay Spicer; Treasurer, Wm. C. Price; Literature Agent, Geo. M. Cohen: Auditing Committee, Cassile, McKelvey, Barker and Lieber; Organization committee, Da-vies, Price and McKelvey; Press Com-

Louis Cohen. James Oneal is the choice of ocal for National Secretary; A. M. Simons, Ed. Moore, Ernest Unter-John M. Work, J. Mahlon Barnes, and Wm. D. Haywood for National Executive Committee.

Jos. E. Cohen, Spicer and

The Educational Committee is making arrangements with Lucian Sanial for two lectures to be delivered the last week of December.

The convention held Sunday was great success. Logan Hall was crowded with enthusiastic comrades and sympathizers. A full ticket was placed in the field as follows: For Mayor, Charles Sehl; for Receiver of Taxes. W. R. Cassile; for Magistrates, E. J. Higgins, Samuel Sadler and C. P. Hall

In the evening the first of the Sunday night lectures was delivered by Ed. Moore on the subject, "Looking Forward". Illness prevented Fred Long's materializing. The meeting was a success in every way. Collec-

Sunday, Dec. 9, Charles W. Ervin will lecture at Logan Hall. 1: St., 8 p. m. Subject, "The

Comrade Wait, Treasurer of the Free Speech Defense Committee, ac-knowledges the following donations; Machinists Lodge No. 670, \$10; Labor Lyceum Association, \$10; W. S. & D. B., Br. 171, \$2; List 258, \$2.75; List 2, 85c.; List 849, 50c.; E. L., \$1; total,

Comrades and sympathizers desiring to assist the party in the fight for free speech can make donations payable to Marcellus Wait, Room 10, 1805 Arch St., Philadelphia.

ERIE

The city convention of the Socialist Party will be held Thursday, Dec. 18, 8:15 p. m., at Musician's Hall, 1012 State St., third floor.

The Socialists of Schuylkill County have nominated the following county ticket: Controller, C. C. Wetzel; Coroner, Lewis Rumplh; Poor Direc tor. Jasper Newton.

ALLEGHENY COUNTY.

County Committee meets Sunday, December 9, 2.30 p. m. Second Ward Branch of Pittsburg meets at Smith's Hall, corner of Centre and Highland avenues, Sunday, December 9, 12:30

Two branches were organ last week, one at Clarksville, of Bo-hemian Socialists, 13 members, and the 17th Ward, Pittsburg, with 9 members. Another ward branch will likely be organized this week.

Carnegie Branch reports it is again active and will meet second and fourth Sundays of each month, at Star Hall,

Twenty-third Ward Branch, Pitts burg, reports the addition of four new members at fast meeting, with pros-pects for more next meeting. Branch Wilmerding held their an-

nual banquet last week and report in-terest by the women in Socialism.

They want May Wood Simons to lecture for them

Fourth Ward Branch, Allegheny, continues its Sunday evening lectures at 526 Federal street, Allegheny. Recitations and musical entertainment is a part of these meetings.

The last general meeting of the Local was the most interesting since its formation. Meetings are held first Sunday of each month, 2.30 p. m.

All party members and Socialist roters in Pittsburg, Allegheny and McKeesport must register on January 6th (Saturday). The fact that you registered last fall does not matter. You must register in order to vote at the Spring elections. On the same date the primaries of all parties who have polled two per cent. will be held be tween 2 and 8 p. m. Socialists should ask for a "Socialist Ballot."

S. C. Meyers of Allegheny won the clock on guess of the vote of the Socialist candidate for governor, the guess being 1,973 and the vote was 1.977

Several thousand pieces of literature will be sent to the Branch Secretaries for distribution.

Receipts for Free Special Fund are \$2; previously acknowledged, \$35.45. Total, \$37.45.

John C. Willert of 3469 W. 54th St., S. W. Cleveland, O., is now the State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Ohio. Send all letters to him.

Thos. C. Devine, with 342 votes; E. L. Rodgers of Dayton, with 309 votes; and Nicholas Klein of Cincinnati, with 409 votes, were elected as National Committee members from Ohio.

W. J. Millard of Dayton is now the city organizer of the Socialist Party Cincinnati, O.

Nicholas Klein will be open for a few lectures this winter up to the time of his departure for a trip thru Africa. Asia and Europe, doing literary work. Write him at 525 Clinton St., Cincinnati, O.

Michigan.

Call for nominations for State Sec-tetary and National Committeemen has been issued. Mrs. Lockwood, present Secretary, declines a renomina-tion. Our ticket was not on the official ballot in Vanburen County. If it has been omitted in other counties comrades should report to the Secretary. The vote is slow coming in and no estimate can be made at present.

Here and There.

Local Allegheny, Pa., has expelled from the party W. H. Gore for violating the rules of the party,
Local Asheville, N. C., expelled J.

M. Westall, W. P. Bryant, David Bryent and E. T. Roberts for voting old party tickets at the recent election.

New York State. State Quorum met Nov. 27. William Koenig was chairman, C. L. Furman, secretary. Reading of minutes of last meeting was dispensed with. Applica-tions for membership-at-large were received and favorably acted upon as follows: Wm. Hayes, Piermont, Rockland Co.; Levi Bell, Sparkill, Rockland Co.; Oliver Carruth and Hayden Car-ruth, Tarrytown; C. H. Wheeler and Chris. Williamson, Frankfort; Irving Hudson, Herkimer, Herkimer Co.; W. K. Wood, Ravena. Applications for membership were received from R. S. Stevens, William Nelson, Gustave Gschunke, Frank L. Newhouse, Chas. F. Heiland, Thos. Werner, and William Brenner, all of amon. Voted to grant charter to these applicants. Charters were granted to Greenpoint. L. I., with 15 members; to Canastota with 8 members; to Clinton, Oneida Co., with 5 members; to Dunkirk, with 6 members, and to Saratoga Springs Saratoga Co., with 5 members. Local Middletown reported that Chas B Wood and James Langan have been expelled from the local for accepting minations on the Indepen League ticket. Voted that the State retary be instructed to see that the Socialist Party is represented at the state canvas of the vote at Albany. The Secretary was instructed to issue a call for nominations for State Comtne hands of the State Secretary on or before Jan. 15, 1907. Also that a call be issued for the nomination of three National Committeemen, nominations to be in the hands of the Secretary by Jan. 1, 1907. The Secretary was in structed to issue a call for the elec-tion of three members of the locals in

and that Comrades Vanderporten, Fieldman and others be requested to attend the meeting to give their views on methods necessary to adopt to or ganize the state in better shape. Each local of the party in the state is hereby notified that they are enti-tied to nominate three candidates for National Committeemen, to be voted for by referendum in the month of January. Candidates may be nominated residing in any part of the state. All nominations must be in the hands

Greater New York as a committee to

audit the books of the retiring State Committee. Voted that a special meet-

ing of the State Quorum be called for

outlining work for the coming year,

day. Dec. 11, for the purpose of

Jan. 1, 1907. Bow York City.

of the State Secretary on or before

The General Committee holds regu lar meeting on Saturday, Dec. 8, 8 p. m., at the New York Labor Temple, 48 E. 84th St. Matters of importance will be discussed and delegates are requested to attend.

