Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

INJUNCTIONS AND RIFLES.

Some Cold Facts Illustrating the Concentration of Capitalist Ownership.

Affiliations of Directors of Oil Trust, Steel Trust, and National City Bank Traced-Thirty-nine Men Are Directors of 385 Companies in Many Lines of Industry.

indicate that the man is a Director of the Standard Oil Company; "N. C. B.",

in the same way, indicates the National City Bank; and "U. S. S." indicates the

The Facts in Detail.

John D. Archbold, S. O., is a Direct

tor of the International Navigation Co., the National Transit Co., and the

New York Transit Co.

Francis M. Bacon, N. C. B.—of the
Atlantic Mutual Insurance Co. and the

Atlantic Trust Co.

Robert Bacon, N. C. B.—Buffalo
Rallway, Buffalo & Lockport, Buffalo
& Niagara Falls Electric; Buffalo,
Tonawanda & Niagara Falls; Chicago,

Burlington & Quincy; Clearwater & Raquette Lake, Erie, Hocking Valley. New England, Niagara Falls& Suspen-

x Northern, Raquette Lake, and West

Shore railway; Buffalo Traction Co. and Crosstown Street Ry. of Buffalo;

Edison Electric Illuminating Co. of

Boston: Amalgamated Copper; Federal

Steel (a constituent company of the Steel Trust); North American Co.;

Northern Securities (the Hill-Harriman

railway trust); and Outing Publishing

Edmund C Converse, U. S. S .- Mc

Keesport Connecting Ry.; Huron Wa-ter Co.; National Tube and Shelby Steel Tube Ccs. (constituents of the Steel Trust); Illinois Steel and Tube

Steel Cos. (nominally independent):

National Supply Co.; American Bank

Note Co.; Bowling Green, Colonial, and

Washington Trust Cos.; Fourth Street

and Liberty National Banks; North

American Co.; D. Appleton & Co.; New York Realty; Scarsdale Estates. Cleveland H. Dodge, N. C. B.—Arl-zopa & Southeastern, El Paso & South-

zona & Southeastern, El Passo & South-western, and Morenci Southern Ry. Cos.; Copper Queen Consolidated, De-troit Copper Mining, on Tritted Globe Mines; Farmers' Loan & Trust; Colum-

William E. Dodge, U. S. S.-Arizona

Southeastern and Morenci Southern Rys.; Commercial Mining, Copper Queen Consolidated, Detroit Copper of Arizona, United Globe Mines, Lacka-

wanna Iron & Steel: American Brass

Co.; Ansonia Clock Co.; New York Life Insurance & Trust and Atlantic Mu-

tual Insurance Cos.; Morningside

Realty.
Charles S. Fairchild, N. C. B.-At-

lanta & Charlotte Air Line and Erie &

Pittsburg Ry. Cos.; Arizona Water Co.;

Birkbeck Investment Savings & Loan, Lawyers' Mortgage Insurance, New

York Life, New York Security & Trust,

Svea Fire & Life, and Audit Co. of

New York; Union Typewriter Co. H. M. Flagler, S. O.—Duluth & Iron

Range, Florida East Coast, and Sa-

vannah Florida & Western Rv. Cos.:

National and New York Transit Cos.

Iron Co.; International Bank Note Co.;

Eibert H. Gary, U.S. S.—Bessemer & Lake Erie; Chicago, Lake Shore & Eastern; Duluth & Iron Range; Elgin,

Joliet & Eastern, and Masontown &

New Salem Ry Cos.; Staten Island Rapid Transit; Huron Water and Mt.

Pleasant Water Cos.; American Bridge,

Am. Sheet Steel, Am. Steel & Wire,

and Shelby Steel Tube (constituents of

Steel Trust); American Coke, Am. Min-ing, Am. Land, Continental Coke, Eureka Fuel, H. C. Frick Coke, South-

west Connellsville Coke, Illinois Steel,

Lorain Steel of Ohio, Minnesota Iron

ship Co.; Commercial National Bank,

tric Boat Co.; National Transit; Elec

tric Co. of America; United Gas Im-

provement Co.; International Naviga-tion; William Cramp & Sons' Ship &

Engine Bldg. Co.; Atlantic Mutual In-

surance; Commerciai, Fidelity, and Mercantile Trust Cos.; Bank of North

America and Fourth Street National

Charles W. Harkness, S. O.-Chi-

Exchange Safe Deposit; Morningside

Edward H. Harriman, N. C. B.

Baltimore & Ohio; Chicago & Alton;

Chicago, Burlington & Quincy; Denver

Northern: Houston & Texas Central:

Illinois Central; Kansas City Southern; Leavenworth, Kansas & Western; Northern Pacific; Oregon & California;

Oregon Short Line: Rio Grande West-

tion, Oregon R. R. & Navigation, Pacific Coast, and Pacific Mail Steam-

ship Cos.; Northern Securities and Railroad Securities Cos.; Wells, Fargo

& Co. (express); Western Union Tele-graph; Brooklyn Heights R. R., Brook-

lyn Rapid Transit, Coney Island &

only makes our thesis the more impre

sive. Space does not allow us to pre-sent all the facts. Our conclusions, based on the data we do present, are,

(Continued on page 4)

therefore, far within the truth.

Southern Pacific, and Union Paci-

& Rio Grande; Galveston, Harrisbu & San Aantonio; Galveston, Houston

Allis-Chalmers Co.; Pittsburg

and Gary-Wheaton Bank.

Bank of Philadelphia.

Morton Trust Co.

sion Bridge, Niagara Falls Whirlpo

Steel Trust. To proceed:

New York Transit Co.

Atlantic Trust Co.

It is to be supposed that every thoughtful observer must realize that the concentration of the ownership the concentration of the ownership the letters "S. O." following a name to be realized to the letters "S. O." following a large to the la farther than appears upon the surface that the facts of concentration are largely disguised by the organization of many companies to carry on the affairs of a single group of capital It is doubtful, however, if any but a very few who have made a careful study of somewhat inaccessible sources of information have any adequate idea of the extent to which this is true. Still less is it generally recog-nized that, aside from the concentration in each branch of industry, the great combinations in the vario dustries are so interlinked that we are already justified in speaking of the existence of one great capitalist trust, rather than of the trusts as separate

a study of the "Directory of Direc-tories" for 1902 (the 1903 volume having not yet appeared) and here present

A member of a Board of Directors of any company may fairly be as-sumed always to be either the owner of a large share of the stock or bonds of that company or (what for the pur-poses of this inquiry comes to the same thing) the direct representative and agent of some such large stock-holder or bondholder. When, therefore, we find the same man or men acting as Directors of different com-panies we have a right to infer that the capital of those companies is owned by the same We may even suppose that a study following this clue will not reveal the full extent of the concentration of ownership, because we know that very often comparatively obscure men, not known in connection with a given large interest, are deliberately choses as its representatives on the Boards of smaller and ostensibly independent companies, for the purpose of masking

Three Companies Studied.

In the present case we have chosen for investigation three companies The Standard Oil Company, already pretty generally recognized as the nucleus or center of the capitalist organization; the Steel Trust, notable as ing far the largest corporation in existence; and the National City Bank. the favorite financial agency of the Standard Oil and other great capitalist interests. We propose to show, by a study of their Directorates, both how institutions are connected with each other and also the immense ramiably of the proprietary interests of their great stockholders in other and

tedious, but it will be found worthy

Corporation. The further fact that G. W. Perkins and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., are Directors of both the National completes the connection, so far as the membership of the directorates is con-

teen Directors. We shall consider the affiliations of eight of these, a majority of the Board-John D. Archbold, Henry M. Flagler, Charles W. Harkness, Oliver H. Payne, Charles M. Pratt, John D. Rockefeller, William Rockefeller, and Henry H. Rogers.

D. Sloane, James Stillman, Henry A. C. Taylor, and Moses Tyalor,

ed States Steel Corporation has twenty-four Directors. We shall observe its connections through twelve of these not in either of the other lists (including the principal officers and the most influential members—Edmund C. Converse. William E. Dodge. Elbert H. Gary, Clement A. Griscom Abram S. Hewitt, William H. Moore J. Pierpont Morgan, Daniel G. Reld, Percival Roberts, Jr., Charles M. Schwab, Charles Steele, and P. A. B.

*Since the publication of the lists upon a study of which this article is founded, Mr. Hewitt has died; this to Be Clearly Drawn.

All Capitalist Parties in Saxony Agree to Combine at Polis against Social Democracy-Coalition Will Probably

The dread with which all the cap italist elements of Germany regard th approval of the general elections, which are to be held in June, is shown by news received this week. A Berlin

the leaders in Saxony of the Conserva ive, National-Liberal, Anti-Semitic. and Agrarian parties, providing for mu-tual support at the forthcoming elec-tions, was made public to-day. It is specially aimed at the Socialists, and its chief feature is a pledge not to nominate candidates against each other in districts already held by one of the parties concerned and assigning the several districts now represented by Socialists to one or other of the parties. It is expected at least to maintain the present ratio of representation in the Reichstag.

"A union of the parties is also being effected in other parts of the empire, and it is not unlikely that the elections will be a contest between the Socialists on the other, except the small Radical

years have caused the conservative elements of the country much apprehen sion. The Socialists are generally supposed to have gained largely over their vote of 2,300,000 in 1898. Their leaders expected two months ago a gain of from fifteen to fifty seats, but the combina tion of the political parties has moderated these estimates, until now the best-informed men of the Social Democratic Party think they will do well if they gain ten seats."

The open coalition of the capitalist parties will undoubtedly have the effect of still further increasing the popular strength of the Social Democratic Party, the conduct of whose deputies in the Reichstag has already made it certain that here will be a great gali over the vote of 1898. The reaction over the vote or ISSS. The reactionary coalition may succeed in preventing the Socialist representation in the Reichstag from increasing in proportion to the popular vote, but the Socialists can afford to bide their time and may well be satisfied with forcing a clear drawing of the lines between the political ing of the lines between the politica representatives of the capitalist and

TO PENALIZE STRIKES.

outch Government Proposes Drastic Measures to Govern Railway Employees—Illustrates Danger of Capitalist Public Ownership-Socialists Fight the Bills

What a serious danger to the interests of the working people public ownership established by capitalist parties upon capitalist principles may be is well illustrated by news received this week from the Hague. Part of the railways of the Netherlands are owned by the government. The gov ernment, however, being in the cou trol of the capitalist class, the state railways as well as those privately owned are operated in the capitalis interest and the employees on both are overworked and badly paid. The workmen have been tureatening a gen eral railway strike to better their con dition. How the government proposes to deal with the question is shown in

troduced in the Second Chamber of the States General three bills in connection with the recent railroad strike.

"Dr. Kuyper explained that the gov ernment considered it necessary to op ciety which would sacrifice the well being of the people to the desire of a ertain class for influence and to political tyranny. The government there-fore proposed to form a railroad brigade to insure a regular service of trains in case of need. The just complaints of railroad employees would be adjusted by a royal commission, which would be intrusted later with the settlement of the situation from egal standpoint as well as regarding the conditions of service of the em-ployees. It would also have to decide what constituted criminal acts. The government did not desire to tionary. It only aimed at effecting social reforms.

"One of the bills provides for modification of the Penal Code with the object of affording a surer guar antee for the personal freedom of labor and of preventing state officials or persons engaged in occupation affecting public interests from absent

fusal to do duty on the part of en ployees of the rallways or other public services may be punished by six months' imprisonment. If two or more persons rise in rebellion the penalty is increased to four years' im-prisonment for the ringleaders or those guilty of criminal acts." The phrase "rise in rebellion," in the

last paragraph, includes a strike or concerted refusal to work. The Socialist members of the Parlia

nent will vigorously oppose the bills They form only a minority as yet however, and a combination of the capitalist parties may carry the measures through. In that case the next general elections will undoubtedly show a still greater ratio of increase in the Socialist vote than did the last. | fore the Daily Globe Fair.

cialist Progress.

Will Not Re So Easy to Count Out Socialist Votes in the Future-Details of Our Gains in Baer's Town-Socialists Will Work for Better Schools

LANSFORD, Pa., March 1.-We have met the Philistines and they are ours. As reported in The Worker last week, the Socialist Party carried Lans-ford, electing all borough and ward officers excent two—one Councilman officers except two-one Coun and one School Director. The follow ing are our elected men: Burgess, W. J. Bolles; Tax Collector, Matthew Welch; Auditor, Jos. D. Boyle; Justices of the Peacer Daniel C. West and Ed ward T. McFadden; four Councilmen —Comrades Evans, Weaver, Jeffries, and Heffeldinger; two School Directors (elected for three years)-W. B. Crowe and H. B. Barron.

The Republicans and Democrat

combined to defeat us, but we beat them easily, casting a larger Socialist vote than in the fall election. Next year we will increase it again.

E. A. E. The choice of Socialists as Inspec-tors of Election in this and a number of other places will materially help in securing an honest count of the Socialist vote in the future.

In Base's Town

READING, Pa., Feb. 26.-The official count gives the Socialist candi-date for City Assessor, the head of the ticket; 1.149 votes; as reported last week—the Socialist Party gaining 22 votes as compared with the fall elec-tion, while the other parties lost

In the third precinct of the Twelfth Ward, we elected the minority Inspec-tor of Elections, having defeated the Republicans two to one, and came within 9 votes of defeating the Democrats in the same precinct. William Noll is our successful candidate. In a number of other precincts in different wards we came near defeating either

the Democrats or the Republicans.

In the whole First Ward we polled only 40 votes less than the De In the first precinct our candidate was only 9 votes short of defeating the Democratic candidate for minority In-spector. The next time we expect to

finish the Democrats in this ward.

