NEW YORK, DECEMBER 21, 1962.

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PRICE 2 CENTS.

Workingmen's wives are suffering.

Workingmen are being forced to ac-

cept the degrading help of "public

charity." Why? Because Baer's class

must have profits. Because working-

finen, controlling the majority of the

votes of the nation, have voted that

Baer's fille and useless class shall own

the mines and ratiroads and other

means of production that the working

class has created, shall make profit on

thear, shall have power to control the

The politicians in public office will,

perhaps, vote money to give a few

Very well. Let them do it. They

would be foolbardy men, indeed, did

they dare refuse. But let them not

dare to call it charity. Let them not

Nothing that they can give now will

make up for what they fafled to do

last sunnger, when they had the power

to secure a speedy victory for the

strikers and so to avoid the coal

And nothing that the capitalist class

will give now will stop the working

We may accept their aid-rather

than freeze. But we do not like to

accept as a gift a tithe, a hundredth,

an infinitesimal part of that which is

ours by right and has been lawfully

stolen from us. We shall have an-

other chance next year and the year

after, in local and national elections,

to issue our edict-the edict of the

class that makes all the world's food

and fuel and clothes and houses-that

we shall never ngain have an artificial

famine for the profit of the drones.

dare to boast of it.

people from thinking.

thousand tons of coal to "the post."

industries by which the people live.

VOL. XII.-NO. 38.

# LABOR IN THE SENATE

Slim Chances of Labor Bills at Washington.

Eight-Hour Bill, Whose Passage By House Was Heralded as a Victory by Gompers, Sure to Die in Senate.

When Congress began its present session it was announced on all sides, as a matter of course, that up important legislation would go through. It was a safe prediction, and the law-makers at Washington show no inclination to throw doubt upon it.

It was especially stated that the various "labor bills" that had come up from the House to the Senate at the last session would follow the usual course—either slumber peacefully in committee pigeon holes and die with or else be brought up under pressure, wearisomely discussed, and either defeated or so amended as

to make their passage impossible.

That this was to be the program wa made still more evident by the President's message, in which Labor re-ceived an abundance of fatherly advice about "moderation," "harmony," "law and order," and the like, and not one recommendation was made on any one recommendation of the labor bills.

The most important of these bills is a., government work, direct or by contract. The passage of this bill by the House was heralded by President Gompers as a signal victory for the lobbying policy of the Federation, not-withstanding similar bills had twice passed the House in previous years and been killed in the Senate and that the same trick has been played with scores of other labor bills in Congress and in state legislatures.

The New York "Times" last Monday printed a Washington "special" as fol-lows, clearly foreshadowing the re-

What the Senate will do with the Eight-Hour bill is a topic of political conversation here at present. This bili has passed the House three times, but was never brought before the Senate for a vote. One of the counsel for the government contractors remarked the other day that the House passed the bill for two reasons-first, because that ondly, BECAUSE IT FELT SURE THE SENATE WOULD NOT ACT AFFIRMATIVELY UPON IT.

'Among conservative members of the Senate the bill is regarded as a dangerous piece of class legislation, and this element will endeavor to prevent action at this session. Senator Proctor of Vermont has been quoted as saying he is determined to defeat the bill if he has to speak against it

It is easy to see what will happen in this Congress—and in every Congress until the workingmen quit lobbying and begin to elect Socialist Congressmen, representatives of Labor cannot be trifled with.

# COAL MINING ACCIDENTS

In his report on the production of roal in 1901, now in press in "Mineral Resources of the United States, 1901, United States Geological Survey," Mr. E. W. Parker presents the statistics of fatal and non-fatal accidents which occurred in the process of mining cont in eighteen states and territories dur-

In these eighteen states and territories the total number of lives lost in 1901 was 1.467 and the total number of men injured was 3.643. The num ber of tons of coal mined for each life lost varied from 420,094 in Maryland to 49,424 in Indian Territory. of the 1,467 lives lost in these eighteen states and territories was 188,008. In Pennsylvania the number of fons of a little more than double the amount mined per life lost in the authracite mines in the same state. Maryland had the largest tonnage per life lost while 'he Indian Territory has the largest percentage of deaths for the tonnage mined.

Of the eighteen states and territories one makes no report of the number of men injured, and seven, or more than one third, make no report of the num-ber of wives made widows, and ten, or more than one-half, make no report of the number of children made father-less. Indiana, Montana, Tennessee, and Virginia, producing in round num-bers 15,000,000 tons of coal in 1901, made no reports of coal mining accidents.-Mines and Minerals for-No

Nearly all the accidents in these proper safeguards and machinery, bu under the capitalist profit system this s seldom or never done. It would not pay to do so; human lives are cheaper an safeguards and machinery. The dred men or so are snuffed out in a selves to fill the places for a daily wage, which is equal to the cost of subsistence. Beautiful system this, isn't it? It will be totally different when the people themselves own the mines.—The New Times.

-The Social Democratic Party of arty of other states. The difference of name is due solely to provisions of the election laws. Do not confuse this organization with the so-called cialist Labor Party," or "u - m #

# FROM THE OTHER SIDE.

The National Association of Manu-facturers, through its president, David M. Parry of Indianapolis, has issued a econd circular to the employers of the ountry, which makes good reading for vorkingmen, especially in view of the great increase of the Socialist vote al ver the country. The letter is as fol

"Dear Sirs:-I desire to call your at-Their sirs.—I desire to can your ar-tention to the significant growth of the National Association of Manufac-turers. During the months of June. July, August and September, the most difficult months of the year for new business, our association has made gain of 225 new members. This striking increase is the result of the pre-found belief that is growing in this country that there must be a close union among manufacturing em-ployers, or in a few years we shall be o enmeshed in hostile legislation that our power to advance will be prac-

tically destroyed. There are now pending before Con-gress two bills, either one of which is a serious memce to the manufacturing interests of the United States. These

"The first, imported to this country from England, has been favorably re-ported in the Senate. It means that your establishment may be 'picketed' out of existence in case of labor

"The second is intended to be an opening wedge for a general eight-hour day throughout the United States. This bill provides that any manufactures contracting with the government shall not be permitted to work his employees over eight hours without subjecting himself to a fine of \$5 for each and every employee for each calendar day. This monstrous measure has passed the House three times without one word of debate. If forced through the Senate-this-session it will be followed by similar bills in each of the state This is the labor program.

"What are the manufacturers of the United States to do about this? Are we to sit still and do nothing? Or shall we meet organization with organization? I consider organization our only salvation. What is your opinion? If 500 men in your shop appeal to a Congressman to vote for a certain bill, what is your voice against the 500 unless you have organization? Shall there not be in this country one great, compact organization of diversified manufacturing interests, which shall stand together as a man against the encroachments of organized labor? Is it not time to bury all feelings of clashing commercial policies and get together on a platform upon which we all can stand? Is not our first duty self-preservation? All other questions that press us can in the end be disposed of by the exercise of wisdon. fair play and firmness of purpe

"I SAY TO YOU THAT THE TIME HAS COME IN THE UNITED STATES WHEN WE HAVE REACH. ED THE PARTING OF THE WAYS. YOU ARE EITHER TO HAVE THE MASTERY OF YOUR OWN BUSI-NESS OR YOU MUST TURN PART TO YOUR EMPLOYEES, Organized labor claims 1,700,000 members. Each nember pays six cents yearly for the maintenance of a powerful lobby at Washington to secure the passage of measures opposed to your interests. The total of this fund measured by the simplest arithmetic is \$102,000 What fund have the manufac turers for defense of their interests? Shall this continue?

"The National Association of Manufacturers has no ax to grind except that of the protection of employers No officers of our association received a dollar in salary except the secretary. hand hife The presidency means a personal ex-yland pense to me of \$5,000 a year. When the danger signal is flashed the memto Washington, paying their own ex-

> "We are fighting your battle. Yet, to carry on the fight successfully, we must grow in strength and power. We must have money for postage stamps, literature, rent, and to pay salaries of some thirty employees of the arsoclation, who earn money by the severest work. Do you not feel that you should

out to myself. It requires your signa-ture. I shall consider it a personal honor if you will sign it and return to

ne. Whether you come with us or not please let me hear from you."

In a further communication to an Indianapolis paper President Parry, in discussing the eight-hour bill says: . THE BILL SIMPLY MEANS PER CENT. MORE FOR THEIR LA-

BOR THAN THEY EARN." It is hardly necessary to comment on this interesting document. We print it because it is worth while for work-

Ingmen to know what their bosses are thinking and doing.
Of course, Mr. Parry knows as well as Mr. Gompers does that the two labor bills referred to will not pass the Senate, that they were allowed to pass the house on that distinct, though quite understanding. He is only "throwing a scare into his pais" on that point. He knows that the workers get nothing by lobbying. But he uses this bugalsoo of "hostile legislation" as a

workers on other lines.
Mr. Parry says that "we have eached the parting of the ways." Our question to the workingman is; Don't ou agree with him on that? And lon't you think it is time to leave the tortuous ways of capitalism, that lead through strife to misery, and try the broad and easy path of Socialism, where men may journey together through life in peace and prosperity.

# McGRADY'S CASE.

Resigned His Pulpit Rather than Recant Honest Opinions.

Centucky-Priest Maintains, as Does the Socialist Party, that Church Has No. Right to Dictate in Politics and Party No Right to Dictate in Religion.

In regard to the resignation of ou omrade, Rev. Thomas McGrady, from his position as pastor of St. Anthony's Church (Catholic) at Believue, Ky., announced last week, we are not yet able to give full particulars, but may add something to what was then stated. It is an acknowledged fact that the sole reason for Comrade McGrady's resignation was the attempt of the higher authorities of the church to dic-

tate his opinions or utterances on

omic and political matters. Father McGrady has for some time been very active as a writer and speaker for Socialisms. He has taken the ground, the same that is taken by the Socialist Party, that religious and political matters must be kept sepa-rate, that the party has no right to interfere with the religious opinions and the church no right to interfere with the political opinions of its mem-

He has been repeatedly warned and admonished by his superiors in the church to discontinue his public adrocacy of Socialism, but he has steadlly refused. At last, in order, apparently, to bring matters to an issue Bishop Maes of the Covington diocess called on him to submit a statement of Socialist opinions, as held by him, for the Bishop's judgment. In re sponse he submitted eight proposit overing the subject and demanded a reply, which was not given.

In announcing his resignation from his pulpit he said that Bishop Mac ed his letter, and for the reason that if he condemned the propositions he would thereby condemn the teach ings of the chruch for the first four centuries, and if he approved them he

would subscribe to Socialism. Rishop Maes, in a recent letter, de-nanded that Father McGrady retract his praise of Zola, Renan and other Socialist or radical writers, and to this Father McGrady replied that he had used the names of those men to show that men of vast intellectual acume show that under the ruling of Bishop Maes no Catholic could praise the Declaration of Independence, because it was written by an infidel, and that a Catholic might be excommunicated by going so far as to say that Thon Jefferson was a great man. He said that to retract any of his writing would stultify him before the public and would be against his conscience "I desire to protect myself from the charge of idiocy," he said, "and my memory from everlasting ignominy.

# STATE COMMITTEE.

Session of the New York State Comnittee, S. D. P. of New York, Dec. 9. 1962. Present: Comrades Emile Nep-pel, James N. Wood, I. Philips, Herman Reich, Chas. Furman, and Henry L. Slobodin. Absent, excused: H. C. Bowerman, Leonard D. Abbott; absent without excuse, Chris. Bub and God-Correspondence: Highland Falls, N.

Y., asking for a speaker; Governeur, N. Y., reporting lapse of the local; Rochester, N. Y., asking for supplies; Peekskill, N. Y.; Port Chester, N. Y.; Cat me, N. Y.; Ohio State Committee. Reports on vote for National Committeeman received from Highland, Falls, Wells, and Peekskill. Financial reports received Peekskill. ceived from Comrade Santiago Igle sias, asking that a committee be ap pointed to investigate charges of co duct unbecoming a Socialist. Sec tary instructed to answer that New York State Committee has no juris

On motion, it was ordered that Com rade Fieldman's tour be postponed until the Secretary completes his re

The official returns of the vote show that the Social Democratic Party re-ceived 23,400 votes, but reports from various parts of the state indicate that at the last moment of the election day many Socialist votes were stolen and counted for Odell, whose plurality was only 9,000 in a total vote of 1,400,000

Further investigations were ordered.

The financial report was read and it was ordered to be State Committee has many obligations to meet. The campaign fund of the State Committee was all eaten up by the speakers' expenses, and money had to be loaned to pay the printing The printing of leaflets and slets cost over \$1,000. About 1,500,000 pieces of literature were printed and distributed nearly all on credit to the locals. If the locals will all pay their bills for literature taken from the State Committee, we shall have a surplus in the campaign fund Now we have a deficit and the credi tors press us for the payment of the bills. The State Committee appeals to the comrades of the party to meet their obligations.

We also urge comrades and friend for the return of the subscription lists, with whatever was collected. Rec. Sec'y, pro tem.

-We wish to double the circulatio of The Worker in the next six months Will you help us?

# DEMOCRATS BREAK FAITH.

Georgia Legislature

Pledges Mado Before Election Thrown to the Winds - Georg's Pollticians Know the Tricks Used at Washington and Albany.

Since the wicked "labor agitators," led by the still wiekeder Socialist have exposed the horrors of child slavery in Southern cotton mills (as well as in various Northern industries there has been a great deal of talk to the effect that the Democratic party, which has absolute control of all the Southern cotton manufacturing states, would take up the question and do away with the disgraceful conditions existing. That is to say, there was a great deal of such talk before elec-

A bill was introduced in the Georgia Legislature to limit child labor. Five weeks ago The Worker reported an in-teresting scene in that body, in which Mr. Houston, the author of the bill, charged that there was a deliberate scheme to sidetrack and defeat it. On afterment made in the press that a favorable report on the bill would be made by the Committee on Educa-tion, to which it was transferred after

this scene, The Worker sald:
"Workhall believe in that favorable report when it is made, not before. We shall believe in its sincerity if the bill passes both houses and is signed and enforced by the Governor. We do not expect to see that until there is a good Socialist vote cast in Georgia.

