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### PRICE 2 CENTS.

# THE LABOR SECRETARIAT.

### Not a Money-Making Insti- A Capitalist Statistician's tution.

Difference Pointed Out between It and Private "Accident Security" Agencles, Which Often Fleece Unfortunate Workingmen-Report of Recent Work of the Secretariat.

As if it were not enough that the wage-workers should be directly ex-ploited by their employers to the expioned by their employers to the ex-tent of half or more than half of the value their labor creates, they are be-sides made the victims of sharpers and adventurers of a hundred different sorts who fiece them on a smaller scale of what little they may be able to save from daily living expenses in the hope of providing for time of sickness or unemployment or for old age. The lack of leisure and of education to which the working people are doomed by their poverty make them an easy prey for such schemers. Among these methods of petty para-

sitism one of the most perticious is that of the private "accident insur-ance" and "accident security" companies or agencies. Some of these are probably conducted honestly, so far as-what is called business honesty goes, but even these give comparatively little service to the unfortunate workingmen who confide in them in propor-tion to the fees and commissions they exact; and in many cases actual fraud is practised in the bargain.

### Note the Difference.

In connection with such abuses, the Board of Directors of the Labor Secretariat of New York City has issued the following circular, addressed to labor

"The attention of the Labor Secre tariat has been called to the fact that several concerns have recently made a practice of offering labor organizations their services in cases of accident happening to employees in the course of their employment.

"In view of the fact that the said concerns are sometimes mistaken for the Labor Secretariat or for organizations similar in nature to the Labor Secretariat, we consider it necessary to point out to you briefly the differ-ence between the Labor Secretariat

and the concerns mentioned. "1. The concerns mentioned are private enterprises carried on primarily for the purpose of profit. They are not under the supervision or control of workingmen or any organization of

"2. The concerns mentioned as a rule handle only one class of cases-namely, damage suits based on the in-juries of workingmen, but do not render to their members or subscribers any other legal assistance whatso

"3. The said concerns charge a fee twice or four times as much as that

charged by the Labor Secretariat.

"4. The concerns mentioned also charge a fixed commission, 20 per cent. or more, upon any sum of money which they may collect or recover for their clients in accident cases.

## A Real Agency of Labor.

"The Labor Secretariat, on the other hand, is an organization called into existence by organized workingmen for the sole and exclusive benefit of organized labor. It is managed and controlled by delegates from the various labor unions represented in the body, and there is no element of profit in the enterprise. The Labor Secretariat elects counsel of its own choice and has the right and power to remove them and engage other counsel if the interest of the organizations should require it. The Labor Secre-tariat does not restrict its activity to nid to all members of affiliated organilegal matters of every-day concern to them, such as the collection of wages and all other difficulties arising from their relation to their employers or to their landlords, and gives free consultation to its members on all legal

The Labor Secretariat does not exact any commissions on whatever it recovers or collects for its members, but pays over to its members the full collections without any deductions

whatsoever. "And finally, the dues of members to the Labor Secretarist are so very small as hardly to be noticed. At present those dues are one-half a cent

per week, or 26 cents per year. "We submit this information to you ler to enable you to net intelli gently on the question if your organization is not yet represented in the Secretariat and should at any time be approached by the concerns above mentioned. All further information will be cheerfully given at 320 Broad-way, Room 701."

At the last delegates' meeting of the Labor Secretariat, Fred Larsen of Bricklayers No. 35 presiding, Counsel J. Hillquit reported on many case neted on or pending. It will wike some weeks to collect the wase a.m.s of several members of Carriage and Wagon Workers No. 110 against the bankrupt firm of J. Meyer & Co. and the claimants are requested not to lose patience. The case of Bro. Istoch of Bakers No. 164 against his boss, on account of injuries sustained in falling down stairs at the shop, is considered a good one, the evidence showing that the boss falled to provide a railing. A claim of Typographical Union No. 7 of counsel, as also tha of Bro. Heinz of Carpenters No. 497.

(Continued on page 3.)

# WHO OWN THE RAILWAYS?

# Sophistries Exposed.

Claims that the Railways "Are Owned By the People For the People"-Patent Error in His Method-Even His Own Figures Prove Concen-

There is a tendency of late among the opponents of Socialism to deny the fact of concentration of wealth and to try to support their denial with statistics. These statisties, whether given by college professors, magazine writers, or newspaper editors, will seldom bear scrutinizing. The figures themselves may be correct, but the arrangement of the figures and the inferences drawn from them are

In the January number of "The

World To-day," Slason Thompson has an article entitled "Who Own the Railways?' in which he essays to prove that the number of owners is nearly equal to the number of workers on the railways and that interest and dividends are as widely dis-tributed as wages. The last report of the Interstate Commerce Commission fixes the number of railway workers mates the number of stockholders and bondholders at not less than 1,000,000. The aggregate yearly wages are \$676,-447,408, giving an average wage of a little less than \$570 to the employees including general officers and all.
The aggregate of interest and dividends for the same year is \$425,228. 330, and Mr. Thompson concludes that "the average annual income of the one million railway stock and bond holders is a little over \$400.

Behold the wonderful uses of statis-tics, skilfully employed! The wicked Socialists talk about railway kings exploiting the workers. But see—the people who own the rallways have to live on a beggarly \$400 a year, while the workingmen revel in an annual income of \$570. We can imagine Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Hanna and Mr. Gompers, Prof. Eliot and Bishop Potter scanning these fig-ures and singing a sweet song of praise to Mr. Thompson for his sucressful routing of the Socialists. But let us examine the argument a little

How does Mr. Thompson get his information as to the number of stock-holders? Well, the officers of forty-three railways covering more than half the mileage of the United States informed him as to the amount of stock and bonds issued by their companies and the number of registered stockholders of each company. It was impossible, he tells us, to follow the distribution of bonds, but the railway presidents were of the opinion that the bonds were as widely dis-tributed as the stocks. Mr. Thompson, therefore, finding that forty-three upanies having an aggregate stock something over three billion dollars report an aggregate of 225,037 stockholders; concludes that, applying

the same ratio, the six billions of stock anl six billions of bonds of all the railways must be held by about a milthat, of all the people in the United States, men, women, and children, on-

in every eighty owns railway stocks or bonds-one in every sixteen famil lies! The proposition is incredible. Everyone knows that it is false. But where is the error? The big error is that Mr. Thompson entirely forgets or neglects the obvious fact that the lists of stockholders of dif-

ferent companies must duplicate each other to an enormous extent. If ten companies have one thousand stockholders each, it by no means follows that there are ten thousand different persons holding stock in one or other of those companies. The investor commonly beeds the proverbial warn ing against "putting all your eggs into one basket." The man who owns New York Central stock is very likely to own also New York Central bonds, and stocks and bonds of the Pennsylvania or the Wabash or the Norther Pacific besides. If a man holds stocks and bonds of five different companies -which is not unusual-he figures in Mr. Thompson's tables as ten differ ent stockholders and bondholders. The extent of this duplication we have no means of judging. The railway officials themselves probably have no means of stating it accurately, even if they cared to tell us. All we can say is that, knowing that the typical investor (as distinguished from the speculator, who may often concentrate his forces for a time and for a special purpose) does generally divide his investments among several companies as a means of reducing his risk, Mr. Thompson's figures and all figures of the sort become absolutely worthless; and that the number of different per-sons owning railway stocks and bonds

in the United States is certainly much less than a million—very probably less than half, quite possibly less than i quarter of a million But there is a further objection to Mr. Thompson's inference that American railways are owned by the people for the people"—an objection which he states and meets to his own

satisfaction, but not to ours. He sees that someone may say: "Yes, but granting that there are so many own-ers, still the majority of the stock may be owned by a very few."

Now this is the actual fact and the figures which Mr. Thompson uses against it actually sustain the object

classified according to the amount held. The officials of that road have assured Mr. Thompson that their stock

is held as follows: First-7,174 persons hold less than 100 shares each-in all, a little over 17 per cent. of the total stock; Second-301 persons hold 100 share

each-over 4 per cent, of the whole; Third-1,281 persons hold from 101 o 499 shares each—over 28 per cent. f the whole; Fourth—38 persons hold 500 shares

ach-2 per cent, of the whole; Fifth-239 persons hold more than 500 shares each-a trifle over 48 per

ent, of the whole, Adding the first four classes to gether and comparing them with the fifth class, Mr. Thompson triumbhant-ly exclaims that a clear majority is held by 8.884 different investors small investors, he insists, since the largest, those of the fourth class, have

only \$50,000 worth of stock each.

