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The Worker

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FLANDERS IS INSTALLED.

Socialist Mayor of Haverhill Takes His Seat.

Republican Aldermen Yield with a Bad Grace—Socialists Leading in Vigorous Agitation of Fuel Question All Over the State.

BOSTON, Jan. 24.—Legislative matters have been very quiet this week. The only occurrence of interest has been the appointment of the House committee to act with a similar one of the Senate to "investigate" the coal situation. Of course, none of the Socialists are appointed on the committee, which commenced its hearings yesterday. The attendance was small, probably because there is little faith held in such investigating committees.

Flanders Installed.

Parkman B. Flanders was sworn in as Mayor of Haverhill last night. His installation into office was again delayed through the dilatory tactics of the Board of Aldermen, the members of which seemed unwilling to obey the decision of the Supreme Court declaring Flanders the properly elected Mayor.

The members of the Board professed ignorance as to how to act, inasmuch as the order of the court requiring the change of election records was directed to the old Board, which went out of existence officially the first week of January. Pending action, the City Solicitor acted as Mayor. Poor, the former Mayor, having retired to the oblivion whose shades he will gracefully adorn.

On Thursday, to bring matters to a crisis, George F. Williams, counsel for Flanders, appeared before the Supreme Court and applied for a supplementary order to enable Flanders to take his seat. Justice Knowlton, who expressed himself strongly upon the attitude assumed by the Haverhill aldermanic board, declaring that the Board was a continuous body and that non-compliance with the court's order would lay the members subject to punishment for contempt of court.

The receipt of a letter yesterday by the Haverhill City Attorney from Counsel Williams embodying the opinion of Justice Knowlton, and advising that the Registrars and the Board of Aldermen immediately change the records, facilitated matters, with the result that a special meeting of the Aldermen was held last night, the records changed, and Flanders sworn in. Only a few Socialists were present, among them Representative Carey, to see a Socialist Mayor again installed in Haverhill, the mayor fair being in progress in Lafayette Hall.

Flanders did not present a message. His first official act was the appointment of Albert L. Gillen as his clerk. Gillen is one of the oldest and most faithful Socialist workers in Haverhill. He was Mayor Chase's clerk during all the latter's second term and was also one of the first Socialist Councilmen elected in Haverhill (1898) and Socialist candidate for Congress in that district in 1900. The Republican movement to have the Mayor's Clerk elected by the City Council was suppressed, in view of the general feeling against it throughout the city.

The Fuel Agitation.

The Socialists are agitating constantly in the different localities where feeling is strong over the fuel hold-up. In Somerville, through the activity of local Socialists, a special general meeting was held, called by order of the Board of Aldermen when petitioned by fifty or more citizens. Squire E. Putney was elected moderator and T. F. Volan secretary. W. P. Porter presented resolutions reciting the facts of the existing coal situation and endorsing the Legate petition before the Legislature for national ownership of coal mines and for municipal fuel yards.

The resolutions were discussed by S. E. Putney, C. W. White, Chas. Williams, and W. P. Porter, and were unanimously endorsed. It was also voted to request the Board of Aldermen to instruct the Mayor and City Solicitor to appear before the legislative committee and support the resolutions and that the State Senator and the local representatives to the Legislature be requested to do likewise. S. E. Putney, W. P. Porter, and Charles W. White were elected to represent the city at the legislative hearings on the fuel situation.

The meeting was largely attended and no opposition to the Socialists was manifested. A similar meeting was held in Hyde Park on Thursday last and the articles on the fuel question sent out by the State Committee of the Socialist Party Clubs were the principal subject of discussion. The articles had been inserted in the town warrant through the activity of Hyde Park Socialists and a large crowd was present at the meeting. The articles were adopted without opposition. The selectmen were also instructed to appear before the legislative committee and favor the Legate petition, Comrades J. J. Gallagher, J. Frank Hayward, R. B. Martin, and J. D. Grant supporting the resolution.

These meetings are similar in character to those held in New England towns prior to the American Revolution and they have a significance peculiar to this section of the country.

Work in the State.

Through the stupidity of the railroad management the Westworths missed their engagement in Ware last Wednesday, but appeared at Haver-

hill the two following nights and delighted everybody with their lecture and readings. They are assured of a welcome in Haverhill any time hereafter.

The Brockton Socialist Band is getting up a fair, in conjunction with the local club, and will give half of the proceeds to the State Executive Committee for the party work. As the Brockton Socialist fairs are always successful, this means, with the assistance of other comrades, that a good sum for the state organization should be realized.

Organizer White is in the Western part of the state and is meeting with success in his work. He has organized new clubs at Athol and Orange, with more in sight.

MASSACHUSETTS PARTY WORK.

Reports Show Organization in Good Condition.

Twenty-Seven New Locals Formed in Last Four Months of 1902—Strict Attention to Organization Work Has Rendered Effective the Growing Socialist Sentiment of the State.

The State Committee and the General Committee of the Socialist Party held a meeting on Jan. 10 at 724 Washington street, Boston. The General Committee is composed of delegates of the various Socialist clubs who are members of the State Committee, so that both meetings were really held by the same body of men.

The State Committee organized as follows: James F. Carey, Chairman; Chas. E. Lowell of Whitman, Vice-Chairman; Squire E. Putney of Somerville, Secretary; Dr. Moses J. Konikow of Boston, Treasurer. These officers, with Robert Lawrence of Clinton, William J. Coyne, William Mally, and John Weaver Sherman of Boston, form the Executive Committee of the legal organization.

The State Committee elected the following members to fill vacancies in these districts: David Broder, Cagg District; Dr. George W. Galvin, 1st Bristol; William Mally, 2d Bristol; Dr. John A. Billings, 3d Bristol; Louis S. Talbot, 5th Middlesex, and Dr. Moses J. Konikow, Berkshire and Hampshire districts.

At the meeting of the State Committee resolution was adopted petitioning the Legislature for change in chapter 11 of the revised laws so that the Socialists may have representation on the state ballot law commission; that all political parties be granted equal representation in the appointment of precinct officers in the towns and wards of the state; that the Socialists be given representation on the Boards of Registrars of voters in the towns and cities of the state; and that the Socialist Party be given representation on the Boston Election Commission.

The General Committee of clubs met immediately after the State Committee. William Mally and M. J. Konikow submitted their financial reports as Secretary and Treasurer, respectively. A report of the work of the Executive Committee was also submitted. Twenty-seven clubs were organized since Sept. 8, making a total of sixty-seven clubs.

The following were elected as the Executive Committee for the ensuing year: Dr. John A. Billings of Rockland, Squire E. Putney of Somerville, William Mally, Dr. George W. Galvin, William J. Coyne, Joseph Spew of Boston, David Broder of Brockton, Charles E. Lowell of Whitman, and J. Harry Page of Lynn. William Mally and George W. Galvin were elected Secretary and Treasurer, respectively, of the Executive Committee. Otto W. Westerman and Frank F. Tancott were appointed an Auditing Committee.

It was voted to request the Socialists in all the towns of the state to call special town meetings and make an effort to have the selectmen instructed to appear before the Legislature in support of the bill for public ownership of the coal mines, and the request for legislation to allow of municipal ownership of fuel yards.

A committee, consisting of J. Spew, M. J. Konikow, J. Harry Page, J. W. Sherman, and Wm. Mally were appointed to see about the publication of a paper in Massachusetts.

The report of the temporary Executive Committee, showing the work done in the last four months of 1902, is here given in full:

"To the General Committee of the Socialist Party Clubs of Massachusetts. Comrades:—At the state convention of the Socialist Party Clubs held in Boston on Sept. 8, James F. Carey, Fred. S. Schmidt, Squire E. Putney, M. J. Konikow, Carlton S. Beals, John Weaver Sherman, George W. Galvin, J. Harry Page, and William Mally were elected as the temporary Executive Committee, to serve until the meeting of the General Committee.

"The temporary Executive Committee met after the convention and organized by the election of William Mally as Secretary and M. J. Konikow as Treasurer, and these officers have served until this date.

"The temporary committee, through its Secretary, begs to submit the following report as a summary of the work done by the committee for the state organization from the time of the state convention until the present date:

"During the period from Sept. 8, 1902, to Jan. 1, 1903, there has been received by the Secretary \$2,071.81 as revenue for the state organization, and he has turned over to the Treasurer \$2,068.96, leaving a cash balance on

hand on Jan. 1, beginning the fiscal year, of \$2.45. He has received during that time 4,213 stamps, and has sold 3,505 to clubs. The Treasurer has received from the Secretary \$2,068.96 and disbursed \$1,194.25, leaving a balance on hand on Jan. 1, beginning the fiscal year, of \$74.71. The liabilities to Jan. 1 are \$377.60, leaving a deficit of \$502.80 after the cash balance of \$74.71 has been deducted. Since Jan. 1 this deficit has been reduced.

"The total amount received from the special appeal for campaign funds sent out to the trade unions of the state was \$41.80.

"Immediately after the Committee came into existence the state campaign began and arrangements were made at once to make the Socialist campaign the most active ever held in this state. With this end in view your Committee interested itself in having Governor Chase, our candidate for Governor, return to the state to take part in the campaign and after some correspondence between your Secretary, Comrade Chase and the National Secretary, Comrade Chase returned, reaching Boston on Oct. 5. He opened the campaign in Adams on Oct. 6, and from that time until Election Day he addressed twenty-seven meetings under the direction of this Committee.

"The state campaign did not really begin until the third week in September and speakers addressed meetings in various parts of the state. In all, 4,163, making twenty-seven in all. A list of the towns where he was organized in Adams and the clubs in North Grafton and Fisherville, Newton, and Newton Upper Falls are expected to organize central committees, in the near future.

"During the state campaign, your Committee learned that C. E. Dewing, a member of the Milford Club, was supporting an independent labor candidate for Representative. Your Committee, under the direction of this report, advised the Milford Club that if this be true, Dewing should no longer remain a member of the club. The club acted upon this notification and Dewing resigned his position on the legal State Committee and as an officer of the club; finally, at a later meeting, resigning membership altogether.

"Your Committee has correspondence from State Secretaries Shobdin of New York and Irish of Maine, relative to the formation of an Eastern Agents Bureau, which accompanies this report.

"Your Committee has arranged a tour during this month for Franklin H. and Marion Craig Westworth of Chicago, and they will fill dates at Ware, Boston, Haverhill, Whitman, Lynn, and Plymouth. The Committee is also arranging for State Organizer White to address public meetings during his tour through the Western part of the state and this is expected to materially reduce his expense to the organization.

"Your Committee has also drawn up and forwarded articles on the fuel question to clubs in towns, with the request that efforts be made to have same inserted in town warrants to be voted upon at the spring town meetings.

"During the state campaign, Hon. Frederic J. Stimson, Democratic candidate for Congress in the Twelfth District, attacked Socialism at a public meeting here in Franklin. Your Committee immediately issued a challenge to Mr. Stimson to meet a representative of the Socialist Party to discussion on the question of Socialism. Correspondence ensued, which resulted in Mr. Stimson accepting the challenge, and your Committee has named Representative Carey as its spokesman upon this occasion. The debate will probably take place during the early part of February in Faneuil Hall.

"The election by referendum of a National Committeeman for the ensuing year took place in December and the vote resulted as follows: James F. Carey, 501; George A. Kenne, 65. Comrade Carey was therefore declared elected.

"In order to show the growth of the organization during the past four months, your Committee cites the following figures, showing the number of stamps sold during that time and the four months immediately preceding: (a) September, 1,105; October, 903; November, 1,105; December, 1,181; (b) May, 443; June, 595; July, 600; August, 583. This would show an average membership for four months preceding September of 582 and an average since the first of September of 1,178. The number of chartered clubs at the present time is sixty-seven."