"It is safe to predict that the Child-Labor Bill now under discussion will pass one house and be quietly killed in the other. That is the way the Repub-lican and Democratic politicians do things in Washington and Albany, and those in Atlanta probably know the trick.

We have not had to wait long to our prediction sadly verified. Mon-day's "Post" prints a "special" as fol-

"ATLANTA, Ga., Dec. 13,-The Legislature of Georgia has adjourned without taking any final action on the Child-Labor bill. The measure was set for a special order on one day towards the close of the session, having re ceived a practically unanimous repor from the Committee on Education When the bill was called up there was a bare quorum present. MANY OF THE SUPPOSED FRIENDS OF THE MEASURE BEING ABSENT FOR various causes. Seeing that it would be impossible to pass the bill with such a small house, Mr. Houston of Fulton, its author, moved that it b tabled. This course was taken, and wing to the press of business at the heel of the session, it was impossible to get up again. The next session will be held in June, 1903, when another effort will be made to put the measur through."

And then the same farce will be gon through again. We repeat: We do not expect to see an effective child-labor aw enacted and enforced in Georgia until there is a good Socialist vote in the state to scare the old-party politicians.

# THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

We are able to give returns this week uth Dakota and for Washin In last week's issue of The Worker we gave an estimate for the latter state present figures are official.

So far as now reported, twenty-five states and one territory which in 1906 gave us. 78,973 votes have this year given us 210,715. Thirteen other states 90 gave us 18,657; for these states we have as yet no authentic reports this year.

PIERRE, S. D.- The vote of the Sochilist Party in South Dakota in the November election was 2,788. In the election of 1000 we had but 100.

SEATTLE, Wash., Dec. 6.—The offcial report of the November election shows that this state gives 4,739 vote shows that this state gives for the Specialist Party, or barely less for the total. Two than 5 per cent, of the total, years ago we had 2,006, or consid ess, than 2 per cent. The S. L. P.

falls from 860 to 834.

The result indicates that we have rightly forecast the trend of events nocratic party has lost heavily Republican vote is slightly increased, rising from 57,456 to 59,017 nocratic party is out of date a passing away; the Republican party stands as the accredited representative of capitalism, the great ellemy we have to overcome; the Socialist Party, small as yet, but with its eyes straight to the front, moves steadily and rapidly on to victory.

GLORE Ariz. Dec 6.-We do not Party in this territory, but can give partial figures. Glia County give Congress, 58 votes; Graham County, 98; Yavapai County, 80; Yuma County, 58; Pinal County, 22; total so far reported, 316. The total will reach abo

tered the field in Arizona. Last yea we had 27 votes in Gila County. votes for Governor. In 1900 our vote was 7,572. We gain official standing.

Two years ago the party had not en

Our increase is 27 per cent.

This brings up our total in twenty-six states and one territory from 80,565 to 220,807.

# A TIMELY SUGGESTION.

Child-Labor Bill Is Killed in Make a Christmas Gift to the Daily Globe.

> Thousands of Articles Should Be Do nated this Week to Be Sold or Given as Prizes at the Fair to Be Held I March.

Next Thursday is Christmas Day At this season most people, Socialists included, observe the old custom of making some gifts as tokens of love and remembrance to those whom they hold dear.

There is one coming friend of the Socialist movement and of the working class that should hold a place close to the heart of every progressive inguan. That friend is the Globe"—the newspaper which is to fight the battles of Labor against the venal capitalist press. A Christman gift to the "Globe" will be a most ap prepriate observance of the day.

A grand fair and labor exhibition

to be held at Grand Central Palace in March for the purpose of raising funds for the establishment of the new daily. Thousands and tens of prizes and articles for calibation and sale at the fair are desired and all should be donated by those who wish should be donated by those who wish to see the "Globe" soon enter the field. The time is not far at. The Fair Committee is at work in the place ready for storing all such donations. Each reader of The Worker can afford to give some article, not necessarily an expensive one, but something fitted to take a place in the booths at The Globe Fair; and if all do this, a great deal will have been accomplished in a single week toward assuring the success of

the undertaking.
Bring or send all donations to the Secretary, William Butscher, at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, New York City. Comrade Butscher is also ready to

issue fair tickets to organizations for sale, to receive payments on piedges or contributions to The Dally Globe Fund, and to give any information that comrades or sympathizers may desire on the subject.

The Secretary has been so busy this week that he fluds if necessary to post-pone till the next issue of The Worker the next acknowledgment of receipts for the found acknowledgment of receipts

#### RESULT IN BROCKTON.

Fuller Details of the Victory Won By the Socialist Party on December 2-Democrats Hold Balance of Power.

The successful Socialist candidates in Brockton in the recent election For Mayor-Charles H. Coulter, who

received 4,367 votes to 3,275 for Republican Mayor Battles (running for e-election) and 533 for Brown, Democratic candidate-a plurality of 1,002 and a clear majority of 550. For Aldermen-Frederick E. Studley

in the Third Ward, who received 708 votes to 554 for the Republican and 77 for the Democratic-a plurality of 154 and a majority of 77; William H. Curford in the Fifth Ward, who receive 429 votes to 382 for the Democrat and 268 for the Republican-a plurality of 47; and James Cox in the Sixth Ward, who received 589 votes to 397 for the Republican and 205 for the Democrat

For Councilmen—E. C. Carison, G. A. Monk, and Patrick Peterson in the Third Ward, who received 655, 690, and 646 votes, respectively; Adelard Ledoux and A. J. Kearns in the Fifth Ward, who received \$70 and 899 votes, and S. J. Smith in the Sixth

Ward, who received 543, 509, and 473 votes, respectively. For School Committeemen J. P. Barlow and Mrs. Annie P. Bosworth, who received 2,979 and 2,956 votes,

respectively.

The new Board of Alderman co tains three Socialists, three Repub-licans, and one Democrat. The new Common Council consists of eight Socialists, nine Republicans, and 4 Demo-crats. In the School Committee there are two Socialists and one Republican The Democrats thus hold the balance of power in each branch of the City Council and in joint session. In th outgoing city government the Republicans had clear majorities in both branches, besides having the Mayor and School Committee,

vote for Mayor is increased by 54 vates. The Socialists gain about 1,800 the Republicans gain about 250, and the Democrats lose nearly 1,500. The vote throughout was fairly solid and divided on party lines, from Mayor to mittee. The Democrati party would seem to be entirely out of date in Brockton. A considerable prortion of its former adherents have me to the Socialist Party, the conhave gone into the Republican ranks and a Democratic ticket was et hope of success, but simply to hold those voters that could not be swung to the Republican line and prevent to the Republican line and prevent them from joining the Socialist col

—You don't mind paying from ten to twenty-five cents t. week for capi-tallst papers which give you only the other fellow's side of the news. Why not spend one cent a week, 50 cents a year, on a subscription for The Worker, which gives you the working man's side?

# MASSACHUSETTS.

# Haverhill Election Case Not Yet Tried.

Facts Undisputed and Court Must Da cide on Plain Opestion of Law-Socialist Gains in City Elections-News of Party Work-Fuel Famine Making People Think.

BOSTON, Dec. 15.-The Haverhill clection contest came up in the Su-preme Judicial Court last Wednesday, but was deferred until Friday, when it was again postponed until to-day. The death of the brother of Mr. Williams, Flanders' counsel, has again de ferred the case, but it should be con-

sidered very soon.

The matter has been simplified by the Republicans admitting the facis in the case, as presented by the Socialists. and the only question now to be settled is that of law. The Board of Registrars of Haverhill contend that the courts have no jurisdiction, the deci-sion of the board being final. The court will have to decide whether the board has the right to declare elections as the members may see fit. If they have, then the voters of any city have no legal resort against the decision of

Great interest in the case has be aroused through the aggressive action of the Socialists, and even if the courts shoud decide against us, the object lesson will do good for Socialism.

#### Gains in City Elections.

The municipal elections of the past two weeks resulted in satisfactors returns for the Socialist Party. Last year we had candidates for mayor in fifteen cities, this year in nineteen. The aggregate vote for the Socialist andidates for mayor in the fifteen cities last year was 7,381; this year, in the same cities, the aggregate vote was 11,729; and the four additional cities-Everett, Lowell, Salem, and Some viile-gave 1.283, making a total of 13.012. In Boston there was no mayoralty election, the head of the ticket being street commi

The following table is given of the as well as in England, to force incormunicipal elections last year and this poration upon the unions an attempt which is being quietly pushed with to show the growth of the party:

Cities.	1902.	1901
everly	121	22
oston	6.249	95
rockton		2.74
ambridge	135	10
helsea	809	62
hicopee	120	3
verett	125	
Itchburg	581	18
averbill	2.338	2.34
olyoke	137	9
awrence	336	14
owell	605	
ynn	628	20
alden	411	17
ewburyport	239	10
uincy	283	20
alem	183	
omerville	870	
pringfield	865	48
orcester	350	16

# Propaganda Work

A tour of Massachusetts during the last three weeks of January is being arranged for Franklin H. and Mariot Craig Wentworth, of Chicago, and principal cities and towns will be

visited. Discussions on Socialism are held every Sunday evening at 724 Washington street, Boston, under the auspices of the Ward Nine Club. Meetings are well attended and interest growing. Next Sunday Patrick Mahoney lead the discussion upon trusts.

The Stimson-Carey debate will be

held in Faneuil Hall on some day be tween Jan. 7 and Feb. 1, the date not being definitely settled yet. A speakers' club will be organized direction of the Boston Central Com-

mittee. Comrade Chase will not start his Southern tour until Jan. 15, and until that time he is prepared to fill dates for speaking in the New England states. Dates can be arranged through

the State Secretary, Wm. Mailly, 907 Winthrop Building, Boston. Patrick Mahoney, the recent Socialist candidate for street commissioner in Boston, was elected President of Close by the largest majority ever given any candidate. The contest was a warr one, Mahoney being bitterly opposed on the grounds of his Socialist opin-

tional Committeemen, Conirades Geo. R. Keene and James F. Carey of Haverhill being the two candidates. The vote closes Jan. 1.

# The Fuel Famine.

There has been a great deal of suffering in Boston through the fuel famine and the stories told on all sides are heartrending. The weather has been exceptionally cold and unless re-lief comes the result is problematical. The people are growing desperate, the relief committees and charity associa-tions are showing their incompetence and indifference as never before Meanwhile the sentiment for Socialism is growing.

-The Worker stands for straight Socialism, and against fusion or com-promise of any sort. Party locals should see that new comrades subscribe to The Worker, that they

-Keep a few copies of Lee's "La bor Politics" circulating in your shop or your union. You can get ten copies for 20 cents or fifty for 85 cents. So

# NO MORE ARTIFICIAL FAMINES.

The "respectables" of New York are condering why there were so many "plain drunks" in police courts Monday morning.

Coal by the bucket costing twelve to eighteen dollars a ton, the mercury twenty degrees below freezing, and sands of men value begging for permission to work-a thought given to these three well known facts might have saved the good people their wonder.

The City Lodging House and Belle vue Hospital are not attractive places. But there were so many applicants at the former institution that the superintendent turned away all who seemed to have been drinking, however little. As a result, many feigned "the horrors" in order to gain admission to Believue's alcoholic ward.

It would not be possible to give a nore terrible statement of the balsery now prevailing than in this simple fact. The sad cries of "No coal" about the charity stations, the stories of working-class families burning their furniture, even the daily news of homeless men, women, and children dying in the street-one before the closed door of a church-only tell the same story.

And why is this so?

INCORPORATION

interest to our readers:

Is there any natural reason for a coal Tamine? No. There is and has been plenty of coal waiting to be mined. But between the coal on the one hand and, on the other, the strongarmed miners and the shivering people, stands THE CAPITALIST CLASS

Workingmen's bables are dying.

In view of the attempt now being made by the capitalists, in this country

more vigor than it is openly admittedthe following, from the London "Trades and Labor Gazette" will be of

"A correspondence has taken place between Mr. Winston Churchill, M.P., for Oldham, and Mr. J. R. Clynes, sec-

retary of the local branch of the Gas-workers' Union. The correspondence

is on the subject of legislation to free

trade union funds from the liability imposed on them by the judgment in

Imposed on them by the judgment in the Taff Vale and other cases, and is

ists. It arose out of a deputation to

Mr. Winston Churchill from the Old-

"In his letter to the deputation Mr.

Churchill takes refuge by pointing out that he considers it to be the duty of

member of Parliament to have re-

gard to the interests of the consti

tuency as a whole, and the right of men as citizens, rather than to their

special interests as employers and em

ployed. He then goes on to minimize the effect of the recent legal decisions,

quoting the Attorney-General, who

stated in the House of Commons that the right to use peaceful 'persuasion

was in no way impaired. Mr. Church-

ill is of opinion that trade unions should be 'liable in their corporate

capacity for the actions of their offi

cials within their direct scope and

"It is astonishing how equality in the

placing trade unlose on a similar for

ing legally to that of great capitalist

and financial companies, the former are really being benefited. He even

days of great Trusts, when Capital is

vise to seek to free commercial com

binations from the restraints and pro

panies are well able already to fre

themselvés from obnoxious legal re-straints; and, as for protection, they

are quite powerful enough to protect themselves. The fallacy lies in imagin-

ing that, if the same legal decisions are

applied to both capitalist and trade

follows legal equality. Where would

fairness on the sports ground be with

out the handicapper?