Printed blanks for reporting the standing of the members of the vari-ous subdivisions and branches of Lo-cal New York have been mailed to the secretaries. These membership re-ports are of utmost importance for the Organizer's office and secretarie are requested to make them as correct as possible. Special care should be taken to report the correct address of every member, his occupation, labor

organization of which he is a member. and his financial standing. These re-ports will be compared with the card system in the Organizer's office and the reports should contain not only names of the members in good standing, but also those in arrears or dropped from the rolls for non-payment of dues. These reports should be mailed to the Organizer immediately after the last December meeting of the sub-divisions and branches, and should reach the Organizer's office not later than Jan. 2, 1907. The standing of the sub-divisions and branches is determined by these reports and in ac cordance with a standing rule in the Committee no delegates will be seated unless his financial secretary has forwarded to the Organizer the membership report.

The monthly reports to be made by the financial secretaries will be resumed beginning January, 1907. These reports, which give an idea of the financial condition of the branch or sub-division, the ettendance at meetings, and their activities were temporarily discontinued on account of the confustion created by the reapportionment. New report cards will be sent to the financial secretaries, and it is to be hoped that they will pay strict attention to the instructions sent out and forward their reports promptly and regularly at the beginning of each

Circular letters to be sent to enrolled voters are in preparation, so that they can be used on Jan. 1, when the en rollment records are published. The Executive Committee has also made arrangements to print a large quantity of "Canvassing Cards" for the purpose of following up those who enrolled as Socialists or subscribed to Socialist papers and are not party members. The circular letters and cards will be ready during the latter part of December and the Assembly District organiza tions are requested to make arrangements to visit all the enrolled voters in the district and induce those who are in sympathy with the party to become dues paying members.

The general party meeting to discuss ways and means to revive activity for the "Daily Call" will probably take place on Sunday afternoon, Jan. 6, 1907, at the Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St. The order of business and final call for this meeting will be announced

The Commune Celebration of Local New York will take place on Sunday fternoon and evening, Mar. 24, at the New York Labor Temple. The celebration will consist of suitable speeches in commemoration of the martyrs of the Commune, concert and dancing, Comrades are requested to note the date and refrain from making any other arrangements for that day.

An adjourned meeting of the General Committee of Local New York was held on Saturday evening, Dec. 1, for the purpose of discussing the re-cent campaign in the Ninth Congres-sional District. 'The local organizer made a statement of objections to the ds used in the campaign. Mor ris Hillquit presented the case on be half of the campaign committee of the Ninth. The following resolutions wer adopted: Resolved. That it is the sense of this General Committee of Local New York that no member of group of members of the Socialist Party shall be allowed to have membership in any politica, organization or association which does not support the ticket and platform of the S ist Party in their entirety. Resolved That the General Committee of Loca New York expresses its confidence in the integrity of the comrades of the sional District and o

Ninth Congressional District and their candidate, Comrade Hillquit. At meeting of the City Executive Committee Monday evening, Dec. 3, the following recommendations to the General Committee were decided upon That Local New York print a supply of canvassers' cards for the use of orkers in the Assembly Districts in visiting voters as published in the offi-cial lists which will shortly be issued; that the matter of programs for the Commune and May Day festivals be ken under consideration at the next meeting of the General Committee; hat Sunday, Jan. 6, be the day select ed for general meeting of party mempers for the purpose of discussing the "Dally Call"

C. Easton Williams lectures for the Manhattan Liberal Club at Masonic Temple, 220 E. 15th St., Friday, Dec.

Alexander Rosen will lecture 'Education and Socialism" for the So cialist Literary Society, 237 E. Broadway, Sunday, Dec. 9, 8 p. m.

Mrs. Meta L. Sterm will lecture on "Social Conscience" for the Harlem Socialist Club, 250 W. 125th St., Sunday, Dec. 9, at 8 p. m.

The 17th and 19th (old 21st) A. D. will meet Friday, Dec. 7, 8 p. m., at Harlem Socialist Club, 250 W. 125th James Morton lectures for the Lib-

eral Art Society at Terrace Lyceum. 206 E. Broadway, Friday, Dec. 7, 8 p. m. Subject: "The Curse of Race The Socialist Stage Society will hold

a special meeting Saturday, Dec. 15, at 108 W. 45th St. Important business will be acted on. Miss Frances M. Gill-will lecture at 26th A. D. headquarters, 1553 Madison Ave., Sunday, Dec. 9, 8 p. m. Subject:

"The Words of a Believer". BROOKLYN. Elizabeth B. Butler, Secretary of the Consumers' League of New Jersey. will lecture at Hart's Hall, Gates Ave. and Broadway, Sunday, Dec. 9, 8 p. m. Subject: "The Problem of Sweatshop

"Woman's Position in Present-Day So-clety" at Day's Hall, 54th St. and Third Ave., Sunday, Dec. 9, 8:15 p. m.

John Sherwin Orosby will lecture on

As Socialists we know the

lag, 315 Washington St., Sunday, Dec.

The 5th A. D. and Branch 1 of the 23d A. D. will meet at Hart's Hall, Gates Ave., near Broadway, on the second Sunday of each month, 7 p. m., during the lecture season.

Special meeting of Branch 2, 23d AAD., will be held Saturday, Dec. 8, 5 p. m., at the clubhouse, 157 Christopher St. Meeting will continue from 5 to 10, and those who cannot be present at opening can come during the evening. Every comrade should bring his due book

Barnet Wolff, Organizer Branch 2. 23d A. D., reports his new address to be 431 Howard Ave., and asks members to note accordingly.

OUR TURN NEXT.

There cannot be much doubt but that the so-called "radical" movements, lead by Hearst, Moran, Johnson and others have about reached their zenith. Movements of this kind, gotten up by hurrah methods, must achieve success quickly or else their strength vanishes. Very little success crowned the efforts of the "much noise and little reason" movements at the late elections.

The sincere element of these "radical" movements will not be as quick to flock back into the old "safe, and conservative" rut as most of its "leaders". Those truly desirous of a social change, those who earnestly long for radical changes in the present social and political world, the studious people, these must eventually see thru the sham and false pretense of the hurrah-method reformers.