THE GLOBE FAIR.

A Great Success Already Assured.

Many Comrades Working Well and More Are Needed—Collection of Presents—Forty Thousand Tickets Out.

The nine days' fair and labor exposition to be held in Grand Central Palace, March 28 to April 5, for the purpose of raising funds for the establishment of the "Daily Globe" will undoubtedly be a rousing success. This much is evident from the reports so far received. Eight weeks yet remain before the opening of the fair, and the time is all too short for the work to be done; but if interest continues to grow as it has for some weeks past and the comrades and sympathizers do their best in the time now left, there is no question that the fair will net such a large sum as to make the establishment of the long desired daily an event of the century's fulfillment.

Secretary Butcher, who has his offices at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, is kept busy and needs the help of all who are willing to volunteer.

Tickets Going Well. The work of distributing and selling tickets to organizations continues successfully. Up to date about 40,000 tickets have been delivered to the different organizations, and from reports received they are selling very well. There are still a very large number of organizations to be visited and interested, and if a large committee can be secured it will be an easy matter to dispose of 100,000 tickets before the opening of the fair. Comrades who can speak should therefore inform Comrade Butcher of their willingness to devote some of their evenings each week to visiting trade unions. This work has a double effect. It advertises the fair and calls the attention of the trade unionists to the fact that the "Daily Globe" is to be established. Let every speaker in the party in Greater New York report at once for duty.

Collecting Presents. Another line of work, perhaps of still greater importance, is the collecting of presents for the fair. Every comrade can help in this. The ladies especially can do very good service, as many of them are already doing. Those who are not yet at work should ask Secretary Butcher for donation books this week and do their share. Many thousands of presents will be needed. A good start has been made, but what has been done is only a start and the work must be carried on vigorously.

We have received from Secretary Butcher a list of presents so far obtained and reported to him. We should like to present the list entire, to show our readers what a few of their number have already accomplished, but space forbids, for the list would occupy at least half a page of The Worker and we have too many other matters pressing for attention to give it.

This list includes the presents collected by Comrades E. J. Lewis, R. A. Gibbs, Mrs. Paulitch, George Brown, Miss Fox, Carl Classen, Mrs. Heichen, Mrs. Bethge, Mrs. Fraser, L. Lifschitz, Fred Bennetts, and others.

A Good Beginning. Among the donations we notice two complete sets of parlor furniture, a number of side-boards, dressers, tables, fire chairs, tinware, book-stands, clocks, rugs, pictures, frames, lace curtains, sofa pillows, towels and table linen, dishes, glassware, and other useful and ornamental household articles; several bicycles; more bottles of wine, boxes of liquors, jars of tobacco, p'ps, smoking sets, etc., than we have time to count; many books—among them sets of Darwin, Saxe, Erichman-Charman; several musical instruments, photographs, music-boxes, and music in folio or sheet; orders for tailor-made suits, shoes, photographs, groceries, candy, and other desirable things; razors, shaving sets, manicure sets, and toilet articles; and numerous shawls, umbrellas, shopping bags, pocketbooks, handkerchiefs, canes, match boxes, card cases, gold and silver watches, chains, pins, cuff links, suspenders, children's toys, fancy articles of many sorts, and so on to the end of a long chapter.

This is enough to show what can be done by even a few "hustlers"—for it is comparatively a very few comrades who have so far reported and the results of whose work are included in the list. For the others—"A word to the wise is sufficient" and "Go thou and do likewise" are apt sayings.

It is desired that donations be brought or sent to headquarters as promptly as possible, in order to prevent unnecessary rush and confusion in the last days before the opening of the fair.

Announcements. The Ladies' Daily Globe Club and conference will meet at 933 Second avenue, on Monday, Feb. 2, at 8 P. M. All members of the club and all delegates, as well as all ladies in sympathy with this movement, are requested to attend.

The Executive Committee for the fair will hold its next meeting at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, on Monday, Feb. 2, at 8 P. M. All members of the committee are urged to attend, as important work will be presented for action.

Comrades who have made pledges to the Socialist Daily Fund are again reminded to send or bring in their instalments to Secretary Butcher at 64 East Fourth street, as his entire time is now taken up with work for the fair.

ALABAMA'S GAIN.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Jan. 18.—The official count shows that the Socialist Party has more than doubled its strength in this state in two years. In the presidential election of 1900 we had 928 votes. Last November we polled 2,812 for our state ticket.

The Populist movement here is dead. Only 11 votes were cast for that ticket. Most of the old Populists joined the Republicans, a few progressive ones becoming Socialists.

We had practically no campaign. By doing good work between now and 1904 we can make a tremendous gain thereby. Since the municipal elections,

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"INDEPENDENT WORKINGMEN."

"Prominent Employers" Favor New League.

New York "Sun" Also Lends Its Aid—Funny Statement Given Out by Promoter of Disguised Scab Agency.

In our issue of Jan. 11 we gave some account of the so-called National League of Independent Workingmen—which we characterized as a "national scab bureau"—in the promotion of which a reverend gentleman named E. M. Fairchild is the supposed leader. The New York "Sun" last week announced that this organization "is meeting with much success" and gave space to the following statement from Mr. Fairchild:

"Unions Need Reforming." "Letters from workmen favorable to its organization have been received from all parts of the United States, and personal consultations with some of our PROMINENT EMPLOYERS OF LABOR, who are not at all hostile to labor organizations, but WHO BELIEVE THE UNIONS NEED REFORMING, prove them to be favorably inclined toward such a labor organization as is proposed.

"The League expects to win a large body of the more intelligent members of the unions into its own ranks, to incorporate, and to accumulate large funds for its work in the interests of labor, especially for its education in the trades, and to become the most influential labor organization in the United States, composed, as it will be, of representatives of all branches of industry.

"It will contribute to business stability and success, thus promoting continued prosperity. It believes the 'hold up' game, 'Your money or your business,' so often practiced by unwise labor leaders, and the boycott to be detrimental to the laboring people, because they tend to unsettle business and precipitate hard times and industrial wars, which are the result of the many small capitalists who would otherwise take stock in new enterprises.

"It asserts that a workman's compensation should be measured according to the value of his services and not based on the rate of wages paid to a workman of inferior ability. It believes that its policy to assist in making business successful and then insist, through committees of conciliation and arbitration, on the higher wages that the business will best well win more in the long run for the laboring people themselves than any other policy. It believes especially that by preserving the right of the individual workman to make the most of himself, and by education it can help many of the laboring class to RISE INTO THE RANKS OF EMPLOYERS AND THEREBY MAKE WORK and develop American manufacturing, much to the interest of labor.

To Break Strikes on Principle. The League is not and never will become a band of strike breakers. No one who intends to be fair will call it that. It will not break a strike unless the strike is for the purpose of monopolizing the chance to work, which is unfair and against the general interests of the country and the laboring people as a whole. LEAGUE MEN WILL RECEIVE NO EXTRA PAY FOR BREAKING AN UNFAIR STRIKE, BUT WILL DO IT ON PRINCIPLE AND FOR THE CAUSE OF LABOR.

"So far as the League opposes unions, it will be for the sake of preventing them from going too far, and injuring the laboring people as well as others. It will discipline any of its own members who, during labor disputes, are guilty of reprehensible conduct, to the end that the League may GAIN THE CONFIDENCE OF ALL CLASSES.

"The League is a higher form of labor organization than the unions, and cordially invites the support of all classes of labor, for the good of labor and the nation in which all laboring men have the honor to be citizens."

The fact that the "Sun"—the most virulent enemy of the labor movement in America—thinks it worth while to bestow this new organization is sufficient to justify our suspicion of it. The suspicion is turned into a moral certainty when we read Mr. Fairchild's statement.

Labor's "Dearest Enemy." The "prominent employers of labor who are not at all hostile to labor organizations, but who believe the unions need reforming"—that is who approve of unions, if these are so constituted and conducted as to serve the employers' interest—are exactly the employers who are most dangerous to the labor movement. A labor organization that strives to "gain the confidence of all classes" instead of standing squarely for the working class, is actually no labor organization at all, but a mere cat's paw for the exploiters of labor.

The statement that members of the League will break strikes only on principle and will righteously refuse any extra pay for such labors of love and faith is certainly rich. Mr. Fairchild is a humorist, even if an unconscious one.

Equally good, though not so new, is the idea that raising a few workmen into the employing class will "make work" for the rest and so be a blessing to those who are not "elect" to be "raised up." Doubtless it will take a good deal of toll on the part of the workers to maintain each additional capitalist in proper dignity. Doubtless the League, if it has any success, will "make work" for the

THE BAD FAITH OF THE COAL STRIKE ARBITRATION.

If anyone supposed, four months ago, that the Anthracite Strike Commission was created in good faith as a judicial body, to make an impartial investigation of facts and give judgment in accordance with them upon the questions at issue between the miners and the "operators"—if anyone supposed this, they must by this time be grievously disappointed and disillusioned. The appointment of Judge Gray, an experienced jurist, as Chairman was put forward at that time as being, in itself, a sufficient assurance of the impartiality of the Commission. The conduct of the arbitrators, and especially of Chairman Gray himself, has by this time given us abundant proof that the deliberate purpose and intent of the Commission is and from the beginning has been to confuse the issues, to discredit the miners' cause, and to pervert public opinion against them, and so to pave the way for a decision satisfactory to the mine owners.

Throughout the hearings Chairman Gray has borne himself more like a regularly retained counsel for the "operators" than like the presiding justice of a court of inquiry and arbitration. He has lost no opportunity to comment on the evidence whenever a plausible comment to the prejudice of the miners could be made.

When the horrors of child labor were brought out by the miners' witnesses, he took advantage of two or three individual cases, in which it was shown that the fathers were earning wages high enough to have enabled them to keep their children in school, to give an uncalculated lecture on the wickedness of such parents, carrying the implication that these cases were typical and that the guilt of child exploitation lay at the doors of the workingmen. For the employers, who, according to the overwhelming weight of the testimony, pay such low wages as to compel most of their men to send their children to work and even discriminate against workmen who refuse to do so—for these who pile up fortunes at the expense of children's lives had no word of censure.

When evidence was presented, on the one hand, to prove that the strikers had been guilty of assault, arson, and murder and, on the other, to prove that such crimes, so far as they did occur, were the acts of a few individuals, discontemned and condemned by the miners' organization, its officers, and the vast majority of its members, and further that the private army of the coal companies had far outdone the lawless ones among the workers in their riotous and criminal behavior, Chairman Gray again saw his opportunity and, anticipating the verdict of the Commission, assumed to decide the question at once and to put the whole blame on the union and its

officers, and delivered himself of a violent diatribe against them. These are but two of the most notable cases in which he has betrayed his bias and used his position to influence the other members of the Commission and, what is more important, to influence public opinion against the miners. For the capitalist papers have ever been ready, as Chairman Gray knew they would, to color their reports of the evidence presented, to give the utmost prominence to the Chairman's partial utterances, and to laud him and support his ex parte judgments in their editorial columns.

It is no accident that Chairman Gray conducts himself in this manner. He knows from his experience on the bench that if, in an ordinary court of justice and in a case not involving the conflicting interests of employer and employee, he were to inject into the proceedings such prejudicial comments on the evidence presented, the injured party would be recognized as having ample ground for demanding a new trial under a less partial judge. He knows that the extra-judicial comments in which he has indulged are entirely discordant with his ostensible duty. They are at variance with his habit as a judge. We cannot suppose that they are spontaneous or thoughtless.—We must conclude that they are deliberately intended to effect a purpose and that this purpose was known to him and to those who recommended and who appointed him at the time when he assumed his place, and to the party in whose favor they are uttered.