The argument hardly calls for com ment. Let us only put it in another wily. Let us compare the first three classes with the last two, the holder of less than 500 shares with those who hold 500 or more: Then we see that 277 large investors—for a man with \$50,000 in Illinois Central stocks is not a poor man-that 277 large investors hold a clear majerity of the stock, more than all the other 8,846 small holders put together.

Taking this road as typical, as Mr.

Thompson does, we conclude that, whether the total number of rallway owners be half a million or quarter of a million or even less, 3 per cent. of them own more of the stocks and bonds than all the other 97 per cent. On this basis, and even taking no acount of the duplication of holdings nentioned above—that is, following Mr. Thompson's own method-it appears that less than 40,000 persons own the majority of the stocks and bonds of the railways of the United States and that these 40,000 owners by virtue of their ownership, yearly pocket an amount equal to the annual wages of about 400,000 railway work

ers.
This is certainly far short of the truth. It is the capitalist advocate's own showing. It is a strong enough statement of concentration to justify the Socialist warning and the Social ist demand.

## FOR THE DAILY.

## Julius Gerber Becomes Financial Secretary of the Publishing Association

Julius Gerber has been elected Financial Secretary of the Working-men's Co-operative Publishing Association, and all communications in regard to its business, as well as all contributions and payments on pledges should be sent and checks and money orders made payable to Julius Gerber, 64 E. Fourth street, New York

The Volkszeltung Conference has decided to give to the Daily Globe Fund one-half of the net proceeds of its annual festival to be held on Washington's Birthday, Feb. 22, in the Grand Central Palace, and com-rades and friends of the Daily are requested to do all in their power to nake the affair a success.

The circulars sent out to the locals of the party seem to bring good results from such locals as have so far been heard from. The response was quite liberal, and it is expected tha every local will do something to help in the publication of a Socialist daily in the intropolis at an early date. Lo-cals which have not yet acted on the circular are requested to do so as

on as possible the last acknowledgment th following sums have been received: CASH CONTRIBUTIONS.

18th and 20th A. D., Manhat-Brooklyn Local Fall River, Mass. C. J. Rechsteiner, Scraton, Pa. German Socialist Club, New 5.00 

Harry Segal, Lost Bet ..... Max Glickman, Scranton, Pa. Previously reported ..... 2,263.54

Total contributions ....82 CASH ON PLEDGES. I Ransch Brooklyn..... winson, Brooklyn ..... Oglantoki, Brooklyn ...... Polack. Brooklyn ..... Maeg, Brooklyn .....

Schnayerson ..... 0.25 Me. . . . . . . . . . . . . 0.25 Previously reported . . . . 3,306.45

Total cash on pledges ....\$3,313.45 

Total collections to date. \$14,368.08 The Board of Managers of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association, in conjunction with the advisory boards of the New York and Brooklyn conferences, decided to hold on the Fourth of July a picnic, amateur circus and county fair at Lib-erty Park, Evergreen, L. I. All or-ganizations interested in the early establishment of the Socialist daily are requested not to arrange any sort of festival for this date, as the com-mittee in charge desire to make the tion. The figures he gives on this point are those of the Illinois Central, showing the number of stockholders from the project for the daily.

# EXPOSITION.

### Should Interest All Read- Scenes at the Slave Camps ers of The Worker.

Grand Central Palace, April 23 to May 8, to Be the Scene of Record-Making Enterprise for the Benefit of the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Associaton.

The Industrial Exposition and Food Show which is to be held in the Grand Central Palace during the last week of April and the first of May for the benefit of the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, the body which publishes The Worker and the Volkszeitung," will undoubtedly far surpass any affair of the sort ever undretaken by any labor organization in the United States, even the great fair held by the same organization two years ago, which is so far a record-breaker. The experience gained at that time will enable those in charge to do much better this year.

That the German-speaking comrades and sympathizers in Greater New York and the vicinity—and, so far as possible, all over the land-will give the enterprise loyal and vigorous support goes without saying. The pur-pose of this article is to call the matter to the attention of the Englishspeaking members and supporters of the party.

'The "Volkszeitung" is now about completing its twenty-sixth year. During more than a quarter of a century it has unheld the standard of Labor and battled for the principles of So-cialism within the field of the Germanspeaking proletariat. Those who are liar with the history of the party even as much as ten years back cannot but recognize the service it has done, not to the German workinmen alone, but to the cause of Socialism in general. It is only within recent years that Socialism has commanded general attention among the native work to bring it to their minds. In this work the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association did its fulf share, 'not 'only as' an organ of the German-speaking nucleus of the move-ment in the early days, but also by its untiring efforts for the building up of

an English press. The Worker, formerly called the 'People," is the oldest Socialist paper in the English language, now in exist-ence in this country. Its publication was undertaken, in the early ninetics, by the S. C. P. A. and has been car-ried on, in spite of great obstacles and often by heavy sacrifices, ever since. It was a slow and difficult task to make a success of the first English Socialist weekly. During the greater portion of these thirteen years the paper was published at a considerable loss, because of the small support given to it by the workers for whose service it has been issued, and these deficits have been cheerfully borne by the German comrades.

The field of usefulness of The Worker is now constantly expanding and its future may be said to be as-sured. The enlargement which was made four years ago and the improvements which have been made since that time have doubled the cost of publication, and, owing especially to the higher rents and wage-scales prevailing in New York City, its expenses are probably proportionately heavier than those of any other party or labor paper in the United States. It is not a "paying business" nor does it expect ever to be, for the spirit of ts supporters is such as to demand that its efforts and consequently its expense shall be extended up to the very limit of its income—but its growth is such as to inspire confidence while still requiring earnest support.

This frank statement is made that the readers of The Worker may clear-ly understand why they, as well as the cenders of the German organ, should take an active interest in the Industrial Exposition now being prepared. object of this affair is to raise funds especially for inproving the mechanical equipment of the office so that both the papers can be got out in a more convenient and attractive form and increased size without in reasing the subscription price or inoffice 'd'defelf. This object will un doubtedly appeal to all who are inte ested in making The Worker a better agent of the Socialist and trade union

# WAR ON TRADES UNIONS.

### The Pacific Express Company Requires Its Men to Sign Anti-Union Pledge.

OMAHA Neb Jan 23 -The Pacific Express Company will wage war on the unions and will notify all employess that to join a union will be con-sidered as notice of resignation from the service of the company. The fol-lowing predge was handed to the Omaha employees of the corporation o-day:

"In consideration of my employment by the Pacific Express Company I hereby agree and pledge my word not organization known as the Brotherorganization known as the brouler-hood of Railway Expression of America, nor of any other organiza-tion with the same or similar object or aims which the officials of the Pa-cific Express Company decide are an-tagonistic to that company's interests. Failure on my part to keep this agree-men will be considered as my notice. men will be considered as my notice of resignation from the employ of the Pacific Express Company."

# THE COLORADO COAL STRIKE.

# About Trinidad.

Armed Hirelings of Rockefeller Prevent Strikers from Entering or Leaving Their Miserable "Homes" --Brave Solidarity of Workers of All

TRINIDAD, Colo., Jan. 14.-Engle, some three miles from Trinidad and farther up in the mountains, is typcal of the mining camps owned by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, or the Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Company, or whatever company it may please Rockefeller to christen his slave-driving industry of Southern

The Engle mines usually employ, when working, about 200 men. Almost all of these men live in the company's houses, on the company's land. For these miserable shacks which contain each two or three tiny rooms, the kit-chen so low that a man cannot stand enen so low that a man cannot stand upright in it, the men pay from \$4 to \$12 per month. Most of the houses have been built twenty years, and have never received a dollar's worth of repair from the company. In a few cases men have leased land from the company and have built themselves more comfortable homes. They are now learning the fatal mistake of being prosperous enough to build houses, for they are standing fast to their union, quitting the camp and these homes, with no probability of being allowed to return to them.