A far-reaching change in our pres ent social system of inequality is not to be attained with fireworks, rhetoric, nor with circus methods, nor with merely shouting hurrah, nor with bluffs and bluster.

A change can only come as it has come in other historical epochs, that is, thru a great movement brought about by the consciousness of a definite class interest on the part of a subject class, Social change has always been from the bottom up. It has never been brought about by "great" leaders or "great" men.

The "great" men usually foster their own ambitions and they use the people as cat's-paws in order that they attain their coveted "greatness"

It stands to reason that if society at present organized should be changed, the people, the masses, the workers must be the ones that will demand a change. The failure of the "radical" move-

nents will help to bring this lesson home to many a member of the working class. With reverses to the "radical" move-

ments there usually follows disintegration of these movements. The sincere men in the ranks of such movements drift into the Socialist camp, and like the sincere followers of the Populist movement of the nineties, these men will be the staunchest non-compromisers after they land in our camp.

The Socialists' turn is bound to come ecause the Socialist movement is the only possible way out of the capitalist mire of to-day.

Socialists have such unbounded faith in their cause because they have made a deep study of the history of society and the causes of changes in its structure. Knowing that like causes produce like effects they may patiently bide their time and in the meantime keep at their work of propaganda, edu-cation and ORGANIZATION.—Socialist Review, Hoboken.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

The Evils Capitalists Attribute to It Apply to Themselves-Ownership by the Workers the Thing Needed.

The Associated Press is providing a plate service on municipal ownership which contains extracts from official reports, news dispatches and special articles, all going to show the failure of such enterprises. Its failure is traced to many things held to be inseparable from it, among which are bossism, graft, waste, inefficient management, low wages, etc. That these things are true may be admitted, but if the accumulated facts prove anything it is that the practises which prevail in the world of private capicalism are carried by capitalist partie over into the management of public affairs. For all the evils mentioned exist in the field of private enterprise, so that these facts but confirm the position held by Socialists that anything the capitalist touches, whether public or private, is blighting to the working class and society.

Here in the field of municipal activ-

ity the capitalist sees the prevalence of a condition that provokes his virtuous indignation, but in his own busi ness he regards it as a matter of course. A case in point may be cited.

The charge that bossism will prevail and tend to be perpetuated by politicians administering city owned enterprises, is accepted by capitalist interests as an axiomatic truth and condemned in proportion. Yet the same interests regard the exclusive ownership and control of a given enterprise by themselves as entirely proper and devoid of bossism, the no vote of the employees can remove them, which is possible with a city administration. The capitalist is opposed to bossism that permits anybody but himself to be "it".

Of course this is not an argument for city ownership regardless of whether a workers' party or a capitalist party is entrusted with the management, but merely showing that of Work".

Miss Anna A. Maley will lecture on the capitalist is careful to select his own as the best, even the a comparison easily establishes that it means

As Socialists we know that capital-"Natural Rights" at the Silver Builds ist contact with any business, public bane Worker.

THE MOVEMENT FOR WORLD PEACE.

By James Oneal.

"World Peace" has been a sweet | tion may be established to decide the claims of two ruling classes for the morsel in the mouths of "statesmen" in recent years, and in accordance therewith suggestions for universal disarmament have been made. International conferences have been held at the Hague, yet armies are on the increase and each nation vies with the other for the "honor" of having the of the world. largest battleship affoat. Experiments are continually made to secure armor plate that will withstand the strongest projectiles and, when found, attiles that will finally pierce the strongest armor plate. All the while this takes place world peace is assumed to

As the the contradiction was not sufficiently glaring, Nicholas II, whose record af massacre, exile and murder is written in the blood and tears of millions, is the one of all other rulers that issued the call that resulted in the International Hague Tribunal. While thousands were marehing in chains to exile: other thousands retting or driven to madness in Russian prisons; whole cities put to sword and flame; womanhood violated and all-intellectual life smothered making, Nicholas, from his throne poised on bayonets and cannon, and to the swish of the Cossack's knout, calls otners of his kind to the Hague to consider projects for the peace of the world!

goal of all.

be the

And constitutional monarchy, capitalist republic, political "democracy" all of these responded to the call of the Russian butcher-or sent messages of good will! And each and all of them that flocked there went with unclean hands, hands stained only a lighter shade than the chief that called them there.

Bloody Credentials.

There was England, and her credentials were the bleaching bones of millions on the plains of Inda; there was the United States, "the greates popular experiment of all time", with with its Homesteads and buill pens; Leopold with his conquest of the Congo and the trail of armless, legless and tongueless victims left in its path. And so on, the "most Christian governments" with similar credentials met at the Hague and have established a

permanent, peace tribunal. The Peace of the World! Can peace ome from those that traffic in the un paid labor of its disinherited? Can peace come from those under whose rule class antagonism has developed as wide as the world? Can it come from those that call thousands to bat tle in disposing of their bot?: Can the official agents of the copitalist rulers in all lands realize the ideal of world peace?

The Never-Ending War.

Capitalism itself is war, devastation and pillage. It exists thru plunder of the wealth producers and requires armed force to insure submission to it. Military police and naval power is maintained and distributed over the world to the best ddvantage of capttalist property. International arbitra- | everywhere.

or private, must produce graft, bossism, low wages, etc., and that failures swindles should take place it and either field is perfectly natural. Municipal ownership is not Socialism whether administered by a capitalist or a Socialist party. By a capitalist party it is simply city capitalism; by the Socialist Party it would be administration of things in the interest of the operatives as far as political power

would permit. A miniature model of a Socialist so ciety cannot be established within the limits of a city controlled by Social ists, but such control can and will be used to raise wages, reduce hours, improve the sanitary conditions, promot education and strengthen the working class for its future conquests of further political and

The capitalist class must blight and pollute everything it touches. The fail-ure of capitalist municipal administration is the failure of capitalism, and all that is said against it is so much argument in favor of the workers placing their class in power and administering public bodies in the interest of that class. Its ideal is a world in which wealth is produced for the happiness and common good of all That ideal in the management of public affairs will certainly contrast_favorably with the official code of capital-ism: a code the chief elements of which are graft, swindle and plunder.

COLLECTIVIST SOCIETY DINNER.

The attendance at the Collectivist Society dinner; to be held at Mouquin's, on Fulton street, near Broadway. Friday evening. December 7. promises to be the largest of any gath ering in the history of that organization. One hundred and ninety-eight seats have been applied for. The subject for discussion will be, "Election Echoes," with special reference to the of the Socialist movement. Among the speakers will be Jos. Wanbage, Morris Hillquit, Hugh O. Pentecost. J. G. Phelps Stokes, A. J. Boulton and E. E. Slosson.