One year ago, out of every 56 votes cast in the city, one was a Socialist, nine months later, in the state election, out of every 14 votes cast, one was a Socialist; this spring, out of every 11 votes cast, one was a Social-ist. We have gained over 600 per cent in one year. In previous years we always lost a number of votes in muni-cipal contests. But this time we gained over the state election. We consider this significant. We never

expect to go back any more. We are working hard and have one of the most-consistent Socialist Party locals in the United States. Our comoccasis it the content of the scientific basis of Socialism and are thoroughly class-conscious. Ours is not a mushroom growth; we have been orking hard for the last six years Our progress was slow at first, b are seeing the results of our labor now. We are having a hard fight with our paper, the "Union Sentinel," which did yeoman service in the campaign just closed. But if the purely simple would do their duty we would have no trouble and could clean up the place in the next campaign. M. N. W, in the next campaign.

For Better Schools.

TAMAQUA, Po., Feb. 26.-The Conl dale (Schuylkill County) correspondent of the Tamaqua "Evening Record," an-nouncing the election of all three School Directors by the Socialist Party, outlines their program as follows: Increase of pay for the teachers, who are now so badly remunerated that good service cannot justly be expected; no changes in the teaching force for personal or political reasons nor on any grounds except efficiency; appoint of a truant officer and appeal to all parents to assist in securing regular attendance of all children; school library to be opened to the pub-lic on Saturdays, so that books may be taken home for Sunday reading; improvement of the course of study "to give our boys and girls the best educational facilities possible under our present untoward circumstances," and plan for the special training of

NESOUEHONING, Pa., Feb. 24. The Socialist Party carried everything in Panther Creek Valley, from Tamelections, with the exception of Sumit Hill. aqua to Mauch Chunk, in the local

AUSTIN, Pa., Feb. 26 -Our su cessful candidates are as follows: Burgess, George B. Sharp, by 157 votes to 100 for the Republican; Councilmen .A. T. Lyman and W. P. Wo ster, by 155 and 141 votes to 97 an ster, by 185 and 141 votes to 97 and 106 for the Republicans; School Director, E. P. Walker, by 138 votes to 110 for the Republican; Auditor, Charles Judge, by 150 votes to 35 for the Republican. All these serve for three years. In November we had 76 votes for Slayton, Socialist candidate for Governor.

We are holding large meetings every week and increasing rapidly in mem-bership. Our officers are all union workingmen and command the respect of the people. C. L. R. C. L. R. &

Taking the Lead.

If Passed It Will Put Trade Unionism Entirely Outside the Pale of the Law -A Movemement That Will Bear

NEW HAVEN, Conn. - Senato Tracy of Waterbury has introduced— "by request," as he says—a bill similar in its provisions to the one introduced by Halloch of Derby in the House, as reported in The Worker last week. The provisions of the bill are so drastic and there is so strong a possibility of similar legislation being in tiated in other states that it will be worth the while of your readers to ex-amine it carefully. The bill reads:

consist of not less than five men, who shall present to the Secretary of State proposed corporation, together with its methods of action and the duties of its mission to the same.
"Sec. 2. If the Secretary of State

upon consultation with the State's Attorney, shall deem that the methods and purpose of the proposed corpora-tion are not inconsistent with the pubile welfare, he shall issue the charter of incorporation desired, under the seal of the state.

Sec. 3. Any employer of labor who shall discharge an employee because of membership in a union thus incor-porated shall be subject to a fine of five hundred dollars or imprisonment both.

shall discharge an employee because not a member of a union shall be subject to the same penalty as above pre-scribed for each offense.

ployer the discharge of any employed be subject to a fine of one thousand dellars or imprisonment in the county inil for six months, or both.

"Sec. 6. If any union in the employ of any corporation engaged in public service or the supply of any article of common necessity shall propose a simultaneous cessation of labor on the part of its members, said union shall give to said corporation previous notice of said intention of not less than fourteen days, and in default thereof each member of said union shall be liable to a fine of not less than five dollars.

"Sec. 7. Any person who by vio-lence, intimidation, threatening of social ostracism or other interference with the inviolable rights of free labor shall attempt to prevent the employ-ment of service of any person in any place made vacant by striking laborer shall be subject to a fine of not les

shall be guilty of any of the offenses herein-above indicated shall be liable to the penalties above prescribed for such several offenses, and in addition each individual member of such unincorporated union shall be liable in an action for trespass.

"Sec. 9. Any person who shall by word or deed encourage or abet any act of mob violence shall upon convic-tion, if a citizen, be deemed in addition civil rights, including suffrage, to be restored only by special act of the Legislature, and if not a citizen and over eighteen years of age, he shall not be admitted to civil rights except

nection with the attack on trade unions embodied in bills introduced in the Conecticut Legislature, as noted in The Worker of this date, it is worth while to record that Representative Hallock of Derby, who introduced the corporation bill, is a Republican while Attorney Williams, also of this city, who drew the riot-dam: a Democrat who voted for McKinley, but claims still to belong to the Democratic party. Senator Tracy is a Re-

Socialists Carry Important Measures in the Town Meeting.

terday's town election, out of 2.556 votes cast, the Socialist candidates re real strength.

three important articles—including those formulated by the State Commit-tee of the Socialist Party: One, moved tee of the Socialist Party: One, moved by John F. Mullen, instructing the Selectmen to appear before the Legislature in behalf of a bill authorizing the establishment of municipal fuel yards; another, moved by Bobert Lawrence, instructing the Representatives in favor of a memorial to Congress for national ownership of the coal mines; and a third to instruct the Selectmen to submit to popular vote their action as to the location of street railways.

J. K.

FOR THE DAILY.

Enthusiasm for the Big Fair Is on the Increase.

Unions Buy Tickets by Thousands and Conference the Best Yet Held.

opening of the Dally Globe Fair in Grand Central Palace-only three weeks more in which to sell tickets and collect for those sold, gather donations, distribute advertising matter, and do all the other necessary work. Very encouraging reports were re-

ceived at last Thursday's meeting of the Daily Globe Conference, which was the best attended session yet held. Among other things it may be noted that Carpenters' Union No. 309 reorted that it had bought 1,000 tickets and would furnish fifteen men to work in preparing the hall free of charge. delegate of the Upholsterers Union reported that this body would supply 200 volunteers to decorate the pooths and do other work of the sort. The delegate of the Suspender Makers reported that his union had bought 200 of union-made suspenders as prizes. The Franklin Pressmen's Association reported taking 500 tickets and Elec-trical Workers No. 3 asked for 1,000 tickets and believed they would all be sold. The Young People's Social Democratic Club of Yorkville has taken 300 tickets. The central body of the Bohemian workingmen's socie ties has taken 3,000 tickets. These socie ties will also make an excellent con-tribution to the musical and other entertainments at the Fair. Many other rganizations have shown a lively inerest, but space forbids the me of any but Typographical Union No. 6 which voted on Sunday to buy 5,000 tickets. A hundred thousand tickets have been put out by Secretary But-scher and a new supply is being printed.

Comrades should report to Secretary

Comrade M. Tanzer, who has full charge of the arrangements for enter-tainment at the Fair, is making good progress. He has already secured many attractive features, of which but he is eagerly looking for Any comrade who can give him information or assistance in procuring taleut for the musical, dramatic, and raudeville programs that are to be is assisting him, may be seen every evening between 7:30 and 9:30 at 153

Publishing Association meets at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street

Amounts Pledged.

Following is a statement of amounts pledged for the Socialist Daily Fund un to Feb. 23 R. Reschke, Stapleton, S. I... F. Schmidt, Stapleton, S. I... Max Theimer, Stapleton, S. I. 3.00 Wm. Veeck, Stapleton, S. I... Julius Loos, Stapleton, S. I... . Mueneke, Stapleton, S. I... 2.00 Thomallo, Stapleton S. I. 6.00 Chris. Ward, Stapleton, S. I.

The following amounts have been re eived as payments on pledges or as

Hugo Koenig Peter Cobus cash contributions: Previously acknowledged.... 1,449.83 PAID ON PLEDGES. Alex. Fraser, Brooklyn..... \$10.00 John Gibbon, Brooklyn..... 1.00 Healey, Kearney
F. Ufert, West Hoboken..... 2.00 E. Ufert, West Hoboken..... A. S., West Hoboken..... 1.00 Frank Ohnemus, L. I. City Dr. Schwartz, city..... 3.00 1.00 Henry Suphi, Glendale Aug. Thompson, Glendale25 Geo. Lochat, Glendale..... Chas. Kircher, Glendale..... Aug. Fiess, Glendale..... W. G. Smith, Glendale..... Robt, Streller, Paterson, N.J., T. Podurgiel, Passaic, N. J. Hurlemann, Haldeon, N J. E. Neppel, city..... J. Bernard, city. T. Zechnowitz, city E. Willvonseder, city..... 1.00 R. Wyssman, city..... Gustave Linke, city. Dr. A. Hemorick city.......
Jacob Levine, ch....... 3.00 Jacob Levine, ch.
Emil Neppel, city.
Theo. Birk, city.
W. Dettelbach, city.
M. M. Bartholomew, city.
N. S. Reichenthal, city.
M. Scher, city.
C. McCullough, Summit, N.J.
W. Glanz, Paterson, N. J.

Members Volunteer to Help in Work of the Fair-Last Session of Globe

Only three weeks remain before the

tween friends?' Judge Kellar and President Roosevelt and Boss Hanna are good friends to the men who own the mines. And now it is the railway men's turn. Eleven hundred employees of the Wabash wanted an advance of wages advancing wages is quite another quesquestion. They granted him time. Within three hours, President Ram-

All comrades and organizations hold-An comrades and organizations hold-ing tickets are urged to settle for them by March 15 if at all possible. Much trouble and confusion will be saved by making prompt collection and settle-

Butscher on the collection of presents that they may be got to the store rooms and listed without delay.

ccount will be given next week, presented every night during the Fair requested to communicate with him . He or Comrade Meyer, who Second avenue or letters may be sent to him at this address.

The Workingmen's Co-operative

on Monday evening, March 9.

Previously acknowledged 7.606.50

Total contributions......\$1,506.88 Paid on piedges, as above.... 2,937.95 Total cash received \$4,444.83 HORACE TRAUBEL Horace Traubel, editor of "The Conservator," whose special contributions to The Worker have attracted so much Friday evening, March 13, on "The Social Consciousness," at the West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall, northwest corner of Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, second floor, 8 p. m. Sunday afternoon, March 15, on "The Coal Strike Commission," at the Socialist Literary Society, 241 East Broadway, 3.30 p. m. Traubel was present at the sessions of the Coal Strike Commission and will comment as an eye-witness Whitman and the Average Man," at Colonial Hall, 101st street and Columbus avenue. Traubel was Whitman's intimate friend and companion during his last years, and is his literary executor; his familiarity with the and his work will make his ta of that great bard of democracy.

Down in West Virginia the deputy | sent a long letter which he had almarshals have been shooting miners

ready prepared, flatly refusing the employees' demands. This injunction is the most sweeping and the frankest that has ever vate hall that they had hired and paid been issued. Judge Adams does not confine himself to prohibiting the use of violence or of threats or of abusive language. He goes straight to the prison, under charges of contempt of court, rioting, and heaven knows what heart of the matter.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

He addresses it to "you and each and every one of you, individually and as representatives of the Order or Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, your, and said organizations, representatives, clerks, agents, and attorneys, and all others who may be aiding and abetting you or them, or acting in concert with you or them, and under your or their direction."

He "strictly commands" all the men included in this verbose address "absolutely to desist and refrain from in any way or manner, ordering, coercing, persuading, inducing, or otherwise causing, directly or indirectly, the employees of the said, the Wabash Railway Company, engaged in or about the operation of its trains within the United States, and brakemen, switchmen, or locomotive firemen to strike or quit the service of the said company," or to do any one of a large number of other perfectly lawful and peaceable acts involved in and connected with the carrying on of a strike.

Never before has a judge openly and directly forbidden men to strike. This is the limit.

The officers of the brotherhoods are reported as saying they will obey the injunction so long as it stands and desist from calling the strike their unions have instructed them to call. They say they "are legally enmeshed, and must accept without protest, under penalty of imprisonment, the working conditions which be chooses to impose."

There are worse things than going to prison. Eugene V. Debs went t prison in 1894. A worse thing than going to prison is tamely submitting to the assassination of public liberty.

We have to see whether Judge Adams' order will stand and whether the railway men will bow to it. Meanwhile, the government is shooting

FOR NEW YORK CITY.

Free public lectures, followed by answering of questions and general discussion, will be given in New York City, under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party, as follows:

Margaret Halle: 'The Body and the Soul of Socialism.' At the West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall, northwest corner of Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, second floor, S.P.M. S. Rosenzweig: "Socialism and Zion-

SATURDAY MARCH 7 Comrade Reches: "The French Government Under Napoleon Bonaparte."
Social Democratic Educational Club,

SUNDAY, MARCH 8. George D. He George D. Herron: "The Present Opportunity of the Socialist Move-

Rev. Walter E. Bentley: "The Inter-Relationship of the Church and the Stage, and Their Relation to Socialist ism." Socialist Literary Society 241 Socialist Literary Society, 241 East Broadway, 3:30 P. M.

Dr. G. Fish Clark: "The Fallacious Foundation Columns Which Prop up Modern Economic Conditions." Colo-

A good speaker will lecture at Dispensary Hall, Thirty-sixth street and Ninth avenue, 8 P. M.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11.