In other words, the work of the Anthracite Strike Commission is, so far, and will probably continue to be, a travesty of justice. This is neither more nor less than was to be expected. The "operators" knew the truth too well to have been willing to entrust their case to really impartial arbitration. The President and his advisers are men of capitalist training and know that they owe their official positions to capitalist influence. With one possible exception, the members of the Commission are men bound by training and by interest to the capitalist system, men educated to regard the making of profits as a sacred right and a part of the natural and eternal order of things, and wholly unable to understand the thoughts or feelings or needs of the working class.

For workmen to expect any measure of justice from such a commission is to expect the jackal to judge fairly, between the lion and the lamb. But the working people are lamblike and helpless only because of their ignorance of their enemy. They have the power whenever they learn to use it, to meet and overthrow the capitalist beast of prey. They will learn. They are learning. And this arbitration farce is helping them to learn.

CALIFORNIA'S PROSPERITY.

Eastern Workmen Warned against Lying Reports that Employment is Easy to Find There—Capitalists Wish to Flood the Labor Market. Comrade Edmiston of Riverside, Cal., writes to warn Eastern workmen against being deceived by the rosy descriptions of "California's prosperity" which are so widely circulated. He says:

"Employers of labor in California are making desperate efforts to entice laborers from the East, in order to still further flood the labor market here. The main roads between towns in Southern California are fairly lined with strings of men carrying blankets, wearily tramping on in search of work. What a worker may expect if he gets stranded in Southern California is illustrated by the action of Riverside County. In order to save expense in building her new court house, the highways and byways were searched for unemployed men, who were arrested and forced to clear the ground. An eight-foot wire fence has since been placed around the block and the arrested men set at work breaking rock for foundation.

"While this Southern land would be a veritable paradise under Socialism, it is an economic hell for the unskilled worker at present. Hordes of Japanese, Chinese, and Mexican 'peon' laborers are used to force down the standard of living and keep the workers under the brutal heel of the capitalist class.

"This letters is written by order of Local Riverside, Socialist Party, to warn the workers in the East of the exact conditions here."

CHICAGO LADIES' TAILORS' STRIKE.

All ladies' tailors are notified that the members of that trade in the shop of Charles Schmidt, of Chicago, are still on strike and are warned against accepting offers of employment there. All offers of employment in Chicago should be investigated, as this firm is trying to get workmen to fill the places of the strikers.

officers, and delivered himself of a violent diatribe against them. These are but two of the most notable cases in which he has betrayed his bias and used his position to influence the other members of the Commission and, what is more important, to influence public opinion against the miners. For the capitalist papers have ever been ready, as Chairman Gray knew they would, to color their reports of the evidence presented, to give the utmost prominence to the Chairman's partial utterances, and to laud him and support his ex parte judgments in their editorial columns.

It is no accident that Chairman Gray conducts himself in this manner. He knows from his experience on the bench that if, in an ordinary court of justice and in a case not involving the conflicting interests of employer and employee, he were to inject into the proceedings such prejudicial comments on the evidence presented, the injured party would be recognized as having ample ground for demanding a new trial under a less partial judge. He knows that the extra-judicial comments in which he has indulged are entirely discordant with his ostensible duty. They are at variance with his habit as a judge. We cannot suppose that they are spontaneous or thoughtless.—We must conclude that they are deliberately intended to effect a purpose and that this purpose was known to him and to those who recommended and who appointed him at the time when he assumed his place, and to the party in

The Worker.

AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY (Known in New York City as the Social Democratic Party.)

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

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THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

Comrades who write to the editor of The Worker are requested to read and remember the notes printed in small type at the head of the editorial column. Compliance with the suggestions there made will save much wrath in this office and frequent disappointment elsewhere.

THE DISCUSSION OF PARTY AFFAIRS.

We fully realize that many of our readers may by this time be tired of the discussion on the attitude of the Socialist Party toward Union Labor parties, that not a few may think we devote too much space to it at the expense of news and propaganda matter, and that some even think such discussions out of place in such a paper as The Worker, thinking that they give the large number of readers outside the party a false or exaggerated idea of the differences existing within our ranks. We realize all this, and for ourselves, we are rather tired of the discussion. Nevertheless, we consider such discussion necessary—and not a necessary evil, but positively beneficial to Socialists within and without the party. Certainly we do not think that all of the communications we have published were intrinsically valuable; some that were not so were worth publishing because of the position of the writer; one, at least—that of Comrade Dunn in last week's issue—commended itself to us both for this reason and also because its very glaring faults seemed to us so well to illustrate the weakness of the theory it maintained. We have at hand a few more communications on the same question and on others closely connected with it, which we intend to publish, and we have, of course, some further comments of our own to make. But because this issue of The Worker will be rather more widely distributed among those outside the Socialist ranks than is usually the case, we interrupt for a week the discussion of such internal affairs.

One or two locals of the party have demanded the expulsion of comrades who actively advocated the policy of fusion or co-operation with labor parties. Against this extreme we would protest as vigorously as against the other. In order to have real and effective discipline in our party it is necessary that we have free discussion. So long as comrades are willing to abide by the decision of the party, it would be the height of folly to forbid them an opportunity to express their views on party questions. Such a policy, which truly merits the adjective "De Leonite," if adopted, would assuredly strengthen the hands of those who favor compromise or a relaxation of party tactics.

The comrades in the city and state of New York cannot be too often reminded of the necessity of advertising our official party name and emblem. If this is neglected and only a general

agitation for Socialist principles carried on, many of those who are convinced by our arguments but know little or nothing of the party organization are likely to cast their votes for the S. L. P. and thus unwittingly strengthen the hands of the disruptionists. The Arm and Torch and the name of the Social Democratic Party should be on every leaflet, every card, every handbill given out by our comrades in this state. Where literature not bearing this name and emblem is distributed, a rubber stamp should be used to supply the needed information. At every public meeting the chairman should state that the Social Democratic Party of New York is identical with the Socialist Party of other states, the difference of names being due to requirements of the law, and that the Arm and Torch is the emblem under which Socialist votes should be cast. The neglect of these simple measures in some quarters cost us several thousand votes last November, and it ought not to be allowed to go on.

MILITARISM AT HOME.

Just what is the purpose of the governments of the United States, of Germany, of England, and the other powers in the Venezuela affair, it is impossible for anyone outside the inner circles of "statesmanship" to say with any degree of certainty. That it is a big steal, a scheme of international burglary, goes without saying. We have only to look back at the cases of Egypt, Cyprus, the Transvaal, Hawaii, Cuba and the Philippines, the late Chinese affair, and many others of the sort, to be sure of that. The question remains, just what sort of a steal it is to be and how the loot is to be proportioned.

One thing may be said pretty confidently, however. While the great capitalists of the United States, in the present very unstable condition of "our prosperity," probably do not at all want war—war, that is, with any first-class military or naval power—yet they will see the purpose which a war scare can serve for them in internal affairs.

"Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel," said blunt old Samuel Johnson. We would not give full and unqualified assent to the definition, even though it is embodied in a dictionary. There was a time when patriotism, even in its crudest form, was one of the most necessary and important of virtues. Even yet there are forms of patriotism for which we have deep respect—though it must be added that such patriotism is rare.

The patriotism preached by the capitalist class through its mouthpieces of press, pulpit, college chair, and political platform, however, is well covered by Doctor Johnson's phrase. Whenever the workmen of any country begin to think together for themselves and to show a disposition to resist class rule, then it is the game of the capitalist class to get up a war—or, if a real war is not to be wished, then at least a rumor of war—and to stir up the workers to a frenzy of patriotism, of hatred for foreigners and blind worship of the flag, in order that they may be led to forget the wrongs and the hopes of their class and that their very discontent may be turned to serve the sordid greed of their masters.

This purpose, at least, the capitalist class of the United States seeks to accomplish as an incident to the Venezuela affair. If American workmen can be stirred with mad hatred of his German brothers, the capitalist reasons, he will forget to hate the ruler of Wall Street and the Trust Kings.

Under this cover of patriotism the national government has succeeded in carrying out another fondly cherished plan—the reorganization of the militia in such a way as to bring it more completely under centralized capitalist control.

It is not for defense against foreign enemies that the militia reorganization is intended. The representative capitalist papers, during the last week, have gurgled but unmistakably indicated its real purpose when they have referred to the Chicago strike of 1894 and the coal strike of last summer as cases in which the old plan of militia organization has been found unsatisfactory and have promised their patrons that, under Secretary Root's new plan as now enacted by Congress and signed by the President, the settlement of such conflicts will be far easier for the forces of "law and order" and "vested rights."

enormous increase in the Socialist vote. It is for you, readers of The Worker, you who hate robbery, legal or illegal, you who hate war, whether on the battle-field or masked under the forms of peace, it is for you to second the efforts of your comrades in Germany and resist the open or covert attacks of capitalist misers at home, by carrying the light of Socialism to all your fellow workers and exalting them in the great work of making possible "Peace on earth and good will toward men."

The discovery that wealthy New York millionaires have been employing proxies to "sweep off" their taxes for them is nothing to cause surprise. That a capitalist should dodge taxes is natural. It is a demonstration of "business ability." That he should want to escape the chance of going to jail is natural, and of course he would have no scruples about hiring anyone rash enough and needy enough to take the risk for him. What are hired men for, if not to risk liberty or life in the service of those who "give them employment"? District Attorney Jerome will probably win great renown out of this affair. In the tunnel case he let the Vanderbilts, Depew, and the rest of the principals go, and got Engineer Wisker indicted. He will doubtless follow the precedent here—keep his hands off the millionaires and mete out condign punishment to their hired "dummies."

District Attorney Jerome was expected at the Central Federated Union of New York last Sunday, but failed to appear. It's "dollars for doughnuts" he'll continue to be conspicuous by his absence from that or any other place where workmen would have a chance to put plain questions to him and demand a plain answer.

The editors of the San Francisco "Advance" and the Los Angeles "Socialist" protest against our statement, in welcoming the "California Socialist" to the field, that "the older party papers in California have committed the grave error of refusing a hearing to those who opposed the fusion policy." They deny that the facts justified our use of these words and, on sober consideration, we are bound to admit that we made the statement somewhat rashly, but at this distance we had no adequate means of judging the facts and ought not to have made such a charge against these papers. Continuing heartily to oppose the policy which they have advocated, we frankly apologize for what may have been a grave injustice on our part. "To err is human." Will our California co-workers practice the divine virtue of forgiveness?

Do you not know that the liberty of the Venezuelans must be preserved at any cost? By you? By your friends? We have to give up liberty in America to get it? Your liberty is of no consequence. You have given it up long ago. You will not, dare not, make it an issue again. But you will fight for Venezuela. You are feeling all right about Venezuela. Venezuela will not do much for you. But you can do much for Venezuela. You may die for Venezuela. And after you have died for Venezuela you will feel honored after you are dead to know that your name is on the pension list. It would be a pity to ask the President or your Congressmen to go out and die for Venezuela. If they were to die what would become of Oyster Bay and who would be left to set up the primaries? So you see it would be impossible for them to die. And if the big bugs will not die there is nothing left but for the little breeches to die. It is so nice to die to save Oyster Bay and the primaries. And after you are dead you will not have to work. And if you will just die right, if you will invent some water cure operation before you are bulletted into heaven, you may survive in a monument as a benefactor of your race.