"Mr. J. R. Clynes's reply makes clear

all the specious fallacies which under

lie Mr. Churchill's position. He says

As the law now is, employers may

lock men out to make them leave a union, or discharge them for joining one, but we cannot strike with the ob-

ject of forcing men to join Employ

ers may request each other not to sup-

ply employment to certain men, but we

cannot ask a person not to supply men or materials to certain employers. Em-ployers may entice and procure per-

but we cannot peacefully persuade persons not to take the employers' side

and therefore injure us. Employers may use lists of workmen they object to, but we cannot publish lists of em-

ployers who are objectionable to us.

putes, but we cannot watch or quietly

sons to assist them during a disp

tion organizations, there necessarily

stronger than Labor, trade unionists t

far as to say that 'in these

ham Trade Union Law Committee

therefore of interest to all trade union

OF LABOR UNIONS.

pute is liable to be construed in conspiracy to injure the trade and business of the employers; it is impossible to so construe the actions of the employer, because our class has no trades or businesses in the commercial sense

#### to injure!" PROGRESS OF THE TRUSTS.

The defenders of capitalism divide their efforts between two mutually contradictory arguments: First, that there are no trusts; second, that Republican or Democratic anti-trust laws are amply sufficient to "restrain" the

To support the first so obviously false position (which President Roosevelt had the nerve tacitly to sanction in his message), they have, ever since the formation of the Steel Trust, been pointing to the continued existence of independent steel companies. In re-ply, we have predicted that these "independent companies, if now really independent and if they were big enough to be worth considering, would soon be absorbed by the trust. The Union Steel Company and the Sharon teel Company were the concerns chiefly set forth as examples of sucessful independent competition with the United States Steel Corporation. A few weeks ago came the news that the Union Company had absorbed the sharon. This week comes the news, expected by Socialists, that the olidated Union-Sharon concern has

een merged in the Steel Trust. On the same day it is announced that the seventeen largest malleable iron companies in the United States have been consolidated.

letter where it is absent in the spirit may be accepted as the true articla. Mr. Churchill seems convinced that, by Meanwhile, the Meat Trust, the Coal Trust, and the Railroad Trust are ot caring a rap for anti-trust laws or fake suits against mergers.
Socialists are satisfied.

trusts are developed, the soone will the people vote for Socialism and will industry be organized for a Socialist state to take over

# THE MOSELY COMMISSION.

tection of the law.'
"What trade unionist wants to free In regard to the "Mosely Commison" which has been somewhat in evicommercial combinations from the re-straints and protection of the law? As dence at the recent session of the Civic Federation, the "Trades and Labor Gazette" of London says: matter of fact, such commercial com

"The object of the promoters of the Commission is clear. It is not to en-able a number of well-known British trade unionists to enquire clo the conditions of production in the United States. Mr. Mosely and his friends are far too sensible to believe that any such enquiry can be com-pleted in the short time that the Commission will remain in America. Their object is to impress the members of the Commission with the immensity of things American, with the speed and with the great wages-saving machinery in the manipulation of America, being the latest economically leveloped of the capitalist nations, at present takes the premier place; and to induce them to recommend the same speeding, the same 'hustling.' the same 'gearing-up' process to their British

-We cannot trace back modern —We cannot trace section and cial relations to their economic ante-cedents without recognizing at ouce that capitalistic property is the of usurpation. — Loria's "Ecc Foundations of Society."

-People who hoped by diligence to keep the wolf from the door find that a big coal-black Baer between them and the cook stove is as much to be picket during a dispute without risk of prosecution.'

"In short, almost anything which liamsport Statesman,"

#### The Worker. IN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY wn in New York State has the Social PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT 184 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK By the Socialistic Co-operative Pub-P. O. BOX 1512. Telephone Call: 302 John

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS. invariably in advance. les or more, per hundred ...

Address all business communications, as make honey orders, checks and drafts pay able to The Worker. are never sent to individual sub-Acknowledgment is made by scribers. Acknowledgment is made by changing the number on the wrapper, the week following receipt of money.

Communications concerning the editorial department of the paper should be addressed to the Editor.

All communications should be written with ink and on one side of the paper with ink and on one side of the paper with ink and on one solverstated; every letter should bear the writer's name and address; and matter should be put fin as few words as possible, consistently with chearness. Communications which do not comply with these requirements are likely to be disregarded.

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



SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED 13.331 In 1892 (Presidential) 33,133 In 1894 . . . . In 1896 (Presidential) 82.204 S. L. P. S. D. P. 9,54 In 1900 (Presidential): S. D. P. . 96,918

S. L. P. . . 33,450



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

Tammany has played its card and played it with accustomed skill. Just enough Tammany aldermen have fallen in line for the Pennsylvania tunnel franchise, as presented without the eight-hour and prevailing-rate clauses to let it go through. Thus the capital tats are satisfied. The rest of the Tam many men have "put themselves on record" against the franchise. Thu the workingmen are supposed to be untisfied.

Whether the workingmen of New York will be satisfied with such an old, old trick, we shall find out next No Had there been a delegation of Sc

cial Democrats in the Board of Alder men it would not have been neces sary for them even to hold a caucus on the question. Every man would own that by the very fact of his accepting a nomination from the Social Democratic Party he had pledged himself to vote for the interests of the working class, first, last, and all the time, and that his politica head would full the moment he voted wrong or failed to vote right.

What thirty-eight Democrats have wilfully failed to do, eight Socialists would have forced the majority to concede-because we stand, not only for the mere immediate interests of the working class, but for their complete fear Socialism as heartfly as they trust the two old parties.

It is only by experience that the working class will learn. This bit of ce will have its effect. "Reform" will play no part in next year's eampaign. The only choice before the workers will be between the double dealing of Tammany and the straight forward policy of the Social Democratic Party. We face the battle with

The Russian Tsar is evidently possessed of a sense of humor. He appoints a commission to investigate the complaints of the peasants, who have find fault with the Autocrat's benevoers make their report, justifying the peasants' complaints, the Tsar rewards them by degrading them from office, putting them under police surveillance, or, in extreme cases, sending them to prison or to exile. After all, Nicholas is only following a practice common

mently invite their grumbling employes to send committees to speak for them, and then recognize their griev ances by discharging and blacklisting the members of the committee. There is not so much difference between a political autocrat in Russia and an inunstrial autocrat in the United States is some innocent people may suppose

#### THE SAD PLIGHT OF THE CON-SCIENTIOUS CAPITALIST.

We are sincerely sorry for John C. Havemeyer, fermerly Sugar Trust magnate and now preacher of the Gospel-not so sorry as we are for the Sugar Trust's wage-slaves, but yet sincerely sorry. He seems to be in earnest in trying to atone for his sins, the sins of his family, the sins of his class—and it is such a hopeless task. Monday's papers brought this dis natch:

\*MILWAUKER WIS Dec. 14.-John C. Havemeyer delivered an ad-dress in Westminster Presbyterian Church to-night, and referred to the sugar industry for the profession o preacher. In the course of his remarks

"'When the sugar manufacture combined together to form a trust, 1 could not see that my way was clear to live a Christian life and at the same time to rob the poor by raising the

'Mr. Havemeyer said he had no hope of becoming a pulpit orator. He merely almed to speak to the laymen as a lay man. He said there were great dif culties in the way of one of wealth

If the phrase "serving God" is erstood to mean serving humanity we heartily agree that there are great almost insuperable, difficulties in the way of any modern man of wealththat is, of any capitalist.

Tolstoy has said that the rich are rilling to do anything for the poor except to get off their backs. The tra gedy of it is that the capitalist, as an individual, cannot get off the backs of the workers; or, if he does himself dis mount, it is only to seat another and probably a more merciless rider in his

We are not informed what John C. Havemeyer did with his Sugar Trust stocks and bonds when he decided t flee the wrath to come." Perhaps he kept them and only gave up active participation in the management of the trust. Perhaps he sold them and put the money in the bank for himself or his heirs. In either case the workers must go on, tolling hard and living poorly, in order to create dividends or interest for him. Perhaps he gave the money to endow churches and libraries and colleges and hospitals. But still the workers must go on, toll ing hard and living poorly, to pile up those dividends and interest-too poo to feel comfortable in the churches or to send their children to college, too much, exhausted to read books from the library after their day's work, and the most they can hope is, when the are disabled or worn out by excessive labor, to enjoy charity beds in the hospitals.

In any case, the sugar refineries. created and operated by the social laor of the workers, continue to be the private property of capitalists, and the workers can use it only on condition that they create a profit for those capitalists. Whether or not this particular man, John C. Havemeyer, is one of the parasites makes no difference in the lot of the workers. All he can have done to to wash his hands, as he may think, of individual responsibility for the crime of capitalism; he has not stopped or even reduced the magnitude of that crime.

The position of the capitalists, in this

respect, is peculiar, as compared with that of the ruling classes of other days The king or feudal lord could abdicate and give his people a constitution or a charter, if he would. The slaveholder could emancipate his slaves and divide his land among them, if he would. The capitalist cannot free his wage slaves, even though he should wish to do so. He cannot even ameliorate their servitude to any considerable extent, for the capitalist who, by paying higher wages or granting reduced hours, consents to take a smaller share of his employees' product than is taken by his competitors puts himself at the mercy of those competitors and is likely to be driven out of business The relation of capitalist and proletarian is not a personal relation but a class relation, and the acts of individuals on either side count only in se far as they influence the action of the class. Pence it was that Karl Marx said: "The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself."

Even by giving his wealth for charitable or public purposes, the capital-ist who wishes to undo the harm done by capitalism accomplishes but little good, and that not an unmixed good. So long as capitalism continues, charshown an unaccountable tendency to ity can, at the best, only alleviate a part of the suffering that capitalism breeds. On the other hand, it often reacts in such a way as to intensify the causes of the evil results with which it deals. Very often we see charitable institutions used as scale igencies for the breaking of strikes in the endowed trade schools and tech nical departments of the colleges the

of sympathy with the working clasand into servility to capitalism; and in general, if charity in any form re duces the workers' cost of living, the force of competition among the workers tends to bring about a correspond ing reduction of wages. Even where charity does not positively lower the material condition of the working class. It weakens their class spirit and reduces their power of organized actions

It is not to the mercy or generosity or sense of justice of the capitalists that we must look for relief, but to our own determination to know the cause of our slavery and to make ourselve free. The only way in which a conscience-stricken capitalist can help the working class is by giving, not his merely to withdraw from personal re sponsibility for capitalist robbery, but by actively aiding the resistance of the working class to the whole system o capitalism. We welcome the few who see this truth and follow it. We have no right to ask such ald or to expect it or to depend upon it, nor should we waste our energy in denunciation o the great body of capitalists who are against us. The emancipation of La bor is our task, not theirs, and it will be our fault if we fail in it.

The 'day after Mr. Reed's death there appeared in the most "respectable" New York papers an article, at first appearances a news article relating to him, which, on closer reading turned out to be an advertisement for a certain kidney medicine. During the same week our attention was called to a great three-column advertisement of certain mining company, heade with McKinley's portrait and 'a letter written to the promoters by "our mar tyr president." These things reminded us how, on the day of McKinley's funeral, Holy John Wannamake turned the incident into a good adver ivement for his stores. Combi they strikingly illustrate the noble and delicate feelings fostered by capitalism and exhibited by capitalists, in glaring contrast to the "vulgarity" of the working people, of which the "upper

Our hearts bleed on account of th sufferings of poor Reggie Vanderbil and his fiancée who had to drive for miles through the storm in an ope sleigh last Sunday night. At the sam time, we do not forget that the thou sands of railroad and street railway workers who make the Vanderbilts fortunes had some light hardships of the same sort to endure in the pe formance of their duties; but perhap they were able to distract their atten tion from personal discomfort by por dering over the question whether there was fuel at home to keep their wive and babies warm. That is, perhaps one of the "blessings of poverty" of which we hear so much.

# JUST AS WITH US.

Capitalism is essentially the san the world over. With some variation of detail, according to varying circum stances, it everywhere means over work and poverty for the producers dle luxury for the owners of th means of production, and, as a result, conflict between the two classes Wherever capitalism is introduced, old institutions, old customs, and old social livisions gradually disappear and i their place appears, as the dominan factor of social life, the class struggle between capitalists and wage-workers vague and weak at first, but growing in power and clearness with increase experience, until on the workers' side it takes the form of participation in

From an Indian paper of October 30 to which our attention has been called we take this comment on a recent cor flict, and our first thought is, "Hou like our experience in free America!"

"We are glad to learn that the strik at the Buckingham Mills has come to an end. The authorities seem to have been inflexible throughout, and beyond causing some damages to the company by their behavior, the men have no struggle between them and the man agers of the company. The weavers, we are told, have not succeeded in effecting any compromise and have re-turned to their work unconditionally. In regard to the damages, the co pany imposed a small fine per head on the weavers to cover damages and intimated that they would stop a week's pay as a punishment for their staying away en masse without leave during the three or four days following th riot. The men were also required to return to work by a certain day on pain of their losing their deposit and arrears of pay. But they were too obstinate to be easily induced to re-sume their work and the authorities sume their work and the authorities consequently enforced the threat, which resulted in a continuance of the strike. The men have for the time been worsted. But it is a new weapon that they are learning the use of. So many as 7,000 workmen going on strike is no small matter, and at any time them. time they may do so. It behooves the managers of the mills to treat the mea with consideration, remembering that their labor is as essential as their own capital in the production of wealth."

But the British capitalists in India will not learn, any more than our patriotic native-born capitalists in the United States have learned. They will go on with their system of explo among American capitalists, who fre- students are systematically trained out and oppression, and by so doing they

lously teach their work

The Socialist movement has taken strong root in Japan. In the Philippines, in China, and in India not a few of the people are eagerly studying its principles; and the day is not far off when the religious and racial prejudices which have so long kept these peoples divided and powerless will disappear before the new world-thought, and the workers of Asia will take their place beside those of Europe and America in the great battle for the emancipation of Labor and the end of class-rule.

Channeev Denew rightly said cri ticizing Coler's "wobbly" position on Hill's coal-mine plank, "No party ever won on an if or a 'but'." We may well bear that ip mind, when con fronted with "labor parties" or radical ism of the Hearst type. We are right. We know what we stand for. We have nothing to fear, nothing to apolegize for, no rodul for equivocation, and no right to compromise. If we lack confidence in our principles, our party, and ourselves, we shall deserve to lose If we stand our ground as Socialists against all comers, we shall not only lose nothing, but we shall postively gain by every partial forward movement that is made by others. As S cialists it can never be a question whether we can afford to antagonize half-way socialistic parties; the question is whether we can afford or have the right to desert our post in the advance guardos M

In dealing with semi-socialistic polftical movements we have to remember that our party is more than a labor party and more than a public ownership party. It'ls both. It is the true party of Labor only because it offers the true solution of the labor problem the social question, the class conflict only because it is a Socialist party. A mere public ownership party is right in one of the two essentials: a mere labor party is right in the other; the Socialist Party is right in both. We may cheerfully welcome the rise of either of these movements, while rec ognizing its shortcomings, if-and only if-we go straight on toward the goal, showing the way and clearing the path for those who learn by experience the futility of other methods. We mus take for our motto those words of Dante which Marx quotes in the pre face to "Capital"-"Segui il tuo corso e lascia dir le genti" (Hold to thy ourse, let men say what they will).