TWO DIFFERENT THINGS. Ren Tillett can't understand any man who is in favor of international

arbitration being opposed to industrial

possession of a given area of explottation. It is cheaper than war. But so long as there is a working class to exploit, so long, in short, as capitalism exists, will disarmament be a theme for the sport of the ruling class

The Real Factor for Peace.

Only in the rise and triumph of the working class with its ideal of a common brotherhood in useful production of wealth for all, will be realized unfversal peace and fraternity thruout the world. When there is no longer a ruling class in quest of further zones of exploitation, when property as an incentive gives way to human welfare as the motive of all, then bayonets and dum dum bullets, cannon and machine guns will no longer devastate the world with tears and sorrow.

Even to-day the working class movement is the most potent factor in preserving peace when a ruling class threatens war. Long ago the "war ford" of Germany would have sent troops across the Prussian border were it not that the "red specter" makes his own army "unsafe", and three million Socialists stand ready to protest with the general strike.

A Prophecy of Peace.

As a pledge of that solidarity of the workers and the universal peace that will follow their triumph, an incident took place at the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam in 1904 that is of more importance than all the Hague congresses ever held. There while Russia and Japan were in the throes of conflict, Plechanoff of Russia and Katayama of Japan shook hands amid the applause of the only international body whose principles will bring lasting peace to all nations.

Capitalism is war and exploitation and a sincere peace congress called by capitalism's own agents could have but one legitimate topic for discussion and that its own suicide. But capitalism will never turn its arms against itself or decree its own dissolution. Its overthrow and the establishment of a world fraternity of all peoples is the task of the working class of all nations.

The Task of the Workers. And that task will be achieved by

that class. The ranks of those pledged to it are swelling each year with the tocsin of revolution sounding their entrance into each parliament and each congress. Not the revolution of fire and sword. They are and ever have been the weapons employed by the ruling class of the past; they are the weapons of the class to-day that cry 'peace" to the tune of the cannon's beich of death. The revolution of the working class is a conscious and intelligent revolt with peaceful efforts as the means and world peace as the end. The world gained for the workers means peace triumphant thruout the world and the final disappearance of armamer's for human slaughter

A STRING TO IT.

The loudly heraided advance of 10 er cent in wages for employees of the Standard Oll Co., appears to have had a string attached to it. When the announcement of the contemplated increase was first made only trade unionists were declared to be ineligible to share in the raise. Now reports from the Standard works in different parts of the country state that very few employees outside of the office forces receive higher wages Nearly all mechanics and laborers are barred. And thus, more hot sir of the prosperity puffers is dissipated. When the Standard has any money to give out it goes to the Rockefellers, Rogers and

company.-Cleveland Citizen.

Silk Workers Local 176, I. W. W. of New York City (membership about 500), in special meeting acted on the recent convention of I. W. W. and by unanimous vote condemned the actions

of the DeLeon-Trautmann faction. Ironworkers Local 370, I. W. W., of New York City (membership 650), at a special meeting, held Friday, November 30, heard the report of their delegate McKinnon, and recognized by an unanimous vote Chas, O. Sherman and W. F. Hanneman as President and Secretary of the I. W. W.

FIGHT FOR OURSELVES.

In the days of Spartacus the workers ere compelled by the Roman soldiery to fight one another to the death in the gladiatorial arena for the amusement of the wealthy. Things have not changed much. To-day the arena includes the whole world, in which the whole workers are compelled by hunger to fight one another to the death for the lobs, and the capitalists are amused as in the old Roman days. The workers of to-day fight one another on the industrial field and on the poon the industrial near and care to be interested in the rever heed those ringing words of that old Spartan hero? "If we must fight, let us fight for ourselves,"—Painter and Decorator.

IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

In the twentieth century, war will arbitration. Seems to us the two In the twentieth century, war will things are essentially different. We be dead, the scaffold will be dead, may logically wish to avert wars and hatred will be dead, frontier boun-at the same time desire to retain daries will be dead, dogmas will be strikes. In the one case the workers dead; man will live. He will possess fight each other for the capitalists' something higher than all these-a benefit; in the other they fight the great country, the whole earth, and a capitalists for their own benefit.—Bris-great hope, the whole heaven.—Victor bane Worker.

State House to-day toward the Com mon you are confronted by an inspiring monument to the 54th Regiment: nze picture of Robert Shaw surrounded by his black troops marching to the war. I have spent hours in front of that monument; and never stand there without realizing the words of the devoted Lydia Child: You remember Charles Sprague's description of scenes he witnessed from a window near State Street," she wrote. First, Garrison dragged through the streets by a mob; second, Burns, the colored man, carried back to slavery by United States troops, through the same street; and third, this splendid black regiment, marching down the same street, to the tune of 'John Brown's Body," to join the Army of United States for the emancipation of their race. What a thrilling histori-

cal poem might be made of that!" A New Enemy.

With the close of the war came the 13th amendment to the Constitution abolishing chattel slavery. The nation was filled with rejoicings, and the churches sang praises to God for bringing about what they had fought against for over a quarter of a century. But although the war was over. cause was not won. Lincoln was scarcely cold in his grave before the us Andrew Johnson, who had posed as a radical, showed the cloven of and revealed his purpose to deert to the bourbon democracy. Phillips had believed in Johnson, and it was a bitter disappointment. But he instantly trained his guns and opened fire on the new enemy. "Jefferson Davis Johnson," he called him—and the name stuck. It was the beginning the period of reconstruction; the time that tried men's souls. Everything was at stake. Nothing was d cided. The South was bitter and hated the freedom; the North was again divided. The poisonous remnents of the slave system promised to linger and fester for half a century. Never before had Phillips suffered ch anxiety; never before experienced such laborious days and nights. He was drained in mind, body and purse.

In this grave emergency Garrison hdrew. The Anti-Slavery Society ught its work was over. "No," said Phillips; "now is the critical time. The rebellion has not ceased, it has only changed its weapons. Once it fought, now it intrigues; once it followed Lee in arms, now it follows President Johnson in guilt and chi canery; once its headquarters were in Richmond, now it encamps in the White House."

The Greatest of These.