The camp, a large group of the company's red shacks, the long red mule stable, the furnaces, the tipple, and wretched adobe huts where the Mexicans live, lies in a peaceful hollow of the hills in front and near to the entrances of the mine-workings.

### Rockefeller's Hessians.

As you approach this camp to-day, you notice men walking to and fro and you do not need to go very close that each man is armed with a Winchester rifle. You see these men in many places, on the road to the post-office, down in the hollows; you der two surly Mexicans stand close to a little block-house, on the thiple, and even up above on the heights they walk back and forth, men who Winchester rifle. You see these mon they walk back and forth, men who are a shame and disgrace to their kind, for they can be hired to shoot down fellow workers, men of their own class. There are thirty-eight, serving in two shifts, with, it is said, seven more added yesterany. These deputies receive \$5 a day. With bedenite their and forty at this one deputies receive so a day, with oc-tween thirty and forty at this one camp and not a load of coal turning the tipple since the strike was called, the company is not prouting much.

## The "Dead-Line."

The line marking the beat of these deputy sheriffs shows the edge of the company's land, the famous and very "dead-line." Just in front of them, at intervals, are pine sticks set up, and nailed on a cross piece this

"Notice. "This is Private Property, and all persons are forbidden to trespass thereon or interfere with workingmen employed at the mine. The Rocky Mt. Coal and Iron Co."

This line is Grawn more closely each day. Men get in and they don't get out unless they escape as from a prison. If they get out, they don't get back. Last week men were allowed to come out to get provisions for their families at the local commissary of the union. Now it is with difficulty that little children sent out for food can get back.

In some mines passes for egress and lugress are granted by the superintendent. The following one is copied from originals possessed by the United Mine Workers of America, and issued at the mine of Rugby, not far from

The Primrose Coal Company, 12, "Allow Bearer to go out.

"P. Brennan, Supt."
"The Primrose Coal Company, 12,

20, '03.

"Let Benrer come In.

"P. Brennan, Supt."

Does a state of war exist or not?

For the past two days these passes have been absolutely refused in Engle.

The miners in all this part of Colo rado have never been organized until this strike. A large part of them were Italians and Mexicans. Now at the this strike. A large part of them were Italians and Mexicans. Now at the meetings of the locals all business has be carried on through Italian and to be carried on through Italian and Mexican interpreters as well as in English. Mother Jones spoke on the hillside here two nights before the strike was called. Another body of men called her "La Blanca Madre," (Spanish for "The White Mother")

### and on the morning of Nov. 9 not : Unwilling to Scab.

To-day the company is making de sperate efforts to get men into Engle and at work. A press dispatch of Jan. 12 stated that the Engle mine was opened on that date with a small force. The following is the truth as told by one of three coal mine s who escaped through the "dead line" of

armed deputies.

"There was a carload of thirty of us brought from Virginia. Only four of us knew anything about coal mining. They swore to us there was no strike on. When we got to El More and saw a man gaarding the train with a gun a man guarding the train with a gui we knew something was wrong and sent a telegram back to the second

# go into the mines and that night three of us came out. There's only one man in there that ever mined any coal. Fourteen more want to come out, but dangerous because of gas and if the inexperienced men go into them, they are afraid."

The mines of Engle are particuarly will surely be killed. And not a ton of coal is coming out of Engle. It is said one man is getting out enough to keep the furnaces going.

The woman who is now boarding these three escaped men just outsid the camp, a slender girl in black, said to us: "If the company obeyed the laws as well as our boys, I'd not be a widow to-day. The law says you can't have more than ten pounds of dynamite stored in one piace, and they had hundreds and hundreds of pounds where my poor Jack was blown to pleces."

### The Union's Demands.

The demands of the union in the resent strike are as follows:

1. Eight hours to constitute a day

2. All wages to be paid every two weeks (now they are paid monthly) in United States money; all scrip says: systems to be abolished. Also, an inrease of 20 per cent. on all contrac and tonnage wages. 3. Two thousand pounds to consti

tute a ton.

4. Ali men working around or in the ines to receive just as much for the eight-hour day as for nine, ten or twelve-hour day. , 5. For preservation of health and

life, to be insured of a pure air sup-

### "Order Reigns in Warsaw."

Several speakers went out from Tri nidad to hold a meeting. The miners got together somehow from within and without the camp. The meeting broke up finally and the men crowded the bridge just this side of the dead-line in a body to go back into camp to their families. The deputies met them on the line, and refused to admit them. The speakers can't and expostulated. "Bob" Lee, head deputy, in excuse for a man, who boasts of his descent from Confederate General Lee and "Light Horse Harry," seated himself on a rock just across the line, got his gun easily into position and

"Now, - - yez, cross that line if you want to." The sheriff of the county in Trinidid was telephoned for. He was busy in a saloon in Trinidad, and answering that the men could take care of themselves, and that he had not time to ome, hung up the receiver. Two un ion men drove over in a buggy for hin and forced him to come under the re minder that he was responsible for the lives of the men. He came, got the superintendent out, who identified the men as, "Tom, House No. 12, Tony, House No. 29," etc., and admit

### And yet the citizens of Colorado are ree and the miners have no grievanc-

But the men of Colorado are awak ening to a sense of their wrongs and they are fighting a splendid fight that should bring them the encouragement and assistance of every workingman and woman in the United States that has sympathy to give.

BERTHA HOWELL MAILLY.

## U. B. R. E. NOT DEAD.

### The New Industrial Organization of Railway Employees Resents Misstatements by Organs of the Conservative Brotherhoods.

Whatever the merits or demerits of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, some of the methods used against it by the older and conservative brotherhoods are so unjustifiable as to create a strong presumption that the U. B. R. E. is in the right and that the conservative organizations have no legitimate arguments to use against it,

An example of this is found in an article published in the journal of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen for January, in which the impression is sought to be conveyed that the U. B. R. E. has virtually ceased to exist and that its general offices at Sau Francisco are closed, in evidence of which is stated that the "Grand Secretary and Treasurer" is mining in Tonopah, Nev., and that the weekly "Railway Employees' Journal' has suspended

In fact, the "Railway Employees

Journal" was changed to a monthly and is coming out regularly. The U B. R. E. never had an officer known as "Grand Secretary and Treasurer, but the fact on which the statemen of the "Trainmen's Journal" seems to be based is that B. A. Meyer, formerly General Auditor, is mining at Ton pah. It is some nine months, how ever, since Mr. Meyer went there, having formally resigned his office in the U. B. R. E., and his successor, Fred J. Halton elected at that time, is still regularly fulfilling the duties of the office. President Estes has been for some three months sick in Texas, but is now back at the general offices in the Parrott Building, San Fran-cisco, and attending to his duties. It is claimed that during the last two months the U. B. R. E. has organized nine new divisions in five Western states with a total new membership of about 1,200 men, and that it has now ten organizers in the field.

Whatever may be the faults of the one organization or the other, the offi ers of the conservative brotherhoods certainly do no real service to their own organization or to the labor move ment at large when they resort to mis sent a telegram back to the second short at large when they resort to mission to too come. When we crossed the line of armed men at Engle, then I one. Frank criticism and discussion can do only good and falsehood only harm to the side that employs it.

# FEDERAL COURT APPROVES

On Miner's Appeal Against Arbitrary Arrest, Judge Hallett Says He Has No Jurisdiction.

In His Decision, Judge Praises Gov. Peabody for Declaring Martial Law-Strikers Have Now No Appeal to Civil Law-Only Effective Appeal Is to Working-Class Solidarity

District Court to-day, after consideration of the Sherman Parker babeas corpus case against the military authorities of Colorado, announced that the court was without jurisdiction in the matter. Parker is a union miner of Cripple Creek, who is held in the military "Bull-Pen" without warrant. In his opinion Judge Hallett

"The Governor, as executive of the state, is authorized and required to en-force the law, and if in doing so he finds it necessary to call out the militin and use the power of the state he could do so. The matter of how the state should enforce the law is not for the Federal government to state. When the authorities of the state are engaged in the execution of the laws of the state the courts of the United States have no authority to set them

aside. "The people of the state are to be ongratulated on having a Governor who will enforce the law. The court will not interfere with him in the execution of his duties."

### Judicial Inconsistency.

The inconsistency of a Federal judge, after declaring that he had no furisdiction in the case, going on to endorse from the bench the acts of the Governor who has declared murtial law seems not to have come into Judge Hallett's mind.