FRIDAY, MARCH 13. Horace Traubel: "The Social Conclousness," West Side Socialist Club. Clark's Hall, northwest

M. Winchevsky: "The Socialist Movement in Russia." Socialist Pro-paganda Club, 315 Washington street,

-If you get a bundle of sample copies of The Worker, you will under-stand that you are requested to distribute them among your fellow workers. We need the help of many hands

clalist voters out of people who are now opposed to the movement and active party members out of those who are now only passive Socialist voters. Circulate The Worker.

How many presents have YOU collected for the Daily Globe Fair? 1.00 -We wish to double the circulation 2.00

of The Worker in the next six months. Will you help us?

nial Hall, 101st street and Columbus

William Edlin: "How to Win at the Ballot-box." Social Democratic Edu-cational Club, 84 Orchard street.

IN BROOKLYN.

March 8, 8 P. M.

-The Worker helps to make So-

To illustrate this fact we have n

ost varied fields of industry.

The presentation of the evidence in etail is unavoidably somewhat

The Standard Oil Company is linked that William Rockefeller is a Director of both corporations and that the bank is well known to be the regular finan-cial agent of the Standard Oil Company; John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is also a Director of the bank. The Standard Oil Company is also linked to the United States Steel Corporation by the fact that John D. Rockefeller and H. H. Rogers are Directors of the Steel Am. Steel Hoop, Am. Tin Plate, Car-negie Co., Carnegie Steel, Federal Steel, National Steel, National Tube.

The Standard Oil Company has thir-

Clement A. Griscom, U. S. S.—Long Island, New York, Philadelphia & Nor-folk, and Pennsylvania Ry. Cos.; Elec-The National City Bank has twenty-one Directors. We shall trace the re-lations of nineteen of these not in-cluded in the Standard Oil list— Francis M. Bacon, Robert Bacon, Cleveland H. Dodge, Charles S. Fair-child, Edward H. Harriman, Henry O. Havemeyer, John A. McCall, Stephen S. Palmer, George W. Perkins, James H. Post, M. Taylor Pyne, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., John W. Sterling, Jacob H. Schiff, Samuel Sloan, William cago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Ry.; Iron Belt and Tilden Iron Mining Cos.; Puget Sound Reduction Co.; Produce

does not materially effect the results, however, as the individuals dealt with do not die with their possessors or rep-resentatives. It may also be noted that our information in regard to Mr. Widener's connections is incomplete. This, however, together with the fact that we have ignored the affiliations of fourteen of the less important Direc-tors of the three companies studied,

Be General-Socialists Not Disturbed

dispatch says: "The text of an agreem

"The political events of the last two

he working classes.

this dispatch:

lves from their dutie

The bill further provides that re

ALLEGHENY, Pa., Feb. 23.— Schwartz, Socialist Party candidate for Recorder, gets 50 votes; the De Leonite S. L. P. has 23 and the "Antis" 45. Only three weeks remain be-

Text of the Tracy Incorporation Bill-

"Trade unions or guilds, to be com-posed of men engaged in similar oc-cupations or professions, may be in-corporated on the following condi-

"Section 1. The incorporators shall the petition for incorporation, stating therein the name and purpose of the everal officers and the terms of ad-

in the county jail for three months, or "Sec. 4. Any employer of labor who

"Sec. 5. Any officer of any union or any member thereof delegated for the purpose who shall demand of any em-

than one hundred dollars.

"Sec. 8. Any labor union not incor porated or any member thereof who

by special act of the Legislature." DERBY, Conn., March 1.-In con-

PROGRESS IN CLINTON.

CLINTON, Mass., March 3.-At yes

received from 138 to 259—an average of 183, or a little over 7 per cent. Numerically, this is about the same as at last election; but owing to special political conditions this year, it is considered as indicating an increase in our real strength. We carried the town meeting for

Dr. N. Booth, city.....

to partly compensate for the increased cost of living and the enormous increase in the amount of work they are required to do in these days of prosperity. The Wabash has joined with other roads in advancing freight rates. But

for refusing to obey Judge Kellar's

blanket injunction, reported in The

Worker last summer, which forbade

them even to hold meetings in the pri-

for. Several miners were killed and

some sixty others are now lying in

other offenses, because they stood up

for the right of free assemblage,

guaranteed in the First Amendment

to the Constitution of the United

States. "What's the constitution be-

tion. President Ramsey decided to resist the employees' demand. President Ramsey knows his business. He did not frankly refuse the demand. He asked the employees' committee for time to consider the

sey had applied for an injunction and got it. President Ramsey is a pillar of respectable society and one of the rustees of our national prosperity. So is Judge Adams of the United States

Circuit Court at St. Louis,

Judge Adams granted the injunction without hesitation. The order was already prepared by the Wabash attorneys. Judge Adams signed it offhand, and court officers rushed away to serve copies on all the officials of the various railway brotherhoods.

What's the constitution-or law or

decency or common sense-between

such good friends as a railway president and a federal judge? Judge Adams granted the injunction without hesitation.

CASH CONTRIBUTIONS.

dex. Fraser, Punch Card....

. Graefe, city.....

A. Kopp, city...... Mrs. Petry, city.....

B. Holzman, city...... Oscar Keller, Greenfield, Mass.

Collected in Bing's shop

A. Ausheles, Stapleton, S. I. ...

No. 576

Fred Cederholm, Bridgeport..

1.00

.50 .25

.10

WILL SPEAK.

ttention, will speak in New York as

nday evening, March 15, on "Walt

an of especial interest to lovers

J. Shanahan, Bridgeport.... Arthur Uhlig, Bridgeport... F. Klatt, Bridgeport... F. Proessess, Bridgeport... J. B. Bisolbut, Bridgeport...

Immediately after Judge Adams had miners in West Virginia. Sarah Greenspan, city...... 1.00 | Previously acknowledged..... 2,861.70 | LECTURE CALENDAR

Total paid on pledges \$2,937.95 FRIDAY, MARCH 6.

> 10.00 Social Democratic Educational Club, S4 Orchard street.

84 Orchard street.

ent." Socialist Educational League, 953 Second avenue, 8 P. M. N. 8. Reichenthal: "The Rise of the Proletariat," Zeitner's Morrisania Park, 170th street and Third avenue James N. Wood: "Socialism and Politics," Social Democratic Educa-tional Club, 84 Orchard street,

Margaret Haile: "Socialism and In-dividualism." Socialist Literary So-ciety, 241 East Broadway, 8 P. M.

Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, second floor.

The Worker. No bills or receipts sent to individual subscribers. NEW YORK, MARCH 8, 1903. VOL. XII.-NO. 49. RAMIFICATIONS OF TRUSTS. ATTACK ON A COALITION **ELECTIONS IN** UNIONISM. IN GERMANY. PENNSYLVANIA. Further News Showing So-Connecticut Legislators **Economic - Political Lines**

The Worker. GROAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY own in New York State as the Social PUBLISHED WEEKLY

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All communications should be written

dressed to the Editor.

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. Cemmunications which do not comply with these requirements are likely to be disreparded.

Reiered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post Office on April 6,



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

You should not think you have done your duty if you vote the Socialist ticket, subscribe for a party paper, and even now and then give a dollar to a party fund. The party needs you more than it needs your money. It wants you as a member of the organization. taking active part in the control of its affairs and giving your personal assistance in carrying out the decisions you have helped to form. If you are not yet a party member you are not yet doing your duty as a Socialist and should lose no time in setting yourself right.

WHY THIS SILENCE AND

In our editorial last week entitle *Comrade Goebel's Surprising Claim we summed up his position, on which he seemed to speak for the majority in the National Committee, as fol

"First, they say the National Com mittee cannot initiate a referendum on the question of headquarters.
"Second, they say the National Committee can remove headquarters with-

out a referendum. "Third, they say the membership

cannot initiate a referendum to over rule the decision of the National Co

We then asked the plain question: "Does Comrade Goebel speak only for himself or for the Omaha major-ity? We call on Comrades Lovett, now acting as the Oporum with head quarters at Omaha, to say whethe they propose to act upon the principl laid down by Comrade Goebel, whether they intend to refuse to submit the Chicago referendum when de manded by five or more locals in three or more states?"

We have now good reason to believe that the answer, if a candid answer could be got from these functionaries. would be an affirmative one, that they propose to stand upon the amazing constitutional interpretation indicated above, and that they intend to prevent if they can and, if they cannot prevent then to postpone as long as possible the placing of the headquarters question before the rank and file of the party.

If they think that by a pollcy o obstruction and fillbustering on technical points of interpretation they can strengthen their position and have a better chance of winning when they are finally forced to submit the ques tion to vote, then they sadly mistake the temper of the rank and file of our party. We are not "absent-minded eggars." We have memories that are likely to be inconvenient to those who try to "play high politics" in our move

One more thing The Worker ha now to say. More than a fortnight has passed since the national headquarters received notification from more than the constitutional five locals in three states of a demand for the headquarters referendum. There has been ample time for the Quorum to decide whether it will submit this referendum and to inform the party of its decision. Yet the Quarum pre

erves what it may regard as a dignified silence

It is not the business of the Quorum to decide whether the referendum is a wise one. It is their business to submit that referendum to vote. If they do not intend to do so, then it is their business to inform us of their inten-

The Worker is not informed how matters stand, what action, if any, the National Secretary or the Querum or the National Committee may have taken. We are confident that the National Secretary has not been remiss in his duty, which, in this case, is merely a clerical one. For the rest, we want to know what is going on.

Our party has never found it neces sary to transact its business behind closed doors. It is not well that it should begin now. The National Committeemen and the members of the Quorum are the delegates of the rank and file. They owe it to the rank and file to let us know what they are doing.

The way in which the Democratic politicians join in naming John Mitchell as a vice-presidential candidate must be highly amusing to the mine workers' leader. One set of ticketmakers wants Hearst at the head, another wants Parker, another wants Tom. Dick or Harry-but always a capitalist politician; but they agree beautifully that the empty and doubtful honor of second place should be given to Mitchell, as a sign that they "recognize Labor"-or, in Hearst's lucky phrase, "to establish with the leaders of Labor relations similar to those which the Republican party has established with the leaders of the trusts." The reputation of a labor leader is a most valuable asset-to the politicians who can persuade the labor leader into leading them his name. For us, we see no reason to doubt the sincerity of President Mitchell's declaration that this use of his name is annuthorized and that he has no thought of going into politics.

AS TO HEADQUARTERS.

[The Worker desires above all things to be fair, believing that only by the hearing of both sides can a wise division on any question be reached. We therefore give space to various communications and notes on the headquarters question, which will soon come before the party for general vote. Considerations of space, of course, must limit such discussion, but The Worker will not deny a hear ing to any member of that majority of the National Committee whose actions at St. Louis we have so vigorously de nounced and still as vigorously op-

III. Editor of The Worker:-Comrade Goebel's letter in last week's issue contained the following relative to my opinion, while acting as chairman upon the question of referendum choice of headquarters: The fact is, Comrade Carey admitted on the floor that he made two decisions, several hours apart, and each opposite to the other, some members claiming they heard neither, the matter being thu is in error as to "two decisions several hours apart." The fact is that while the matter of headquarters was being for an opinion on the question whether the choice was a subject of obligatory or optional referendum. I was unable to read the fine print and a part was read aloud. At first, judging from the part read, I thought and stated that it was optional. Immediately a discus-sion arose; and again immediately the whole of the constitution relative to referendums was read, I believe by Comrade Barnes. I then declared a my settled opinion that it was obli gatory. None then questioned it. It is absurd to state that this occurred "several hours apart." Nothing interdiscussion, lasted perhaps ten or fif-teen minutes. Had I been able to have read the portion of the constitution relative to the subject, my opinion would have been rendered instantly. In concluding—let us all be calm.

JAMES F. CAREY, National Committeeman Boston, Feb. 28.

Local Everett, Mass., at a special neeting on Feb. 23, adopted the folowing resolutions and ordered copies to the "Appeal to Reason" The Worker for publication and to State Secretary White and National Secretary Mailly:
"Whereas, The National Committee

at its recent meeting, has arrogantly set aside the party constitution by re fusing to submit the change of ional headquarters to a referendum vote: and

"Whereas, We regard Omaha, Neb. "Resolved, That we demand the following questions be submitted to referendum vote, together with all the acts of the National Committee at its

recent meeting: "I. That the sent of the National Committee be at Chicago.

"2. That the Local Quorum of the

National Committee until the next na tional convention consist of the mem-bers of the National Committee from the following states, viz.: Illinois Wiscopsin, Indiana, Iowa, and Kentucky.'

Local Kalamazoo, Mich., has adopt ed the following resolutions:

"Whereas, We consider the action
taken by the majority of the National
Committee in removing the Local Quorum, in spite of protests of the minority of said Committee, to Omaha in a hasty and peremptory manner, as arbi-trary and unconstitutional; and "Whereas, We maintain that the

-Chicago Tril

rect legislation must remain inviolat er to build up a strong working

class political party based upon cialistic philosophy; therefore be it "Resolved, That we condemn" action taken by the majority of said National Committee; and be it further-

"Resolved, That we demand that th selection of location for said Local Quorum (either Chicago or Indian-apolis, according to minority report) be referred to the membership of the party to be voted upon;

d as we believe that the eman cipation of the working class must b eccomplished by the working clas itself, we request other locals to take

Comrade Victor L. Berger, Nationa Committeeman for Wisconsin, writer as follows in the last number of the "Social Democratic Herald":
"We must have a referendum on the

action taken by the National Commit tee removing the headquarters of the arty to Omaha, Neb. "We must have the referendum for

wo reasons: "First. According to the new make up of the Local Quorum the National Committeemen of the states in the neighborhood of the headquarters serve as the Local Quorum. This in volves a change in the constitution of the party. Heretofore the Local Quo rum was elected from the loca branches of the place where the head quarters were situated. But ever change in the constitution must neces

sarily be submitted to a referendum "Second. The transfer of the head quarters from St. Louis to Omaha in volves a change of basis for our opera tions and to some extent even a change of our policy. This cannot be other wise. No man can get out of his skin The Local Quorum elected for Omahi has a strong agrarian coloring and is out of touch with the trade-union novement of the country. The time to put the Socialist movement of America entirely under agrarian influences and surroundings has not come as yet and probably may never come. We want no antagonism between the city prole tarint and the farmers, but it would surely grow up with a Quorum of agrarian surroundings and milieu. At any rate, such a change should not be made without the consent of the membership in general.