"Hold the societies together," wrote Sumner from Washington, "the crisis is grave." Phillips knew it, and by superhuman effort he did what in his dgment was required. The work he did in this period of reconstruction alone was great enough to have immortalized a dozen smaller men. was recognized as the most distinguished figure in unofficial life. Every word he wrote or uttered was read thout the continent. The journals of both parties were forced to print them. He watched every move of the slippery politicians at Washington; turning the searchlight of pub-He attention upon them: making play the game fairly. "More than to any other; more than to all others," said Senator Henry Wilson, "the colored people owe it that they were not cheated out of their citizenship after mancipation, to Wendell Phillips. lell Phillips," said the St. Louis Dispatch, 'has exercised a greater infinence on the destinies of the country as a private man than any pub lic man, or men, of his age." It was during the visit to St. Louis which called out this praise, that Phillips made a pilgrimage to the grave of Lovejoy at Alton. Lovejoy, whose cruel murder had precipitated the meeting at which he made his first memorable speech in Faneuil Hall. Musing before this grave, Phillips said: The gun fired at him was like that

at Sumpter-it scattered a world of dreams. Looking back, how wise as well as noble, his course was. credible, that we should have been to defend his prudence. What world-wide benefactors these 'imprudent' men are! How 'prudently' most men creep into nameless graves while now and then one or two forget themselves into immortality."

One Fight Won.

On March 30, 1870, President Grant proclaimed the adoption of the 15th amendment. Neither the nation nor any of the states should thenceforth abridge the right of any citizen to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

The fight was won. The mission of the anti-slavery society was at last fulfilled. In spite of the desertion of Garrison, Phillips had held the organization together for its final vic tory. On April 9, the Abolitionists met New York to commemorate their victory, and to disband their society. As Phillips rose to say the last word he received the ovation of his life. He referred to it ever after as compensamemory of the meeting to his grave as the chief pleasure of his career.

"Wolfe died," wrote Sumner, "in the arms of Victory, and such is the for-

une of your noble society."

But what were the words of Phillips as he closed this momentous period of his career? Was he now at last to take his place with Garrison war; to spend his declining years in brooding over past victories' receive this magnificent ovation and tribute to what he had done in the past? Listen to him as he

stands on that platform, his scanty locks, whitened by his struggles, curlnot say 'Farewell,' but 'All hail.' Welcome, new duties! We sheathe no sword. We only turn the front of the army upon a new foe.

The New Foe.

What did he mean? It is doubtful if there were fifty men in all that vast audience who saw in these words anything more than agreeable and highsounding rhetoric. But Phillips saw. He knew that the real fight against slavery was not won; he knew that the Civil War had merely cleared the deck of a medieval institution; cleared it for action in the coming great struggle against Capitalism. Before the war, in a speech nine days after the attack on Sumter, I find these significant words: "The South dreams-it is the 13th and 14th century-baron and serf -noble and slave; but there is hardly any struggle left in the North save that between the working class and the money kings."

A year before the Anti-slavery Sc clety disbanded, in April, 1869, he had made a masterly plea before the Mas-sachusetts legislature for the appointment of a Labor Commission to examine into the condition of the working class of the state. The commission was appointed. It was the beginning of labor agitation in Massachusetts.

It is at this juncture that the life of Wendell Phillips again rises to a peak of moral grandeur. He was sixty years old. The war was ended. Chattel slavery was dead. His name was on every lip. He earned the right to rest. A grateful city, state, nation stood ready to do him honor. He would have been made governor, or United States senator by acciamation Respectability stood ready to spread its mantle at his feet; the world of polite learning at Cambridge let it be known that he would be once more welcome within its shades.

Still Protesting.

What, then, did he do in the face of all this adulation—the man who had brought the nation to his feet? He accepted the nomination for Governor of Massachusetts on the Labor-party platform, and made as splendid a campaign, with as remote a chance of winning as Eugene V. Debs ever had for winning the presidency of the United States

He accepted the nomination for gov ernor as Debs has always accepted the nomination for president—as a protest and an education; as agitation in the guise of politics.

And how did admiring Boston re gard this new departure of its idol? How did the Abolitionists who had made the fight with him for the chattel slave now look upon him?

They drew away. They could see the enormity of chattel slavery; they could not see the enormity of wage slavery. One was the wickedness of the South; the other was their own. If they acknowledged it, it would affect their profits, their rents, their interest. It would impeach their business ethics. They could not attack this noble human being with the bitter ness in which Beacon Hill had at acked him before the war. He stood too high for that. But they whispered to one another of his singularity, and said he was "preaching crusades on difficult problems which he had never seriously studied." But he HAD studied them! That was their real trouble. Papers and notes found in prove it; prove he was following with active interest the forces that produced in continental Europe the disturbances of 1848. In 1870 he wrote 'Congratulations to Garibaldi and Maz They behold the morning. What will the noon be? Nothing less than Europe a brotherhood of Republics! Kings, like other spectres, will vanish at the cock-crowing.

His Platform.

I know that the admirers of Wendell Phillips who defend the present social age man, when he gets home at night, does system, will be inclined to resent our not care to read an article from the North exhibition of him as a Socialist. They will quote certain extracts from his speeches as proof that he regarded the interests of labor and capital as identical. But, he never makes such a reference without saying that ON ANY JUST BASIS they are identical. The phraseology of the class-conscious philosophy of Socialism was hardly known in America at that time. It is because the definiteness of Phillips' position may be questioned that I beg leave to omit any protestations of my own, and give you his own words as proof of his feelings and his understanding of the working-class revolution. At the labor convention which nominated him platform. Here is a portion of it:

We affirm as a fundamental principle

that labor, the creator of wealth, is enti-tled to all it creates.

Affirming this, we avow ourselves will-ing to accept the final results of the opera-tion of a principle so radical; such as the overthrow of the whole profit making sys-tem, the avaination of all measurables, the tem, the extinction of all monopolies, the subolition of privileged classes, universal education and fraternity, perfect freedom of exchange, and, best and grandest of all, the final obliteration of that foul stigma apon our so-called Christian civilization;—the poverty of the masses.

We declare way with the wage contents.

declare war with the wage system. which demoralizes alike the hirer and the hired, cheats both, and enslaves the workugman; war with the present system of capital. We demand a ten-hour day for factory work as a first step, and that eight hours be the working-day of all persons thus employed hereafter. We demand that whenever women are employed to do the same kind and amount of work as men per-form, they shall receive the same wages."

ent of humanity to protect itself; it is the grandest and most comprehensive movement of the age! It is a shame to our civilization for our social system to provide and expect that any man at seventy years of age shall be lord of many thousands of dollars, while hundreds of other men, who have made as good use of their talents and opportunities, lean upon charity for their daily bread. The best minds and hearts of the land abould give themselves to the work of changing this greas injustice; this appoiling inequality. I feel sure that the readlest way to turn public thought and effort into this channel, is for the workingman to organize a political party.

Is there any man who can gainsay Phillips belongs to us, after reading these words?