Current Literature

"The poet," says Shelley, "is the unacknowledged legislator of the future." Remembering that a poet does not necessarily write in rhyme and that rhymesters are not necessarily poets, it is indeed impressive to consider how often the poets, the men of imagination, have anticipated the essence, the soul, of movements whose details had to be worked out through long and painful years by the men of science and the men of action.

"Ah, me! into what waste latitudes in this time voyage have we wandered, like adventurous Sinbad, where the men go about as if by galvanism, with meaningless, glaring eyes, and have no soul, but only of the beaver faculty, and stomach!" The haggard despair of cotton factory and coal mine operators, Chaudos farm laborers, in these days, is painful to behold; but not so painful, hideous to the inner sense, as that brutish, God-forgetting, profit-and-loss philosophy and life-theory which we hear jangled on all hands of us, in sermons, houses, sporting clubs, meetings, articles, pulpits and platforms, everywhere, as the ultimate gospel and candid, plain English of man's life, from the throats and pens and thoughts of all-but all men!

Or this from John Ruskin: "The great cry that rises from all our manufacturing cities, louder than their furnace blast, is all in very deed for this,—that we manufacture everything there except men; we bleach cotton, and strengthen steel, and refine sugar, and shape pottery; but to brighten, to strengthen, to refine, or to form a single living spirit, never enters into our estimate of advantages. And all the evil to which that cry is urging our myriads can be met only in one way; not by teaching nor preaching, for to teach them is but to show them their misery; and to preach to them, if we do nothing more than preach, is to mock at it. It can be met only by a right understanding, on the part of all classes, of what kinds of labor are good for men, raising them and making them happy; by a determined sacrifice of such convenience, or beauty, or cheapness, as is to be got only by the degradation of the workman; and by equally determined demand for the products and results of healthy and ennobling labor."

The grewsome present and the glorious ideal both could see. But the way from the present horror to the glory of the future was dark to both, for neither Carlyle nor Ruskin had a scientific mind and neither of them lived in touch with the common life of the toiling masses. That the militant working-class movement, which both of these men condemned in their time, should now alone have the right to quote their eloquent words is a fact that most curiously illustrates the smallness of the individual will in the face of living social forces.

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VENEZUELA.

By Horace Traubel.

You all feel right on Venezuela. Poor and rich alike feel right on Venezuela. You may be starving. But you feel right on Venezuela. You may be feeling home drunk from your club, fat with surplus. But you feel right on Venezuela.

The American workman is just aching to go to war against Venezuela. He does not pay taxes enough. He is just eager to pay more taxes. He is just pushing his way up to the White House, to Congress, to the doors of the newspapers, to demand war. War, War. He sleeps for war. He wakes for war.

Boys, you are all in a fitting frame of mind. You are getting tired of your looms and your desks. You are crazy, just crazy, to exchange your room, your desk, for a musket. The musket is so much more civilized than the desk and the loom. You are tired of the slavery of labor. You demand the freedom of war.

You hate the Germans. No? Yes, you do. No?—Yes, you do. No, you do not. You hate the Germans. Why? The Germans have never done anything to make you hate him. But you hate him, nevertheless. For the Emperor William wishes you to hate him. And the Krupp gun wishes you to hate him. And Cramps' shipyard wishes you to hate him. And canned beef wishes you to hate him. And we have a few congressmen and a few millionaires who wish you to hate him.

And these, too, some of them in pulpits, and some of them in editorial chairs. And so forth. And you would not certainly despise these good people. You would rather, go out and be shot down than despise so many of the important people of the earth.

You may be deceived with the idea that your lives are of some importance. But your lives are not worth gambling about. "The Emperor is worth something." A can of spoiled beef is worth something. But you are not worth a thinker's somersault.

We are starving people like you to death every day. We cut you up in railroad accidents. We explode you in mines. We drown you in ships. We kill you with the frost. Every day we toss a respectable mess of you to the economic dogs. We waste you by the thousands. We exert every shape and degree of pressure by which to crush you to the wall. Surely you can have no conceit left. You must have ceased supposing you would count for much in any contest with a dollar-bill. You are edges, margins, cuttings, and castaways. But men you are not. For if you were men you would not waste you.

Do you not know that the liberty of the Venezuelans must be preserved at any cost? By you? By your friends? We have to give up liberty in America to get it? Your liberty is of no consequence. You have given it up long ago. You will not, dare not, make it an issue again. But you will fight for Venezuela. You are feeling all right about Venezuela. Venezuela will not do much for you. But you can do much for Venezuela. You may die for Venezuela. And after you have died for Venezuela you will feel honored after you are dead to know that your name is on the pension list. It would be a pity to ask the President or your Congressmen to go out and die for Venezuela. If they were to die what would become of Oyster Bay and who would be left to set up the primaries? So you see it would be impossible for them to die. And if the big bugs will not die there is nothing left but for the little breeches to die. It is so nice to die to save Oyster Bay and the primaries. And after you are dead you will not have to work. And if you will just die right, if you will invent some water cure operation before you are bulletted into heaven, you may survive in a monument as a benefactor of your race.

How pleasant it is to reflect upon the opportunity that Venezuela opens to you. It offers you death in a variety of ways. It offers you disease in ways equally various. It enables to see how important other people's schemes may be and how useless are your own. It reveals your dormant manhood. That manhood which dies in peace and which is resurrected on the battle-field. It reminds you how honorable it is to be any kind of a president or an emperor and how dishonorable it is to be any kind of a simple man.

So I hope you are all ready, workmen of America. We need you. We need some of you to be shot down. We need your inflamed passions. The more inflamed you are the easier it will be to get you off on our mission. When you are done your work at night lounge round in the saloons and on the street corners and talk Venezuela, Venezuela, Venezuela, until you are mad as hell. Then come to us. We will tell you what to do. A man who is mad as hell is just of a mood for our service. We always know what to do with a man who is mad as hell. We build workshops for the man. And create fever camps. And buy spoiled foods. And a man mad as hell never questions orders—or is overflood about the rights of the enemy. So when you are mad as hell come to us. Here's our card. Come right in. Ask no questions of doorknockers or ushers. We do not keep doorknockers and ushers for such as you. We keep the devil right inside for such as you. The devil, horned and hooped. The devil.

You all feel right on Venezuela. You are not poor men, working at hard trades, any longer. You are now given an exhilarating privilege. You are to be allowed to die for Wilhelmshöhe or Oyster Bay. You all feel right on Venezuela.

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THE SOCIALISM OUTSIDE.

By Peter E. Burrows.

While it is inevitable to Socialist thought that we realize our success and opinions to be directed by the ascendancy of economic conditions as well as by heredity (the biological result of that ascendancy) it is not inevitable that we should be led to look upon that economic direction in a helpless sort of way, and so fall into evolutionary Calvinism. The most useful conviction Socialist in the world is that one whose Socialism is not a thing of moods and humors but a thing outside to be directed as it directs.

There is an important difference between the man who has made Socialism his own and the man who has been made its own by Socialism. The first makes the social problem to be a thing undertaken deliberately in the leisure and liberty of his own mind; and the other believes in society as a veritable entity—a great big slow life having its own experience, its own problems, and its own movements, with which the true Socialist, half consciously and half unconsciously, shares. There is an important difference between the man who has made Socialism his own and the man who has been made its own by Socialism. The first makes the social problem to be a thing undertaken deliberately in the leisure and liberty of his own mind; and the other believes in society as a veritable entity—a great big slow life having its own experience, its own problems, and its own movements, with which the true Socialist, half consciously and half unconsciously, shares.

The development of the individual into the Socialist thinker is the most interesting, the most spiritual, and the most humanely practical process in man's experience. On the mental side it is a struggle of the self out of itself into its containing class of other selves, commencing, however, in the individual's mind alone without you that I may thereby best learn how to live with you. In competitive economics it has been this very same paradox; all the time trading myself away, from you into a corporation, a trust or syndicate of you and me. And the political history of all nations has told for ever the same story of small striving nations fighting themselves into great political wedlocks or federations and empires. Thus the slave class of modern times has been kept on the brink of blowing up competing persons fighting with each other for bread in order that they may learn how to fight with each other for all of life in the political struggles of the Socialist movement.

There is some anxiety in the minds of many truly devoted Socialist comrades as to the possibility of ever making the entire proletariat class-conscious and having a social, political and economic intelligence such as you and I have now. Will the dead weighted slavery of the workers, as we know them, ever be able to struggle into an intelligent revolution against the numerically growing-physical horde of ignorance now leaping from the cradles, the schools and the churches into his class? Must we look to education or provocation as the anti-ultimate, the immediate cause of the re-orientation of the mind? With this difficulty in mind one set of our comrades calls for reforms to improve the condition of the workers and thus by turkey diet to prepare them for the revolution, while another maintains that the slaves' extremity is Socialism's opportunity.

I hold to the latter opinion though I might dearly love a revolution by culture. I hold that the Socialist movement like the waters of a draining lake consists of some few that move first and the many who move after. Just as in the trade unions the majority of the workers have a little other intelligent relation to their unions than confidence and the will always to support a strike which has been deliberately and democratically ordered, so the vast majority of workers trained into an abiding infidelity in capitalism by a century's outrages, will have grown into them a corresponding faith in Socialism which shall be altogether in excess of their academic knowledge of its science, and having no other outlet than the intellectuals may have, they are not only as sure, but surer Socialists than many of their leaders. These multitudes furnish us, by their faith, their necessities, their extremity and their habits of trade unionism, with all the class-consciousness that is needed. Thus it is a revolution, impelled from outside, and if intelligently directed from within, a revolution that is nearly inevitable.

The Socialist outside, the glad man of the people, which I am thinking of in this paper, consists of that multitude and their wrongs. The movement is not an event but a long, long series of events. Just moving. And no agitator can tell and no philosopher can see it all. But what we know of it we can report, and what we may therefrom anticipate, that we may hopefully declare.

It is the duty of every Socialist voter to vote for Socialism and the work of the agitator is to help him on. The work of the Socialist agitator is to make people socially intelligent and conscious of the Socialist movement as it is developing outside of organized Socialism as well as within; and to persuade them to join that organization of conscious Socialism to meet the unconscious Socialism of current events and of history. In the doing of this the agitator's aim, and the aim of all agitators, should be directed to the work of making the proletariat class conscious of the most important part they are to play in hastening the Socialist civilization. The second thing to be done is to facilitate such reforms as will keep the proletariat in fighting order, so to speak, for the accomplishment of their now necessary role of revolutionary agitators out to the new civilization.

But even so the agitator must not stamp the feet while the realist mistakes his knowledge of the real world without for that real world itself. While he scourges the idealist with his knowledge calling it law, the idealist scourges him with his impression calling it truth. Yet the law and the truth are one, and is at an equal distance outside of them both; it is a social movement imperatively calling upon both of us to move with it. When the realist clears his mind of the cant which confounds cosmic and evolutionary laws with the statement of them, and the idealist clears his mind of the cant which confounds impres-

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rents from one or other of these two fundamental forces of present society. Now, from the moment mankind entered into any form of even crudest society the Socialist movement began, the movement towards collectivism, and from that same movement the antagonistic movement towards anarchy in the name of private property commenced. Socialism though it was always the foregone conclusion of any entrance into society by men, was nevertheless only the unconsciously trodden path of history up to the beginning of the 19th century. From thence on it has become and shall increasingly become the conscious intention of all intelligent public life. That intention has now to be cultivated in that suffering class for whose salvation it is the all-absorbing need. It is theirs to be the custodian of the intention that shall save the world. It may be noted that the two minds of the two anti-polar classes have these contradictions. It is the characteristic of the social mind to look for and to keep its essential things on the outside of it and in the community, while the individualistic mind aims always at something in the external life; the individualist seeks the external life in himself or takes steps to get it there. As both of these are idealists, and not one of them only, their idealism is affected accordingly.