"Omaha is too far away from the manufacturing centers of the United States and the new Quorum cannot feel the heart beat of the modern city coletariat, which the Socialist Party

ust win before all things.
"For this reason I ask the members of the Social Democratic Party of Wis consin and the readers of this pape who are members of the Socialist Party in other states, to ask for a referendum on this important matter and for the removal of the headquar ters to Chicago, Ill."

"The Liberator" of Portland, Ore gon, and "The Socialist" of Seattle, Wash, print the resolution, demanding a referendum on Chicago as national eadquarters, recommended by The

At the last meeting of Local Rochester, N. Y., it was voted to request the national organization to submit to ref-erendum the following propositions:

"1. That the headquarters of the party should be removed to Chicago.

"2. That the Local Quorum until the next national convention be compose of members of the National Committe: from the states of Illinois, Wisconsin Indiana, Iowa, and Kentucky. "3. That all acts of the Nationa

Committee at its last annual session in conflict with the above provisions rejected and declared inoperative."

MOTHER AND CHILD DEAD.

Starvation and Exposure the Cause. New York Times. Starved and frozen together they lie, Mother and babe in their icy sleep; But, stronger in death than life, they

cry
And stir men's souls with a passio deep. deep.

Aye, these poor victims of Hunger and

Cold,

Are yet strong in the fight 'gainst Greed and Gold! -John Spargo, in the Whim.

EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF TRADE UNIONS.

Few people have realized the trendone value of the labor mo as a factor in the education of the masses. It is estimated that there are now nearly two and one-half million of organized laborers to this country on is a school for its men in which they learn reading, writing, arithmetic, public speaking, parlia-mentary usage, the art of debating, and political economy, and in which and political economy, and in which they achieve those splendid qualities of discipline, self-control, co-operation and self-sacrifice that make for a bet er manhood and womanhood and for a higher citizenship.

In the past quarters of a century the rovement in the quality of union abership has been very marked There are strong and intellectual men in the movement to-day. In the course of the next decade the captains and lieutenants of the industrial army will be more than a match for the generals and officers of capitalism.—The Labo Advocate, Nashville, Tenn

INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

Peace between capital and labor, that all that you ask? Is peace then the only thing needful! was peace enough in Souther slavery.

There is a peace of life and anothe

peace of death.

It is well to rise above violence. t is well to rise superior to an But if peace means final acquis

in wrong,-if your aim is les than justice and peace, for one, then your peace is a crim-Ernest Crosby, in the Whim.

EDUCATIONAL NOTE.

Instructor-"Mention some of the by oducts of petroleum." Young Man-"Universities."

One way to get Socialism is to sit down and watch the movement grow, but it's not the best way,—The Socialist Voice.

THE SPIRITUALITY

OF BREAD AND BUTTER.

By Peter E. Burrowes.

shrewdest of all citizens, keen, slick and with almost brutal commonsense, do nevertheless content ourselves with ancient empty windy words as to the things of Better Life. Why go we shuffling and sniffling through time talking about our souls and our spirits and our characters without ever look-ing for a clue to what we may chance to mean by these words, or what such things in themselves may be?

This slipshoddiness which does not inquire into the meaning of words that actually cost so much in hard cash is the miracle of American society. It carries a tremendous yeight of church mortgages, it endures sermons of vast and eloquent freelevancy to everything it really appreciates. It subscribes it really appreciates. It subscribes and donates and silently node its head to sayings stupendously out of date or marvellously misunderstood, and it sniffles along about its own character as if the nine letters of the word did not constitute all of the things that can be demonstrated, so far as any me knows or dares to try.

This taking for granted of an inner

spirituality and character without in sisting upon knowing what the words mean, has come about either because the words mean nothing, or because the time has not yet come for knowing what they mean. I take the latter position. I believe that the human un-derstanding grows, like the trust, on collectivist conditions, and that it will take quite a mature Socialist experience, a long regime of unlimited and butter, to usher in the age of spi-

rituality.

We opine a few things about the soul, but with a very weak voiced perhaps ness, that prefers leaving the subject to the clergy, not because we think of ourselves as foolish and them as wise, but because we scent an incompatibilthat if we have a soul at all it is o of the old style. We have a healthy sort of faith that this century, without theological disputes, will shake a lot of fringe and buttons and feathers off the old and reveal to us a new soul without frills that belongs to this

feed upon temporal bread and butter. The word spirituality, as I use and understand it, signifies the condition of the personal life while it is conscious of subjecting or adjusting itself to the life of the world; and, secondly, while it is willing and doing with the life of the world. The single mind is entirely formed by the whole life without and not by any single agencies; and thus the sum of man's wisdom is to know his instructor. It is as he seeks to become acquainted and to get into comradeship and be one with that instructor that he is spiritualizing. This feeling for light, identity and life outside, this effort to become conscious of and be in co-operation with the greater Me outside, though hidden beneath a mountain of theological rul bish has been the real thing of all deand the vital, valued sentences of the prophets are on this line. Only they shoved the man outside too far outside, they sent him to heaven and they called him God and have been feeding him on words in stead of bread and butter.

I will tell you how far I have got in this matter and leave you to get farther, for a continuous and unbroken thinking passed on from one to other, is, next to bread and butter itself, the

oundation of my spirituality.

It is with regret that I, a labor phile sopher, find myself forced to talk and think about labor in the third person, for I assume myself to be labor

The human race is the Worker who transformation of my individual mind, called class-consciousness, am trying to think myself in with Him, and this transformation is what I call spirituality, which during the first ten years of the century is going to be a trans-formation of and by our old absent

The physical force of man thinking. preserving and satisfying itself; that is him not. First he misleads, and then spirituality to the private mind, to the he lies. He misleads because he canday's man who seeks to make his own not peg out there, he lies because he of that bigger selfishness which so often knocks him down. The thing that the capitalist and his hirelings cannot understand is the spirituality of the proletarian man struggling for union bread and butter through labor politics; yet he imagines that the soul within himself which devours a hun-dred men a day is a strenuous spirituality that shall go to beaven.

An "over-there" spirituality may have served men's purposes in the ages of despair; but who shall say that those ages are not gone by. Going by vampire man what a terrific and mad hope is that heaven with which he miraged his slaves into content oul is here, and its spirituality is rational collective selfishness and its rational collective semisiness and its gospel is bread and butter. What is that rational selfishness for a view of which John Smith, philosopher, pletist and man, has been so long wearily climbing the byways of sinu rugged thought; concerning which he has been misunderstanding, deceiving and damning himself triangularly, un-til, as he draws nigh to the end of his is John Smith: whether it be that philosopher, that pletist, or that mis understood man, the physical John smith with digestive organs and other persistent little instruments which keep up or down, together, the old tune

out whether we be one or three men."
saith the philosopher. "Whether we
are here or over yonder," adds the
pictist, "has really yet to be agreed
upon." "The dispute which ye have
been conducting for ages," says physical John, "has not yet been even well
commenced, while I, who have been
supplying the oil to light you in your
wrangles am now at last nearly burned
out. Be still ye fluttering guideless
wings and let me say my say."

The spiritual life is tired for want
"solidity; like the dove of Noah, it is out whether we be one or three men,"

How is it that we Americans, I hastening back from over the track less wastes to rest upon the fingers, and come into the cupboard of plain John Smith. It is plainly no longer by kind can experience the spiritual life. Plainly that faith is truest and most trustful of final integrities which easts its anchor deeply and fearlessly into the thing that is most surely seen in us, of us, all, everywhere, and at all

times-the honest selfishn

Rational selfishness on the first analysis yields a cry for morality. This cry for morality calls back the winged to plain questions of collectivism labor, property and duty. This leads to ordering sets of harvesses for the cherubim and seraphim and also yoking them to the mills and ploughshares of the Smiths.

,The mere thinker has been always an over-valued man among us, the man I mean who lives all the time in his own head, or the head of the collwhence he comes with his butterfly wings as substitutes for the shoulders of the field oxen. Books, books books many a million but they come not near the life of man the Worker, they lie barren on the shelves of guilty leisure Books, many a million, but the days of men who work, and the eyes of men who work are closed to them. Plain John Smith hath this fo tell ye: Put less of your thinking into your think-ings; throw less of it behind and less of it before you, try the moral fecun dity of realism, try the spirituality of Bread and Butter for all, and the gate will swing open to the magnificence o new thought. Head work is, after all, but a percentage of the work of life In the world's final balance shee books will count for no more that leaves of the potted plant that flourish ed on the year of their publication Attempt, therefore, no longer, ye mere thinkers, to lead us. We look for something better balanced than the

flipping of your gossamer wings.

To find that welfare which contain me and all the others, this is the great truthing: to find that largest welfare which I alone may contain, this is the great falsification. But to find welfare this is always the living way, the spiritual life which shall be spent upon the highways of the world's industrial emocracies. The spiritual life shall no longer sit down at the college mas ter's feet in the conservatories where they grow winter roses of the mind, nor upon altar pinnacles glinting through clouds of incense on the abashed face of prostrate John Smith Its temple shall be the baker's shop of the collectivity and its college shall he the counting house thereof. Spirituality will no longer be looked for as the intensification of one persona specialized straight and fine man. Johannus Smithius you are a spiritua fakir. Spirituality never yet nestled under any single waistcoat, it is not a differential, it is not a differentiating thing. It is democracy through and through, the democracy ca has been scandalizing for a century. The nearest approach to the office of the spiritual man that I know of to-day is the office of a judge in a of to-day is the office of a judge court of equity, the man who st pourt of equity, the man who stands between the laws already, written by old robbers and the laws which th ew robbers want to write, becar sklering equity, because he does so from the common understanding and because he is considering questions of the property and infercourse of men. It is on matters of intercourse, use and property that the moral, rational, spiritual and socially selfish mind should engage itself.

Rightly tethering the mind to public uses, this is the glory of the spi-ritual man. For the mind is a meritual man. For the mind is a me-chanical subordinate that will grind out its tunes of logic from any stump with a loof on it, as the history of the intellectuals abundantly Let us tie it then to this solid, primary, polar peg—the sound selfishness of John Smith and Company. What though Mr. Somure Frock protests and says you should drive the peg in the "over there" outside the whole; beed him not. First he misleads, and then does not peg out there. He has com mitted the crime of separating spirituality from selfishness.

Riessed is the man who sees that the basis of the new faith is to be found in the bread and butter of John Smith in the plural number, and in the wholesome selfishness of every vhole interest therein.

Talk not to me of your phantom There is more honor of eternal truth, more reverence meet for true deity in this full easted faith of John Smith upon the integrity of selfishness even as we know it; upon the surerress of that intellection which knows of no other subject for philosophy than the labor, property and duty of to-day, which recognizes no basis for the spi-ritual life but the materialistic comforts and luxuries of the body and which knows of no spirit holier than the holy spirit of that reasonable selfishness that finds its welfare in the whole. Upon that which is, east thy self unflinchingly, my brother. Selfishness is here, and it is going to school; it is not an instinct but a wisdom. This is as far as I and the prole

tariat have gone. Spirituality is a rational consecrated race selfishme Bread-and-butter, occupation and the use of the mind are its primary demands. It is not a whim of weeping and sympathy in the personal emo tions: it is not a love nor a senting but a growth of appreciation raceward as to what is best for us and therefor me. Spirituality is not supernatural. if it were it were nothing; but it is supra personal, yet only so as a wise temporary suspension of the personal interest for that success of survival which, in my group, saves me, which gives me a race mind and so makes me a spiritual man—a man that reasons racially, a man that ever tends towards a bigger personality, to a soc group, a patriotic, an industrial group roup, a patriotic, an industrial group r whatsoever is on the way to race

This spirituality affiliates and or-

ganizes with industry which in all nations and ages constitu mal and necessary life of the world; therefore it attacks classes and aristoc-racies in order to maintain the in-tegrity of the mass life: it attacks the al and ruthless captains of the sword whose crimes have the disintegration of farmer nations and the suspension of social life. This bread and butter spirituality, because it stands upon the historic and economic basis of society and there remains, becomes the stem of all right high-mindedness, of all enduring ocialist, who to-day, stripping himself of all the cant of philanthropy, who with or without friendship, love or fellowship, as it may chance, goe in for John Smith's bread and butter. the whole of John Smith's bread and butter, and nothing else but John Smith's bread and butter, has the root of the matter; he has the whole of working Socialism, the whole of patriotism and the whole of spiritual-ity on a mighty sure string.

FIGHT.