Inconsistency, however, is something that the courts do not really trouble themselves about very much. There is a superstition that the principles of law are something eternal and positive and that the judges merely apply them to special cases. Every one who has examined the subject without pre-Judice, however, must know that such is not the case—that, as a matter of fact, the judges actually make law, by exercising their power to declare statutes constitutional or unconstitu-tional or to interpret them to suit such interests or tendencies as the judges represent. Any law is constitutional if the judges say so. The Federal courts have jurisdiction if they say they have. The last word is with them. The Supreme Court of the United States has more than once rerersed itself, and this decision of ludge Hallett is in glaring contradic tion to the action of President Cleveland who, with the sanction of At torney-General Olney and the courts and with the applause of Republican as well as Democratic Senators and Representatives, sent United States troops jato Illinois at the time of the railway strike of 1894 in spite of the protest of Governor Altgeld. There can be no doubt that if, in the present case, it had been the mine-owners who appealed to the Federal court, Judge Hallett would have decided that he

Militarism Is Supreme. The effect of Judge Hallett's decision is to put an end to every shadow of a hope of civil law and justice as between master and wage-slave in Colorado The state courts have de cided in favor of the mine workers cases of arbitrary arrest, but they have been defied and overpowered by irresponsible military force under the control of a Governor who has openly ers' Association to keep the troops in is well understood to be drawing two selaries one from the state and one

## Do the Capitalists

# Desire Bloodshed?

If the capitalists wished to provoke premature insurrection in order to rush it in blood, they could not have course that has actually been pursuid by the Mine Owners' Association (dominated by Standard Oil interests), with the co-operation of Governor Peabody General Bell Judge Hallett and (behind the scenes) President Roosevelt. That the miners have refrained from violence is the highest possible evidence of their intelligent and organ-ized self-control.

## Hampdens Still Needed.

Miss A. C. Patterson of Brooklyn of Brooklyn gives to The Worker for publication a letter written by a wonen's organization in Cripple Creek, Colo., in response to a request for ex act information. In transmitting the

letter Miss Patterson writes: closes is a direct menace to the liber ties of every citizen in this country The merits of the controversy in Colo rado are for the citizens of Colorado to decide, but the citizens of the whole country are concerned when such actions are used to settle any controversy whatever as detailed below. They are methods which can equally well be used against anyone who

chances to be in disfayor with who-ever happens to be in authority.

"The constitution under which we live took shape only under stern and vigilant resistance to the encroach-ments of governmental authority, and our constitutional liberties will vanish if stern and vigilant resistance is re-

# THE COLORADO BULL-PEN.

Through the Socialist Party.

DENVER, Col., Jan. 20.—Judge laxed. The need of John Hampdens Moses Hallett, in the United States has not passed." The letter dated Jan. 1, is as fol-

"We have just received your letter As to the situation, will say that it is extremely critical. The militia has been farmed out to the Mine Managers' Association to disrupt and de-stroy the Western Federation of Mirrers in Colorado, and they (the militia) are doing all that they can to accomplish their purpose. There has not been a week passed since their arrival, that they have not either broken the law or disregarded the con-stitution of the United States and the

state of Colorado. "In September the militia arrested a number of active union men and con-fined them in a military pull-pen, and would not release them for prefer charges against them. The Western Federation of Miners secured writs of habens corpus from Judge Seeds of the District Court. When the Sheriff tried to serve the papers, his pass was taken up at the guard line and he was warned away. The officers eventually served the papers on Adjutant-General Bell and General Chase.

### Law vs. Bayonets.

"When they produced the prisoners in court, General Chase had the street for two blocks lined with soldiers, a Gatling gun stationed in the center of the main thoroughfare, sharpshooters upon the main buildings opposite the court room, in the court room a de-tachment of soldiers with loaded rifles and fixed bayonets. The Judge after the hearing ordered the prisoners re-leased. General Chase arose, saying that he would not comply with the order of the court, and commanded the soldiers to remove the prisoners to the bull-pen, which was done. Later, they were all released except one, and charges preferred against him for

carrying concealed weapons.

"After the trial, Attorney Glover After the trial, Autories' diver-charged Major McClelland and the militia with trampling upon the con-stitution of the state, and he, the Judge Advocate, said, 'To Hell with the constitution.' The militia have built what they term a cow-pen for the ledies of the Worsen's Auxiliery the ladies of the Women's Auxiliary. There have been no arrests to date, but we expect there will be at any time, as the fact of your being a union-ist, whether male or female, is suffi-cient cause for arrest. We have here an organization known as the Citizens' Alliance (organized since the strike was declared), its sole aim and purpose being the disruption of unionism. The outrages and insults heaped upon union men, women, and children are too numerous to write. The union men have not as yet broken the law, notwithstanding reports to the con-trary, and we will be only too grateful

for any assistance in our fight for right and justice." For obvious reasons the name of the writer is withheld. To write the truth from Colorado is to-day a penal offense

### -just as in Russia. No U. L. P.

DENVER, Col., Jan. 19.-The past week has been one of intense interest in labor circles. A delegate convention of all the labor unions in the state convened in Denver Monday night and continued in session three days, about four hundred delegates being

of the delegates were Socialists. There was much speculation as to what political action, if any, would be taken, many expecting that the in-tense feeling against Gov. Peabody would precipitate the forming of a Union Labor Party, or else an alliance with the Democrats. It was soon discovered that neither of these results would be realized, that, in fact, the only possible independent political action was the endorsement of the Socialist Party, and this the leaders deemed unwise at this time, although they had a majority in the convention, The opinion of the Socialist leaders in the labor movement is that an endorse-ment of the party does no good until the rank and file have become sufficiently class-conscious to stand firm, and not be swept off their feet by the campaign promises of reform parties or popular candidates.

As it is, the Socialists in the convention prevented the formation of a new party, which is a distinct gain

# Socialist Activity.

The result of this is being felt already in increased interest in the Sodalist propaganda. The meetings in Denver now crowd Concord Hall every Sunday night, every available of standing room being occu-

State Organizer Mrs. Ida Crouch

Hazlett is carrying on a vigorous cam-paign in Arvada and other suburban towns, while the state organization is perfecting plans for a vigorous two-week's campaign by Carey in Febru-ary. The internal dissensions have nearly disappeared and the comrades throughout the state are taking new courage.

Comrade Ricker gave a very fine

(Continued on page 4.)

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In the state of New York, on account of certain provisions of the election laws, the Socialist Farty is officially recognized under the name of Social Democratic Party, and its emblem is the Arm and Torch, as shown

above.

The Socialist l'arty (or Social Democratic Party in New York) should not be confused with the so-called Socialist Labor Party. The latter is a social Socialist Cabor Party. The latter is which bitterly opposes the trade unions and carries on an abusive campaign of slander against the real Socialist movement, which supports the trade unions. THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic Party of New York) has passed through its second general election. Its growing power is indicated and its speedy victory for shadowed by the great increase of its yots as shown in these figures:



News comes this week that the American Smelting and Refining Company has acquired immense land and ne properties in Mexico, that the Standard Oil Company got control of a sufficient interest in the Mexican Petroleum Company to prevent com-Tampico, and that, according to the annual report of the Mexican Railway Commission, foreign companies, most ly American, own three-fourths of the railways in that country. Doubtless by the time the Panama steal has been effected we shall know that "manifest destiny" requires another Mexican war, to extend "the area of freedom" toward the Southwest.

## THE HARLOTRY OF "CULTURE."

A year or two ago young Mr. Rocke feller told his Bible class in Tarry town that the growth of a great business and the building up of gigantic fortunes was not an evil, but "the law of God." The American Beauty rose; he reminded his hearers, can be produced only by the nipping of many buds to help the development of one, ad it is eternally decreed that among n the many shall be sacrificed to e full development of the few great men. "It is a law of nature and a

And now comes the following dispatch, a special to the New York "Times" of Jan. 25:

OMAHA, Neb., Jan. 24.—Criticism of John D. Rockefeller's proposed gift of \$66,666 to the State University for a memorial building, because ac ance is held to imply approval of Mr Rockefeller's methods and the trust system, brought out an expression of views by E. Benjamin Andrews, th

"He says he regards Mr. Rockefeller as the greatest business man, beside whom J. Pierpont Morgan is a pigmy. He holds that Mr. Rockefeller should not be held accountable for the acts of the Standard Oil Company in crushing weaker rivals. He maintains that this is the inevitable consequence of the evolution of business,

"The Chancellor expressed the opinion that an analogy among human beings is true, and that some day WEAKLINGS WOULD BE DIS POSED OF MERCIFU SKILLED PHYSICIANS."