The fact that the election laws of New York make it impossible for us to use the name Socialist Party, as in other states, naturally produces a good deal of confusion and undoubtedly causes many votes intended for our party to be cast wrong. This is un fortunate, but for the present all that we can do is to make every effort to inform the people of the facts in the case. At every public meeting held in this state the chairman or the speaker should make it clear to the audience that the Social Democratic Party o New York is identical with the Social ist Party of other states and warr them against confusing it with the dis runtionist S. L. P. Much of our litera ture, being intended for general circu ation, bears the name Socialist Party Where such literature is used in New York, the comrades should see to it that every piece, before being given out, is marked with a rubber stamp howing the official party name and the emblem.

#### THE WESTERN LABOR MOVE-MENT.

Elsewhere in this paper we reprint an article by Comrade Debs, dealing with the American Labor Union, its relations with the American Federation of Labor, and the attitude of the Socialist Party thereto.

In connection with this article we may repeat the comment we made (see The Worker, June 15) at the time when the Denver convention of the American Labor Union declared for Socialism. After congratulating the Western organization on its fearless declaration of progressive principles, we said:

"So much for the political side of the matter; the trade-union side is equally interesting and demands even more eareful consideration.

"It is evident that the American Labor Union is now definitely at war with the American Federation of Labor, and that an aggressive fight will be carried on, at least within the pres-ent territory of the American Labor Union, until one side or the other acknowledges defeat.
"We could have wished that the

"We could have wished that the question of the relations of the A. I. U. and the A. F. of I. had come to a different issue at the Denver etion. We regret every division trade union movement, as tending to weaken the working class in its battle with the capitalists. We advise every workingman to join the established union of his craft, and we advise all unions to unite in the closest possible relation with the organizations of other crafts. Observing the events from a distance and perhaps with an imper-fect knowledge, we had hoped that the Western unious would decide to affi-liate with the Federation, not to submit to its reactionary policy, but to join the growing band of progressive bodies in the East in working for a

ultrations forming the American La Tunion had good cause of com-ulnt against the Federation, and perhaps we must admit that they we qualified to judge of the ease and de it. Moreover, we know that the A. L. U. represents a bona fide int t-the bons fide labor move nt, in fact, of the Rocky Me region. As such we recognize it and waste no further time in regretting its separation from the Eastern unions. Its spirit and its principles are ab ours, and since it cannot co-op with us directly in advancing principles within the A. F. of L. we wish it all power in advancing them in the West, in setting an inspiring exinple to the less progressive the East. Here we shall fight on, striving to bring our organizations up to the standard set at Denver, in th hope that not many years will elaps before all obstacles to union will b

We further expressed the hope that the A. L. U. would refrain from taking retaliatory measures against the Federation by invading the East, great as might be the provocation, believing that such action would only complicate the question, give apparent justifica tion to the reactionists of the Federa tion, and hinder the progress being made in the East toward bringing about such a change in the spirit of the Federation as will, if continued soon result in the union of the two bodies on the higher ground that th

We hold to every word of this, h lieving it in perfect accord with the principles governing the relation of the party to the unions which we stated in last week's issue of The Worker, And the progress shown at the New Orleans convention of the Federation, within a month after Com rade Debs' article went to press, still further justifies our position. If the division between the A F of L and the A. L. U. depends only upon the difference between the conservativ policy of the one and the progressiv attitude of the other, if prejudice and Inctional feeling are kept out of the prestion, assuredly the time for amicable union is not far off.

Comrade Debs speaks strongly in demnation of the manifesto issued by the Local Quorum of the Socialist Party, late in July, in which the A. L. U. was censured for maintaining its separate organization and a parallel was drawn between it and ill-judged and ill-fated S. T. & L. A. We must figree with Comrade Debs on this point.

ur opinion, unjust in its criticism of the A. L. U. It ignored at least one essential difference between that body and the S. T. & L. A .- the fact that the S. T. & L. A. was an abortion while the A. L. U. is a live and ap parently vigorous body.

We will go further. Even granting the Local Quorum full authority to speak for the party, it does not seem to us that the party was called upor to take sides in this trade-union con flict. It is our business to recognize the bona fide unions that exist; If the have disputes to settle, that is theli ss, not the business of the So cialist Party. Our members who are members of the unions are in duty bound to do all in their power to settle such conflicts, whether by conciliation or by vigorous fighting (sometime peace can be secured only by a fight) but it is neither the duty nor the right of the party organization to interfere.

This mistake of the Local Quorun ras quite in line with what we con sinder its equally grave mistake in ad vising that the party should withhold its support from the Pennsylvania comrades during the coal strike, advis ried on in the strike field, but all efforts concentrated on the strike alone. Events have abundantly proved the fallacy of that advise and the rease given for it, and the same mistake will

hardly be repeated. Our purpose in citing these two case together is to show that both errors arose from the same cause-a tendency to exaggerate the importance of the trade union movement and the sub ordinate or, at least, to postpone the interests of the Socialist Party to those of the unions. This is, perhaps, natural enough reaction from the fals position on the other extreme known as De Leonism; but the reaction has gone rather too far. It is time we were reminded that we are Socialists first, last, and all the time; that we have a work to do far larger and more far-reaching than that of the unions that, while the two movements ought to go on in harmony, yet, if thele claims conflict, our duty to our class and to humanity demands that we put the claims of Socialism first.

In accordance with this belief. The Worker, taking Comrade Debs at his word and assuming that he speaks with authority for the A. L. U., re olces to hear that the Western organi nation has no intention of invading Eastern fields; it calls upon all com rades concerned in the union move ment to use their efforts to bring abou the lasting unity that can come only from intelligent agreement on right principles; and it assures our Western join the growing hand of progressive brothers that tens of thousands of brothers that tens of thousands of union men in the East are looking or wherever, lends that policy.

"Such was our wish and hope. But cargariy for the day, probably within some New York bank. The New York

# THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING EARNEST.

By Horace Traubel.

distinguished and denounced wrote a brilliant play which he called "The Importance of Being Barnest. I always ought the best part of this best play was its title line. It is like a text

from some living scripture.

I meet every day with people do not admit the importance of being carnest. They are anything but earnest. They are anything earnest. They may be smart. may be showy. They may dress well. They may talk well. But they are not These people are cypics. They lack

faith. They do not see that the universe can save itself. They do not be lieve that man can save himself Things are bad as they are. Am things that are bad cannot be made

better. That is their philosophy.

When these people look labor in the face they tell labor that its appeal is hopeless. They declare that all mer are selfish. They declare that super stition has ruled man and will rule man forever. They say your morals are all right. But morals are senti ment. And man is not controlled by sentiment. He is controlled by gre Man is the child and parent of the main chance. God is abolished. But the main chance reads man the law.

These indifferent people are som times simply indifferent. They may be personally sweet. They may be cold and heartless. They may be driven to indifference by despair Rm however it comes, their indiffere

We like to encounter belief. The belief may be unpleasant. It may traverse our dearest faith. It may use strong words and even call in the police. But we like it. For we how to meet belief. But we do not know how to meet indifference.

The strong point of the industrial nutocrats of to-day is their belief in themselves. Even Beer is more refreshing than a man who says nothing or who trains for the fence or who swears both sides are all right and all grong. For Baer has plainly state a theory... It is a theory whose eye are turned back. But it is a theory we know how and where to meet Baer We need not feel for him in the dark.

problem is too big for him even to think or feel about. When he says be

another year, when the Federation will take such a stand that no reasonable obstacle to unity will be left.

We welcome the advent of a new Socialist weekly in California-the "California Socialist," published at 1312 Market street, San Francisco-of which the first number has just reached us. The paper is owned by D. E. Bohannon, a member of Local Alamada County, and edited by our well-known comrade, M. W. Wilkins The subscription price is 50 cents a year. We welcome the paper for a double reason; first, as we welcome every sign of increased Socialist activ ity; second, because the older party papers in California have committed the grave error of refusing a hearing to those who opposed the fusion policy adopted there and the new paper will fight for strict Socialist Party tactics and, being on the field of battle, will be able to do it more effectively that a paper so far distant as New York; Chicago, or even Seattle.

# THE WAYS OF FINANCE

How Money Gots "Tight" and Why th Treasury Department "Comes to the Relief of Wall Street."

From a recent issue of the "Pilgrim" we take the following popular expos tion of the ramifications of the banking system and of the recurrent stringencies" of which much and to relieve which the Secretary of the Treasury, shortly before election, took such unusual and extra-legal measures. The "Pilgrim" says:

"Every little while we hear of some man of business, usually a speculator in a booming town, who owes so much money that the banks cannot afford to let him fail. It seems a paradox that the merchant who by misfortune be-comes indebted to his banker for a little more than he can pay should be plunger who systematically involves the bank so heavily in his operations the last extremity; but it is a paradox that is often observed. To be sure the banks that don't happen to be involved always virtuously reprobate the prac-tice and describe it as bad banking until their turn comes. And, after all if the first false step is taken, the rest is ineritable and even justifiable. So delicate is the adjustment of business relations, so complicated the intere of parts in the busines dependence of parts in the business world that a serious injury to a bank, if made known, will indict a vastly nore serious injury upon hosts of in-ocent people. It is admittedly the art of wisdom for the bank to conceal its wound, bind up its hurt, let the lity individual go unwhipped of tice, but be exceedingly careful not to get caught that way again.

lenders, in which capacity they sor times suffer in the way outlined, they are borrowers as well. They bor-row the mensy of their depositors and a great share of this money from all over the country finds its way into the coffers of the biggest borrowers of all— the New York banks. The farmer puts his savings into the local bank, which in turn deposits all it has no immediate

A writer of our time who was both ; is willing to leave the case to evolu tion. When he says that hur ture is human nature-which mean that man is bound to one conclusion makes ne difference what you think or feel or whether you rob or are honest, or thether some men are overfed or ome men starve. When he says suc things we find that we are trying to dd ciphers or pick up win

The worst form of beartlessne indifference. The man who thinks he is the whole of evolution is a fun-stoner. The man who thinks he is left ent of evolution is chinless. would not claim for one instan

that I could get up a corner in any his toric current. I would not admit for one instant that any historic curren could leave me out. I am as necessar; to it as it is to me. So I say to the social topsters: I am

going to make such a fuss about your ears that the deafest of you may learn to know what I am about.

That fuss is evolution. That is the art I play in evolution. And if I play on the level you will know I present. I am not going to sit with my hands

and tongue tied. I am going to talk out loud. I am going to do out loud. ert that I know every that I am a man-of power. I am will ing not to have power. But I want love. I am going to work in love's name and by love's vehemence. And you will hear me. For love never goes

More than that. Love is never in different. Love believes in all the impossible things. And that is why love can do so much. Love does not be lieve that man can do nothing. Love pelieves that man can do anything Love's miracle shames all the clumsy metaphysics of the castes. Love never says: It's of no use. Love always says: It's every use. Love sits down

What is it, then, that makes the mer we call reformers? It is their capacity for love. And if you are indifferent look to yourself. You will find your e night forgetting yours your prayers. To you who are indif ferent I say: I should think you would avoid crowds. Sometime in a crowd you might detect yourself picking your own pocket.

banks, therefore, become the heavies debtors of the people as a whole. And they are doubly debtors if they happen to be national banks, because in that event, beside the tens of millions they have borrowed on deposit, they have issued their circulating notes which are in the hands of the people, payable

"In dealing with their borrowers banks pursue a very rigid system of judging of their various qualities which go to make up that business asset called credit. They consider whether a man is a steady business man, shrewd, avoiding reckless speculation, and with a reputation for al-ways meeting his obligations to the letter. If he hasn't the latter quality he gets scant consideration at the enshier's window. But under existing considerations the people have no such system of judging the credit of their banks. Of course you know that Banker David Harum, of your town is level-headed and keen, but he has to ep his reserve in a Chicago bank, d that Chicago bank keeps its reserve in the Billionaires National of New York, and the president of that bank has a passion for underwriting the stocks and bonds of new trusts—a very profitable gamble when it wins. But if about the time you want to get your money from Harum people gen-erally think they need money, and don't care for the stock of a new trust, the president of the Billionaire's Na fional finds that his bank cannot pay its debts. If it were one of his bor rowers who could not pay him, the law would be invoked to compel a pay-ment. As the shoe is on the other foot. the officers of the law are called upor to help him evade the law, and the country hears that the Secretary of the Treasury has come to the relief of Wall Street.

"That is about what happened last month. Money suddenly became tight in Wall Street. The bankers there said it was because of the enormous demand for money to move the crops Some other people think it was because of the enormous sums tied up in Mr. Morgan's ventures for the Morganize tion of industry. At any rate the Nex York banks 'laid down' on the govern ment, and adopted the tactics of the bank wrecker who says, 'If you enforce the law on me I'll drag the bank down, too.' Unless the treasury helps us, said they, we will precipitate a financial panic. In response to the appeal, or threat. Secretary Shaw first anticipated the payment of interest on gov-ernment bonds; second, announced that he would buy bonds in the public market; third, informed the bankers that the section of the national banking law which compelled them to keep a reserve fund equal to 25 per cent. of their deposits, did not have in contemplation the protection of deposits of United States funds in this way; and fourth, agreed that they might deposit any good bonds, instead of United States bonds only, to secure deposits of public funds. The first two expedients employed money taken from the people by taxation to save speculative fruit of their own folly; the others were a distinct and definite acquies cence in the violation of the law to ac complish the same end.

"Nevertheless we do not join in the hostile criticism of the Secretary of the Treasury for his action. The banks had got in deep on the people, just as some plunger occasionally gets in deep on a bank and must be carried. A panic in Wall Street would be a frightful disaster to the nation to-day. But we do ask what the government

ow the situation has been improved recall that in 1803 every New York bank was hankened openly violating the law by issuing clearing house certificates and refusing to pay their depositors. Since that time the Repubican administration has steadily been kept in power by the belief that it was tion of banking and the currency, yet nothing was ever done to punish the law then, nothing to discourage them from inviting a situation which would compel the violation of l far as there has been any legislation enacted or proposed, it has been of a sort that will make it easier for the Wall Street banks to precipitate a crisis and to extort government favore or their extrication.