By Horace Traubel,

Do not apologize for your client. Do ot shuffle and shrink when labor sins. sin some more. Labor hates the hat advocate. It looks to you in the thick and thin of battle. You are to be in the right place at the right time. You are not to come arguing that you should not come. You are not to go to with the acting general. fight is on and you know your post, You are not to throw down your arms and tell your enemy that you love him. You do love him. Of course. But you are fighting this fight as much for his sake as your own. So you will love him. And you will fight. Labor is not making a demand based

on superiorities or virtues. It is making a demand based on addition, sub-traction and division. It is building its demand on the multiplication table. It not asking more money because it isking for more money because it has played a good Samaritan sketch in a vaudeville show. It is not proving that it deserves more money because it observes the ten commandments or obeys the laws of the state. The multiplication table is also a virtue. And Labor accepts its virtue. But it is not blanket virtue covering the whole area of excellence. And to you who

plication table. We will meet you with any weapon of your choice. We will meet you way up where the clouds clash. We will up where the clouds clash. We will meet you way down where the roots fasten themselves in the soil. We will meet you on the surface of the earth. We will meet you in your parlor, your ffice, or on the street. We will meet you with an arithmetic or a scripture We will turn arithmetic into scripture and scripture into arithmetic. Your choice is your own. We will follow where you lead. We will meet you on your field or on our own or on neutral ground. We will meet by your watch. We will meet you with the glove or with plain knuckles. Anyway Anyway. Anyway. And

will lick you. We are going to make mistakes. We are going to be hot. We are going to do you some injustice. We are going to be stern. We are going to use words that overshoot and words that under shoot the mark. We are going to fight We are going to drive you hard and give no quarter. For we to fight. We are not to take hold and We are going to take hold and let go. never let go. Fight. That is our word. It is a brute word. But we are forced to use it. No other word so well says fight as that word fight it-

self. And fight it is. We do not fight because we hate but because we love. We do not fight to take anything away from anybody. We fight to give everything away

everybody. Fight. It is a miracled word. Its root is love. Its fruit is love. Fight. Not fist. Not gun. Not knife. None of these are fight. Only love is fight.

render. No soft phrases to turn away wrath. Your biggest fist. Your most austere front. Beware of us. When we strike we strike to kill. No weapon of blood. Not to kill your body.

Do you think we are out for your body? No. No. We are out for that idea. We will never rest with that idea at large. We will game it. jealous of your material posses That is a mistake. We are jealous of that idea. You will not give up your idea without a struggle. We do not expect an easy fight. But you will give it up. For the forces on our side back to the elemental laws and ental laws and fo ward to the ideal and cannot be frustrated. We will get whipped. But we will fight. And we will get whipp But less whipped. again. But less whipped. And we will fight. And we will get whipped again. And all will seem lost. And the sun will go down on our dismay But we will fight. And you will burt us. And we will cry out for pain.
And we will be silent for philosophy. But fight on. And that is why final you will go to the ground. For we can lose everything and still fight. We see nothing but fight. We hear noth ing but fight. We dream nothing bu

Never was such war. War not to the knife. War to justice. War to the ideal. War not to shed blood. War to stop the blood that starvation sheds. War to stop the wasting blood of the children. War upon luxury. War for life. War for clothes, food, leisure War without truces. War without paroles and spies. War direct and cruel. War without malice. War without concession. War of strong men. War that sends its weaklings and wordmongers to the rear. Was day and beg your pardon for it to-mor-row. War that is not for babes and sucklings. War. War. When you meet us you meet the

greatest army that ever arrayed itself against a crime. It is an army that weeps when it fights. Though it fights. An army that would rather pay you a compliment than hurt your feelings An army to which the business of fighting is hateful. But an army which for this very reason fights hard ever. An army not bargained for a so much per head. An army which love has sent to the field and which only a superior love can defeat. will be scored. But it will intrebidly fight. It may be on the point of flying But it will not fly. This army, so full of love. This fight so full of love. Brutal with love. The army of the people. The army of the fighting

There are feeble advocates among

us. But do not let them deceive you. We are not as weak as our weakest

We are as strong as our

corporal.

strongest corporal. Keep out all your guards. You will need them all. For we never sleep. We have some tenderfeet of our own. But they count for nothing against our veteran hosts. We are liable to be strongest when you think your opportunity has come. We have our grammarians. We do not find much use for them. We are try-ing to get a little of their stiff English into their backbones. But if they re main must we still have the best part of us left. We have the plain people. The people who are unspoiled by the grammarians. The people who fight. The nasty, dirty, narrow people. The rdinary, every-day people. The crowd ing many who are dragged over rough roads by the scattering few. The peo ple, conservative, slow, lethargic, it tient, only dreaming of revoluti when every other dream is gone. The people who will not fight until they must but who when they must fight, fight, as Captain Bluntschli says, like the devil. These are left. And these will always return. No matter what the terror of the rout. These will re-port next day as usual. For the people and this fight are of one stuff. You can only get rid of the fight by getting rid of the people. You cannot get rid of the people.

When we say fight the world refus to revolve on its axis. The sun goes out. The stars no longer wink. The graves give up their dead. Everything gives up everything except the millionaire. He gives up nothing. And yet fight is said. And fight we mean. Fight of many retreats. Fight of modefeats than victories for us. B We expect no victory until the final victory. We only fight. We fight not knowing whether we have won or are whipped. We fight the same fight. We hear the voice ahead. We see the light. We fight on. The voice is silent The light is gone out. We fight on. That is all we have to do. Fight. We are cowards. We fight on. are heroes. We fight on. That is all we have to do. Fight. God up there somewhere cries: Fight! Fight down here somewhere cries: God!

Current # # ₽ Literature

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

YALE LECTURES: THE CITIZEN IN HIS RELATION TO THE IN-DUSTRIAL PROBLEM. By Henry C. Potter, Bishop of New York Scribner's:

When first glancing at these lecture which the Scribners publish in book form a Socialist is reminded, before he opens the volume, of a scene in one o Flaubert's novels, where an old maid servant is introduced who has been summoned at a meeting of the Agricul-tural Union in order to receive for faithful service on a farm, a sliver medal of the value of seventy-five cents. After describing her knotted joints, back bent with toil, brain stupefied with unremitting labor, her blunted feelings benumbed to everything except her daily toil-Flaubert condenses the whole picture into one sentence: "Thus stood in the presence of these well-to-do old fogie

this half-century of slavery." From sad experience a workingman These destroy. Love saves.

Fight. No fool apologies. No mushpotteries. No retreats. No atbe error to dismiss this book with this spirit. The Bishop of New York is not an "old fogy," but endeavors as "representative of all classes," not to look with supercilious criticism at the complaints of a thousand years of la-He tries to make a fair comparison of the past with the present, and to look fairly at the present opposing class ideas of labor and capital. His thought still shows the echo of the trumpet blast of Saint Simon, that the mercantile, professional, literary and governing class exist as agents only, and should be as servants merely to the great producing class. The labored consideration which the Bishop endeav the working class deserves to be respectfully considered by them.

As many of the readers of The Worker will not have opportunity to read these "Yale Lectures," we will give some extracts to show the trend of the book. On the industrial situation the Bishop tells the Yale students (p. 11): "It is doubtful whether the a human happiness (among serfs and slaves) was not as high as, if not sometimes higher, than that of the average life of the toller or artisan in the foul and over-crowded homes of the poor to-day. The uncertainties of the wageearner, the fierce strife for bread of the modern miner or agricultural laborer— these were miseries out of which • • • former systems were substantially delivered." Again, on another page "As machinery went on becoming more complex and competent, the individual sank unceasingly in significance and value."

"It is undoubtedly true that the in-dividual in those classes and callings which are at the bottom of the social scale, have to-day much more of a certain kind of freedom, but it is scarcely less certain that he has much less, s far as those above him are cor On page 174 the Bishop says: "I think that the guild of other ages gave the world better work, and the men

themselves a better wage and a juster

After stating the fact that wages from 1860 to 1891 increased about 60 per cent, Bishop Potter refers to the fact that the "rate of interest has decreased" to show that labor gets an inreasing part from capital, and sets this up in favor of capital. But he omits to mention the watering of stock. owned by private corporations, the steady increasing capitalization of railshow that the total amount which the capital class receives from society inthe producing class increases. But, however, after setting forth in many pages the capitalist side, the Bishop, on page 60, says:

"The workingman insists that notwithstanding all that can be urged as to the rise of wages in recent years, the condition under which the working man labors makes his position incres ingly unsatisfactory and and in every real sense he is right. The objections of the Bishop to So-

ialism may be briefly stated.

1. "The corruption and waste incldent to public government and admin-Istration

2. "In the process of creating a cial order that transfers responsibility from the individual to the state vot have provided a sure and certain method of annihilating through its persistent enervation (i. e., the weakening of individual initiative and talent be cause of want of practice), that only and supreme force by which states live at all * * * and common control without the motive of self-interest can only satisfactorily take the place of sectional control for private gain when public opinion has reached a higher level of morality, and the to discharge one's duties in a manly fashion and from a point of honor is sufficiently strong as an incentive to

industry."

It would seem that the first and last clauses of the above quotation involve a contradiction. But if they do not, the first shows that the Bishop, nothwithstanding the church to which he may belong and the creed he pro-fesses to believe and the God he thinks ie worships, is in truth, in fact, and in practice what Ruskin calls a

Socialists believe in competition for honor, respect, fame, emulation in the use of talent for the service of humanty, but not competition to obtain the necessaries of life. The Socialist can prove that co-operation affords not less but more stimulants to individuality and to the truest elements that make up manhood and character, as do war and statesmanship which imply social integration and not the brute struggle of

the savage.
Our present barbarous competition necessaries of life consigns unselfish and noble feeling to neglect and shame and gives honor, dignity, and social power to the mere posses

sors of gold.

The Socialists hope a civilization which will cause industrial duty to be honored (as the army honors duty), faithful work to be rewarded, instead of the bondholder, and honor and dignity to the producers of wealth, instead of to the holders of gold. In short, we lay down Bishop Potter's book with a wonder after saying so much that he expresses his belief in a system which, as Mathew Arnold says, "Materializes the upper classes, vulgarizes the middle classes, and brutalizes the lower classes," instead of a belief in Socialism, a system which will cause duty to be honored labor to be respected, and moral char acter to be appreciated in this world. EDWARD W. SEARING.

Our Exteemed Contemporaries

BBB (and OTHERS) BBB Springfield Republican

Socialistic sentiment is plainly grow-ng among labor unionists throughout the country, but it is still wanting a majority of the votes in large sentative assemblages of organized in-bor. One and a principal cause is that the union leaders prefer the status quo for reasons of regard for their own interests. They have built up great fighting machines which give public and a livelihood. The whel reason for their existence depends upon the maintenance of warlike conupon the maintenance of distinctions in the field of industry. do not stand necessarily for the com-petitive system; in fact, their nim is to establish substantial monopoly in the labor force of the country to be able to dictate to employers the terms upon which work can be had. Employers may remain in competition if they choose, but if monopoly is established here through combination, then labor monopoly will join with capital monopoly in taking from the public at large what they may both re gard as reasonable returns, no matter how the same may appear to the public at large. This is a situation and prospect which appeals strongly to men who have fought their way up in the strife and organization of labor and now possess a leadership which comnow possess a lendership mands powers and dignities, if emoluments, unapproached in emoluments, unapproached in the world of industry save only by the great captains of capital. Accordingly they do not care lightly to entertal proposals of industrial change which promise to cut the ground from under the feet of a militarist labor regime. and their influence in the representa-tive assemblages of the labor orders is, tive assemblages of the labor orders is, of course, very great. Their feelings in regard to Socialistic projects must resemble closely those with which the professional soldier looks upon chemes of international arbitration professional which promise to be effective enough to put an end to war.

FOR MUNICIPAL BAKERIES IN ITALY.

The city of Catania in Sicily has carried by a heavy majority a referendum proposed by the Socialists in favor of the establishment of municipal bak eries. The announcement of the result sed by the Socialists in favor of eries. The announcement of the result was celebrated by a great parade, 20,000 persons marching with torches and red flags. The parade was fol-lowed by a public meeting at which the Socialist Deputy De Fellow underered an eloquent address.

PARTY NOTES.

Local Hartford, Conn., of the So-cialist Party meets every Friday even-ing in Room 10, 284 Asylum street. All readers of The Worker are invited

Father Thomas Hagerty is contem-plating a tour of the East under the direction of W. G. Critchlow, 26 Pru-den Building, Dayton, 0.

George D. Herron-will be the orate of the occasion at the Commune cele-bration, concert and ball, to be given by Local Philadelphia on March 18, at Labor Lyceum, Sixth and Brown streets. The committee appeals to all comrades to push the sale of tickets.

All locals in Luzerne County, Pa. are hereby notified that all due stamp and supplies will be hereafter issue to them by the Treasurer of the County Committee, Comrade Fred Schade, Sr. 487 South Grant street, Wilkes-Barre All accounts heretofore existing be tween the State Committee and the lo-cals have been turned over to him for collection. It appears that a large number of the locals in this county are still indebted for due stamps and supplies issued to them by the Stat mittee in 1902. All such organi Entions are urgently requested to settle up these accounts before April 1; otherwise the County Committee will be compelled to recommend that their charters be revoked.

Youngstown, Ohio, has reorganized with fifteen members and work has now been started for an active cam paign for the municipal Akron and Mansfield have held large enthusiastic conventions and full municipal tickets in the field.-Information received at state hendquarters show that there will be at least twenty municipal tickets in the field in Ohio to be voted on April 6.— The State Committee now consists of fourteen members out of a possible twenty-one. Each Congressional dis-trict in the state now has a local, or locals, within its territory, and th State Committee will soon be swelled to twenty-one members as a result.— January was the largest mouth in the history of the party in Ohio in point o bers obtained. Closely following this comes the month of Febru-ary, with a still greater increase. A total of 331 new members have been admitted during these two months.

Ohlo state headquarters have not beer removed to Cleveland, as was anticiseted and will remain in Dayton for the time being at least.—The clerical opposition to the meetings of Father McGrady are encouraging to the con who report that the free adver tising assists in drawing larger crowds than would otherwise be securmed Father McGrady is a priest and mem ber of the church the same as ever. Socialists of Canton will nominate a full municipal ticket for the first time on Sanday, March 8. They are very active and expect a largely increased vote.—Local Corning has more than tripled its membership within two weeks, and a notable fact is that all the new members are coal miners.