Is a man who declares for the aboli-

tion of the wage system, and advo-cates a separate political party of the man to be criticised by us because the Marxian phrases "class-conscious" and 'economic determinism" were not popularly known in the United States in

But Phillips does not merely make a statement of the working class posi-He analyses; he defends it. When his critics came at him with the bourgeols statement that all men labor and that there is therefore no excuse for a labor party, he flamed out:

Why a Labor Party.

Yes, all men labor. Rufus Choate and Daniel Webster labor, say the critics. But every man who reads of the labor question knows that it means the movement of the men that earn their living with their hands: that are employed, and paid wages; are gathered under roofs of factories, sent out on farms, set out on ships, gathered on the walls. In popular acceptation, the working class means the men that work with their hands, for wages, so many hours day, employed by great capitalists; that ork for everybody else. Why do we move for this class? Why, asks a critic, don't you move for all workingmen? Because, while Rufus Choate gets ave thousand dollars for making one argument to a jury, there is no need of moving for him, or for the men that work with their brains,—tha do highly disciplined and skilled labor, in vent, and write books. The reason why the Labor movement confines itself to a single class is because that class of work does not get paid, does not get protection. Mental labor is adequately paid, and more than adequately protected. It can shift its chanit can vary according to the supply

If a man falls as a minister, why, he be comes a railway conductor. If that doesn't suit him, he goes West, and becomes gov-ernor of a Territory And if he finds him-self incapable of either of these positions. he comes home, and gets to be a city editor. He varies his occupation as he pleases and doesn't need protection. But the great mass, chained to a trade, doomed to ound up in the mill of supply and de-and, that work so many hours a day, and must run in the great ruts of business,they are the men whose inadequate protec-tion, whose unfair share of the general product, claims a movement in their behalf.

An Indictment of Civilization Again in New York City, in 1871, we find him defining his position:

Let me tell you why I am interested in the Labor question. Not simply because of the long hours of labor; not simply because of a specific oppression of a class. I sympathise with the sufferers; I am ready to fight on their side. But I look out upon Christendom, with its three hundred millions of people; and I see, that, out of all this number of people, one hundred millions never had enough to eat. Physiologists tell us that this body of ours, unless it is prop-erly fed, properly developed, and carefully nourished, does no justice to the brain. You cannot make a bright or a good man in a starved body; and so this one-third of the inhabitants of Christendom, who have never had food enough, can never be what man in it to be below the average in the and the sooner it goes down the better.

Come on this side of the ocean. You w

find forty millions of people, and I sup pose they are in the highest state of civ ilization; and yet it is not too much to say, that, out of that forty millions, there are ten millions, at least, who get up in the morning and go to bed at night, and spend enough left to do anything in the way of and a warm supper, and a glass of grog, perhaps, he goes off to bed. Now, I say that the civilization that has produced this state of things in nearly the hundredth year of the American Republic did not from above

Poverty and Drink.

To the tiresome and prejudiced accusation that poverty is made by drink be replied: I believe to the temperance m

I am a temperance man of nearly forty years standing; and I think it one of the grandest things in the world, because it holds the basis of self-control. Intemperance is the cause of poverty, I know; there is another side to that; poverty is there is another side to that: poverty is the cause of intemperance. Crowd a man wit work a day, and you crowd him down to a mere animal life. You have tool, to work fourteen hours, and catch a thought in the interval; and, while a man in a hundred will rise to be a genius, ninety-nine will cower down under the cir that one club of gentlemen, a thousand strong, spent twenty thousand dollars at the club-house during the year for drink. Well. I would allow them twenty thousand dollars more at home for liquor, making in all forty thousand dollars a year for drink. These men were all men of educa-tion and leisure. They had books and paintings, opera, rece-course, and regatta A thousand men down in Portsmouth in a ship-yard, working under a bess, spent a the grog-shops of that place, in that year, eighty thousand dollars,—double that of their rich brethren. What is the explanation of such a fact as that? Why, the club men had a circle of pleasures and of com-pany; the operative, after he had worked fourteen hours, had nothing to look for-

you will starve out those lower appetites. Give a man a chance to earn a good living, and you may save his life. So it is with and you may save his life. So it is with women in prostitution. Poverty is the road to it; it is this that makes them the prey of the wealthy and the leisure of another class. Give a hundred men in this country good wages and eight hours' work, and ninety-nine will distain to steal. Give a hundred women a good chance to get a good living, and ninety-nine of them will disdnin to barter their virtue for gold. You will find in our criminal institutious to-day a great many men with big brains, who ought to have risen in the world,—nerhnés ought to have risen in the world,-perhaps Congress. Now, take a hundred criminals: ten of them will be smart men; but take the remainder, and eighty of them are be-low the average, body and mind; they were, as Charles Lamb said. Never brought up: they were dragged up. They never had any fair chance. They were starred in body and mind. Now, just so long as you thinks of this nation on such a hold two-thirds of this nation on such a narrow superficial line, you feed the crimi-

Why Go Into Politics.

Then, as now, the working men were advised to have patience, and the wise and good political servants of the exploiting classes would adjust all inequalities. "Why hurry into politics?" asked smug conservatism. Replied Phillips:

Why hurry into politics? Because see the benefit of going into politics. we had not rushed into politics, had not taken Massachusetts by the four corners and shaken her, you never would have writ ten your criticisms. We rush into politica because politics is the safety-valve. could discuss as well as you if you would only give us bread and houses, fair pay and leisure, and opportunities to travel. We could sit and discuss the question for the next fifty years. It's a very easy thing to discuss, for a gentleman in his study with no anxiety about to-morrow. Why, the ladies and gentlemen of the reign of Louis XV, and Louis XVI, in France. scated in gilded saloons and on Persian carpets, surrounded with luxury, with the products of India and the curious manufactures of ingenious Lyons and Rheims, discussed the rights of man, and balanced them in dainty phrases, and expressed them in such quaint generalizations that Jeffe balancing and discussing sweetly, making out new theories, and daily erecting a splendid architecture of debate, till the an-gry crowd broke open the doors, and ended the discussion in blood. They waited too long, discussed about half a century too long. You see discussion is very when a man has bread to eat, and his chill dren all portioned off, and his daughters married, and his house furnished and paid for, and his will made; but discussion is very bad when a class bends under actual oppression. We want immediate action.