Because Socialism is verily and individualism is falsity the latter is compelled for a great part of its activities, to dig and build outside of himself. But even in that act he is constrained by his anti-social falsity to affirm that his work is the picture or reflection of himself. A nation, or a great building in a city is to this idealist only so many monuments of the genius or munificence of some private persons. What he cannot put into his pockets he puts into a picture gallery of private persons called citizens. As an owner he tries to include the outside world; as an artist he looks upon the outside world as that which includes him, his frame merely. This is the range of the ego idealism of private property ultimatum in anarchy.

On the other hand, the idealism of the Socialist corresponds with the movements of economic production. It contemplates the soul of man beautifying itself by organizations, combinations, and solidarity. The initial point of moral beauty is that farthest away from ego and its ultimate is that point where ego meeting the approaching external Socialism passes into it.

Human wisdom may thus be said to consist of a man's ability to separate biography from history; while human virtue is the will, based upon such ability, to choose the larger social interest; and Socialism is the sum, in practice, of such ability and such will of the larger-life in national and world administration.

The life of man since it passed from biography to history has been such an external movement around two poles; and, internally, one against each other, an antithesis of the classes of property and of the single personal mind into group mind and from thence to the last time when all mankind shall have but one general interest and one opinion in economics.

This evolution of the mind is not a conscious or voluntary effort. It is a something that is taking place within men in consequence of that which is outside. The outside is the real and causal force; the inside is the ideal consequent. The real, as we comprehend when all the real of the one is all the vision of the other.

Misunderstanding between the realist and idealist in Socialism takes place when the idealist attempts to take the initiative. The idealist Socialist trusting to his own impressions and thinking they are his own home-bred products instead of what they truly are, only his broken images of the real Socialism then actually outside, attempts to adjust it to his imperfect picture. The horizon of the single mind never being identical with the available fields and powers of practice he is a light but not a leader of men out to the real Socialism which is taking place around us and inviting our minds and wills towards it. When the idealist learns that the Socialism of men is all outside of him hidden in the social, he will be wiser. He will not try to adjust it to his imperfect picture. The horizon of the single mind never being identical with the available fields and powers of practice he is a light but not a leader of men out to the real Socialism which is taking place around us and inviting our minds and wills towards it.

The realist differs very little in the nature of his error and his consequent limitations, from the idealist. The realist mistakes the impression for the real that stamped it, and thinks somewhat of us to move with it. When the idealist clears his mind of the cant which confounds cosmic and evolutionary laws with the statement of them, and the idealist clears his mind of the cant which confounds impres-

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Our Esteemed Contemporaries

(And OTHERS)

Harpers Weekly. Some Republican newspapers seem to have entered into a conspiracy of silence for the purpose of hiding from thoughtful persons the ominous significance of the returns exhibiting the growth of Socialism during the last two years. It is no sincere or far-sighted upholder of individualism who acts upon the theory that anything is to be gained by a suppression of unwelcome facts. If, on the face of official statistics, there is spread proof of the fact that Socialism is likely two years hence to become as formidable a political power in this country as Populism was ten years ago, the sooner the fact is recognized the better. Eternal vigilance is the price of economical salvation. Individuals cannot conjure the spectre of Socialism by shutting their eyes and pretending that they see no signs of it. The startling fact is that while Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist candidate for President in 1900, received but 88,000 votes, over 400,000 votes were polled for Socialist candidates for Congress at the recent general election. If the voting strength of Socialists should increase at the same rate during the next two years—that is to say, at the rate of 500 per cent—they would be able to cast almost two million votes in November, 1904. In other words, the Socialist vote in 1892, might carry a few states, and would hold the balance of power in others. What is much more serious, they might tempt one of the great political parties in 1908 to a species of fusion such as Mr. Bryan brought about between the Democratic and Populist parties in 1896. It is not by blinking and pretending to ignore it that the best means of coping with so grave a danger can be devised.

Cleveland Citizen. What bears all the emblems of a paid puff has been printed in one or two obscure sheets in which the bold statement is made that one-half the labor papers in the country are booming W. R. Hearst, the millionaire newspaper proprietor, for President. The fact is, less than half a dozen labor (?) papers are doing so, and one of the most hysterical, the "Labor Compendium" of St. Louis, which has howled loudly for many moons "to keep politics out of the union," has evidently misjudged the temper of its readers, for now that organ is aiming to soften criticism by making John Mitchell the fall for its Hearst kite. This is an insult to Mitchell and all organized labor. In the first place, the miners' president has announced several times that he will stand for no political office, and for that reason the "Compendium's" scheme to use his name for bargaining purposes is shameful. Secondly, the "Compendium" betrays its contempt for organized labor when one of its most prominent members is placed in a position of playing second fiddle to a millionaire. If this disgusting sheet in St. Louis wants to break into politics, why doesn't it show at least decency enough to boom Mitchell for President, or admit that it wants to get close to a millionaire's barrel? Labor is forever regarded inferior to capital by the latter, which is not enough, but when a contented organ of the National Building Trades Council of America, and whose editor is supposed to be secretary of that Council, deliberately endorses by its own acts that vicious principle, it's time that those union men who are in a position to go after that paper and its editor with a club get busy. Labor is prior to and above capital, and any union man who would confer honors upon a millionaire in preference to a trade unionist who has given his loyalty to his class ought to resign from his organization and to over to the class that he admires, aids and defends.

Philadelphia North American. The superintendent of one of the silk mills in which children are employed at night, who is also a stockholder of the company, assuming to speak for the silk manufacturers generally, says: "The thing is certain—tinkering with existing conditions will drive the silk mills out of Pennsylvania to states where labor conditions are satisfactory. As matters stand, Pennsylvania has a lower age limit than any of her neighbors, and that fact is responsible for much of the prosperity of the state. If the age limit be raised, even though the raise be only of one year, the factories will go over into New York or New Jersey."

These are the "existing conditions" which must not be tinkered with. Deliberate violation of the law of the State by the mill-owning companies; systematic refusal by state officials to compel obedience to the law; cold-blooded sacrifice of human bodies and souls to the Moloch of corporate greed. To enforce the law, to compel officials to do their duty, to abolish child labor in Pennsylvania, to deprive capital's cannibal god of his banquet of infant's flesh, is to "tinker" with vested iniquities and imperil the prosperity of the state.

If the property of this commonwealth has been built upon the graves of murdered babes and cemented with their blood, it is a monument to greed, an altar erected for the worship of the devil, that must be overturned too. It is a monstrous lie that the prosperity of Pennsylvania rests upon the infamy of a legislature that made the state government a kidnapper for slave drivers. The gorged wolf's contentment and the welfare of the flock are not one and the same thing.

The wolf threatens to change his lair and hunt on another range if the shepherd gets faithful dogs on guard over the flock and leads his run. Good! When the wolf howls there is no mistaking him for an honest dog. The silk factories will be moved if infant slavery is abolished in Pennsylvania. It is the threat of the mill masters. If the companies cannot operate in con-

formity with statute and moral law, they should be driven out of the state. It is immaterial to Pennsylvania where they go, but preferably they may go to the pit which gave birth to their system of mercenary infanticide.

Cleveland Citizen. The New York "Commercial" calls upon Congress, along with scores of other capitalist dailies, to kill the eight-hour bill, assuring the politicians that they need have no fear of the "labor vote." "The labor vote," says the "Commercial," "is something mighty close to nothing." The "Commercial" is frank and at the same time wholly correct. The "labor vote" is largely Republican and Democratic, and therefore divided and ineffective. Yes, it is mighty close to nothing—it has gained nothing, and cannot where one-half is used to destroy the other half. But we surmise if the both halves united in a separate party based on the class interests of labor the "Commercial" would whistle another tune.

Des Moines Register and Leader. One of the important features of the last election attracting attention now that the results are being reviewed, was the growth of the Socialist Party. As a political organization it has not heretofore been a factor, for it has never commanded votes enough to hold the balance of power in any one of the close States, but its gains this year have significance. Two years ago the vote for Eugene Debs was only 86,000 in the United States, but at the recent election the party cast about 400,000 votes. In Ohio its vote will make it third on the official ballot next year.

The growth of the party was uniform over the country, showing that it was not accounted for by the candidates or peculiar political conditions of any one locality, but must be attributed to a general trend of public thought. The success was as large proportionally in Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Iowa as it was in the manufacturing districts of the East where the Socialistic doctrines have been more systematically propagated.

Our Esteemed Contemporaries

(And OTHERS)

The same drift of opinion developed in the recent convention of the Federation of Labor at New Orleans, where an attempt to commit the organization to the principles of Socialism failed by the very close vote of 4,944 to 4,774, with the influence of such leaders as Gompers helping against it.

Undoubtedly the massing of capital that has been going on, the impressive growth of corporations, and the apparent dwarfing of the individual, as an independent factor in the industrial world, have caused this awakening of socialistic sentiment. The public has been prepared by these developments to receive the doctrines of state ownership of utilities and state management of industries more readily than ever before, and the socialistic teachers have improved their opportunity.

Catholic Citizen, Milwaukee. The tendency and direction of industrial evolution is just now towards Socialism. Two generations ago, when the political evolution was towards constitutionalism and democracy, unwise churchmen permitted the altar to be too much associated with the throne and the ancient regime. In that way the church lost influence with the growing tendency. We see no reason why this mistake should be repeated in the case of industrial evolution.

From a Butte paper we take the following piece of news, interesting both to Socialists and to trade unionists: "The American Labor Union is rapidly becoming the great power in the West and each day its strength is being greatly added to. Yesterday President Dan McDonald received an application for affiliation from the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, a very large organization with more than 40,000 members, with headquarters at San Francisco. President George Kestel is the head of the organization, and in a letter accompanying the application he stated that according to a ballot taken short time ago, the members were almost a unit in favor of affiliation with the American Labor Union."

"The Brotherhood is a great power in the West, and its co-operation with the American Labor Union will strengthen materially both organizations. It extends all along the Pacific coast from Vancouver all the way down past the Mexican boundary. Nearly all the men on all the roads on the coast are members of the Brotherhood, and on the Southern Pacific practically all the employees belong to the order. There are now twenty-six organizations in the field, and the Brotherhood is spreading and increasing rapidly."

"A few months ago, at the assembly of the delegates of the different lodges, the matter of applying for affiliation with the American Labor Union was brought up and favorably reported. In order to give all the members a voice, a ballot was taken, with the result that nearly all voted in favor of the proposition."

The Brotherhood of Railway Employees is a comparatively young organization, formed on lines somewhat similar to those of the American Railway Union, which is well remembered for the great Chicago strike of 1891. It takes in railway workers of all sorts—engineers, firemen, conductors, brakemen, switchmen, etc., on a basis of industrial organization, instead of the old plan of trade autonomy. It disclaims any hostility toward the older brotherhoods of the several railway trades, but has been bitterly opposed by their officers. The B. R. of E. is as radical as the older brotherhoods are conservative, and has shown considerable vitality and fighting power. Its membership is chiefly in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain states, although it has branches as far east as Pennsylvania.

The Social Democratic Party of New York is the same as the Socialist Party of

PARTY NOTES.

Comrade George G. Cutting has been elected Organizer for the city of Boston. He is desirous of getting all Boston readers of The Worker to join the Socialist Party...

Comrade Sweetland, of Bristol, Conn., writes to express his satisfaction with Comrade White's article on "Union Labor Parties and the Experience of the Economic League in Connecticut," published in our issue of January 4.