George D. Herron will speak on "So cialism and Liberty" in New Haven. Conn., on Tuesday evening, March 10 at Warner Hall.

A general meeting of all party mem-bers in Boston, Mass., is called for Tuesday, March 10, 8 p. m. sharp, at Unity Hall, 724 Washington street Matters of great importance will be discussed and all members are urgent ly requested to attend.

The fourth annual ball and baske party of the West End Branch of th cialist Party of Boston, Mass., wil he held at Minot Hall, 68 West Spring field street, on Wednesday evening March 18; ticket, admitting lady and gentleman, 50 cents; ticket, admitting ne. 35 cents: ladies bringing a baske will be admitted free. The West End Branch is composed of Wards 6, 8 and 11 and meets every Thursday, 7.30 p at 164 Canal street, second floor where any sympathizer who wishes to join the party or subscribe for any Socialist paper can do so.

Charters have been granted to new locals in Huntington, Hardy, and Dia-mond, Ark.; Ashville, N. C.; Lutcher, La., and Huntington, W. Va. The lat-ter was organized by Comrade Owen Bowen of Ashland, Ky.

The Chicago comrades ordered 10,000 opies of the national platform from pal campaign. New copies of the plat form, printed on better paper and of improved typographical appearance will soon be ready.

Comrade John C. Chase's tour in the Southern states has been remarkably successful. He will spend March in Ala-bama, Mississippi and Louisiana. A Jewish literary society in Birmingham Ala., has made special request for a

An enthusiastic report from Butte Iontana, is to the effect that the So cialists expect to carry the city on the first Monday in April. An active cam

The National Secretary is sending out a letter to Socialists in unorgan ized places, urging them to organize If you know of any such, send in their names to the national office, 10-11 Ar-lington Block, Omaha, Neb.

A referendum of the locals of Ar kansas for a state convention to form a state organization has been initiated by the National Secretary. Comrade by the National Secretary. Comrade John C. Chase will probably be presen to represent the National Committee Comrade Father Hagerty writes that Arkansas is in good shape for Social

Requests are coming in to the national headquarters daily from unorgan-ized places in all parts of the country for materials and information Southern states being oppocially well represented.

Colorado, Florida, Illinois, Indians, daine, Massachusetta, Michigan, Ohio,

and South Dakota have led in the orders for supplies and organising terials from the national headqua during the month of February.

The capitalist politicians of Columbus. O., have been trying to get en-dorsements from the Trades and Labor Council, some of them even attempting to create the impression that such en-dorsements had been given, though such was not the case. The Council last week administered a severe rebuke to such "friends" in a set of resolu-tions expressing very clearly the So-cialist position and declaring that "organized labor has not endorsed and will not endorse any representative of any party pledged to the perpetuation of an industrial system, which has pro

duced an arrogant plutocracy and im-poverished the comon people. Comrade William Gottschalk. mher of the West Hoboken branch of the Socialist Party and of the Silk Workers' Union and the Arbeiter Workers Union and the Arbeiter Maennerchor, died last week after many years of good service in the cause of his class. His remains were cremated on Sunday, large delegations from the various attending in honor of house in West Hoboken to the Social ist Co-operative Publishing Associa

New York City.

The Yorkville Agitation Committee is establishing a bureau to give in-struction and assistance to foreignborn workingmen wishing to becom citizens. Two representatives of the Committee will be in attendance at the Clubhouse, 206 East Eighty-sixth street, from 10 to 12 every Sunday

The Yorkville Agitation Committee is arranging for two big mass meetings on May 1, one at Bohemian Na-tional Hall and the other at Old Homestead Garden. Good speakers in English and German will set forth the meaning of the International Labor Day and workingmen's bands and singing societies will furnish appro printe music.

The discussion meetings of the 30th A. D. are proving very interesting and valuable. "The Right of Private Property" was the subject at last month's meeting and at the meeting of March
11 the question "What Is Liberty?"
will be taken up. Every comrade in
the district should be present. The
discussion meeting is held on the second Wednesday and the business meeting on the fourth Wednesday of each month at the W. E. A. Clubhouse, 206 East Eighty-sixth street.

Comrade Herbert presided at the last meeting of the Young People's So-cial Democratic Club of Yorkville. Miss Nichols was admitted to membership. The committee in charge of ar rangements for the entertain be held at the Clubhouse on March 14 reported progress. A. Oerter was elected as delegate to the Daily Globe Conference in place of Comrade Fried-richsen, who had been chosen as Re-cording Secretary. The discussion on the work of the present city adminis tration and what a Social Democratic every Thursday evening at 206 East Eighty-sixth street. All young Socialists in Yorkville are invited to join.

A large and attentive audience was present at the debate between Sol Fieldman and H. W. Wilbur which took place at Colonial Hall last Sun-day evening. Comrade Fieldman was somewhat handicapped by the allot-ment of time and also by the fact that he was compelled to devote a consider-able part of the time to an explanation of what Socialism is and the objects and aims of the party, with the result that he could not give as much time to a discussion of the resolution proper as his opponent. However, he defended the Socialist cause well and gave gen-eral satisfaction to the comrades present and received the greatest applause The Colonial Socialist Club, under whose auspices the debate was held are invited to be the guests of the Pro hibitionists in a similar debate in the near future.

The regular meeting of the 21st A D. will be held in Colonial Hall, 101st street and Columbus avenue, Friday evening, March G. Important business is to be transacted and it is hoped all the comrades will attend. The Agita-tion Committee has been busy during the past month and has several important propositions to submit.

A special meeting of the 6-10th A will be held Friday, March 6. At the meeting on Friday, March 27, Comrade Hannemann will open a discus-sion on "The Socialist Solution of the Liquor Problem." This branch will hold a Commune Festival in the large hall at the Labor Lyceum on Saturday evening, March 21. A committee was elected at the last meeting to cover the district with posters advertising the Daily Globe Fair.

On Saturday, March 7, and there after, the 7-9-25th A. D. will meet at Comrade Solomon's new home, 292-Seventh avenue, instead of 249 West Twenty-sixth street as formerly.

Speeches in English and German will be made by Comrades Morris Hill-quit and Julius Vahlteich at the Commune celebration of the 19-20th A. D. of Brooklyn and the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum Association which will be held on Friday, March 20, at 8 p. m., in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949-

Branches 1, 2 and 3 of the Social Democratic Women's Society will have a booth at the Daily Globe Fair and all the other branches have been asked to contribute articles or money to make the undertaking a success. Branch 21, a down-town Jewish branch, which is a very promising one, will hold a mass meeting on March 18, and has also promised to donate \$50 towards the East Side Labor Ly-

Verein für Volksbildung and for others

The meeting of the Young People's Social Democratic Club at the Brook-lyn Labor Lyceum was held in the usual enlivened manner. The club has greatly increased its membership an has great prospects of procuring still more members in the near future. The following were admitted as member Mary Weigl, Eva Weigl, Loui Hornig, Julia Younker, Josephine Wingen, Ida Lass, Elale Brinkmann, Mary Krueger, Lillic Burmeister, and Frank Krueger.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S CLUB BALL

The Young People's Social Demo-eratic Club of Yorkville will hold an entertainment and ball on Saturday evening, March 14, at the W. E. A. Clubhouse, 206 East Eighty-sixth street. The Dramatic and Musical will assist in the entertainment, and a good program is assured. Admission is 15 cents a person.

PARTY FUNDS.

The Financial Secretary of the State Committee acknowledges the receipt of 50 cents from John Gelz of Portchester and 50 cents from Ph. Rummel of the 30th A. D. on List 199 for the Campaign Fund of 1902.

Organizer Wood of Local New York the Kranken-Kasse and \$5 from F. Carrens of Yonkers for the Parade Fund, and of \$3.50 from L. D. Mayes and \$5 from Leonard D. Abbott for the Auxialiary Campaign Fund.

THE CRITICS CRITICIZED.

In my somewhat extended career in the Socialist movement I have made it a rule to ignore personal abuse wherever possible. But there are some occasions where silence ceases to be a virtue, and where a Socialist actively engaged in party work owes it to him self and to his comrades to repel a victors slander aimed against him, although the task may be unpleasant and even humiliating.

One of such occasions is the com-

andely tribute paid to me by Clarence Smith in the "American Labor Union Journal," and reproduced in the last ssue of The Worker: Issue of The Worker:
"Comrade Hiliquit of New York,"
observes C. Smith, "was one of the
smooth, slippery kind, who impressed
the Committeemen as a man who al-

ways had a 'job' or a 'trick' to spring on the meeting. He enjoyed the dis-tinction of being the only one of his kind at the hig gathering."

The tone and spirit of the statement have been sufficiently characterized by the editor of The Worker, and I am thankful to him that he relieved me of the necessity to go into this phase of the question. I will now confine myself to the merits of the statemen

It will be noticed that the charges against me are not substantlated by any statement of facts, they are based purely on Mr. Smith's impression of the impression I made on "the Com-mitteemen." I dislike to interfere with this most approved and convenient method of character assassination, but I am, nevertheless, compelled to dis-turb Mr. Smith's innocent contemplation of impressions, and to call his at-tention to the more prosaic facts of the case. The National Committee had four principal subjects to deal with: The question of fusion with the U. L. P., the party's attitude towards the rival trade union organizations, the election of a National Secretary, and the location of the party headquarters On the first two subjects my "job" consisted in drafting both resolutions which were adopted by the Committee unanimously and without as much as unanimously and witnout as much as a change of a comma. In the election of National Secretary I spoke and voted for Mailly because I thought him the best qualified of all men who were nominated for the position.

On the question of the headquarter I spoke and voted against Omaha, be cause I thought and still think that the selection was not made with a view to the best interests of the party as a whole, and that Omaha is about the most illogical and improper place to which the headquarters of a prole tarian movement could be consigned. When Omaha was nevertheless se

lected. I moved that it be submitted to a general vote, together with Indianapolis, which had received the next highest vote, and finally when you, Mr. Smith, as chairman of the meeting made the now fam us ruling that no referendum of any kind would be submitted by the National Committee on the change of headquarters, regardless of the express constitutional pro-vision to the contrary, regardless of the opposite ruling made by the chairman on the previous day and regardless of the express resolution of the previous meeting that Omaha be sub-mitted to referendum, I objected to your action as strongly as I knew how. I made no secret of my views on the subject. I opposed what I considered your arbitrary and unsocialistic actions openly and right on the floor of the Committee, and so did every other member of the unfortunate "minornber of the unfortunate

ity."
We held no caucuses, every one of us voted for what in his judgment would be to the best interests of the party, and even on the election of Secretary and headquarters we did not

vote solidly. And how did the majority act? In the first place, they held a caucus to determine on their actions at the m determine on their actions at the meeting. Now a caucus meeting may be
very natural in an old-party convention, but in a representative Socialist
gathering it is the most vicious and
dangerous thing. Let me explain that to you in my own smooth way, Com-rade Smith. The distinction between an old-party convention and a Social-ist convention is this-that in one a machine dominates, and the will of the "boss" is substituted for the judgemnt of the delegates, in the other each delegate acts in accordance with the instructions of his constituents or, where he has none, as his own un-biased judgment and intellect dictate. Now a caucus necessarily imports ma-chine rule. A caucus meeting, from Sto towards the East Side Labor Lyceum.

Or, Anna Ingermann lectures in German Sunday evening, March S, at the Labor Lyceum, G4 East Fourth street, on "Religion und Wissenschafe," Lether Ingermance of the Indiana is free for members of the what argaments may be addresd.

That my "intimate relations with the Labor Secretarial" should have the Labor Conscience feel right.

That my "intimate relations with the Labor Secretarial" should have the Labor Secretarial" should have the Labor Secretarial should have the Secretarial should have the Labor Secretarial should have the S

against it, and when a caucus com-prises a majority of the delegates, it decides all questions in camera and re-duces the proceedings on the floor of the Committee to a mere farce. After you had held your caucus and decided upon your line of action, the Commit-teemen from Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Illi-pole Indiana and Kentucky might as ois, Indiana, and Kentucky might as well have left the meeting; these states were really no more represented in the Committee: no amount of logic, exhortation, or persuasion on the part of their representatives could alter the pre-arranged plans of the majority; it was "no use arguing," as was rightly remarked by one of you. Comrade Goebel, who calls the caucus a "get-ting together," says that it was entirely spontaneous. But just imagine fifteen men "spontaneously" conceiving the idea of "getting together" in a certain room at a certain time, without the knowledge of the remaining delegates, and there deciding on a cer tain spontaneous policy. If we accept the doctrine of inspiration such a menon is certainly quite plausible, but under ordinary circumstances these things are arranged by one o more "leaders" of the movement, and the others follow. Do you now see where the "job" comes in, Comrade

After your caucus was held, and it was still feared that the intelligence of some delegates might give out at the most critical moment, it was ar-ranged that Comrade Mills should give the signal for intelligent voting. The signal consisted of the cabalistic formula, "Vote it down, boys." Comrade Goebel again says that this

was done "after Comrade Hillquit and other members of the minority had in-troduced so many amendments, sub-stifutes, etc., that it would have puzzled a Philadelphia lawyer to knowled how to vote in order to get the result he wished, let alone a member of the workfig class, more used to the black smith's hammer than 'Cushing's Manual'." In plain words this would imply: First, that the National Committeemen did not possess sufficient intelligence to understand what the mo tion under discussion was and had to get the tip from Comrade Mills; second, that Comrade Mills knew exactly what result those Committeemen wished to get; third, that although the Committeemen did not know what the motions, amendments, etc., were about, vertheless had to assume that the motions, amendments, etc., offered by the minority were wrong, and the lews of Comrade Mills were right.