Could the prostitution of our educa tional system to the service of capi talism go farther than this? Dean Swift's "modest proposal" for relieving the suffering of his poverty striken Ireland by slaughtering the babies and selling their flesh for food was hardly more barbarous. And twift's utterance was a grim sarcasm that made the defenders of landlordism wince in his day. But our cultured degenerate of a college presiden is serious in his unblushing advocacy of a legalized system of infanticide,

Weaklings? Who are the weaklings? Why, obviously, those whose life is not likely to be serviceable to the great men of the Rockefeller type, college presidents bow down in abject sycophancy. One is aimost tempted wish for a modernized ostracism

or prescription, by which such moral decadents as Andrews and his fellow lickspittles could be chosen for merciful but effective elimination.

Assuredly it is not to the universi ties, not to the circles of culture and sweetness and light that humanity can now look for inspiration or for helpful counsel. There the love of liberty is dead. Our learned men wear their golden chains with pride, sneering at the iron bonds that shackle humbler lives. Nor do they love truth for its own sake, but only such truth as serves business interests and merits endowment and donations. With liberty and truth, they have laid human kindness and self-respect on the altar of the great god Profit, and rejoice in the abandon of their shameless prosti-

President Vreeland of the Interarban Street Railway Company of New York City says he can wipe 125 transfer points off the list without posor anybody else. Of course he can. And why? Because the people of New York lack the spirit to resist or resent capitalist outrages. The small business men are prevented from acting together by the conflict of their petty pocketbook interests; and the majority of the workingmen think the business men's thoughts at second hand, believe in "the sacredness of vested rights," and are shocked at the suggestion of acting together for their own class. They have the power to elect legislators and executive officials and judges who would quickly bring the trolley magnates to their knees They prefer, instead, to divide their votes between two sets of candidates chosen for them by the class that own the street railways and pocket the profits.

### A FIELD THAT IS TOO OFTEN NEGLECTED.

A field for Socialist propaganda which has proved very fertile where it has been worked, but which is often neglected, is presented by the college settlements, educational institutes people's forums, and other institutions of the sort which have arisen in such great numbers all over the land in recent years.

The men who direct these institutions are generally men of some breadth of view, sincerely desirous of doing something to relieve the sufferings of the masses; on the other hand, they are generally men whose ways of thinking and feeling have been formed in upper-class society and who are not only ignorant of Socialism, but even incapable of understanding it because of their lack of real sympathy with the proletarian mind. Left to their guidance, such institutions, while they do much incidental good, are likely to exercise, on the whole, strong influence adverse to the growth of Socialism-even though the directors themselves may often be uncon scious of it.

The people who frequent these in stitutions and come under the influence of the up-to-date philanthropists there are just the sort of people whom it is well worth our while to reach-working people, generally young, above the average in energy and intelligence and desire to learn. They are people who are dissatisfied, who have energy to spend in an attempt to better conditions, and who should be saved from wasting that energy in the futile Sisyphus tasks of so-called phllanthropy and reform. They are people to whom the Socialist ideal and the Socialist practice of comradeship in battle will appeal, if rightly presented.

Finally, the organization and methods of work of these institutions are generally such as to give a good the insatiable corporations as none chance for Socialists as well as others to present their views and exercise their influence, if only a due degree of tact and forbearance, as well as of energy and patience, is used. They have discussion clubs and reading circles which anyone may join and courses of lectures at which questions from the audience are invited. It is worth while that there should be some thoughtful young Socialist in every such club or circle, that some comrades who know how to express their thoughts clearly should attend the lectures and, where the opportunity presents, put pertinent questions. In many cases, for the asking, Socialist lecturers can be got on the platform now and then. They have libraries and reading rooms, too, which the comrades should see to supplying with

Socialist books and periodicals. We have said that a little tact and forbearance may be necessary in carrying on this work. There are times in our, agitation, especially on the strictly political field, when it is right and necessary to come down on our adversary with sledge-hammer blows to show no mercy or consideration bevond what ordinary parliamentary decorum requires. But if it is well to know the time to hit hard at an opponent who can be reached in no other way, it is well also to remember that many who oppose us do so in all good faith; that even though their opposition be very unreasonable, that unreasonableness may be due to the environment in which they have lived, not to wilful injustice; or that even a

consciously unjust opponent may

sometimes best be defeated and dis armed by outdoing him in fairness and courtesy. In general, in such circles as we now speak of; we should not assume that those who are op posed to us are our enemies but rather that they do not understand us well; and if we approach them in that spirit, and with due care to avoid errors of exaggeration or of repellant manner, there are few doors that will not open to us. Once we have got a footing, armed with Socialist fact and logic, we have little to fear from the often superior training and culture of those who will oppose us.

Much excellent work on these line has been done in institutions of the sort to which we have referred in New York and in other cities and we commend the subject to the attention of the comrades everywhere. Even the Young Men's Christian Association and the clubs which many churches maintain are often worth invading altl gh the theological spirit prevail sibility of interference by the courts ing there makes it harder to work in them.

Let us do justice, though the heavens fall. We are not sauguine of the success of local "independent labor parties"-which, as we have elsewhere said, are generally not independent not labor parties, and not parties at all. But when we read that Mayor Charter's administration in Ansonia Conn., has raised the tax assessment of every business corporation in the city by from 10 to 40 per cent., we say, "Well done, and more power to you, for you are on the right track."

Many of the capitalist papers are

editorially commenting on the large emigration from Australia-almost balancing the immigration during the last decade-and sagely attributing it to the pernicious influence of "Socialistic" labor legislation. One who does not look behind the scenes might wonder at so many papers taking up this sublect simultaneously and at the close similarity of their expressions. This is explained by the fact that the Citizens' Industrial Association of America-another name for Mr. Parry's Na tional Association of Manufacturershas a publication department which supplies ready-made editorials, warranted satisfactory to capitalist interests, for all papers that are willing to use them. It is on a recent circular from this emporium of mendacity that the articles to which we refer are all ounded. As to the facts in regard to "the Australian exodus," it may be remembered that the labor legislation -which, by the way, is anything but Socialistic-is pretty certainly not the cause of the increased emigration. A nore reasonable explanation is to be found in the fact, as reported in the "Australian Insurance and Banking Record" that repeated and long-continued drouths have killed off half the sheep in Australia, besides great numbers of cattle, thus paralyzing the principal industry of the colonies and throwipg many thousands of men out of work. But perhaps the capitalist editors would have us believe that if there had been no troublesome labor legislation to interfere with private enterprise there would have been no drouths.

From a labor paper-it happens to be the Pueblo "Labor Advocate," but it might have been any one of some scores equally pure and equally simple -we take this bit of meaninglessly hifalutin word-slinging:

"Nay, that factor in the world's civilization—organized labor—was not born for so ignominious an ending That power which has done more than all things combined to elevate laboring classes-that power which has doubled, yea, trebled, the business of the merchants of the land, and held erform. When the business men the country have given careful study to present conditions they will spura from them the grafting hirelings of corporate greed and stand shoulder to shoulder with us in our mission o building a grand superstructure upo the foundation we have laid."

What are we to think of all this rie perole? Does this labor editor really believe that the business men have given less study to their own interest than he has? Does he really think they do not know what they are doing when they hind themselves into "Citi zen's Alliances" and call for martial law or institute lynch law to smash the trade unions? Does he honestly think that, "when they have given careful study to present conditions" the own ers of mine and railway and factory will be converted into friends of th working class? If he does, he's obviously an ignoramus. And in fact be s not an ignoramus. He knows bet ter. He knows that it is not the "grafting birelings of corporate greed" that are responsible for the organized war against labor, but the capitalists

themselves who hire and direct them

He knows this, but he pretends to be

lieve otherwise because he is too timid

to face the facts, because he is afraid

of being called a Socialist if he tells

the truth he cannot but see. -In the workshop those magnetic pulses spring up between men. Based on comradeship production is human-ized. In the workshop questions of organization and division of labor are

# NO. MISTER HANNA.

... .. ... . By Horace Traubel.