This exposition of the devious ways of finance, so far as it goes, is a good one. But it does not go far enou The writer treats the subject as if ancial system were a thing to be considered apart from the general sysm of industry and trade and as if its instability were merely incidental or accidental and could be remedied by

In fact, finance, is at once the aper and the base of the capitalist syst which has been aptly compared to a pyramid inverted and resting on its The banking system, the whole

fabric of credit, is not the essential part of capitalism; it is only an portant part of the machinery by which capitalist exploitation is carried on. As an adjunct to capitalism it par-takes of its nature, particularly in its instability. It is not by means banks that value is created nor does the appropriation of profits depend upon them alone; to do away them, if that were possible, would not do away with the exploitation of labor. But, on the other hand, as the banks form a part of the capitalist system which may be partly compared to the governor of an engine, moved by the engine and yet regulating its motion, even a purely financial disturbance may react and produce disorder in the le industrial world.

The whole system of capitalism is unstable, because it is anarchy organ-ized. Its constant tendency to cut off the purchasing power and so to cut off the profit-motive of industry and bring industry to a standstill merely reflects itself in money stringencies and finan-cial panies, which are, accordingly, a normal feature of modern finance especially at the crisis of periods of

rosperity.

After all, while it is important that we understand the financial system financial questions are of secondary importance to the working class. A financial panic, partly foreshadowing pression, is a disaster chiefly to the middle class of small capitalists. For the workers, the difference between prosperity and depression is only the difference between being overworked seing unwillingly idle and getting a little less to eat. For the great capitalists, a financial panic and industria depression is chiefly a means of absorbing another instalment of the of the middle class and so

astening the concentration of capital. So long as capitalism lasts-that is, so long as the means of production re nain private property to be used for periodical panics and depressions. We periodical panics and depressions. We should private profit-so long we shall have rather welcome them, as a physician nes the appearance of the cessive symptoms which show that a fever is running its normal course Each industrial crash-and we are evi lently drawing near to one at present draws the class lines clearer, helps o eliminate the confused and confu ng middle class, helps to organize in dustry more completely in the trusts and so to prepare it for Socialist pub-lic ownership, and helps to arouse the workers from their anathy and compel

them to think and act.

Let the Republicans and Democrats continue to tinker with financial reforms. Our work is to profit by their failures and prepare the way for the social revolut

# MAKING A MAN.

Hurry the baby as fast as you can. worry him, make him a man, Off with his baby clothes, get him in

pants. Feed him on brain foods and make him advance. Hustle him, soon as he's able to walk. Into a grammar school; cram him with

talk. Fill his poor head full of figures and facts,

Keep on a jamming them in till it Once boys grew up at a rational rate, Now we delevop a man while you watt.

Rush him through college, compel him to grab Of every known subject a dip or a dab, Get him in business and after the cash, All by the time he can grow a mes-

tache. tache. Let him forget he was ever a boy. Make gold his god and its jingle his

joy. Keep him a-hustling and clear out of

breath, Until he wins-nervous prostration and

death. -Nixon Waterman

# NEW YEAR'S GREETING.

The New Year's Greeting of The Vorker and "Volkszeitung" is now Worker and ready for sale. It is an effective allegorical picture, based on the heroic struggle through which the anthracite coal miners have passed, and pointing the way to the emancipation of the workers and the inauguration of a system under which such struggles v unknown. This Greeting will be a fitting adornment to the walls of any workingman's home.

workingman's home.

Price, single copy, 10 cents, postpaid. In quantities of ten or more, at
the rate of 5 cents a copy, postpaid.
Send orders with cash to The Worker, 184 William street, New York City.

-Cold weather and dear coal make proposes to do in order to avert the people think, but it is our business as regular semi-annual raid on the treasury by the New York banks? We ask | Circulate Socialist literature.

# PARTY NOTES.

....... The national headquarters of the So-cialist Party have been removed from the Emilie Building to Room 18, Allen-Building, 505 Market street, St. Louis,

local charter has been granted to Pearl River, Louisianna.

James S. Roche has been elected a member of the Local Quorum of the National Committee to succeed L. E. Hildebrand, resigned.

Waltham is one of the Massachusetts cities which showed a surprising gain in the city election. In November the city gave 91 votes for Chase, our can didate for Governor. In December ou aldermanic candidates, Talbot and Irish (there being no mayoralty candi-date) received 620 and 643, respective-ly. Now it is up to the comrades to hustle and see that all these new voters are so thoroughly educated in Socialist principles that they will "stick" at the next election and bring

The Socialists all over Pennsylvanh are preparing to go into the local elec-tions to be held in the spring and go in n. The Williamsport "States-notes that there will be a full ticket in that city, which showed a fine gain in the state election, and that there will be a lively campaign.

The County Committee of the Social ist Party of Allegheny County, Pa. pet at 860 Concord street, Allegheny on Dec. 14 and perfected an organiza tion, with Turi Delp of Duquesne a retary and Fred L. Schwartz of 860 Concord street, Allegheny, as Or-ganizer. The Socialists of Tarentum ept a representative asking that they e organized, which will be done this week. The committee desires that al readers of this paper in Allegheny County who do not belong to the party send their names and addresses to Secretary, Turi Delp, Box 212, Du-quesne, or to the Organizer, as above.

Haverbill readers of The Worke Havernii reders of the worker should remember that Comrade Mor-rill, the Assistant Assessor of Ward 5; is at all times prepared to take renew-als or new subscriptions for this or other Socialist papers. He can be seen at 121 Lafayette square.

The 65 per cent, increase in the vote of the Socialist Party in Connecticu s resulted in calling much attention the principles of Socialism in that state in quarters where it never got i hearing before. The Waterbury "Her ald" recently gave a page and a half to an account of the party and article by well known Socialists, accompanied

The Ohio State Secretary's report for

November shows receipts of \$111.51 and expenditures of \$151.56. The agitation is being steadily pushed in the state and greater activity is expected in the near future. A new local was organized at Montpelier and several others are in process of formation Secretary Critchlow says: "Looking at the general state movement, it can be said that the results of the election has created an unusual activity in the ranks of the Socialists. It is always to be expected that following an election of the character of the last one there will be a reaction, caused by the exces-sive work of the campaign, and which takes some time to rally from. From at least not to the extent that it was with the same display of energy as be-fore the election. Increased activity is noticeable in many instances and as a whole the work undertaken since th election has been very gratifying to the state organization. Several of the cities are holding regular Sunday lygation work have bestirred them and are getting to gether in good shape and little by little the Ohlo movement is assuming a better aspect, both in clearness of the program and as to or

On Saturday evening, Jan. 3, Max S. Hayes will lecture in Memorial Hall Annex, Toledo, under the auspices of the Socialist local of that city, his subject being, "Why Socialism Is Com-ing." Ten cents admission will be charged and it is expected that the hall will be filled to its fullest capacity, as has been the case with several other large meetings arranged by the Toledon rades in the same place.

New clubs or locals of the Socialist Party have been organized in West-field, Revere, Medford, and Braintree,

Rew York City.

Mrs. Mary E. Lease will be the speaker on Sunday evening, Dec. 21, at Colonial Hall, 101st street and Columbus avenue, her subject being, "The Religion of the Twentieth Century." This is one of a series of Sunday even ing lectures held by the 21st A. D. S. D. P., at this hall, Admission is free and general discussion is always invited after the lecture. On Dec. 28 W. E. McNabb of Typographical Union No. 6 will speak on "The Duty of Organized Labor."

A well attended meeting of the 30th A. D. was held at the W. E. A. Clubhouse, 206 E. Eighty-sixth street, on Wednesday evening, Dec. 12, Comrade Brunbober presiding, at which much party business was discussed and dis-posed of. It was decided to hold a special meeting on Dec. 17, partly for party business, especially voting for National Committeemen, and partly for discussion of the coal question. The Thirtieth is wide awake.

The work of election district organi-nation in the 30th A. D. is going on well. Last week a meeting was held for the Third. Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Election Districts at 1804 Avenue A.

Comrade Brunhober's cigar ctore. In Social Democrats were present and plans were made for systematic educational work. Other meetings will be held at the same place and any resi-dents of these districts who wish in-formation about the party are invited to call there at any time. It is in-tended to enlist in the educational work every man who supports our principles, whether he is now a party

The comrades of the upper part of the Thirtieth are keeping up the good work they did before election. On Wednesday, Dec. 10, a public meeting was held in Kroetner's Hall, addressed by Comrades Spargo and Lee, and ou Monday there was another at Niess' Monday there was another at Niess' Hall, at which Comrades Sackin. Wood, and Lee spoke. At each meeting a number of strangers were present and showed deep interest in the subject of discussion. Other meetings of the same sort will be held after the belidders.

There has been formed in the 16th A. D. an organization known as the Progressive Social Democratic Asso-ciation, whose object is to establish club rooms and a free reading room in the district and to educate the you men in the principles of Socialism, by means of lectures and literature on social, economic, and political subjects. Fifteen young men joined the club at its first meeting last week. On Wednesday evening, Dec. 24, the new or gaulzation will hold a mass meeting a 8-10 Avenue A. Lafayette Hall, to be

the new rooms of the New York So cialist Literary Society at -241 East Broadway on Wednesday of last week was a great success. Comrades and sympathizers are invited to call any evening or on Saturday and Sunday afternoons and make themselves ac quainted at the new quarters. Dele-gates to the Globe Conference were elected at the last meeting of the so clety.

August Droste will address the Sc cialist Club at Fulton street and Ralph avenue. Brooklyn, Sunday evening Dec. 21, on "The Development of

At the West Side Socialist Club Clark's Hall, northwest corner of Twenty-fifth street and Eight aver nd floor, this Friday evening, Dec 19, Algernon Lee will lecture on "The Tendencies of Capitalism." will speak on "The Socialist Ideal," and a number of interesting lectures have been arranged for the Friday evenings in January. Admission is free and strangers are especially wel-come. All members of the club who live in the 7th, 9th, or 25th assemly districts should attend the meeting of the party organization to be held at the home of Comrade Wecklein, 509 West Twenty-sixth street, Saturday

The Young Men's Social Democrati Club of Brooklyn has to get a new meeting place, on account of Comrade Franz, whose hall the club has been asing, going out of business. For the present the club meets at Comrade Jergsdorf's house, 357 Linden avenue

# GENERAL COMMITTEE.

At the last meeting of the General Committee of Local New York Com-rade Paultisch was chairman and Comrade Penzer vice-chairman. Twenty-five new members were elected. A let-ter from Comrade Lee from Wilkesbarre, Pa., conveying the thanks of the Luzerne County comrades to Local New York for the assistance rendered

them during the campaign was read and ordered placed on file.

The request of the State Committee that Local New York elect seven mem-bers to represent it at the new City Executive Committee embracing all the boroughs of the greater city, was acted upon and Comrades Wood, Hill-quit, Slobodin, Spargo, Stahl, Lee, Lemon, Ramm, Paulitsch, Obrist, Clarke, Neppel, John Franklin Clark, Reich, and Meyers were placed in

ndeavoring to have the contract for the Grand Central Palace, where the proposed entertainment is to be held, cancelled and was confident that he

would be successful.

Comrades Boudin, Mayes, Hillquit, and Slobodin were nominated as a committee to investigate the case in which Comrade Carl Eisenschmidt was arrested for alleged illegal voting upon affidavits sworn out by H. I. Kraemer,

The recommendation of the Executive Committee that four meetings be held as a protest against the conditions brought about by the Coal Barons, re-sulting in the present coal famine, was concurred in. It was decided to held recommendation that 100,000 leaflets on the subject of the coal famine

printed was also concurred in. A motion was passed, that the agita-tion districts be impadiately organized and the matter of visiting the trades unions be left in their hands.

# KINGS COUNTY.

The meeting of the County Commit-tee of Kings County at the Socialist Club on Dec. 13 was well attended, notwithstanding the inciennent wea-ther. Nine applicants for party mem-bership were admitted. The Fair Committee reported the sale of \$52 worth of literature. On the request of the of literature. On the request of the Organizer, \$25 was appropriated for the purchase of literature, \$5 of which was to be expended for literature in the German language; the order of business for the borough meeting was decided upon, including the election of the five members from Kings County on the temporary City Committee. The Organizer urged the comrades to cooperate with him in his efforts to have our movement property presented to our movement properly presented to the trade unions. He has sent blanks to the comrades asking those who are

the necessary particulars which will enable him to carry out the matter thoroughly and properly. The Secre-tary was ordered to instruct the assembly district branches to nominate candidates for County Organizer and District Organizer during December and to hold the election for such officers in January. A number of bills were received from the State Committee, some of which were ordered paid and others referred to the Financial Scretary for investigation. The Finan cial Secretary reported a balance on hand of \$51.66. The Becording and Financial Secretaries were ordered to revise the by-laws to date and have

C. W. CAVANAUGH,

#### NEW YORK CAMPAIGN FUND

All New York campaign fund lists still outstanding should be returned at once, w.ih moneys collected, to the Financial Secretary, Jas. N. Wood, Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street. Following is a statement of amounts so far received: Previously acknowledged....\$2.735.65

S. Benain, coll. on list in Cigar 

30th A. D., List 194.....

### LABOR SECRETARIAT.

Report of Counsel for August, Septe ber, and October Shows It to Be a Valuable Adjunct to the Trade Union Movement.