Howard H. Caldwell has written a leaflet entitled "Prosperity," which has been published for campaign use by Local Philadelphia. Orders should be sent to Socialist Headquarters, 1305 Arch street, Philadelphia.

Comrade Hogan, of Baltimore, has published a leaflet from an address on Socialism recently delivered by him in that city. Copies can be had for 50 cents a hundred from J. C. Hogan, 3220 Cedar avenue, Baltimore, Md.

Comrade Knox, of Richmond, Va., writes: "Chase's speech here was O. K. The weather was very bad and the crowd very small, but the meeting was a success, in spite of all."

Father McGrady spoke at Jeffersonville, Ind., on Wednesday of this week.

Local Toledo has secured the services of Comrade Charles R. Martin as local organizer and, as our correspondent writes, "those who know him know that Local Toledo will be heard from in consequence." The party will hold its city convention on February 1, and expects to carry on an aggressive campaign for the spring election.

Five new organizations have been formed in Ohio since January 1, the latest one being Martin's Ferry, with 16 charter members. Others are in process of formation and an era of organization seems to have seized the Ohio comrades.

Ohio has a State Committee composed of one member from each Congressional district, and eight members of this committee have already been elected. All important matters will be submitted to this committee for a vote.

McGrady, Carey, Goebel, Sweetland, Geiger and Robertson all have meetings arranged for Ohio during February. Several will make short tours. George H. Goebel will spend about ten days in the state on his return from the National Committee meeting.

A short tour of Southern Indiana for Father McGrady is desired for March. Those desiring dates, address W. G. Critchlow, 25 Pruden Building, Dayton, Ohio.

A St. Louis comrade whose work frequently carries him to Little Rock, Ark., writes: "They have a great deal to recommend to you. Slowly but surely they are making headway. Comrades Lowry and Pervin have great talent and push. Introducing Socialism in the South is hard work and the comrades have to undergo all the hardships of workers in a pioneer movement."

The Socialists of Hartford, Conn., hold a public mass meeting in Germania Cycle Club Hall, Central Row, opposite the Postoffice, on Friday evening, Jan. 30. Comrades Brown and others will speak, and who are interested in Socialism are invited to attend.

The convention of the Socialist Party in Manchester Township, New Jersey, will be held at the Cedar Cliff Hotel, Belmont avenue, Haledon, on Saturday, Jan. 31, at 8 P. M. for the purpose of nominating candidates for the spring election.

The Ohio Society of State having tied out the party emblem adopted by the Socialists at that state—the Globe and Clasped Hands—Local Fortoria favors the adoption of the Arm and Torch, the same emblem that is used in New York.

New York City.

The Social Democratic Educational Club of the 9th A. is showing great activity. Sunday evening, Jan. 25, Comrade Baroness spoke, Wednesday evening Comrade Riches lectured on "The French Revolution," Thursday evening Comrade S. Epstein will discuss "Profit," Friday evening Comrade Rosenzweig will deliver a lecture on a scientific subject, and on Sunday evening, Feb. 1, Comrade Simon Folsch will lecture. Every Tuesday evening regular meetings of the club are held. All Socialists and sympathizers are invited to attend the lectures and visit the reading room at 84 Orchard street.

James N. Wood will speak on "Socialism and Politics" at the Socialist Literary Society, 241 East Broadway, on Sunday evening, Feb. 1.

H. Gaylord Wilschire will speak on "The Inevitability of Socialism" on Friday evening, Feb. 6, before the West Side Socialist Club, in Clark's Hall, northwest corner of Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, second floor.

Branch 2 of the 24th A. D. will hold a mass-meeting to organize a Bohemian branch in the 24th A. D. on Saturday, Jan. 31, at Zimmerman's Hall, 510 East Fifty-fourth street, between First and Second avenues. Comrades Nowak and Engel will address the meeting in Bohemian, and Comrade Spargo and others in English. One thousand circulars advertising the meeting will be printed and the comrades are requested to come to headquarters on Thursday, Friday and Saturday evenings to distribute them. It was also decided to hold a festival to raise funds on Saturday evening, Feb. 28, at the clubrooms of the Socialist Educational League, 953 Second avenue. Comrades Planzer, Kix and Wier were elected as arrangements committee. This branch meets every Monday evening at 953 Second avenue, and all English-speaking Socialists in the 24th Assembly District are requested to join.

Comrade G. H. Gordon will speak on "The Democratization of Industry" on Friday evening, Jan. 30, at the Socialist Educational League, 953 Second avenue, and on Sunday evening, Feb. 1, Frederick Krafft will discuss the question, "Is Our Country a Republic?" The League has arranged two lectures for German friends and sympathizers: on Friday evening, Feb. 13, Comrade O. Sattler will speak on "Die Kunst und die Arbeiter Klasse," and on Friday evening, Feb. 20, Dr. S. Ingemann will lecture on "Saint Simon und seine Schule." The regular Sunday evening lectures in English will be continued, and among those who will speak in the near future are Margaret Halle, Mrs. Fraser, Courtenay Lemon, Kate Richards O'Hare, Mrs. Lease and others.

L. D. Mayes will speak on the "Lesson of the Coal Strike" on Sunday evening, Feb. 1, at 2:30 p.m. at Morrisania Park, 170th street and Third avenue.

Owen R. Lovejoy, of Mount Vernon, will speak on "Socialism vs. Class Hatred" on Friday evening, Jan. 30, at the old Methodist church on Second street, corner of Park avenue, Williamsbridge.

The Young People's Social Democratic Club of Yorkville will give a concert and ball on March 14 in the clubhouse. Comrades Friedl, Lentz and A. Oerter constitute the arrangement committee. At the last meeting the club discussed the subject "How to Acquire the Property of the Capitalist," and at the next meeting each comrade will be expected to make a short speech on any phase of Socialism.

The meeting of the Young Men's Social Democratic Club of Brooklyn on Thursday, Jan. 22, was the first held at the new Labor Lyceum and it was well attended. The plan the club is preparing to increase the membership will soon go into effect. The discussion on the party platform was a good one, and it was decided to continue on the same subject the next meeting.

The Central Committee of Local New Haven met at 746 Chapel street Sunday, Jan. 25, and made arrangements for the city election. It was decided to have Geo. D. Herron and Thos. McGrady speak in New Haven before the election, which takes place in April. A committee was also elected to publish a local Socialist paper during the campaign. Ten of the fifteen wards in the city have ward clubs, and the remaining wards will be made to get their remaining wards in line soon. The Committee issued a call for a city convention, as follows:

To the Voters of the Socialist Party in New Haven, Conn.: You are hereby notified to attend the ward caucuses of the Socialist Party in your respective wards during the first ten days in February to nominate candidates for ward offices and elect delegates to the city convention, which will meet at Aurora Hall, 135 Union street, Saturday, Feb. 14.

Each ward that is organized will elect three delegates to the city convention. First Ward caucus meets at 216 State street. Second Ward meets at 499 Congress avenue. Third Ward meets at 499 Congress avenue. Fourth Ward meets at 84 1/2 Dewitt street. Fifth Ward meets at 216 State street. Sixth Ward meets at 115 Hamilton street. Seventh Ward meets at 115 Hamilton street. Eighth Ward meets at 800 State street. Ninth Ward meets at 101 Footle street. Tenth Ward meets at 101 Footle street. Eleventh Ward meets at 229 Exchange street.

JULIUS PABCHT, Organizer.

WEST SIDE LECTURES. The West Side Socialist Club holds public meetings every Friday evening at 8 p. m., in Clark's Hall, northwest corner of Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, New York. The program of free lectures for February is as follows: Feb. 6—H. Gaylord Wilschire: "The Inevitability of Socialism." Feb. 13—Kate Richards O'Hare: "Woman's Share in Labor's Struggle." Feb. 20—Mary E. Lease: "The Religion of the Twentieth Century." Feb. 27—Charles Uffert: "The Co-operative Commonwealth."

COLONIAL HALL LECTURES. The Colonial Socialist Club holds public meetings every Sunday evening, at 8 p. m., in Colonial Hall, 101st street and Columbus avenue, New York. The program of free lectures for February is as follows: Feb. 1—Algernon Lee: "Wage Slavery and the Way Out." Feb. 8—Algernon Lee: "Labor Politics and Socialist Policies." Feb. 15—Charles Frederick Adams: "Should the Masses Be Only Employees of the Classes?" Feb. 22—Courtenay Lemon: "The Socialist View of the State, State Interference and State Capitalism."

SOCIALIST LITERARY SOCIETY. The Socialist Literary Society, at 241 East Broadway, New York, is growing in membership and in usefulness. The lectures are well attended and the reading room, which is open from 7:30 to 11:30 every evening and all day on Sundays and holidays, has many visitors, attracted by the large number of periodicals kept on file. The program of free lectures for Sundays in February is as follows: Feb. 1, S. P. M.—James N. Wood: "Socialism and American Politics." Feb. 8, 3 P. M.—Mrs. Alex. Fraser: "The Tragedy of the Machine." Feb. 15, S. P. M.—Daniel K. Young: "Socialism and Business." Feb. 22—George D. Herron. Feb. 29—Margaret Halle. On Saturday, Feb. 14, the society will give a concert and entertainment. A class in social economics has been organized and the first lesson will be given by Comrade O'Hare on Thursday evening, Jan. 29, at 8 P. M. Only those who are members of the society are eligible to membership in this class.

LOCAL NEW YORK. Comrade Henry L. Slobodin was chairman, and Comrade Belms vice-chairman, at the meeting of the General Committee. Sixteen new members were reported. The Auditing Committee reported that it had not finished its labors, so an informal report was made. The officers elected for the next six months are: Organizer, James N. Wood; Recording Secretary, E. M. Martin; Treasurer, William J. F. Hanneman; Controller, E. S. Epstein; Sergeant-at-Arms, Fred Paulitsch. Executive Committee: Searing, Kapely, Wright, Lewis, Clarke, Wilkins, Anderson. Grievance Committee: Boudin, Phillips, Engle, Clarke, Lichenstein. Credential Committee: Frenchman, Ramm, Hannemann. Auditing Committee for State Committee: E. Wolf, Goldberg, and Wisner. Auditing Committee: Goldberg, Wisner, and Bartholomew. Finance Committee: Abrams, Haupt, Wilkins, Solomon, Paulitsch, Young, and Meyer. Press Committee: Lee, Spargo, Boudin.

At the next meeting of the General Committee Comrade Spargo will outline a plan for establishing a school of Socialism. The consideration of ways and means of raising the indebtedness of the local was also made a special order of business for the next meeting.

KINGS COUNTY. The Kings County Committee held its regular meeting in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum on January 24. Ten applicants were admitted to membership. The May Day Committee have arranged for a demonstration, public speaking, etc., for the 1st of May, and a ball and concert on the second day. The organizer reports that the next meeting of the Daily Globe Conference of Brooklyn will be held on Wednesday, February 4, at the Labor Lyceum, 955 Woughly avenue. Trades unions are being visited in the interest of the Daily Globe. Organizer complains that proper returns are not made to as newly elected officers in branches.

It was decided to defer action on the State Committee debt until next meeting. The publishers of the "Socialist Bulletin" were requested to accept the organizer, treasurer, financial and recording secretaries as an advisory board of editors. The secretary was instructed to ask the branches to vote on the general organizer and division organizers, the vote to be sent in not later than February 24. The plan to reorganize Brooklyn into seven divisions, as presented by Comrade Hoizer at last meeting, was accepted. The following officers were elected for the ensuing term: Recording Secretary, Alex. Fraser; Financial Secretary, C. W. Cavanaugh; Treasurer, T. A. Hopkins; Auditing Committee, Comrades Pelsner, Koenig and Hofstad; Credential Committee, Comrades Hopkins, Well and Pelsner.