No. Mister Hanna. We cannot ac-'l and co-operation. You ask labor to de more for you. Labor will do less. Will do nothing. I hate to disappoint you, commodate you. We have received your invitation. But we cannot accept Mister Hanna. But you really ask too it. We have heard every word you much. We are willing to admit that we are fools. That we learn hard. That we grope about from one uncersay. But we do not like your words. And we do not like your voice. You want American labor "Americanized." tain conviction to another. And we know, of course, that you are mean-while going to exploit us for all the bilities. And you want "to make it the ally of the capitalist." It will not privilege is worth. But we will keep right on. Until we do become Americanized. Until we do become aware But we do not like your brand of kind ness. The spider invited the fly into its parlor. And the foolish fly ac-cepted the invitation. And we know of our responsibilities. Then you, You will not then star the show.

I have looked you all over, Mister

what happened to the fly. We are not

disposed, Mister Hanna, to play fly to your spider. We will play man to your man or not play at all. Mister Hanna, we think it will not be all pudding to you when American labor does become Americanized. There would be little left of your greedy right hand if labor was Ameri-canized, You would have to find some honest employment for your illicit palm. If you knew what you were about you would not be eager to have labor Americanized. You are in your best luck while it remains as it is. When it is stirred to rebellien-to a recognition of its fundamental prerogatives-your privileges will longer dare to present their cards in decent society. You will be willing to sell out for a soup house ticket. That is, if anything remains over to sell out. If American labor realized its

birthright you would not even have any pottage left for a next meal.

What business have you, Mister
Hanna, to talk of the responsibilities of the inborer? Tell us something about the responsibilities of the capi-talist, Tell us what you owe the laborer. We will tell you what we what we would be appreciated the capitalist? Nothing. Not a cent. Not a red. We are not sure that we know what our responsibilities are. But we are trying to discover them. We suspect that when justice is done to the laborer there will be nothing left for the capitalist. Our responsibility is not to discover what may be done to please you but what may be done to please ourselves. No doubt you are, as you say, eager to make labor "the ally of the capitalist." But I am very It is innocently too much that ally already. It will not intensify a mis-taken loyalty. It will withdraw that loyalty altogether. You are deceived You think labor will open its eyes and and reject you. You are very gullible. You know how to make money under the existing regime. But the regime that is to follow is wholly mysterious to a mini of your meetity. You are to a man, or your incury. You are instructed in the drastic drill of a profit-mongered civilization. You take the bilind and those who sleep by the hand and lead them into slavery. This you call teaching Americanism and responsibility

But capital is one thing and the capi talist is another. We do not propose peace. We propose war first. Then peace. You do not wish to regard labor as a "foe with which to grapple It is not necessary that you should. If you knew its real character you would not. You would see that it is a friend with which to treat. The only Why should labor play you game for you? Labor will play you out of the game. 'You have no bustness in the game. The capitalist is superfluous. He is a flaw in the scheme. The flaw demands the surrender of the scheme. The scheme ill smite and crush the flaw. Mister Hanna, you are a comedian. You try to joke labor off the acres of its to joke labor off the acres of its heritage. You are afraid we do not understand you well enough. We understand you too well. We know just where you are to be quoted. You intimate that we do not realize our responsibilities. Give us a little more time. Then you will see. You are one of our responsibilities. You. Your class. It is up to us to remove you You mean one thing when you say you want us to be Americanized, reanother. You look for the perpetuation of the capitalist., We look for his destruction. Mister Hauna, you are very nice. But while you tell us of ething you want us to do for you do everything you ask for your capi-talist if we had not to do everything we are asked to do for our laborer. A MAJORITY THAT WILL NOT USE ITS LAWFUL POWER.

Hanna, in this latest portrait of your-

self. Your autobiography is unique but it does not convince. You say in

effect: Shut your eyes tight and trust

me. But whether we trust you or not we prefer to keep our eyes open. We

want to see even where you may lead

us. Do you not understand that you are very impertinent? Do you propose to teach labor its responsibilities? Teach the sun. Teach the root of the

tree. Teach the foundation of the house. Will the effect teach its cause? Will the child birth its father? T do

not imagine, Mister Hanua, that you are on to our curves. We have been

studying you. We have been studying

to-lay stop and you commence. We

stop and you will never commence. We can see labor as the ally of capital.

We know just where we

William Dean Howells, in "A Traveller from Altruria." The lawyer broke the awkward is a fight, and in a fight, nowadays,

classes is so absolute as in ours. In fact, I once heard a Russian revolutionist, who had lived in exile all over Europe, say that he had never seen anywhere such a want of kindness of sympathy between rich and poor as he had observed in America. I doubted whether he was right. But he believed that, if it ever came to the industrial revolution with us, the fight would be more uncompromising than any such fight that the world had ever seen. There was no respect from low to high, he said, and no consideration from high to low, as there were in countries with traditions and old as-sociations."
"Well," said the banker, "there may

be something in that. Certainly, so forces have come into conflict here, there has been no disposition, on either side, to 'make war with water of roses." It's astonishing, in fact, to see how ruthless the fellows who have just got up are towards the follows who are still down And the best of us have been up only a generation or two-and the fellows who are still down know it.

"And what do you think would be the outcome of such a conflict?" I

"We should beat," said the banker little finger.

"What makes you think we should beat?" asked the manufacturer, with a certain curiosity.

"Well, all the good jingo reasons We have got the materials for ing. Those fellows throw away their strength whenever they begin to fight, and they've been so badly generaled, up to the present time, that they have wanted to fight at the outset of every quarrel. They have been beaten in every quarrel, but still they always want to begin by fighting. That is al right. When they have learned enough to begin by VOTING, then we shall have to look out. But if they keep on fighting, and always putting them-selves in the wrong and getting the worst of it, perhaps we can fix the needn't be any more afraid of that than we are of the fighting. It's astonishing how short-sighter they are. They have no conception o any cure for their grievances, except more wages and fewer hours."
"But," I asked, "do you really think

they have any just grievances?"
"Of course not, as a business man,"
said the banker. "If I were a work
ingman, I should probably think dif-But we will suppose, for the argument, that their day is and their pay is too short. too long and their pay is too short. How do they go about to better them-selves? They strike, Well, a strike

pause which followed: "I have heard it is always skill and money that win the world where the separation of the public sympathy which the newspapers say is so potent in their behalf; I never saw that it did them the least They begin by boycotting, and breaking the heads of the men who want to work. They destroy property, two absolutely sacred things in the American religion. Then we call out the militia and shoot a few of them, and their leaders declare the strike off. It is perfectly simple: \* \* \* Why, how preposterous they are when you come to look at it! They are in the majority, the immense majority, if you count the farmers, and they prefer to minority. They say they want an eight-hour law, and every now and then they strike and try to fight it.
Why don't they VOTE it? They could MAKE it the law in six months by such overwhelming numbers that no enervating both to himself and to his such overwhelming numbers that no one would dare to evade or defy it. They can make any law they want, but they prefer to break such laws as we have. That 'alienates public sympathy,' the newspapers say: but the spectacle of their stupidity and helpless willfulness is so lamentable that I could almost pity them. If they chose, it would take only a few years to transform our government into the likeness of anything they wanted. But they would rather not have what they want, apparently, if they can only keep themselves from gotting it, and they have to work hard to do that!" "I suppose," I said, "that they are

misled by the un-American principle and methods of the Socialists among

"Why, no," returned the banker, "I

houldn't say that. As far as I under stand it, the Socialists are the only fellows among them who propose to vote their ideas into laws, and nothing can be more American than that. don't believe the Socialists stir up the strikes-at least, among our workingmen; though the newspapers convict them of it, generally without trying them. The Socialists seem to accept the strikes as the inevitable outcome of the situation, and they make use of them as proofs of the industrial dis-content. But, luckily for the status our labor leaders are not Socialists. for your Socialist, whatever you ma say against him, has generally thought say against him, has generally thought himself into a Socialist. He knows that until the workingmen stop fight-ing, and get down to voting—until they consent to be the majority—there they consent to be the majority—there is no hope for them. I am not talking of Anarchists, mind you, but of Socialists, whose philosophy is more law, hot less, and who look forward to an order so just that it can't be dis-turbed."