The organizations affiliated with the New York Labor Secretariat have be fore them the report of the counsel for the Secretariat, Hillquit & Hillquit on the work done during the months of August, September and October Some portions of the report are of get eral interest. We quote in part:

"When we assumed the duties of counsel for the Labor Secretariat on August 1, 1902, we found 14 cases of various kinds pending. Of these 7 were actions for damages for personal injuries, 5 were claims for wages, and 2 were matters of different nature. During the three months covered by this report, 43 new cases were added to the list. Of the total number of 57 cases thus coming under our charge. 22 cases were disposed of finally, and

Then follows a detailed account of the various cases, which concerned nineteen different unions or members thereof—Bakers' Nos. 1, 25, 50, 93, and 164, Confectioners' and Cake Bakers No. 7, Beer Drivers' Nos. 23 and 24, Brewers' No. 1, Butchers' Nos. 3 and 175, Cigar Makers' Nos. 90 and 149, Carpenters Nos. 375 and 513, Architec-tural Iron Workers' No. 50, Bricklayers' Nos. 11 and 35, and Machinists No 335. Of sixteen wage claims, eleven were collected in full and the others settled for very nearly the full amount cases dealt with were complaints of the violation of the factory and tene ment-house laws, especially in regard to unsanitary conditions in bakeshops. It requires the unceasing vigilence of the unions to secure the enforcement the unions to secure the enforcement of these laws, as most employers have

no scruple about violating them and the inspectors appointed by Republican and Democratic administrations are not likely to take action except under of great service in protecting the life and health of the working people if the unions will see that all violations of the law were promptly brought to its

The Secretariat successfully de-fended a member of Bakers' Union No 25 arrested for distributing boycott

prevent the unauthorized use of union labels.

A large proportion of the cases still pending are for damages on account of injuries sustained by employees at their work. These cases generally pro-ceed slowly as, under a recent ruling of the Supreme Court, they no longer take precedence of other actions and, especially in the case of large corporadelay and wear out the patience of the

plaintiffs. It is further stated that "to the above cases must be added numerous con-sultations of which no record is kept. These consultations related to various matters arising from the relations of employer and employee, and also from othe relations of landlord and tenant, and as it was not deemed expedient to adhere to the strict letter of the con adhere to the strict letter of the con-stitution in that respect, advices were also freely given to members of organi-zations affiliated with the Secretariar, upon any legal matter submitted to counsel. There were also a number of claims which the Labor Secretariat upon a thorough investigation, refused to prosecute, on the ground that they presented no legal cause of action, and different letters and notices written in behalf of the members; the total num-ber of such letters during the last three

The report concludes with some sug gestions which members of the affli-ated organizations, and workingmen in general, will do well to consider, as follows:

"As will be seen from the foregoing ist, the most important cases that have so far come to the Secretariat are those involving claims for damages through personal injuries. Although the existence of the Labor Secretariat ated with it are not yet quite familiar of this nature now pending in the Secretariat involve no less than the sum of \$70,000, and in a measure as the Secretariat is becoming more popular, and is gaining the confidence of its members, these claims are increasing in volume.

in votume.

"Of these accidents some have resulted in the death of the employees, and others in serious boddy friuries.

"It is, therefore, of the utmost im-

understood by the members, and a few suggestions in connection with the same will not be out of place,

tained by the employee in the course of employment, As a matter of fact, however, this is by no means the case: under the present state of our law, the employer does not insure the safety of the employee, and is not liable for injuries sustained by the employee, un-less the following facts have occurred:

"1. That the employee has not in any way contributed to the injury by his

"2. That his employer or his foreman or superintendent in charge of the work, has been negligent in failing to provide the employee with a safe place-to work, in providing the employee with defective machinery, or in failing to repair machinery after discovering the defects.

\*3. That the injuries were not cause through the negligence of a fellow em-ployee in the same line of occupation

"The recent Act of April 15, 1902, adds another requirement, namely: That notice of the accident be given to the employer within 120 days after the accident. It will thus be seen that under the present state of law as to the liability of the employer, it is quite a difficult matter for the employee to obtain compensation for personal in-juries. These difficulties are further-more increased by another factor:

"The majority of the larger employers are insured against claims by em-ployees in accident insurance com-panies. These companies, as a rule, maintain a staff of agents or examiners, whose duty it is to examine into every accident reported, and inci-dentally to work up a defense for the employer. A number of cases have come to the notice of the Secretariat where such agents of insurance companies, under the promise of settle ment, have obtained statements from the injured and their friends, in many cases in writing, which are prejudicial to the claim of the injured. In some cases the parties in question had not even taken sufficient care to examin were confronted by their own written statements, they disclaimed any knowledge of the contents of the same.

"Members of the Secretariat should be careful not to fall into similar

"Whenever an accident occurs, the injured should not make any statements to representatives of the insurance company, or others, before having consulted counsel. The Secretariat should be notified of all accidents as soon as they occur, so that the notice required by law may be given in time. and the fellow workers of the injure should in all cases make it their ness to investigate into the cause of the accident immediately upon its oc-currence, and report the results of their investigations to their respective organizations.

"Another matter which requires the attention of the members is in refer

"By a recent act of the Legislature of this state, judgments for wages may be enforced by the imprisonment of the employer. This remedy is given however, only in cases where the action is commenced within thirty days after the wages become due. In order therefore, not to lose the benefit of the therefore, not to lose the benefit of the new law, members should be creful not to drag claims for wages too long. As soon as an employer refuses to pay wages, notice should be given to the Secretariat at once, and collection will

"The Secretariat has recovered sev eral judgments which could not be made good for the sole reason that the claimants had commenced their acdays, and had, therefore, no right to enforce payment by imprison

The report shows that, while as ye proven itself a very useful adjunct to the labor movement in the city. At a very small annual cost to the affiliated organizations, these organizations and their members are assured the free services of good counsel on all legal matters concerning their position as members of the working class, and many just claims (small in themselves, but large in the aggregate and large in proportion to the small resources of the workers interested) can be collected at a minimum cost, which could other-wise never be pressed except by retainrb the greater part of what was

It is to be hoped that during the coning year many more unions will be come affiliated with the Labor Secre tariat and avail themselves of its services.

—One way to work for Socialism is to circulate Socialist literature. Try Lee's "Labor Politics" (ten for 20 cents) and Hanford's "Railroading" (ten for 25 cents). Get your friends to read them.

-A good Christmas present to make your unconverted friend would be a six-months' subscription to The Worker. It will cost you only a quarter, and it may do him and the cause

# SPECIAL NOTICE.

THE SCANDINAVIAN. SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY of New York meets 1st and 3d Sunday every nonth. 10,30 a .m., at 216 East 41st St. New York. All Scandinavians are wel-

BRANCH GLENDALE, LOCAL meets on the first Wednesday of the month at the Hoffman House, Cooper avenue, near Myrtie avenue, Glendale.

BRECIAL NOTICE. The Interuntional Jewelry Workers' Union of America will meet Monday next, Dec. 22, at 67-60 St. Mark's place,

, as no meeting will take place tradity, Dec. 25, on account of L. W. STERN, Secretary.

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ocialism in Modern Times." 

paper, 50c.; cloth .......\$1.00 — "Our Destiny." Paper, 50c.; 

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Discontent." Paper.....10c.
"Why Physicians Should Be So-Hackel, Ernst-"The Riddle of the Universe" \$1.50
"Hobson, John A.—"Evolution of Mod-"Problems of Poverty." Cloth \$1.00 Hyndman, H. M.—"Commercial Crisis of the 19th Century".....\$1.00
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of Misery .....\$1.00
—"From Bondage to Brotherhood." 

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Cloth \$2.00
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Cloth \$1.00
Morris, William—"News from Nowhere." Paper 25c.
Morris, Wm. and Belfort Bax—"Social-

Use of the Will in Public Speaking 

In pursuance of an order of Hon. Frank T. Fitzgerald, a Surrogate of the County of New York, notice is hereby given to all persons having claims against William Bowers, late of the County of New York, deceased, to present the same with vouchers there-of to the subscriber, at his place of transacting business, No. 245 Broadway, Borough of Manhattan, in the City of New York, on or before the 15th day of June next. Dated New York, the 3d day of December, 1902.

FRANK BOWERS,

Attorney for the Executor, 245 Broad way, New York City.

THE INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF SOCIAL ECONOMY, PRIMANENTLY LOCATED AT KANSAS CITY, MO. SEVENTERN MUNITURE AND NINETY-FOOR CORRESPONDENCE STUDENTS. Three dollars pays the bill. The past twelve weeks term of Training School for Socialist workers begins Nov. 10, 1922. Kansas City, Mo. Pitty dollars pays taklon, text books, board, lodging and inuadry. Every person who has taken these lessons or who has been in the Training School is delighted with the work and is a tircless worker for Socialism.

indigestion that at times I thought I had heart disease. I was afraid to be left alone or go out alone I tried many drugs without good results until I read about Ripans Tabules. They have helped me so much that I feel entirely cured They are certainly a fine medi-

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#### THE WESTERN LABOR MOVEMENT.

Comrade Debs Gives His Views on the American Labor Union and Its Rela tions With the Federation.

[The following article by Eugene V. Debs is reprinted entire from the November issue of the "International So cialist Review." Some comment will be found in another column.]

There seems to be considerable mis apprehension, especially among So-cialists, in regard to the trades-union ent of the Western States in national convention, adopted the platform of the Socialist Party and pledged the support of their organizations to the International Socialis ent This rediest departur political policy of the American Fed eration of Labor, so long and so eas: estly striven for by the Western lead ers, and so entirely compatible with the Socialist conception of class-conscious and progressive trades should have been met with the prompt and hearty approbation of every union That such was not the case, the luke warm comment and the half-approv ing, half-condenning tone of the cialist Party press, with but one or two exceptions, bear convincing testi-mony, while the uncalled for, unwisc and wholly unaccountable official pro mento of the St. Louis "Q cum," purporting to speak for the Na-tional Committee, capped the climax of unfairness and injustice to the West-

Stripped of unnecessary verbiage an free from subterfuge, the Socialis Party has been placed in the attitude of turning its back upon the young virile, class-conscious union movement of the West, and fawning at the feet of the "pure and simple" movement of the East, and this anomalous thing has been done by men who are supposed to stand sponsor to the party and whose utterance is credited with being ex cathedra upon party affairs.

They may congratulate themselves that upon this point at least they are in perfect accord with the capitalist press, and also with the "labor lieu-tenants," the henchmen and heelers, whose duty it is to warn the union against Socialism and guard its memagainst working-class political

The writer takes issue with these comrades upon this vital proposition; and first of all insists that they (including the members of the Quorum ak for themselves alone, as they doubtedly have the right to do, and that their declaration in reference to American Labor Union is in no sense a party expression, nor is it in any matter binding upon the party, nor is the party to be held responsible for

As a matter of fact the rank and the Socialist Party, at least far as I have been able to observe, re joice in the action of the Denver e vention, hall it as a happy augury the future and welcome with open irms the Western comrades to fellow

ship in the party. "Why didn't they stay in the Federa Labor and carry on their agi there? Why split the labo This is made the burder of the opposition to the Western union ists who refused to be assimilated by Mark Hanna's "Civic Federation" pretext for the scant, half-hearted cass organization and their ringing declaration in favor of Socialism and in support of the Socialist Party.

And this objection may be diswith a single sentence. Why did not those who urge it remain in the Social ist Labor Party and carry on their ag tation there? Why split the Socialis

It is not true that the Western union ists set up a rival organization from geographical or sectional considera-tions, or to antagonize the Federation; and they who aver the contrary know little or nothing about the Western novement, nor about the causes tha brought it into existence. A brief re view of these may throw some ligh upon the subject.

In 1806 the annual convention of the cinnati. The Western Federation of canization, was represented by President Edward Boyce and Patrick Clif-ford, of Colorado. The strike of the Leadville miners, more than 3,000 in number, one of the bloodlest and costliest labor battles ever fought, was then in progress and had been for several months. The drain and strain on the resources of the Western Federa-tion had been enormous. They needed help and they needed it sorely. They had always poured out their treasure liberally when help was needed by other organizations, East as well as West, and now that they had reached their limit, they naturally expected prompt and substantial aid from affilited organizations. Boyce and Clifford appealed to the delegates. To use their own language they were "turned down," receiving but vague promises tion they left for home, disappointed and disgusted. They stopped off at Terre Haute to urge me to go to Leadville to lend a helping hand to the striking miners, which I proceeded to do as soon as I could get ready for the journey. It was here that they told e that the convention was a sore sur to them, that three or four men had votes enough to practically control the whole affair and that the dilatory and reactionary proceedings had de-stroyed their confidence in the Federa-

Afterward I was told by the officers in charge of the strike that no aid o the least value, or even encourage-ment, had been rendered by the Fed-eration of Labor and that the financial contributions were scarcely sufficient to cover the expense of the envass

Western miners withdrew from the Federation and a couple of years later, conceiving the necessity of organizing Federation, the latter would send a

all classes of labor in the Western States, which as yet had received but scant attention, the American Labor Union was organized, the Western Federation of Miners being the first organization in affiliation with the new

entral body.
But notwithstanding the withdrawal of the Western Miners from the Amer ican Federation they continued loyally to support the Eastern boycotts levied by the Federation; and it is a fact not to be gainsaid that while some of those boycotts were so feebly supported in the East, where they had been levied us to be practically impotent, the union men of the West recognized them as scrupulously as if imposed by their own organization, and in Montana and other States drove the boycotted East-ern products out of the Western mar-

So far as I am able to inform myself there is no instance on record the American Federation of Labor, or any organization affiliated with it, ever sanctioned or supported a boyco levied by the Western unions

contrary, cases can be cited where the Eastern organizations ly refused to recognize boycotts de-clared by the Western organization.

Not only this, but the Wester unions have always contributed promptly and liberally to the financial support of all labor unions, East and West, North and South, affiliated and otherwise, Butte leading with thou-sands of dollars in support of all kinds of strikes, in all sections of the country, the liberality and loyalty of the Western Federation of Miners in such cases being proverbial and yet I have never heard of an instance where the Western unions received a dollar from any Eastern organization since the withdrawal of the Miners' Federation. At this very time, while the miners of the East are making a desperate struggle against starvation, the miners far West, affiliated with the fabooed American Labor Union contributing from their hard earnings to the support of the Pennsylvania strikers, though they never expect to receive a penny from the East; President Moyer of the Western Federation of Miners is sending message to President Mitchell of the Unite Mine Workers. Still more notwith-standing the bituminous miners of the Middle States, members of the sam organization as the anthracite strikers. decided not to strike in support of their anthracite brethren, President Moyer and Secretary Haywood of the West-ern Federation wired President Mitchell that in their judgment all the miners in the country should stand by the Pennsylvania strikers and that the coal miners of the Western Union were ready to a man to lay down their tools until the anthracite strike was won. This is the militant, progressive

liberal spirit of Western unionism now re-enforced with a class-conscious political program—that could not brook the altra-conservative policy of the Eastern movement, and seceded from it with motives as loyal to labor as ver prompted men to action.