If the cancus meeting had reduced the National Committee to the "majority faction." the voting by signal practically reduced the entire meeting to Comrade Mills. Do you now see the "trick," Comrade Smith?

Comrade Goebel now seeks to

justify the action of the "majority" by an alleged conspiracy to "whitewash the Local Quorum, retain headquarters in St. Louis, perhaps re-elect the old Secretary and adopt a namby-pamby resolution concerning fusion," b statement, like your statement, Comrade Smith, is not based on facts, but is a deliberate "Impression."

Local Quorum stood in no need "whitewash," they candidly and publiely admitted their approval of fusion with the U. L. P. and they were not charged with any other offense; there was but one vote for St. Louis as headquarters, and Comrade Green-baum was not a candidate for re-election and was not placed in nomina tion by anyone. As to the "namby-pamby" resolution on fusion, the resolution actually adopted by the Committee unanimously was prepared by sub-committee of five, and four of these (Berger, Barnes, Mahoney, and myself) were members of the ty" conspirators.

Having saved the party from the conspiracy to "whitewash" the Local Quorum, your "majerity" proceeded to emove the headquarters without a day's delay, without giving the Sec-retary-elect the opportunity to attend to the removal or to take over from his predecessor the party's books and effects in an orderly manner. Why? Because St. Louis was such dangerous ground that its influence might have corrupted the party if the headquar-ters were retained there a few days longer, says Comrade Goebel. This is disingenous. Local St. Louis was the first to adopt resolutions against fusion and to demand the removal of the Local Quorum, and the local party organ, the "St. Louis Labor," was always strongly opposed to fusion. The real reason for your action was to put the party before an accomplished fact, and to frustrate any attempt to submit the question of headquarters to a

These, Comrade Smith, are the facts as shown by the minutes of the meeting and the statements of the majority delegates, and if you are bound to pick out the "smooth and slippery" among your fellow delegates and to fasten "jobs" and "tricks" on them, kindly revise your choice to conform to the

I had hardly recovered from the shock of Comrade Smith's flattery, when a new bouquet was offered to me in the shape of an editorial of the "New York Socialist and Trades Union Review." The passage in question

"The recent record of Morris Hillquit on the fusion question is not quit on the rusion question is not strong enough to be above suspicion. His intimate relations with Job Harri-man and the Labor Secretariat have evidently deeply marked his views on fusion. Recognizing the oncoming union labor political army he dreads caudid party members." There it is. In one terse and Incid

sentence. I, Comrade Harriman, the La-bor Secretariat, grammar and logic are equally and effectively crucified. That such is clear, but what, in the name of common sense, does the writer in-tend to say? My "recent record on the fusion question is not strong enough to be above suspicion." A man may make a record for himself in a certain line of activity and the record may be good or bad, or he may hold views on a certain question and the views may be right or wrong, but having a record on a question, and that a strong one, no one but a villain like myself can accomplish, and I am not at all surprised that the "N. Y. S. & T. U. R." considers me or my record

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deeply marked my views on fusion," I can appreciate, although it is not quite clear to my mind, whether the alleged influence was in favor of or against fusion. But the real puzzle comes in the last clause: "Recognizing the oncoming union labor political army, he dreads a too strong statement from his more candid party members." I dread a strong statement, let us admit that. But what sort of a statement? A statement like the one above produced, a statement of a decided pro-fusionist.

a statement of my suspicious recor any kind of a strong statement? And why do I dread it especially in view of the oucoming "union labor political army," and what does the editor mean, anyhow? views on the question of fusion

I have expressed on three occasions The first time in the shape of a resol tion offered at a New York party meet ing, and the resolution was adopted; the second time in a resolution offered at the National Committee meeting, and this resolution was likewise adopted; the third time in a more ex-tended article published in The Worker, and my views were endorsed

editorially by that paper.

If the editor of the "New York Socialist and Trade Union Review" had only been concerned with the purity and orthodoxy of my views on the fusion question, he could safely have dispensed with the comment quoted. But I suppose he meant something else. If his article had been written in plain, every-day language, it would most likely have run this way: "In the discussion of the fusion question Morris Hillquit has not been cursing strongly enough to satisfy us, and he is a friend of Job Harriman, anyhow, and we don't like him any more

But the editor of the "N. Y. S. & T. U. R." seems to be under the impression that plain expressions do not become a journalist, and well—his recent record in journalism is not strong enough to

This is not said in any spirit of unwhen a comrade takes it upon himself publicly to cast suspicion on the mo-tives and record of another, the ac-cused is entitled at least to an intelli-gent and specific statement of the charges. MORRIS HILLQUIT.

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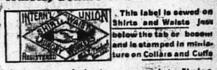
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The old-party politicians wonder I taught them not to hope that such dis how the Socialists carry on their party work, not having the opportunitie which the Republicans and Demo crats have to draw on the great capl talists for funds.

No one works for either of the old parties without expecting to be paid for it-paid with a few glasses of beer, perhaps, or with five dollars on election day, or with a nomination or an appointment to some office, little or big, according to the services rendered. Considering the individualistic capitalist principles for which the old par ties stand, there is no reason why any one should work for them gratis.

With our party it is quite otherwis Where the old parties declare individual gain to be the ideal and aim of life and regard the man who gets nething for nothing as the type of the successful man, our party's aim is the social good and our ideal of the life that is worthy of a manly man or a womanly woman is the life of en thusiastic thought and action in the service of common interests. As the practise of the old parties is in accordance with their base ideas so is our practise in accordance with our prin

We-have some paid men in the service of our party. To men who give up their whole time to the service of the party as secretaries, organizer editors, or speakers, we pay mechan ics' wages out of funds provided by the dues and voluntary contribution of the mass of working people who democratically select these men as their agents. But these paid servants of the party are comparatively few For the greater part of the work of education and organization which the party carries on is done by volunteers, without reward or even praise or rec ognition. We have many who serv the cause for meager pay as writer and speakers who could live in luxury by selling their talents to the service of capitalism. But more admirabl than these are the men who, after their ten hours' hard dally labor in the shop, give their evenings and Sun days to party work-serving on com mittees, arranging meetings, tramping the streets and tenement stairs to dis tribute leaslets, doing all the needful but inglorious work, calmly accepting the ridicule and abuse they get ever from fellow workingmen-"working men with capitalist minds"-satisfied if they see some result from their labors, desirous only of doing their duty, wishing not that they might be rewarded but only that they might be

It is doubtful if ever in the world' history there has been anything to equal the devotion of the militant ran d file of the Socialist movement of to-day. It is doubtful if even the history of the Christian church in the early centuries of its persecuted pro paganda has anything finer to offer Certain it is that no movement in the modern world can command a tithe of the quiet and patient and personally unselfish individual effort and indi vidual sacrifice that now gathers around the Red Flag and expresses it aspiration in the Marselliaise and the motto, "Workingmen of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to

If the leaders of capitalist politics wonder at the amount of work that we succeed in doing with our small mem bership and our slender funds, still more do they wonder at the solidity and the incorruptibleness of our move

ments arising in the Socialist ranks, see Socialists violently opposing on another on questions that seem to outsiders to be of very little moment, see our forces apparently rent into warring factions. But experience has

ensions will destroy or even retard the Socialist movement. Rather does it seem as if these internal conflicts only generated new energy to be use in the battle against capitalism. Again, these politicians are skilled in

corrupting movements that they cannot control. They well know the power of money, of political honors or official patronage, and the still more subtle power of flattery and pretended friendship, and are adepts in using all these influences to seduce or to discredit the leaders or to raise up misleaders in a party that threatens their supremacy. They have used such methods long and with great success But only the young and inexperienced among them expect to be able to corrupt the Socialist movement or to direct it from its course. Those who have turned their efforts in that direc tion have learned that they were only wasting time and money. A fewvery few, indeed, but still some-in dividuals they have found in our ranks who were susceptible to their influences. But if they could buy here found that they had bought him alone that his influence ceased with his de fection, that the man who bargained to "sell out" the Socialist Party could never "deliver the goods."

The capitalists and their agents can not understand these differences between their parties and ours. Yet there is nothing mysterious about them. The difference in practise be tween capitalist politics and Socialist politics are the natural outcome of the difference in nims, in principle, in spirit. The old parties, standing for the perpetuation of present conditions and for the continued rule of one class at the expense of another, necessarily depend upon anothy or personal interest to hold the allegiance of their rank and file; the typical Republican or Democrat is either one who passively accepts the politics of his father and grandfather without ever thinking for himself, or one who, however clearly he may see the truth, is held to the cause of falsehood by the hope of individual profit or advancement. The Socialist is one who has learned to question traditions and degmas, to think for himself, and think for and with his fellow-sufferers as well as for himself; one who wishes to rise with his class, rather than to rise above it. Otherwise he could not be a Socialist Moreover, the Socialist movement is not a mere vague expression of pro test, not a negative movement, not force of destruction. A merely destructive movement is inherently short-lived. The Socialist movement denies error only that it may affirm truth, destroys the evil only that it may construct the good. It is grounded in a scientific understanding of the actual world, in knowledge and reason, not in phrase and formula. It has a positive and definite program.

In a word, the rank and file of the Socialist movement are men who know what they want, know why they want it, know how they are going to get it. Because they are men who know, not men who acquiesce or who merely doubt or deny, they do not grow wears in their work, they can fight out minor or incidental questions to a settlement without losing sight of their centra purpose, they can choose and loyally support their leaders and yet ever be ready to detect and repudiate mis

This is the character of the Socialist Party in Europe and here and all over the world, all through the years of its growth. Because of this it has noth- and United New Jersey Railroad & Canal Co.; Consolidated Gas and Eas ing to regret and nothing to fear. Because of this it has a right to call upon all who recognize the truth of its principles and who would be held as brave and earnest men to join its ranks and take part in framing its counsels and in bearing its burdens,

STATE COMMITTEE.

The last meeting of the New York

State Committee was poorly attended and the attention of those present was confined principally to an informal

discussion of the condition of the

C. L. Furman acted as chairman

Those present were Bub, Lemon, Phil-lips, Furman, Wood. Absent: Slobo-din, Lehner, Reich.

Comrade Furman made an extende

report of conditions on Long Island and showed that great strides are be-

ing taken toward perfecting a powerful movement. His remarks were followed with the deepest interest and the activity of himself and colleagues

PHILADELPHIA LECTURES.

free discussion and answers to ques-tions. Following is the program for March:

March 8-Frank Wright: "How We

movement in city and state.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Comrades Slobodin and Searing pr sided at the last meeting of the Gen-eral Committee of Local New York. Seventeen applicants were admitted to party membership. Comrade Mulier eated as a delegate from the 18th

The City Executive recommended resolution censuring National Commit-teeman Hillquit for making his report through The Worker and censuring The Worker for its action in promptly taking a position on the headquarter Delegates Wilkins and Lewis spoke in favor of the resolution and Delegates Edlin, Simon, Boudin Bromberg, and Slobodin against it The resolution was defeated by vote of 21 to 3.

Financial report showed receipts since last meeting of \$113.94, expenses of \$100, and a balance of \$12.94. City Executive reported th party organization unsatisfactory in the districts of the lower East Side. Free lectures are given on Sunday evenings at Socialist Headquarters, 1305 Arch street, Philadelphia, Pa. The lectures are preceded by vocal and instrumental music and followed by debated and finally referred to the delegates from the districts concerned —4th, 8th, 12th, and 16th—as a committee to investigate and try to remedy the existing conditions

On request of the State Committee a proposition to give 10 per cent. of the net proceeds of all entertainments. s, etc., to the State Committee. Organizer was instructed to

bring charges against Paul Thielke o unt of his actions in connection the Direct Legislation League. After discussion, the resolution for referendum on headquarters as recom-mended in The Worker was adopted.

Get a Living."

March 15—Wm. H. Hoffnagle: "So-clallsm Inevitable—How It May Come." March 22-Bdward Moore: "Reform or Revolution—Which?"
March 29—A. J. Margolin: "Evolution of the Family."

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Jacob H. Schiff, N. C. B.—Baltimore & Ohlo, Chicago Burlington & Quincy, Rio Grande Western, Southern Pacific, and Union Pacific Ry. Cos.; Northern Securities Co.; Western Union Tele-graph; Columbia, Fidelity, and Frank-lin National Banks; Bond & Mortgage Guarantee, Morton Trust, and New port Trust; Equitable Life Assurance Woodbine Land & Improvement and

Borough Homes Cos. Charles M. Schwab, U. S. S.—Chi-cago Lake Shore & Eastern, Duluth & Iron Range, Eighn Jollet & Eastern, ntown & New Salem, and South west Connecting Ry. Co.; Am. Bridge Am. Coke, Am. Mining, Am. Sheet Steel Am Steel & Wire, Am. Stee Hoop, Am. Tin Plate, Carnegie, Car-negie Steel, Continental Coke, Federal Steel, National Tube, Shelby Steel and Southwest Connellsville Coke Cos. (including all the constituen companies of the Steel Trust, with sev luding all the constituent eral nominally independent); Chicago

Pneumatic Tool Co.; New York Se-curity & Trust Co. Samuel Sloan, N. C. B.—Chester, Delaware Lackawanna & Western, Oswego & Syracuse, Passaic & Dela-ware, Sussex, Syracuse Binghamton & New York, Texas & Pacific, Utica Chenango & Susquehanna, Valley, and Warren Ry. Cos.; Western Union Tele-graph; Consolidated, East River, and New York Mutual Gas Cos.; Bank of Manhattan, Bank of the Metropolis, and Mechanics Bank of Brooklyn Farmers' Loan & Trust and United States Trust Cas. Oweens Ins. Co. Employers' Liability Assurance Cor-

poration. William D. Sloane, N. C. B.—Centra & South American Telegraph; Green-wich Savings Bank; Fifth Avente and United States Trust Cos.; W. & J.