IMPRESSIONS OF THE PARSIFAL LECTURE.

I am always interested when I see two radically different minds, for radically different reasons and along divergent paths, reach the same con clusion—that is, seturn to the com-mon centre of their original impres-sions, which they set out to prove by Dr. Herron declares "Parsifal" de

cadent because its philosophy is anti-social, a denial of the world-life; Frie-drich Nietzsche finds "Parsifal" decadent because it is anti-egoistic, a de nial of the self-life. To Nietzsch "Parsifal" "humors every cowardice of the modern soul"; to Dr. Herron "Parsifal" is a glorification of the selfishness of the modern soul. Nietz sche sees in "Parsifal" a "self-lacerat ng"; Dr. Herron sees a spiritual self ndulgence, or, as he himself says, a induagence, or, as he inhabet as as, a "spiritual sonsuality." Nietzsche's objection is physiological, Dr. Herron's is sociological. Nietzsche refuses to take "Parsifal" seriously-or plays at such refusing. "What," he says, "has Wagner really to do with that manly alas, so very unmanly—'rustic simplicity' of the poor devil and country lad, Parsifal? Are we to understand Wagner's 'Parsifal' as his secret laugh of superiority at himself? • • • One might wish it were so." Dr. Herron does take "Parsifal" seriously, as the culminating art superiority. culminating art expression of a man who has exhausted his own life, who thinks he has exhausted experience, and who has found only pain and dis ppointment, turning from the unsa isfying world-life to lose himself and als pain in the contemplation of the divine-in the language of the Germa philosopher, "to walk above the clouds and barangue the infinite."

Though I respond to both, I have more affinity with the view of Dr. Herron. I have never felt that Nietzsche really understood the psychology of asceticism-his marvelously pene trating essay on the subject notwith standing. I do agree with Dr. Herion that the ascetic ideal, here exemplified in "Parsifal," is an exalted form of self-indulgence; that it is a denial of life instead of a true denial of self. For the really influential ascetics have not been "sick ones," as Nietzsche would have us believe; they have of ten been, on the contrary, men who might have turned with equal success, and possibly—though this is more doubtful--with equal satisfaction, to form of self-exten-

But to return to the Wagner lecture Dr. Herron explains that there are two kinds of art creators: those to whom the art or manner of expression is everything, and those to whom the art or manner of expression is sub ordinate to the thing to be expressed As illustrating the first group of art ists, he mentions Raphael, Titian and Rubens; as illustrating the second, Michael Angelo, Leonardo and Wagner. To Wagner the arts of music and drama and scenic effect were all ordinate to the expression of the idea

As a prelude to the discussion "Parsifal," a necessary prelude to its real understanding, Dr. Herron divides the creative life of Wagner into three periods. The first, beginning with "Rienzl," was a period of more or less conformity to the musical ideas o finis time. The second period was marked by a complete breaking away from those ideas and a working along original lines, in the belief, as Dr. Her ron says, that the world would never accept him anyway and that he might as well, therefore, express what we really in him regardless of the world This was his revolutionary period, both in music and in philosophy. It was at t is time that he became imbued with the republican ideals that were dominating the thought of the younger and fresher minds of Europe. It is to this period that we owe his many volumes of philosophical work as well as the more stimulating of his music cramas; it was his period of great productivity. Following this and his long exile came his return to Ger-many, and his sojourn at the Bayarian Court-his third and last period, that of disillusionment and world-despair. which flowered in the sublime rea

clation drama of "Parsifal." Dr. Herron speaks of the hypnotic effect of Wagner's music, the spell which the opera of "Parsifal" lays upon the listener. He says that Wagner had, perhaps above all other musiaudience; that he forced, by his supreme hypnotic influence, his own d spairing and vaguely yearning moods upon his listeners. I may not be us ing the exact language of Dr. Herron as I took no notes of his lecture; bu that is the impression his words left on me. His feeling in regard to this tendency of Wagner to indulge his detendency of Wagner to indulge his de spairing moods in his music Dr. Herron expresses by saying that, while it may be a man's duty to suffer for the fore the world. Another point on which Dr. Herron

is not in sympathy with the Wagner of the "Parsifal" period is in the at titude to woman as the temptress and debaser of man. "It is a far cry," says Dr. Herron, "from Brunhilde to Kundry." He might have added that is a far cry from Slegfried to Amfortas.

It is impossible in so brief a notice as this to give more than a mere out line of so compact and richly illustrated a lecture as that given by Dr Herron last Sunday. I have merely touched upon a point here and there with the idea of stimulating the inte est of those who may not have heard the lecture, as I understand it is to be repeated in the near future ELSA BARKER.

## TOLSTOY AND BRYAN.

On the occasion of William J. Bry-an's recent visit to Tolstoy, the fa-mous Russian's first question was: "Are you a Socialist?" When assured to the contrary the count said: "I an to the contrary the count said: "I am very glad to hear it. I am not a Socialist myself." Socialists have here-tofore had to spend a good deal of time trying to show the admirers of the Nebraskan demagogue and the noble Russian genius that neither of them are Socialists.

# THE GENESIS OF OPPORTUNISM.

By Franklin H. Wentworth.

more and more the aspect of a political derelict, the earnest spirits who have clung to it begin to cast about

for new affiliations. It is natural in this emergency that their eyes should turn to the young proletarian giant who is getting up from his prostrate position and bringing consternation to the parasitic should stretch and hump himself, like a sleepy cat, this civilization would scramble for re-adjustment. If he should stand erect it would slide off him. like an avalanche, into the dark of oblivion.

The man who comes too suddenly

into the Socialist Party from the decadent Democracy brings with him a psychology which serves him to comprehend only the first of these contin encies. He can grasp the idea of the working class stretching and humping; but the idea of its getting upon its feet seems secretly to frighten him. It is this psychology which makes him-when he first arrives in the Socialist movement-an opportunist. It is another full step to revolution, and involves a more or less extensive rub-bing of elbows with the rank and file

of the party.

This mental attitude of the evolving Democrat is due to the fact that the Democratic party has never stood for any positive program. It has always been a party of mere opposition. Pro has never been known in its vocabulary. Anti has been its slogan. Even the free trade it has thought it stood for was never really free trade; it was anti-protection. Democratic psychology is negative. Mr. Bryan stopped grow ing in 1806. "A negative attitude, too long main-

tained, atrophies the mind.

This attitude of negation forsakes all initiative and studies mere opposi-

tion to initiative.

A whole philosophy of partyism has sprung from this psychology, which philosophy at present dominates the parliaments of the world;—the idea that whether the parliaments of the world;—the idea that the world;—the idea that the world;—the idea that the world;—th that wholesome politics resides in an opposition party acting as a whip and check to the party of dominant power. No other political fabric could so admirably adapt itself to the de velopment of capitalist society. Initi-ative, admixedly predatory, is left with the party of plutocracy; and the so-called party of the people is con-sidered only as a sort of hedge or hurdle to harrass or hamper plutoc racy's advance. Plutocracy's party. being the party of initiative, naturally gathers the advantageous momentus of all progressive movements of whatever character.

The Democratic party has been of

inestimable service to capitalism by crying a warning whenever capitalism as a sort of faithful friend or servant pointing out to capitalism pitfalls reaction which might have impeded the steady and uninterrupted subjugation of the working class.

The Democratic party has never risen to the conception of a positive initiative by the people; and the Popu list party, which gave hint of initia-tive, was easily translated into in-nocuous channels because this party cratic consciousness that a different

itself was born out of reaction and possessed the Democratic psychology. It never has penetrated the Demopsychology might give birth to an en-

MINE AND THINE. The following lines are literally The following lines are interary translated by William Morris from a poem written in Flanders in the four-teenth century, and show how the men of that day longed for the simplest Communism, probably with nearly as much reason amidst the high-handed open violence of "kings and scoundrels," as we have for our longing amidst the fraudulent veiled violence of capitalists and scoundrels:

Ah! might we drive them forth and With us should rest and peace abide; All free, nought owned of goods and

gear
By men and women though it were,

o'er, When Mine and Thine are known no

health, Gave all this fleeting earthly wealth

feet
And live a simple life and sweet. But now so rageth greediness. That each desireth nothing less Than all the world, and all his own;

## ART AND THE AGE.

We have wealth, we have leisure

As the Democratic party assumes | tirely different political movement, from which a party might emerge that could put the party of plutocracy itself to flight.