On Organization. Have I given you enough of this man's words to convince you that by

every right and title we may claim him American socialist movement? His words on organization are as timely and true as if spoken yesterday. He

Now let me tell you where the great weakness of an association of werkingmen is. It is that it cannot wait. It does not know where to get its food for next week. If it is kept idle for ten days, the funds of the society are exhausted. Capital can fold its arms and wait six months; it can wait a year. It will be poorer, but it does not get to the bottom of the purse. It can afford to wait it can tire you out, and starve you out. And what is there against that immense preponderance of power on the part of capital? Simply organization. THAT MAKES THE WEALTH OF ALL, THE WEALTH OF EVERY ONE. So I plu, international or commune; anything that masses up a unit in order that they ganization of capital; anything that does that, I say Amen to it. One hundred thou industrial or the political question; it can control the nation if it is in earnest. The reason why the Abolitionists brought the nation down to fighting their battle is that they were really in earnest, knew what they wanted, and were determined to have it. Therefore they got it. The leading statesmen and orators of the day said they would never urge Abolition; but a deter-mined man in a printing office said that they should, and-they did it.

And so it is with this question exactly. American, nor a long speech from Charles Brains govern this country; and I hope to Sumner. No: If he can't have a good store. God the time will never come when brains won't govern it, for they ought to. And the way in which you can compel the brains to listen and to attend to you on the question of labor, actually to concentrate the intellectual power of the nation upon it, is by gathering together by hundreds of thousands, no matter whether it be on an industrial basis or a political basis, and any to the nation. 'We are the numbers, and we will be heard,' and you may be sure

Rattling the Dry Bones Again. When Benjamin F. Butler came up

for governor of Massachusetts, and Phillips came out for him, because he menaced plutocracy, the great agitator lost the balance of his bourgeois admirers. Butler was the black beast of Massachusetts respectability, and it was when Phillips stood up to be counted with him that Emerson, Garrison and the others fled away in dismay. Once more he stood alone, se rene, smiling, strong in his sense of right. He knew that it was only because Butler had joined the labor movement that he was so cordially hated. He was himself a man of nerve, and he knew the pluck of Butler. The two went into partnership to rattle the dry bones of Massachusetts; and they

Plutocracy showed its teeth in rage; the labor party seemed so formidable. Butler being impulsive and eccentric, the attack was, of course, made his personality. Plutocracy has never attacked the working class position honestly and directly when it could find a character to blacken or discredit among working-class leaders Phillips was continually called upon Ward to but his grog.

That is why I say. Ifft a man, give him ife, let him work eight hours a day, give him any man asks me what value I place pon this movement, I should say it is the senool, develop his taste for music, give him beautifut things to see, and good books to read, and I were Pope to-day, there is not a

tion among all the candidates, Butler included, whom I would make a saint of,—not one. The difficulty is, saints le not come very often; and, when they do come, it is the hardest thing in the world to get them into poli-tics. I don't believe, that if you could import a saint, brand new and spot a majority in the State of Massachu setts for any office that has a salary.

Phillips was not one of those weakcause whenever one of its prominen advocates falls to measure up to sainthis appreciation and belief in this truth did not hinge upon the personal conduct of any other man.

Whether Butler was always right and judicious in all he did Phillips did not ask. Butler stood honestly for the werking-class; this was enough. And when Garrison and Emerson broke their friendships with Phillips over this issue. Phillips did not judge them any more than he judged Butler; he simply held steadily to his economic and political beliefs,—and went on lov-ing Garrison and Emerson as of old.

Another Challenge

to Popular Prejudice. In 1881, when Phillips was seventy, the doors of Harvard College opened to him once more. They had been closed to him for nearly fifty years. On June 30th he delivered the remarkable lecture "The Scholar in a Repub lic," at Cambridge at the centennial anniversary of his old college frater nity. It was a masterly indictment of the recreant scholarship of Cambridge. The simple reading of it to-day should suffice to shame every educated man from the path of indolence or selfish ness and lead him to place his re ources and his talent upon the altar of the common need. Those of you who are in middle life will remember the horror that attached to the word Nihilist twenty years ago. I remember as a boy the looks of reproach and consternation on the faces of my teachers when Nihilism was spoken of. Nihilists were the enemies of man kind, and every act of violence against the Russian government was called an 'outrage" by the American Press.

How did Phillips regard Nihilism? cannot refrain from letting him tel you wholly in his own words. On the platform of Harvard College, after fifty years of exile from the polite life of letters for befriending the black man, he was again to challenge popular prejudice by throwing the mantle of his eloquence over the so-called Rus-

If Wendell Philips had left us no other word; if every incident of his devoted life were blotted out and only this fragment of a speech remained

noblest and the best of the race's benefactors. Remember the time, and re nember the place: the platform of Harvard College: An audience of the flower of American learning: when a horrid fog of hateful prejudice enveloped the Nihillst as a murderer and

an assassin. He said:

If all rightful government rests on con-sent let us at least be consistent. Note the scorn and disgust with which we gath-er up our garments about us and disown the Sam Adamses, and George Washing-tons, and John Browns of St. Petersburg, the spiritual descendents, the living repre-sentatives, of those who make our histor-worth anything in the world's annuls—th

Nihilism is the righteous and honorab resistance of a people crushed under an iron rule. Nihilism is evidence of life. Nihilism is the last weapon of victims choked and manacled beyond all other re-sistance. It is crushed humanity's only means of making the oppressor tremble. God means that unjust power shall be in-secure; and every more of the glant, pros-trate in chains, whether it be to lift a single dagger or stir a city's revoit, is a les-son in justice. One might well tremble for the future of the race if such a despot sm could exist without provoking th bloodiest resistance. I honor Nihil since it redeems human nature from suspicion of being utterly vile, only of heartless oppressors and contented slaves. Every line in our history, every interest of civilization, bids us rejoice when the tyrant grows pale and the slave reof any human being, however richly erved; but such pity must not confuse served; but such pity must not contuse our moral sense. Humanity gains. (Chatham rejoiced when our fathers rebelled. For every single reason they alleged, Russia counts a hundred, each one ten times bitterer than any Hancock or Adams could give. Sam Johnson's standing toast in Oxford port was, "Success to the first insurrection of slaves in Jamaica," a sentiment Southey echoed. "Eschew cant," said the canted in this canting world, the the cant of plety may be the worst, the cant of Americans bewalling Russian Nihilism is

the most disgusting.

I know what reform needs, and all it needs, in a land where discussion is free, the press untrammelled, and where public halls protect debate. In such a land he is doubly and trebly guilty who, except to some most extreme case, disturbs the sober nle of law and order.