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JULIUS PABCHT, Organizer.

THE COMING TIME. Then a man shall work and bethink him, and rejoice in the deeds of his hand, Nor yet come home in the even too faint and weary to stand. Men in that time coming shall work, and have no fear For to-morrow's lack of earning and the hunger-wolf anear. O strange, new, wonderful justice! But for whom shall we gather the gain? For ourselves and for each of our fellows, and no hand shall labor in vain. Then all mine and all thine shall be ours, and no more shall any man crave For riches that serve for nothing but to fetter a friend for a slave. And what wealth there shall be left us when none shall gather gold To buy his friend in the market and pinch and pine the sold? Nay, what save the lovely city, and the little house on the hill, And the wastes and the woodland beauty, and the happy fields we till, And the homes of ancient stories, the tombs of the mighty dead; And the wise men seeking out marvels and the poet's teeming head. And the painter's hand of wonder, and the marvellous fiddle-bow, And the handed choirs of music, all those that do and know. For all these shall be ours and all men's, nor shall any lack a share Of the toil and the gain of living in the days when the world grows fair. —William Morris.

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THE MOST IMMEDIATE OF IMMEDIATE DEMANDS. The Socialist Party, as such, was originally intended to be a means to an end—that is, the propagator of Socialism, which implies the abolition of private capital and the introduction of the Co-operative Commonwealth. As a means to this end it adopted a platform in which it did not only declare its fundamental principles and the truths and laws upon which those principles are founded, but attached a series of demands wholly superfluous and absolutely misleading as to the final demand embodied in its body proper. At best, all "immediate demands" are an attempt at reconciling irreconcilables. They are a subterfuge for the reform element that has flocked to the Socialist Party in the last few months. Hence the rapid and almost unexpected growth of the party which is highly suggestive of a deteriorative force in its platform and constitution, especially so because the laboring forces of the United States are favoring more than ever any reform measures or improvements that may be suggested, and are coming to realize that their hopes for a betterment of their conditions must not be centered upon those who are directly interested in maintaining a conservative policy. It is for this superfluous reform elements toward the party that all the revolutionary Socialists in the party should make all efforts worthy of their cause, to preserve, strengthen, and re-invigorate the membership with the class-character of the Socialist movement, and not rely solely upon their periodicals and Socialist Party press.

Our liberal-union tactics and the state autonomy granted by our constitution have given the political frontier a chance to drift far away from the usual attachments, and the getting away from the old moorings when we separated from the S. L. P. threatens to end in a shipwreck.

After a declaration for the abolition of classes, the restoration of land and of all means of production and distribution, and the distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present planless production, it seems like tautology to propose with a view to "immediate improvement" in the condition of labor, "Reduction of hours of labor," in the face of everlasting exploitation of labor, "The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, etc.," and of all the means of production and distribution, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth, "Inventions to be free to all, the inventors to be remunerated by the nation," for the benefit of a few capitalists. Such like and like propositions have been embodied in the "immediate demand" of Socialist parties in this country and have been at all times a laughing stock for thinking men inside and outside of the movement.

Some of the measures proposed are so revolutionary that the capitalist class could as well resign itself to be governed as to pose as the ruler without any powers attached to the office.

Now as to the laborer, for whose benefit such extravagant demands are made, and whose vote is supposed to be caught and nothing else, he, class-conscious or class-unconscious, he knows that it requires the political powers to introduce any political measure with a view to its enforcement. The laborer has seen and learned by experience that no legislation is effective or can be effective unless the legislative action is combined with the power of enforcement. Therefore he is not willing to vote in favor of the best of immediate demands because he knows that, with the election of the party that proposes such extravagant measures, he puts into power a party that is ready to abolish capitalism in its entirety. Thus the substance does not even do its work effectively and serves no other purpose than to hinder the movement from its natural and rational development.

The Socialist Party has no justification for its existence, other than to agitate, organize, and clear the way toward the institution of Socialism. To this end and as a means to this end it may take a friendly, respectful stand toward all trade unions and give help without compromising its class character and without losing its dignity as the army proper to which the economic labor organizations should be nothing else but auxiliary bodies for re-enforcement. To command the respect and admiration of the workman and to make him an ardent worker for the ideals of the party, the party must keep clear of middle-class tactics, reform, humanism, and all such things. This can do only by squarely standing upon the most immediate of "immediate demands," a demand that every workman will be compelled to stand by, sooner or later—that is, the abolition of exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class, and the restoration of all powers, assumed by the class now owning all the means of production and distribution, to the producers of all wealth. This demand becomes more and more immediate as the capitalist system is nearing the summit of its power and is bound to drive to the background all other "immediate demands." As the political power of the working class will gradually condense itself into one party and assimilate and absorb all reform elements, it should be the special mission of the Socialist Party to create a platform upon which such assimilation and absorption is possible.

CARL PANKOPF. —Comrades who are members of trade unions will find it worth-while to circulate Lee's "Labor Politics and Socialist Policies" among their fellow unionists. Price, postpaid, 3 cents a copy; ten copies for 20 cents; fifty for 85 cents; one hundred or more at 15 cents each. Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York.

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TRE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE TRADE UNIONS.

The Duty the Party Ows the Unions and What It Can Rightly Demand of Them.

What relations should subsist between the Socialist Party and the trade unions? What is the duty of the Socialist Party and of individual Socialists toward the unions? What, on the other hand, does the Socialist Party have a right to ask of the unions?

These are questions that must be answered, for the two movements are here to stay; both are growing in strength and developing in spirit and policy; they are made up of members of the same class and, in their different ways, deal with the same problem; they must hold close relations of some sort, either harmonious and mutually helpful or discordant and injurious to both.

In our attempt to answer these questions we address ourselves both to members and sympathizers of the Socialist Party, whether they are trade unionists or not, and to trade unionists of every shade of political opinion. We believe that the answer which we shall present embodies the accepted opinion of the Socialist Party upon this subject, as developed by years of experience.

The Common Ground.

The Socialist Party has its sole reason for existence in the division of society into classes, the exploitation and oppression of the working class, and the necessity for its emancipation. Neither of the old parties openly stand for the interests of any one class; they pretend not to recognize the existence of classes; each of them claims to represent the interests of all the people. But facts are stubborn and do not disappear because men deny their existence. The class struggle is a fact; and the very parties which, in their ante-election professions, refuse to see it, in their post-election practices, give the most striking illustrations of its force; they pretend to represent all the people in order that they may win political power with which to serve a part of the people at the expense of the rest. The Socialist Party takes no such false position. It claims to represent only a part of the people—the more numerous and the only useful class—as against the small and useless class of exploiters whom the old parties serve.

The Socialist Party, then, is an organization founded on working-class interest and having as its object the advancement of the interests of the workers as against those of the capitalists.

The trade unions in general have, in the past, refused to admit in words the existence of the class struggle between capitalists and workers; some of them still do not clearly recognize it; we often hear labor leaders (even honest ones) talking in the same strain with old-party politicians about the "brotherhood of Capital and Labor" and declaring that the object of the unions is not to fight the capitalists but "to establish harmony between employers and employed." But the acts of the unions fortunately belie their words. Just as the old-party politicians, denying the existence of classes, faithfully serve the capitalist class, so the unions, denying the existence of class interests, yet put forth every effort and often make heroic sacrifices in fighting for the interests of the working class against their employers. It is not words that count, but acts; and the action of the unions, in demanding reduction of working hours or increase of pay or improvement of the conditions of labor, against the will and the interest of the employers, and in fighting for these objects with such weapons as the strike, the boycott, and the label—such action proves that the only reason for their existence is in the antagonistic interests of the working class and the employing class.

The trade unions, then, like the Socialist Party are organizations founded on working-class interests and having as their object the advancement of the interests of the workers as against those of the capitalists.

This being the common ground—and, as we shall show, the whole of the common ground—of the two movements, what is the duty of Socialists, as a party and as individuals, toward the unions?

It is the duty of Socialists as individuals—as has been declared in our last national convention—to join the unions of their various crafts, where such exist, and to act in good faith as members.

It is the duty of the party to lend its support to the unions in their struggles—its financial support when necessary and feasible (as it has done, most energetically, in the late miners' strike), and at all times its moral support, which is often still more valuable. The national, state, and local platforms of the Socialist Party, its papers and pamphlets and leaflets, and the utterances of its candidates and other spokesmen all help to fulfill this obligation.

This much we owe to the unions simply because they are organizations of our class; this much they have a right to demand of us; and wherever the party organization or any of its members fail to do these things they fall of doing their full duty as Socialists.

Our Separate Tasks.

But while the Socialist Party and the unions have this common ground, they are far from being identical. Both their purposes and their methods are different, though not antagonistic. Each has its work, which the other cannot do, and each must leave the other free to perform its special function.

The specific purpose of the unions is to carry on the battles of the working class in detail under the conditions of the capitalist system. So long as capitalism lasts the workers will be overworked and robbed and oppressed. Trade unions cannot put a stop to this. But they often can and do somewhat lighten the burden of toil and some-

to form rival unions. With equal reason, the Socialist Party objects if the unions seek to form a new party. In the nature of things, as pointed out before, the union must include men of all political beliefs. A party can include only men who agree in political belief. The union which attempts to be also a political party, therefore, must either cease to be a real union or fail to be a real party. The Socialist Party must maintain its right to the political field as strictly as it withholds its hand from the industrial field.

"Second, the unions are the great primary school of the working class. Experience shows that it is impossible, as reason shows that it would be unwise, to prevent the discussion of political questions there. There is politics in every union in the land. It is well that it should take the form of open discussion, not of secret intrigue. We have a right to ask, therefore, that the unions give an opportunity in their meetings for free discussion of political questions and that Socialists be given exactly the same chance as the advocates of other parties.

The Only Way to Win.

This brings us to the final point—a word of counsel to Socialists in the unions.

Aside from your duty as union members, your one duty there as Socialists is to make more Socialists. You cannot do this by intrigue nor by tricks of parliamentary law nor by any means except convincing argument and good example.

It is not going to do the party any good to "capture" a union; it is likely to harm both the union and the party. An "endorsement" is not worth the paper it is written on unless it is the cheerful expression of the honest conviction of a majority of the members.

The Socialist Party is not in good faith; nothing but gained otherwise will help it in the least; and any temptation to gain apparent victories by other means should be sternly put aside.

SOCIALISM AND TRADE UNIONISM

The following resolution was adopted by the Socialist Party in National Convention at Indianapolis, Ind., on July 31, 1901:

"The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, declares that the trade union movement and independent political action are the emancipating factors of the wage-working class. The trade union movement is the natural result of capitalist production and represents the economic side of the working class movement. We consider it the duty of the Socialists to join the unions of their respective trades and assist in building up and unifying the trades and labor organizations. We recognize that trade unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds as far as political affiliation is concerned. It is the duty of the Socialist Party to assist in building up a strong political movement of the wage-working class, whose ultimate aim and object must be the abolition of wage slavery and the establishment of a co-operative state of society based on the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution."

The Socialist Party is known in the state of New York under the name of Social Democratic Party, and its emblem is the Arm and Torch.

BALLAD OF THE SHOP GIRL.

The wolf of poverty followed me on Through the dingy streets of the town; So close beside that his shaggy hide Might almost brush my gown; And after him trust, the wolves of lust, Come eager to drag me down.