The opponents of the Western Labor Union may search the annals of organ-ized labor in vain, all the circumstances considered, for as noble an example of fidelity to the principles of union labor, as that of President Mover and Secretary Haywood of the Western Federation, speaking for the coal miners of the Western States, having no grievance of their own and belonging to another organization, to which the East, if not hostile, was at least not friendly, voluntarily agreeing to lay down their tools, and give up their jobs to help their fellowmen more than two thousand miles distant whom they had never seen and never expect

Had the situation been reversed and the miners of Montana had gone on strike, would the Eastern miners have sent any money out there, or would the Eastern miners have voluneered to strike in sympathy with their

Western brethren? The conventions of the Western La bor Unions, the Western Federation of Miners and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union, held simultaneously at Denver in May last, aftracted wide attention chiefly because of their declaration in favor of Socialism and their adoption of an independent political program. Prior to this these orfact almost unknown in the Eastern and Middle States and no reference to them was ever made by the capitalist press outside their own immediate jurisdiction. But the very moment they declared in favor of Socialism, the capitalist press, the "pure and simple" captains union element and, strange to say, some Socialists, "Cry Havoc, and let slip the dogs of war." As for the Soslip the dogs of war." As for the So-cialists who joined in the outery, or "damned with faint praise," they were perhaps persuaded, after a survey of the East and then the West, that it was wiser policy to curry favor with numbers than to stand by principles.

The impression prevails in some quarters that the American Labor Union was first instituted at the con-vention in Denver last May. This is erroneous, as the organization has been in existence several years, and at the late convention simply changed its name from the Western Labor Union to the American Labor Union to more properly describe its expanding juris-

rival disposition shown by the con-vention to the American Federation and the purpose to invade other secby dividing the movement and precipi-tating a factional labor war. The delegates to the Denver conven

tion considered this phase of the ques-tion in all its bearings: they did not tion in all its bearings: they did not propose to antagonize the American Federation, nor to invade its jurisdiction, nor set up rival unions, they simply proposed to protect their own movement in the Western States and they did not propose to allow attacks to be made upon it without resenting them; and when they finally took action, even in the matter of changing their name, it was in self-defense, for from every quarter, even some of their own disgruntled element who sought to defeat the proposed adoption of Socialism, came the threat that if the Western Union did not return to the American

corps of organizers into the Western nstitute rival unions

The "pure and simple" element Denver and vicinity, affiliated with the American Federation, and not a few of the local politicians, who saw their doom in the Socialist tendency of the convention, were loud and per dstent in the threat of "annihilatio if the delegates refused to vote for affiliation with the American Federa tion. While there I heard it frequently upon the street and elsewhere and in fact Secretary Morrison, who, with Thomas I. Kidd, of the Executive Council, represented the American Federation at the convention with the ourpose of inducing the Western La our Union to dissolve, and its affiliated organizations to join the American Federation, gave it out that if the del gates declined their overtures, the American Federation would proceed to organize in all the Western States, as it acknowledged no boundary line to its jurisdiction in the United States.

The charge therefore, of "invasio and "rival unions" against the West ern movement, falls to the grot can be proven beyond doubt that the Western movement acted upon the de fensive in this matter and that only when the threat to "wipe them out in their own territory wa made, did they conclude their jurisdiction to such sections a desired to embrace their organization If it is held that the American Fed

eration had prior jurisdiction, it ma be answered that George the Third and Great Britain had prior jurisdictio ever the colonies, and that the juris liction of the Knights of Labor ante dated that of the American tion and the National Labor Unio that of the Knights of Labor and so on back without end.

Whatever difference may hav prompted the separation several years ago and whether it was wise or rise, I shall not now consider, having no share in the praise or blame, as the action was taken by the Western miners upon their own motion and they are entirely willing to accept the responsibility—it is certain that there s to-day a radical fundamental diffe ence between the Eastern and Western wings of the American Labor ment and that in their present stat and with their present conflicting poli-cies and tendencies, they can not be mited and even if they could be, fac tional and sectional strife would be at once engendered and disruption would

The Western movement could only have consented to go back and back ward to the American Federation by stultifying itself and betraying and humiliating its thousands of progres sive members who are far enough advanced to recognize the futility of la bor organizations without class-cor scious political action and who will never retrace their steps to the and bogs of "pure and simple" union

The Western men want unity an they want harmony, but they will not sacrific progress to reaction to secure it.

They have declared their class-cot

ess and they can not and not snuff out that beacon light to emancipation.

They have committed their organiz tion to the Socialist Party and they can not unite with an organization that is hostile to independent politi action by the working class,

There is one way unite the American trades-union move ment. The American Federation of Labor must go forward to the Ame can Labor Union; the American Lab Union will never go back to the American Federation of Labor. Numbers ress for everything.

When the American Federation Labor sheds its outgrown "pure and simple" policy, when it declares gainst the capitalist system and for union, class-conscious action at the bal-lot box, as the supreme test of union principles, as the American Labo Union has done; when it relegate Union has done; when it relegates "leaders" to the rear who secure fat ffices for themselves in reward for ignorance and industrial slavery, whe At shall cease to rely upon cringing lobbying committees, begging. like Lazarus at the gate of Dives, for a ne from a capitalist legislature at Congress it helped to elect, and mar-shals its members in class-array shals its members in class-array to vote their own class into power then unity will come and the Western men will hall with joy that day. And it is coming. It is simply bound to

In the meantime there need be no and there will be none unless the threatened attempt to "snuff out" the West should materialize, in which case the "snuffers" will be entitled to the credit of having inspired a refreshing exhibition of the "staying" qualities of the class-conscious trades-uniovement of the Western State.

The speaking tour of the national officers and executive council of the American Federation, in the mountain States, following the Denver conver tion, and widely heraided by the capi tallst press as an "uprising of the con-servative element of organized labor to squelch the Western radicals" can dalm anything but a victory if that was the program of President Gompers and his colleagues. Some of their meetings, with all the advertising they received, scarcely amounted to a "corporal's guard," and where they had hundreds, the meetings held under the auspices of the Western Union had aid of capitalist newspapers and in spite of the opposition of capitalist politicians.

As to whether the Western move ment is growing or declining since the Denver convention, it is sufficient to say that the reports show that during the month of September the organiza-tions affiliated with the American La-bor Union added more than four thousand new names to their rolls of mem

just been interviewed upon the subject, declared in emphatic terms that he had been instructed from headquarters at Washington to organize rival unions at was aven one applicant, to admit him, totally regardless of the American Labor Union. If this is to be the policy of the Eastern Federation it will have to be that of the Western Union and as a result we shall have an era of unrecedented activity in the work of or precedented, activity in the work of or anizing the trades-union movement of

the country.

One thing is noticeable in this connection and that is that the American Federation has evinced a greater interest in the Western States, spent more money and worked harder to organize them in the comparatively short time since the Western Union is in the field

than in all previous years.

The rise of class-conscious trade-unionism in the West was not the result of mere chance or personal design, but obedient to the rising tide of the revolutionary spirit of the proletarist of the rugged and sparsely settled mountain States, a composite popula-tion composed of ploneers, the most adventurous brave and freedom-loving men from fil States of the American continent, and it is impos they, with their keen instinct and revo lutionary tendency could be long content to creep along in the creaking ervatism, even though it

this bear traces of the union label.

The class-conscious union movement of the West is historic in origin and development and every Socialist should recognize its mission and encourage i growth. It is here that the tide of so cial revolution will reach its flood and thence roll into other sections, giving metus where needed and hastening

I am the friend, not the enemy of the American Federation of Labor. 1 would equierye, not destroy it. I am opposed not to the organization or its members, many of whom are personal friends, but to those who are restrain-ing its evolution and preventing it fulfilling its true mission

I would not convert it into a political organization; but simply bring it up date and have it, as it must become if it is to survive, a class-con dustrial union, its members recogniz ing the Socialist ballet as the weapon of their class and using it accordingly thus escaping the incongruitles and elf-contradictions of the present "pur and simple" union, whose strike against and boycott the effects of the capitalist system while voting industriously to perpetuate the system while voting It is true that there are elements of progress at work within the organismtion. Let them continue their c Such men as Max S. Hayes, J. W Slayton, J. Mahlon Barnes and man others who have done and are doin xcellent work on the inside have all elp and no hinderance to expect from

the Western movement. In time the two progressive forces will have been accomplished

Until then, as in the past, I shall sun ort every boycott and every strike o erican Federation of Labor. and every organization affiliated with it, to the best of my stollity, and when they lose in any of these struggles, no disheartening word from my lips shall' darken their counsels or add to the biterness of their defeat.

I have been plain and unreserved to my criticism as I have a right to be. For many years I have been an unofficial organizer for the Federation of Labor, and for all the trades unions connected with it, and in my travels, especially the past seven years in which I have been almost continuously traversing the country, I have organ-ized and been the means of organizing hundreds of unious of all kinds. In the Southern States I held the first great labor meetings when there was little or no trace of organization, in many places not even a single mem at once set to work organizing each point with the result that when I cov-ered the same territory shortly after, there were unions everywhere and the movement spread rapidly over that section of the country. In view of these facts I think I can consistently

essert the right of candid criticism. The attitude of the Socialist Party toward the trades-union moves broadly endorsing and commendin but stopping there, and allowing it to manage its own internal affairs is, without doubt, the correct of intermeddling must result in harms with no possible hope of good. The party, as such, must continue to occupy this friendly yet non-interfering position, but, the members may, of course, and in my judgment join the trades-unions East and West and North and South and put forth their best efforts to bring the American abor movement to its rightful position in the struggle for emancipation.

# CAPITALIST MORALITY.

If certain of these public brothels in our large towns could betray their sec-rets, we should find that their inmates. mostly of low birth, with neither breed ing nor education, often scarcely able to write their own names, b sed of personal charms, stand in relationship of the greatest intimacy to the leaders of society, men of high intelligence and scholarship. We should there see cabinet ministers, officers of rank, privy counselors, members of Parliament, judges, etc., entering side by side with representatives of the aristocracies of birth, finance, trade and industry. These men appear by day and in society with the grave and dignified air of guardians of morality, order, marriage and the family; they are at the head of Christian charities and of societies for the suppression of prosti-tution. Our social organization resem-bles a great carnival festival, in which every one seeks to dupe and deceive every one else, in which every one wears his official disguise with decor-um, and indulges his inclinations and passions all the more unrestrainedly is private. And meanwhile public life is running over with propriety, religion and morality or Bebel, in Woman, Past, Present and Puture.

Passing through Denver recently I
noticed by the papers of that city in
scare-head articles, that the organizer
of the American Federation, who had

# Current # # # Literature

All books and pamphlets mentioned in this column may be obtained through the Socialist Literature Com-pany, 184 William street, New York.

THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE. By Frederick Eamann. Cloth, 217 pp., price, fifty cents. Charles H. Kerr and Company, 56 Fifth avenue, Chicago, Ill. Like "Capital," the "Communist

Manifesta," and "Socialism Utopian great classics of Socialist-literature. I had already been translated into every lation into English is as necessary an alcable as it is belated.

This work of Engels is based on the discoveries set forth in the "Ancier Society" of the American, Lewis H Morgan, which was published in 1877. Morgan had, to a certain extent, dis covered for himself the materialistic conception of history originated by Marx and Engels. Marx had planned to write such a work as this one which his friend Engels completed after his Up to 1861 the patriarchal form of

the family was suposed to be the most ancient. Bachofen then discovered the ancient practice of maternal law and rule based upon the fact that descent could originally be traved only by the female line as the only certain mea of determining parentage. Bachefen was mattle to get any farther than this great discovery carried him because his idea that the change in family rela tions was accomplished through the evolution of religious widens. Bachofen, McLennan discovered that in certain groups among primitive peo-ples infermarrying inside the group was prohibited, and that in other case marrying outside the group was pro-hibited. Mistaking these igroups for tribes he called the first exogamous tribes and the second endogamous tribes, and built a shaky superstructure upon this mistaken contrast of exoga ious and endogamous "tribes." Mor ed into a number of groups or gentes and that while the gens was exognmous, the tribe, comprising a number of gentes, was endogamous. Morgan spent the greater part of his

life among the Troquois Indians, being adopted into one of their tribes; he also prevailed upon the federal govern ment to collect information on the sys tems of kinship of other nations by means of question blanks and tables drawn up by himself, and his discovery eries as to the origin of the family were he result of forty years study of what Engels so aptly calls "these social fo sils, backward savages," and barbari ans. He found that the system of kinship in vogue among American Indians. Asiatic tribes and many others, was in direct contradiction to the actu degrees of relation arising from the parriage system; and, moreover, that in Hawaii there existed a family form producing just such relation actually existed among the Indians "But how remarkable. The Hawaiian system of kinship again did not agree with the family forms actually prevail ing there . . . While thus the Ameri can system of kinship pre-supposes di obsolete primitive form of the family which is still actually existing in Ha wall, the Hawaiiau system on the othe hand points to a still more primitiv form of the family, the actual existence of which cannot be proved any more but which must have existed, because otherwise such a system of kinship ould not have arisen" In these re markable comparative studies was found the key, to the origin and evolu

tion of the family.

Morgan divided primeval society in to two stages, savagery and barbarism and subdivided each of these into lower, middle and higher stage according to the progress in the production o the means of systemance. In the lowe stage of savagery, men lived at leas part of 'the time' in trees and fed or fruits and nuts; the middle stage com nenced with the utilization of fish and liusks as food and the use of fir which enabled man to travel by follow ing the course of rivers: the higher stage of savagery came with the in vention of how and arroy sequent increase in food supply by hunting. The lower stage of barbar-ism began with the introduction of the art of pottery; the inhidle stage was characterized by agriculture and the domestication of autimals; and the bigher stage of barbarism begins with the melting of iron ore and use of iron tools and merges into civilization by the invention of writing. Engels sur marizes Morgan's arrange lows: "Savagery-time of predomin ing appropriation of finished natura products; human ingenuity invents mainly tools useful in assisting this appropriation. Barbarism-time of ac iring the knowledge of cattle rais ing, of agriculture and of new meth for increasing the productivity of na ture by human agency."