Charles Steele, U. S. S.-Alabama Great Southern, Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe, Baltimore & Ohio, Buffalo Creek, Buffalo & Niagara Falls Elec tric; Buffalo, Central of Georgia, Cen-tral of New Jersey, Chicago Indian-apolis & Louisville, Detroit & Macki-nack, Erfe, Hocking Valley, Kanawha & Michigan, Lehigh Valley, Lockport & Olcott, New Jersey & New York, New York Susquehanna & Western Niagara Falis & Suspension Bridge, Niagara Falis Whiripool & Northern, Northern Pacific, Philadelphia & Read-ing, Toledo & Ohio Central, and Southern Ry. Cos.; Adams Express; General Electric; National Tube; Lehigh Valley Coal, Pennsylvania Coal, Philadelphia & Reading Coal & Iron, and the Read ng Co.; National Storage; Standard

York Realty.

John W. Sterling, N. C. B.-Duluth South Shore & Atlantic Ry.; Central Union, East River, New Amsterdam, and Northern Union Gas Cos.; New York Carbide; Bond & Mortgage Guarantee, Mutual Trust, and New York Security & Trust Cos. James Stillman, N. C. B.—Baltimore

& Ohio, Chicago & Alton, Chicago & Northwestern, Chicago Burlington & Quincy; Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, Mobile Street Ry., Morris & essex. New York & Harlem, Northern Essex, New York & Harlem, Northern Pacific, Southern Pacific, and Union Pacific Ry. Cos.; Northern Securities; Terminal Warehouse Co.; Western Union Telegraph; Consolidated, East River, and New York Mutual Gas and New York Carbide Cos.; Amalgamated Copper, Allis Challers, Co., Bank of Copper; Allis-Chalmers Co.; Bank of the Metropolis, Bowery Savings, Co-lumbia, Fidelity, Hanover National, Lincoln National, National Butchers' & Drovers', National Citizens', and Second National Banks; Am. Safe Deposit, Trust, Farmers' Loan & Trust, Fide ty Trust, Fifth Ave. Safe Deposit, In dustrial Trust, Newport Trust, New York Security & Trust, United States Trust, Lawyers' Title Insurance, New York Life Ins., North British & Mercantile Ins., Queen Ins., and Audit Co. of New York; Alliance Realty and

Deer Hill Cos. Henry A. C. Taylor, N. C. B.—Cayuga & Susquehanna, Delaware Lacka wanna & Western, and Morris & Es sex Ry. Cos.; Farmers' Loan & Trust, Industrial Trust, New York Life Ins. & Trust, Newport Trust Cos.; Plaza and Second National Banks; Metropoli-tan Opera & Real Estate Co.

Moses Taylor, N. C. B.—Cornwall & Lebanon, Detroit Hinsdale Western, sterdam Gas; Franklin Iron, Lackawanna Cool & Coke, Lackawanna Iron & Steel, Sloss-Sheffield Steel & Iron, and Tilly Foster Iron Cos.; City Real Property Investing and Westchester Trust Cos.; Clayton Fire Extinguishing & Disinfecting and Sulphur Dioxide Fumigating & Fire Extinguishing Cos.; Stoney Point Land Co.; Witherbee Sherman & Co.

P. A. B. Widener, U. S. S.—Chicago Union Traction, Cuba Co., Havana Electric Ry., International Navigation, Metropolitan Street Ry.: American To bacco, Am. Window Glass Co., Con-solldated Tobacco, Electric Co. of America, Electric Storage Battery Co., International Cigar Machinery, United

A Partial Summary.

To sum up, in part, these thirty-nine men hold 637 directorships in 385 dif-

eighty-one banks, trust companies, in-surance companies, and other financial corporations; twenty realty, land, and water companies; sixteen gas and electric light, heat, and power companies (exclusive of electric railways); 145 steam and electric railway and navigation companies; forty-two coal and iron mining, coke, and iron and steel manufacturing companies; twen-ty copper, silver, and zinc mining and reducing companies. Among the more

The Oil Trust, with virtually an absolute monopoly of the production of petroleum and the manufacture and sale of kerosene and the innumerable by-products on the American conti-

sidiary companies, and with over a score of nominally independent and competing companies engaged in the same or closely related industries; the United States Steel Corporation al-ready directly controls over 60 per cent. of the iron and steel production of this country and indirectly, as own, controls a large part of the mainder; its capital is nearly \$1,400. 000,000 and it distributes over \$100, 000,000 among its stockholders each

The Copper Trust, with its subsidis ing companies, and with a number of nominally independent and competing ones; closely connected with this are the companies controlling a large part of the silver and lead production; and the marketing of the product, as well as the mining and smelting, are in the same hands; this trust is capitalized at \$155,000,000; The Zinc Trust, not openly organ

ized, but shown by a study of the list to be an established fact;

to be an established fact;
The Copper Trust, with its subsidiary companies, and with a number of nominally independent sugar producing and refining companies, as well as some in other industries more or less closely connected with this; including the ownership of sugar plantations and mills in Cuba and Hawaii and

The Tobacco Trust, controlling far the greater part of the manufacture of smoking and chewing tebacco, snuff, cigars, and cigarettes in this country, Cuba, and Great Britain and with good foothold on the European conti-nent; owning vast tracts of tobacco land in the United States and Cuba; controlling the manufacture of cigar machinery; and, since the compilation of the lists on which this article is founded, well established in the retail trade through its subsidiary United Cigar Stores Company; this trust is capitalized at over \$200,000,000;

The Anthracite Coal Trust, comallway companies held together partly by leases and agreements and still ore firmly by the common ownership

of a large part of their stocks; Nearly all the great railway lines of the United States and some in Canada and Mexico, together with many of the smaller ones, together with a large proportion of the ocean steamship lines; the railway combinations, of course, still more closely bind together the so-called "industrials" and are a great source of power to them; what s equally important to be noted, they virtually control the agriculture of the country, especially the production of breadstuffs, to the extent of almost absolutely and arbitrarily determining the prices to be received by the farm-ers; on these two points, among others, Lloyd's "Wealth against Commonwealth" and Simons' "The American Farmer" may be read with advantage
The whole lighting and transit sys

tems of New York and of several other great centers of population; The largest shipbuilding and machinery-manufacturing establishments of America, if not of the world, and a reat number of smaller companies in us branches of manufacturing in-

SOCIALISTS WHO

NEED EDUCATING. There are two types of Socialists who need to be educated. They are equally dangerous to the work the party has in hand. One thinks that any one who calls himself a Socialist and votes the ticket is all right and perfectly safe as an organizer or teacher for the party. The other is forever scenting heresy and fighting personal battle in the name of party discipline. The former is the sort of Socialist who would welcome a victory in city, state or nation by the party regardless of whether the voters

A victory won by some accidental would be a calamity. Socialism can successfully use a victory only when it comes as the result of intelligent knowledge of the Socialist position and a clear-cut recognition of the fact that the party is lining up for a revolution which must place the machinery of the state in complete control of the ing class.

To win on any other condition would of the fighting quality or loyalty of the men in your ranks.

We have before us a revo be won by force of ballots backed by stern, determined, unyielding members of the dispossessed class and their loyal supporters. Revolution is not child's play. Our revolution will have to overturn a power tremendously in-trenched. No holiday parade will pre-pare for standing like a stone wall behind the workers, whatever comes.

Hence the necessity of guarding the movement. The best way to guard it, however, is to push aggressively the kind of Socialism which properly educates and labor in season and out to make such workers and members as do not appear fully to realize the meaning of our platform awake to its vital im-One thing Socialists need to learn

from the churches, and that is "how not to do it." The church fought heresy a good many centuries, while every martyr it has disciplined. The national thought of the world heresy has flourished the more with

has never tried to force men, it has depended on truth to make its own way and its converts are filling the Socialism is founded on such abso

inte bedrock of truth and principle that thinkers, giving the subject atten-tion the world over, have reached practically the same conclusion. We are pretty safe in letting this truth work into the minds of all who think theminto the minds of all who think them-selves Socialists, providing the scien-tific propaganda and discussion is vigorously pushed and all half-baked Socialism given unflinching if generous

For example, a year ago the scien by-products on the American continent, with a firm footbold in Europe and Asia, and with a treaty by which it divides the world-market with the only possible competitor worthy of consideration, the Russian oil monopoly; the stock of this company is worth about \$800,000,000 and its holders receive about \$50,000,000 every year in dividends;

The Steel Trust, with all its sub-

the other papers in "straight" Social every page—almost in every paragraph —of this sheet. No doubt it will show spots of weakness for some time, her and there, but it is trying to reform that is evident.

Again, an example: Some time las year a young speaker passed through Denver who thought he was a Social-ist. He was not, as all the locals he struck gave him to understand with emphasis by the vigorous discussion following all his talks. He saw the point and proceeded to find out what Socialism really is. He emerged after six months a good, theoretic Socialist and has, in the estimation of some of our strictest workers, done remark ably good work the past six months. Perhaps there is more for him to learn, still, but the movement can well afford to continue his education.

Now, had the "liberals" had thei way, the "Appeal" would have been in discriminately commended, the single tax "Socialist" would have been re ceived with calm approval and the strengthened by agencies which should have been powerful aids. On the con-trary, frank, even flerce, criticism has lone great good.

Suppose, however, somebody had had the autocratic power and read Wayland out of the party; suppose the party had been able to suppress the young speaker. Would the moven

be so well off to-day?

The party must be kept clean-cut. Its platforms and conditions of mem bership must be uncompromising. Of-ficial activity should be reserved for those in sympathy with the full revolutionary program and uncompromis ing tactics, but the main den must be upon the educational power of the truth and free discussion. Even when serious mistakes are

made, as in California's fusion with the Union Labor party, the wise policy is that which has been generally pursued, namely, kindly criticism and gument. Under this policy the California comrades are nearly all back in line and could not again be persuaded to make such a mistake.

When a party has back of its prin-

ciples absolute iples absolute science, the logic of vents and the mass of the literature, need not resort to the methods of old-fashioned theology to keep members true to those principles.

The other type of Socialist mentioned is the sort which has disrupted the S. L. P. into a thousand fragments. It assumes, in the name of a "clear move-ment," the right of personal censor-ship. Any one with personal grudges or animosities may, by using the scienific phrases, find a righteous scree for his own pettiness and be supported by a certain group who are always by a certain group who are always ready for a fight in the name of "a working class movement." "How do you keep the effort to educate in class petty personalities and suspicion?" the writer asked probably the best poste member of the Socialist Labor Party in Colorado. "It is hard to tell," he answered; "that has always been the

curse of our party." / There is little danger that it will permanently curse the Socialist Party. but the first show of it should be duly

The importance of a clear-cut Social m is too great to have it identified with unworthy suspicions and the nar-rowness of personalities. - Colorado Chroniele

HOW TO ORGANIZE LOCALS.

1. Five or more persons may organize a local branch, provided they subscribe to the platform and constitution of the Socialist Party, and sever their relations with all other political par-

2. The officers to be elected are:

(a) A Chairman at each meeting.
(b) Recording Secretary.

(c) Financial Secretary.

Organizer. (e) Literary Agent.

3. Order of business.
(a) Reading of the minutes.

(b) Admission of new members, (c) Communications and bills.

(d) Report of Organizer.

(e) Reports of committees. (fr Unfinished business, (g) New busin

4. A monthly payment, computed on basis of five cents for each member, for the maintenance of the National ganization, shalf be paid to the National Secretary. Local branches may levy

funds altogether through voluntary contributions and pay National dues out of their general funds. 5. A full report of the meeting in which organization was decided on the names of persons participating, to gether with 5 cents for each member, should be sent with application for charter: after receipt of which up approval of National Committee, char ter will be granted.

6. Each local branch should hold a meeting at least once a week, for the transaction of business or the discus sion of political and economic que

7. Semi-annual reports of the me bership and the financial condition of each local branch, as well as upon the progress made by the Party and its prospects in the locality, shall be sent regularly to the National Secretary.

8. Any person living in a city or le cality where no local branch exists may apply directly to the National Sec retary for admission to the Party, en-closing one months dues, and will be enrolled as a member-at-large.

GLASS WORKERS' STRIKE.

The employees of the Bavarian Glass Company of Hoboken are on strike, the cause being the employment of a scab and the arbitrary discharge of a union foreman. The strike at Vogely & Lattnan's in Brooklyn has been settled fa-corably to Locals 25 and 34 of the malgamated Glass Workers

National Platform of the Socialist Party.

tional convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of In-ternational Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the work-ing class and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of gove-ernment and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into col lective ewnership by the entire peo-

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine which is but an improved and more loped tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the work ers. This ownership enables the capi-talists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertain-ty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it di-vides 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 capitalists 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 so-cial inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capi-talist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indis-criminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanc tioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial domin abroad and enhance their suprem-

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to So-cialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher or-der 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 bourgeols public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political repre-sentatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act

collective powers of capitalism, by con-stituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied

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 de-pend upon the stage of development reached by the proletarint. We, there-fore, 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 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

habor 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. of the worker in the product of labor. 3. State or national insurance of

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,

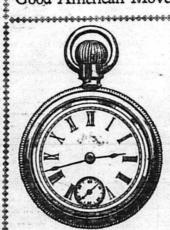
6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women. 7. The initiative and referendum. proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by

their constituents. But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-opera-tive 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 utili-ties for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working

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