And body and soul have a scanty dole From the pittance that I earn; And cold as the breath of the wind of death Are the lessons that I learn; With a pitiful dug at my weary feet And a trap at every turn.

WHAT WORKINGMEN'S VOTES CAN DO.

Benefits and Limitations of Trade Unions—How Labor Is Robbed—How to Stop the Robbery.

By Benjamin Hanford.

There are about two hundred thousand persons employed in the boot and shoe industry in the United States. Let these persons be organized to the last man, woman and child, and though they will thereby be able to accomplish some things, or even great things, there is a point at which their control over their own lives and destinies must cease. Through effective organization they can say that when employed they will not work longer than a certain number of hours per day, and that for these hours they shall receive a certain price. The hours may be short and the price high, but purely as a trade union that is the limit of their powers at their maximum of possible success. Having fixed the hours of labor and the price to be paid for their labor, there is left an all-important thing which they cannot control. THEY CANNOT PROVIDE THEMSELVES WITH EMPLOYMENT. THEY CANNOT MAKE THE BOSS EMPLOY ALL OF THEM. Let the hours of labor be ever so short, let the wage be ever so high, there will be shoemakers who will get no wage, for there will be shoemakers who have no work.

Benefits and Limitations of Trade Unionism.

"But," say some, "given that complete organization of our craft, we can secure work for the unemployed by making hours constantly shorter and constantly raising the scale of wages, so that even at the shortest hours the wages received will support the worker in comfort." When the hours of labor are so low and the wages of labor are so high that PROFIT CEASES, at that instant PRODUCTION CEASES; and when production ceases, when our shoe factory is closed, the shoemaker has no work at all, longer or for any price. The shoemaker must learn that in a society where one man or a group of men own the shoe factories, the shoemaking machinery, and the materials of which shoes are made, such owners of the means of producing shoes allow those forces to be set in operation only when their operation will produce profits. The object of the owner of the shoe factory is not primarily to produce shoes, but to produce shoes to be sold at a profit. His main purpose, his great purpose, his only purpose, is to get profits. Therefore, when the trade union is strong enough to reduce hours and raise wages to a point where the capitalist class no longer get profits, the capitalist class, through their powers as OWNERS of the means of production (of employment), shut up the factory until such time as the working class will consent to resume their toil in the shop or mill or factory or printing office at a working day of such length and for a wage of such magnitude as will leave the capitalist employer a profit.

The purely economic trade union may, and generally does, affect the rate of the worker's profit; but where the means of production are owned by others than those who use them, those owners must have a profit for the use of such means of production, otherwise they remain unused; and when the means of production of wealth are unused the workers are either starving or awaiting starvation—they are either out on strike, locked out, or laid off. When the distresses and necessities of the unemployed have reached a point so acute as to be unbearable, inevitably they again go to work for the employer at such hours and wages as will leave him a profit—such of them as survive and such of them as he will take back. For some have died of their wants un supplied, and of the others the employer will not take them all, leaving some to become tramps, and forcing others eventually to become scabs.

While, as stated above, the most perfect trade union does not do all that is necessary for the welfare of its members, those things which it can and does do are not to be belittled. It can and generally does reduce the rate of profit received by the employer by securing higher wages for its members than they would otherwise get. It can and generally does reduce the hours of labor and raise the standard of living. Further, and of high importance, it teaches the workers to organize. But while recognizing the good accomplished by the trade union, every time you see an unemployed shoemaker you must see the shortcomings of the Boot and Shoemakers' Union; every time you meet an unemployed printer you must recognize the limitation to the powers of the Typographical Union; every time you meet an unemployed cigarmaker you must recognize that the Cigarmakers' Union has a boundary to its efficiency; every time you meet an unemployed man of a skilled trade or an unskilled laborer, do not forget that there is one thing of prime importance that the purely economic trade union at the very height of its power cannot accomplish—it cannot make the employer employ ALL the workers.

How to Spend \$5,000

Consider for a moment on what production in our present society depends. Here is a man who has a hundred thousand dollars. We will not ask where he got it. Probably that would be a long tale of robbery, rent and profit. We will allow that our man with the hundred thousand is in possession of his own. Now, if our man lives at the rate of five thousand dollars a year, and does no work by which he receives an income from any source, but each year takes his five thousand out of his original hundred thousand dollars, at the end of twenty years he will be broke. Of course, that is not to be liked. He wants to spend five thousand a year on his living, all right, but at the end of twenty years he wants to have his hundred thousand, or should he die, he wants his children to have it. In short and in long, HE WANTS TO SPEND HIS HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS AND ALSO TO

operate. In brief, THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION BECOME SOCIAL. And as the means of production have become social in character, in their production and operation, so THEY SHOULD BECOME SOCIAL IN OWNERSHIP. We should own them socially, collectively. To stop Our Man from getting his five thousand a year for doing nothing but OWNING THINGS, WE SHOULD NOT ALLOW HIM TO OWN THOSE THINGS. To make sure that those others who now turn over to him his five thousand annually shall not do as he does when they themselves get the five thousand they produce, we must not allow ANY INDIVIDUAL to own those things. We must have social ownership of the means whereby we produce wealth; that is, we must have Socialism. To do this we must be allowed to have private ownership in a shoe factory or a coal mine than in the post office; he should no more be allowed to have private property in a street railway than in the street itself. When he has no private property in these things he cannot exploit or extort an income from those who use these things.

All this would be vastly intricate, say you. Not comparably as intricate as the postoffice or the public highway system of the country. We have no trouble in the matter of these except where they come in contact with great "business" interests, such as the private owners of the railroads and the contractors—follows like Our Man, only some of them have a hundred million to his one hundred thousand. We are all owners of the postoffice; we all have a share of stock in it; but we cannot sell or dispose of our share. So it should be with productive industries.

Intricate? Is it conceivably as intricate as the haphazard, accidental, anarchistic method that we have today, where we leave the raising of wheat, cotton and beef, the food, the clothing and shelter which our very life depends to, individual interest or caprice? Is it possible that a society that trusts itself to maintain a police force and a fire department, to protect individuals and preserve wealth, dare not enter upon the social ownership of the means to produce the necessities of its existence?

How to Do It.

How to bring Socialism about? As said in the beginning there are about 200,000 of our boot and shoemakers in the country. There are about 150,000 persons engaged in the printing industries in the United States. The men of these trades can do something for themselves by themselves, but not much. There are over 100,000 cigar and tobacco workers; like the printers and shoemakers, their powers are limited. There are more than a million men in the employment of the railway and telegraph companies; look at their low wages and long hours of labor, and it is easy to see that even that great number are far from having the power and influence that they should have over their own means of livelihood. There are more than a million men in the building trades; they have done much for themselves through organization—more than any other large group of workers; but when we note the precarious character of their employment, many idle for half the year, it is clearly seen that their relatively high wages and short hours are far from a truly prosperous condition for workmen. But is there then no hope? Is there no side to the shield save that which says failure?

Yes, there is. But we must understand the cause of past failures to know the means of future success. There is a path which leads to victory.

If these 200,000 boot and shoe workers and 150,000 printers will really and truly unite with those 100,000 tobacco workers; if the 1,000,000 railroad employees will unite with all three; if the 1,200,000 men of the building trades will unite with the others; and if the iron and steel workers, the miners, the wood workers, the shipbuilders, the brewers, the cotton mill operatives and the granite cutters—if the whole working class would unite, what power is there in the world to oppose so much less defeat? Unite, not only in the economic fight, which still leaves many a man without a job, no matter what the hours or wages for those who get work; but UNITE IN THE POLITICAL FIELD, UNITE AT THE BALLOT BOX.

Difficult, you say. Right difficult it is, but not impossible. It does not depend on any one of us, nor on any small group of us, though each one of us can do much for bringing it to pass. We will not unite politically in obedience to the persuasive powers of any man or men, though those may have their influence. We shall unite because the laws of capitalism say to us: "UNITE OR PERISH."

Vote for Your Own Class.

At this time, when the Republican party is furthering territorial expansion abroad, while it curtails our liberties at home; when the Democratic party cries out in protest, but lacks the intelligence to progress; when both parties have shown their enmity to the working class with increasing child labor in the mills of the Democratic South and more infamous injunctions in the Republican North; at this time, when the Republican party is so drunk with power that it takes pride in its infamy, and the Democratic party is so stupidly incompetent that it sets its face to the past and reaction—under these conditions it is not to be doubted that the working class and especially that part of it organized in trade unions, will awake to its duties and opportunities and begin its march on capitalism under the banner of Socialism and the Socialist Party.

Workingmen and union men, go forward with your work of organization. So far as possible, get every man to join the union of his trade, and do not neglect to organize the man without a trade. Fight every battle for the best you have in you. In every battle, great or small, let each member of the working class fight for every other member of his class. The fact that a man is in your class and is fighting your enemy, the capitalist class, is enough to enlist your good will. You need no other reason. But in all these economic battles, whether with you rests victory or defeat, keep your eye on the political

National Platform of the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party of America in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of concentrating the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to concentrate the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalist the control of the government, the press, the pulpit, and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fought, and nations are annihilated and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active forces of bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes. While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end. As such means we advocate:

- 1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts, and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.
- 2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.
- 3. State or national insurance or working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, and to be administered under the control of the working class.
- 4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.
- 5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing, and food.
- 6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.
- 7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

Make up your mind that as workmen and Socialists you are going to capture every public office—aldermen, state assemblies and state senators and governor; United States congressmen and senators and President; justices of the peace, police magistrates, state judges and United States judges.

All the public powers are yours if you are to take them for YOU HAVE THE VOTES! Use those votes to secure for your class the law-making power, the law-judging power, and the law-executing power. Having done that, your officials will take from Our Man and every other man his means of getting five thousand a year without working for it. Having done that, your officials will see to it that you and every one of you shall have an opportunity to work; and that, having worked, you shall receive therefor the full product of your labor, which is three times as much as you get now, and which can be secured in one quarter of the hours you work now—if you are so fortunate as to have work.

What the Socialist Party Would Do.

This question of wages and the unemployed will never be solved until the working class are in possession of the powers of government. Once they have those powers, all will be well with them. Granted the government is in the hands of the working class, the unemployed will be given work by the city, state, or nation. Granted the government is in the hands of the working class, the Democratic who locks out his employees will find that a Socialist Legislature will pass a law confiscating his factory and making it public property; a Socialist judge will declare the law constitutional; and a Socialist governor and Socialist sheriffs will carry the law into effect. That employer would never go into that factory again except to do productive work on the same basis as the other workers. Socialist officials would simply say that if the capitalist could not run industry without lockouts, society could. If there was a strike, the Socialist government would pursue the same course—confiscate the employer's means of production. Socialist officials would simply say that if the capitalist could not carry on industry without strikes, society could. In the case of a shutdown—the employer ceases to be employer. He no longer employs men in production. And when he stops production society should step in and carry it on until he does this it would abolish the capitalist's private property in the means of production, and make it social property. There is no half-way measure which can deal with this matter. The only cure for the ills which afflict the working class is to change the private ownership of the means of production to social ownership.

That can only be done through the capture by the working class of the powers of government. To you work-

Watches. Watch repairing at factory prices. Factory to pocket. Save 10 Percent. Send for Comrade Doll's Catalogue. 175 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

SPECIAL NOTICE. THE SCANDINAVIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY of New York meets 1st and 3rd Sunday every month, 10.30 a. m., at 216 East 41st St., New York. All Scandinavians are welcome.

BRANCH GLENDALE, LOCAL QUEENS, S. D. P., meets on the first Wednesday of the month at the Hoffman House, Cooper avenue, near Myrtle Avenue, Glendale.