"Our sexlove is essentially different The first step out of unrestricted sexual intercourse was the attempt to limit in-breeding by the exclusion of ancestors and descendants and in this early stage, known as the consanguine family, all those of the same genera-tion were mutually married; the evolution of the family proceeded by the proscription of sexual intercourse first between near and then more and more remote relatives until finally, through the punaluan group marriage by the extension of the prohibited degrees of relationship it arrived at the materna law gens, "a definite circle of consan-guincons relatives of female lineage who were not permitted to marry one another." Along with the group mar-riage and especially in its more re-stricted stages there developed the pairing family, the mating of one couple for a considerable time. Mon-ogamy did not develop from this until the coming of slavery and the rise private property. As soon as it be came possible for one man to produce more than was needed to sustain him self, and agriculture and cattle-raisin developed, captives were made slaves and private property arose. Under maternal law, the tracing of descent

gested here is described in detail, as 's the way in which the coming of pri-vate property led to class divisions and antagonisms and the consequent riso as and the consequent rise The work is one which will be of ab sorbing interest to all students of so-cial science who have not read it in the original and the depth and keenness of the reasoning of Morgan, Engels and Marx combine to provide an intellectual feast for the student. The chapters on the origin and nature of the state are of especial value to So

cialists. Engels has the following to say as to what may be anticipated about re-adifistment of sexual relations after the downfall of capitali

evolution which we have burely sug

"We are now approaching a social revolution, in which the old economic foundations of monogamy will disap pear just as surely as those of its com plement, prostitution. Monogamy aros through the concentration of considera ble wealth in one hand—a man's hand and from the endeavor to bequeatl this wealth to the children of this to the exclusion of all others. This necessitated monogamy on the wo-Hence this monogamy of women in n way hindered open or secret polygamy of men. Now the impending social revolution will reduce this whole car of inheritance to a minimum by chang permanent and inheritable wealth-th neans of production-into social prop erty. Since monogamy was caused. omic conditions, will it disappea when these causes are abolished?

"One might reply, not without rea son: not only will it not disappear, but it will rather be perfectly For with the transformation of the niegns of production into collective pear, and with it the proletariat and the necessity for a certain, statistically ascertainable number of women to surrender for money. Prostitution disappears and monogamy, instead of going out of existence, at last becomes a reality-for men also.

"At all events, the situation will be very much changed for men. But also that of women, and of all women, will be considerably altered. With the transformation of the means of production into collective property the monogamous family ceases to be the econo-mic unit of society. The private household changes to a social industry. The care and education of children becomes a public matter. Society cares equally well for all children, legal or illegal. This removes the care about the 'con sequences' which now forms the esser tial social factor-moral and economic ditionally to the beloved man. not this be sufficient cause for a intercourse of the sexes and a more lenient public opinion regarding virgin honor and female shame? And, finally, did we not see that in the modern word monogamy and prostitution, though antitheses, are inseparable and poles of the same social condition? prostitution disappear without engulfing at the same time monogamy?

"Here a new element becomes active, an element which at best existed only in the germ at the time when mongamy developed: individual sexiove.

"Before the middle ages we canno speak of individual sexlove. It goes vithout saying that personal beauty intimate intercourse, harmony of clinations etc. awakened a longing for sexual intercourse in persons of differ-ént sex, and that it was not absolutely immaterial to men and women, with whom they entered into such most intimate intercourse. But from such a relation to our sexlove there is a long ringes were arranged for the partici pants by the parents, and the former quietly submitted. What little matrimonial love was known to antiquity was not subjective inclination, but ob lective duty; not cause, but corollar of marriage. Love affairs in a modern urred in classical times only sense occurred in classical times only outside of official society. The shepherds whose happiness and woe is these were slaves who had no share in the state and in the daily sphere of the free citizen. Outside of slave circles we find love affairs only as products of disintegration of the sinking old world, Their objects are women who also are standing outside of official society, betserse that are either foreigners or liberated slaves: in Athens since the beginning of its decline, in Rome at the time of the emperors. If love afand female citizens, it was only in the form of adultery. And to the classical love poet of antiquity, the old Anakreon, sexlove in our sense was so in material that he did not even care a fig for the sex of the beloved being.

from the simple sexual craving, the Eros, of the ancients. In the first place it presupposes mutual love. In this respect woman is the equal of this respect woman is the equal of man, while in the antique Eros her permission is by no means always asked. In the second place our sex-loye has such a degree of intensity and duration that in the eyes of both parduration that in the eyes of some par-ties lack of possession and separation appear as a great, if not the greatest, calamity. In order to possess one an-other they play for high stakes, even to the point of risking their lives, a to the point of risking their lives, a thing heard of only in adultery during the classical age. And finally a new the classical age. And many a new moral standard is introduced for judg-ing sexual intercourse. We not only ask: 'Was it legal or illegal?' but also: 'Was it caused by mutual love or not?' Of course, this new standard meets with no better fate in feudal or bour-ter the rest of the part of the rest. with no better fate in feudal or bourgeois practice than all other moral
standards—it is simply ignored. But
neither does it fare worse. It is recognized just as much as the others—in
theory, on paper. And that is all we
can expect at present. \* \*

"Hence the full freedom of-marriage
can become general only after all minor
economic considerations, that still ex-

ert such a powerful influence on the only by female lineage, and the gentile organization, property was inherited by the mother's children, and the male desire for children of assured paternity that could be his off-spring alone and removed by the abolition of capitalistic production and of the property rela-tions caused by it. Then no other mothus inherit his wealth gave rise to monogamy. In Engels' work this long tive will remain but mutual fondness

"Since sexlove is exclusive by its very nature—slthough this exclusiveis at present realized for women alone-marriage founded on sexlove must be monogamous. We have seen that Bachofen was perfectly right in regarding the progress from groumarriage to monogamy mainly as the work of women. Only the advance from the pairing family to monogam; must be charged to the account o men. This advance implied, his-torically, a deterioration in the position of women and a greater opportunity for men to be faithless. Remove the nic considerations that now force romen to submit to the customary dis loyalty of men, and you will place wo men on an equal footing with men. All present experiences prove that will tend much more strongly to make men truly monogamous, than to make women polyandrous.

"However, those peculiarities that were stamped on the face of monogamy by its rise through property rela tions, will decidedly vanish, namely the supremacy of men and the indis-solubility of marriage. The supremacy of man in marriage is simply the con sequence of his economic superiority and will fall with the abolition of the Intter.

"The indissolubility of marriage i partly the consequence of economic conditions, under which monogamy arose, partly tradition from the time where the connection between this sconomic situation and monogamy, not yet clearly understood, was carried to extremes by religion. To-day, it has been perforated a thousand times. If marriage founded on love is alone moral, then it follows that inarriage is moral only as long as love lasts. The love varies considerably according to individual disposition, especially in men: A positive cessation of fondness or its replacement by a new passionate love makes a separation a blessing for both parties and for society. But humanify will be spared the useless wad-

ing through the mire of a divorce case adjustment of sexual relations after impending downfall of capitalist production is mainly of a negative nature and mostly confined to elements that will disappear. But what will be added? That will be decided after a new generation has come to maturity; a race of men who never in their live have had any occasion for buying with money or other economic means of power the surrender of a woman; a race of women who have never had any occasion for surrendering to any man for any other reason but love, or for refusing to surrender to their love from fear of economic consequences. Once such people are in the world, they will not give a moment's thought to what we to-day believe should be their course. They will follow their own practice and fashion their own public opinion about the individual practice of every person-only this and nothing

The following illuminative passage on the origin and nature of are particularly valuable, and many Socialists will doubtless be more interested in the part of the book which deals with the rise of the state in con sequence of class conflicts following the growth of private property:

"In the Greeian constitution of hero-ic times, then, we still find the old gen-tilism fully alive, but we also perceive the beginnings of the elements that undermine it; paternal law and inheri f property by the father's children, favoring accumulation of wealth in the family and giving to the latter a power apart from the gens; influence of the difference of wealth on the con-stitution by the formation of the first endiments of hereditary nobility and monarchy; slavery, first limited to pris-oners of war, but already paving the way to the ensiavement of tribal and gentile associates; degeneration of the old fends between tribes, a regular mode of existing by systematic plus dering on land and sea for the pu of acquiring cattle, slaves and ures. In short, wealth is praised an ted as the highest treasure, and respected as the nighest delication are abused the old gentile institutions are abused in order to justify the forcible robbery of wealth. Only one thing was miss the newly acquired property of private individuals against the communistic traditions of the gens, that not only de-ciared as sacred the formerly so despised private property and represent-ed the protection of this sacred proper-ty as the highest purpose of human society, but that also stamped the gradnally developing new forms of acquir-ing property, of constantly increasing wealth, with the universal sanction of society. An institution that lent the character of perpetuity, not only to the newly rising divisibut also to the right of the possessing classes to exploit and rule the non-pos sessing classes. And this institution was found. The state arose. \* \* \*

"The state, then, is by no means power forced on society from outside; neither is it the 'realization of the ethical idea, 'the image and realization of reason as Hegel maintains. It is sim-ply a product of society at a certain stage of evolution. It is the confession that this society has become hopelessly divided against itself, has entangled itself in irreconcilable contradiction which it is powerless to banish. In order that these contradictions, these classes with conflicting economic inerests, may not annihilate themselves ciety in a useless struggle, a pow er becomes necessary that stands apparently above society and has the functions of keeping down the conflicts and maintaining 'order.' And this power, the outgrowth of society, but assuming supremacy over it and beore and more divorced from The state is the result of the

to keep down class conflicts. But hav-ing arisen amid these conflicts, it is as a rule the state of the most powerful economic class that by force of its economic class that by force of its economic supremacy becomes also the ruling political class and thus acquires new means of subduing and exploiting 'the oppressed masses. The antique state was, therefore, the state of the

slave owners for the purpose of holding the slaves that check. The feudal state was the organ of the noblity for the oppressible of the serfs and dependent farmers. The modern representa-tive state is the tool of the capitalist ex-ploiters of wage labor. At certain periods it occurre exceptionally that the struggling classes balance each other so nearly that the public power gains a certain degree of independence by posing as the mediator between them. The absolute monerchy of the seventeentl and eighteenth century was in such a position, balancing the nobics and the burghers against one another. So was the Bonapartism of the first, and still more of the second, Empire, playing the proletariat against the bourgeoislethe proletariat against the bourgeoisic and vice versa. The latest perform-ance of this kind, in which ruler and ruled appear equally ridiculous, is the new German Empire of Bismarckian make in which capitalists and laborers equally chested for the benefit of the degenerate Prussian cabbage junkers.
"In most of the historical states, the rights of the citizens are differentiated

according to their wealth. This is a di-

ect confirmation of the fact that the

state is organized for the protection of the possessing against the non-pos sessing classes. The Athenian and Roman classification by incomes shows this. It is also seen in the mediaeval state of feudalism in which the political power depended on the quantity of real estate. It is again seen in the electoral qualifications of the modern representative state. The political recognition of the differences in wealth is by no means essential. On the con-trary, it marks a low stage of state de velopment. The highest form of the state, the democratic republic, knows officially nothing of property dictinetions. It is that form of the state which under modern conditions of society be-comes more and more an unavoidable necessity. The last decisive struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie can only be fought out under this state form. In such a state, wealth exerts its power indirectly, but all the more afely. This is done partly in the form of direct corruption of officials, after the classical type of the United States, or in the form of an alliance between government and bankers which is established all the more easily when the public debt increases and when corporations concentrate in their hands not only the means of transportation, but also production itself, using the stock exchange as a centre. The United States and the latest French republic Switzerland has contributed its share to illustrate this point. That a demo cratic republic is not necessary for this traternal bond between stock exchange and government is proved by England and last, not least, Germany, where it is doubtful whether Esmarck or Bleichroeder was more favored by the introduction of universal suffrage. The possessing class rules directly through universal suffrage. For as long as the oppressed class, in this case the proletariat, is not ripe for its economic emancipation, just so long will its majority regard the existing order of society as the only one possible, and form the tail, the extreme left wing, of the capitalist class. But the more the proletariat matures toward its self-ensuclembles the more does it constitute itself as a separate class and elect its own representatives in place of the capitalists. Universal suffrage is the guage of the maturity of the working . It can and will never be any But that is sufficient. On the day when the thermometer of universal suffrage reaches its boiling point among the la orers, they as well as the capitalists will know what to do. "The state, then, did not exist from

all eternity. There have been societies without it, that had no idea of any state or public power. At a certain stage of economic development, which was of necessity accompanied by a division of society into classes, the s became the inevitable result of division. We are now rapidly approaching a stage of evolution in production, in which the existence of classes has not only ceased to be a necessity, but becomes a positive fetter on production. Hence these classes must fall, as inevitably as they once arose. The state must irrevocably fall with them. The society that is to refree and equal association of the pro ducers will transfer the machi Museum of Antiquities by the side of the spluning wheel and the bronze ax.

Charles H. Kerr & Co. of Chicago will soon bring out a translation, by M. Simons and May Wood Simons, of Karl Kantsky's valuable work, "The Social Revolution." This is an addi-tion to our translated Socialist litera-ture as welcome as was Engels' "Orig'n of the Family," which the same enter prising house has recently issued in Untermann's translation.

"Zola the Socialist," by Jean Longuet, is the leading article in the De-cember issue of "The Comrade." It is illustrated with two portraits of the great novelist. B. A. Jedrz Jowski writes on the Polish Socialist movement and Ernest Untermann tells how he became a Socialist. Extended notice is given to Hutchins Hapgood's "Spirit of the Ghetto," and a number of Jacob Epstein's ilustrations are reproduced. Other features are a sketch of Belfort Bax and a tribute to Elizabeth Cady Stanton; poems by Ernest Crosby, Paul Shivell, Edwin Brenholtz and Lucien V. Rule; portraits, cartoons, etc., be-sides the editorial comment on the vote and the California affair, and reviews

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