Where Dead Silence Freezes But such is not Russia. In Russia there is no press, no debate, no explanation of

silence, like that which reigns at the summit of Mont Blanc, freezes the whole empire, long ago described as "a despotism
tempered by assassination." Meanwhile
such despotism has unsettled the brains of
the ruling family, as unbridled power
doubtless made some of the twelve Cæsarr
insane; a madman, sporting with the lives
and comfort of a hundred million of men and comfort of a hundred million of men.
The young girl whispers in her mother's
ear, under a ceiled roof, her pity for a
brother knouted and dragged half dead into
exile for his opinions. The next week she
is stripped naked and flogged to death in
the public square. No inquiry, no explanation, no trial, no protest, one dead uniform
silence, the law of the tyrant. Where is
there ground for any hope of peaceful there ground for any hope of peaceful change? No, no! in such a land dynamite change? No, no! in such a land dynamit and the dagger are the necessary and proper substitutes for Faneuil Hall. Anything that will make the madman quake in his bedchamber, and rouse his richted. bedchamber, and rouse his victims into reckless and desperate resistance. This is the only view an American, the child of CASH IN ADVANCE CASH

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other unsettles and perplexes the ethics of our civilization

rn within sight of Bunker Hill—son of Harvard, whose first pledge was "Truth", citizen of a republic based on the claim that no government is rightful unless resting on the consent of the people, and which assumes to lead in asserting the rights of humanity—I at least can say noth-ing else and nothing less—no, not if every tile on Cambridge roofs were a devil hooting my words!

Ing my words!

I shall bow to any rebuke from those who hold Christianity to command entire non-resistance. But criticism from any other quarter is only that nauseous hypocher other quarter is only that natureous appooring, which, stung by three-penny testlar, piles Bunker Hill with granite and statues, prating all the time of patriotism and broadswords, while, like another Pecksniff, it recommends a century of dumb submission and entire non-resistance to the Rus-sians, who, for a hundred years, have seen their sons by thousands dragged to death or exile, no one knows which, in this worse than Venetian mystery of police, and their maidens flogged to death in the market place, and who share the same fate if e to ask the reason why.

If Phillips Were Alive. Phillips were alive to-day, Boston would not have escaped his merited rebuke for her shameful treatment of Maxim Gorky. For Phillips loved the very fibre of his being. Whenever he had cause to blush for her he felt it as if his own mother had suffered degradation.
"No one who heard it," says The

Wentworth Higginson, "can ever for-get the thrilling modulation of his voice, when he said at some special crisis of the anti-slavery agitation, 'I love inexpressibly these streets of Bo ton, over whose pavements my mother held up tenderly my baby feet; and if God grants me time enough, I will make them too pure to hear the footsteps of a clave."

What does Boston mean?" he cried. at a meeting held to save the Old South Church from destruction, "what makes Boston a history? Not so many men, not so much commerce. It is ideas. You might as well plow it with salt, and remove bodily into the more but for State Street; for Hall; for the Old South Since 1630, the living fibre chester, Faneuil running thru history, which owns the power, unfettered speech, keen se of justice, readiness to champion any good cause. That is the Boston Laud suspected; Lord Norm hated, and the negro loved. If you destroy the scenes which perpetuate THAT Boston, then rebaptize her Cottonville or Shoe

Thus stood Wendell Phillips until the last, the teacher of high ideals; the tireless enemy of every fraud and sham; the champion of every worthy cause. His days are filled with cease less activity. The long, trying years in the anti-slavery cause had served but to strengthen and make him surer

1620 and 1776, can take of Nihilism. Any of himself. When he took up the cause of the working class, and his friends charged him with errors of judgment, he replied only that he had been accused of the same fault thirty years before. He could only follow the highest light he had. Time, which levels all, would put him in his true place.

In the Light of Socialism.

I have striven to impose nothing of myself in this talk to-night. I have aimed merely to exhibit the man whose memory deserves so much at our hands. In the Boston Public Library may be found all the books which I have quoted; from every Socialist should read and lay well to heart. For the Socialist movement to grow and develop in America it must be an American movement. I do not mean that it must not recognize wholly the international solidarity of the working class; I mean that for rapid growth and development it must take into account and utilize those facts and forces which have produced the great local enthusiasms of American history. The privileged classes of the United States are pleased to say that Socialism is an importation from Continental Europe, principally from Germany: that it is anti-American. But do we not find the German Emperor also declaring that it is anti-German? Socialism, which is now challenging the attention of the world, is a nation al and logical movement to carry political democracy over into its real expression: industrial democracy. It be-longs to no country; it is the citizenship of the world.

Wendell Phillips stands in the light of this understanding as a great, heroic statue, set to mark the world's progress-a step out of the dark. He as one destined to be the leader of forlorn hopes. Never Victory came to find him waiting for her; he since gone far forward to fight newer battles. Without haste, but without rest, tirelessly, ceaselessly, he strove to widen the skirts of light and make the confines of darkness narrower. It was of him that Edward Rowland Sili might have written his inspiring lines: Before the monstrous wrong he sits him

One man against a stone-walled citadel of

centuries those walls have been a-

No chink, no crevice lets the thinnest arrow in.

He fights alone, and from the crowded ram

A thousand evil faces gibe and jeer him. Let him lie down and die; what is t

right, And where is justice, in a world like this? But by and by, earth shakes herself, impa-

tient,
And down, in one great roar of ruin, crash
Watch tower and citadel and battlements.
When the red dust has cleared, the lonely

"HEADS I WIN; TAILS YOU LOSE."

The Pennsylvania Railroad Co. is treating the American people to another one of its wonderful exhibitions w a corporation can, to all outward appearances, give employees more money and clean up greater profits than ever. With a big flourish of trumpets the Pennsylvania magnates advertised the alleged fact several weeks ago that all employees receiving les than \$22 a month would receive an increase of 10 percent in wages. Columns and columns of praises were sung by the capitalistic dailies, and it wouldn't have taken much effort to get the people to agree to hand the Pennsylvania another row of political But during the past couple of weeks persistent stories have been sent along the road, and which the prosperity puffing dailies have been forced to notice, to the effect that the Pennsyl rania Co., was laying off indefinitely hundreds of employees and piling more As the corporation also has a socalled old age pension system, it was noted particularly that those employes whose services were dispensed with were mostly men who would have been eligible to draw pension in a few years. Thus two or three birds are killed with one stone. The Pennsyl-vania got big advertising and disarmed much criticism by its wage ad-vance; its work will be done by fewer costing the corporation anything, will really mean more profit for the magnates; and, finally, the pensioners are being got rid of easily, with the result that still more money will be left for the plutes to divide among them-selves. Says the trust fat man: "It's

The stokers on the Louisiana would have found their protest against President Roosevelt's order for extra work for a trial of speed more effective if they had invited him to participate in the exercise.

heads I win; talls you lose!"-Cleve-

land Citizen.

Stands with strange thoughts beneath the friendly stars.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT.

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