This is why the Democratic mind cannot readily understand the Socialist Party and its possibilities. The Democrat believes it to be an inviolable natural law that parties must be born out of great waves of public sentiment precipitated by some special crisis, and even after he allies himself with the Socialist Party he is prone to believe that the Socialist Party may be absorbed at any time by some emo-

tional uprising.
It is this attitude of mental expectancy which retards his translation into a revolutionist, and gives rise to his so-called opportunism. He is earnest and honest; but revolutionary Socialists are not made in a day. Mental habits are strong—more tyrannous sometimes than habits of body.

The Socialist who has not yet entirely aborted the Democratic psychology would harass the enemy, would capture an outpost now and then. urges a broad policy that will bring people in, wants to see the party grow. But water-power is generated by narrow streams—streams pent benot desirable unless the dynamic be preserved. It will be a sorry growth that spreads us into mere opposition.
We do not wish to keep forever stretching and humping; we wish to get upon our feet. We must not dis-sipate our energy in loosening the bandages about one foot while another is being more securely fastened.

What we desire to develop is the ir-

estible power of the torrent, not the imposing breadth of the fog-bank. No ne is afraid of a fog-bank, unless he be at sea; and plutocracy is not at sea; it knows what it is up to

If Richard Olney, or Grover Cleveand, or Arthur Pue Gorman should be nominated for the Presidency by the Democratic party, the Socialist ticket would puil a notably increased vote. But it would be an anæmic, unhealthy vote inasmuch as it would make the Socialist Party to that extent a vehicle for expressing mere reaction; and when it fell away into its natural channels at the succeeding election the opportunist adherents of the Socialist Party would suffer discouragement.

If William Randolph Hearst is nominated this reactionary vote will go where it belongs, and where it is better for the Socialist movement that it hould go.
It would seem to be wise that all

the manifestos of the Socialist Party issued during the coming year should be of such character as only a really class-conscious and revolutionary constituency can subscribe to.

If we leave an aperture for the fog to come in, we may lose ourselves in it until it clears again. Not so many of us may climb the hard slope to the mountain top, but the air is clearer

there; and this is our growing time. We want our brother Democrat whose heart is right, but we want time to assimilate him. He is a danger to us until his head is right. We desire to build up in his mind a new psychology which will leave no window open toward the minsmatic morass of fusion. For sometimes it must be exfessed that he wriggles painfulls striking at imaginary terrors arreaching for imaginary good, when we need his long, strong pull upon the evolutionary trace.

the year 1903, with its ambitions and

less maferialism of the age, its brutal

selfishness, ignoble avarice and utter

disperard of all the generous ideals of

the spirit. We have gained the whole world, but in doing so we have lost

our own soul .- Bliss Carman, in The

THE MEANNESS OF TRADE

"Just God," said I, kicking my

portunateau aside, "what is there in this world's goods which should sharpen our spirits, and make so

many kind-hearted brethren of us fall

It must needs be a hostile kind of

orld, when the buyer of it be but

of a sorry postchnise) cannot go forth

with the seller thereof into the stree

to terminate the difference betwixt

them, but he instantly falls into the

same frame of mind, and views his conventionist with the same sort of eye, as if he was going along with him

to Hyde Park Corner to fight a duel.

walked along in profile-then, en face

-thought him like a Jew-then a

Turk-disliked his wig-cursed him by my\_gods-wished him at the devil.

And is all this to be lighted on in the

heart for a beggarly account of three or four louis d'ors, which is the most

I looked at Mousier Dessein ough and through; eyed him as he

triumphs—may seem a very comfortable and delightful age to be alive in, with its immense inbor-saving facilities and its many diversions. One does not wender that people give to selves so unsparingly to the securing of those diversions and luxuries. Yet from another viewpoint one cannot but be amazed at the shortsightedness of men which allows them to spend laborious lives in preparing to live. One cannot but recognize the shame

Two words about the world we see And nought but Mine and Thine they be.

Common to all all wheat and win Over the seas and up the Rhine. No manslayer then the wide world

out so cruelly as we do by way?" \* \* \* Yea. God, well counselled for our

A common heritage to all, That men might feed them therewithal And clothe their limbs and shoe their

And all for him and him alone.

we have great prosperity, we have peace, we have widespread intelli-gence, we have freedom of thought and conscience. All these things, it has always been supposed, go to make up a state of society in which the fine arts can flourish. Why do they not sion," said I, turning myself about, as flourish here and now? Why have we a man naturally does upon a sudden reverse of sentiment; "Rase, ungentle passion! thy hand is against every no poets whose ability and influence are of national concern?

Because with all our comforts, all

our delightful luxuries, all our intellectual alertness, we are steadily los-ing our moral ideas, steadily suffering a spiritual deterioration. Anglo-Saxon civilization, to speak of no other, has become a humiliating and unscrupu-lous game. Our fathers and grand-

man, and every man's hand against thee."—Laurence Sterne, in A Sentimental Journey. THE RULE OF LIFE.

What I must do is all that concerns ous game. Our fathers and jous game. Our fathers cared for many ideals, for honor, for honesty, for patriotism, for culture, for high broseling, for nobility of character and unselfashness of purpose.

We care for none of these things.

We care for none of these things.

This is an intellectual life, between greather and unselfashness of purpose.

We care for none of these things.

We care for none of these things.

It is easy in the world to live after the world's opinion; it is easy in solitude to live after your own, but the great man is he whom in the midst of the crowd keeps with racter by which it is attained. perfect sweetness the independence of Modern life-that is to say, s litude. - Emerson.

### IN REGARD TO THE "APPEAL"

A Letter from Charles L. Brecke Formerly Employed On That Paper, About Wayland's Mothods-Items of Interest for the "Army."

(We print the following letter, although reluctantly, not only in justice to Comrade Breckon, but also because we believe it of sufficient importance to the rank and file of the movement to deserve publication. Without assuming responsibility further than for our belief in Comrade Breekon's gool faith, we feel that the peculiar methods avowedly used by the "Appeal" management render the communication worthy of thoughtful reading.

To the Editor of The Worker:-Under date of Oct. 24, 1903, while a strike was on at the "Appeal" plant, I mailed a letter to the "Chicago Socialist" setting forth certain facts. I asked Comrade Bates not to publish same until released by me, but he beeded not my request and published the entire letter, leaving off my name. The latter added insult to injury. I tried to have Comrade Bates set me right, but could get no satisfaction whatever. I want now and herewith to publicly father that letter and also to affirm its truthfulness. I have no censure for Comrade Bates. It was simply a breach of newspaper ethics. By its premature publication my life ras made pretty miserable on the 'Appeal," and from that date I was largely shut out from getting much more testimony. The following letter is given as a summary of my seven months' experience on the "Appeal." I feel a deep sense of duty to the comrades all over the country, and also feel that I should be subject to most form them how their money is being used and how lightly things Socialist

Early in January, 1903, while living in Chicago, I received a letter from A. W. Ricker, then employed on the "Appeal to Renson," Girard, Kaus., urging me to accept a position on that paper. Comrade Ricker was an acquaintance, whom I had known for several years. Many letters passed between myself and the "Appeal" in which I finally decided not to accept the position Early in June I met W. F. Phelps. then business manager of the "Appeal," in Chicago, with the result that consented to go to Girard on condi tion of being ticketed out and back again in case of inability to agree on On June 5, 1903, Sunday, I arrived

in Girard and met J. A. Wayland. My reception was very warm and com-plete. I found the "Appeal" managel and handled by non-Socialists and J. A. Wayland in chief and close individual control. He lives in one of the finest houses in Girard, most elegantly furnished, has a negro con fine team of sorrels, and wants for nothing material. He also owns several fine business blocks in the city, one of which is occupied by a leading dry goods firm. In addition he pos sesses a number of United States bonds, which, whenever pressed for cash he sells to the bank. His financial reputation is excellent and among "business" men his word is as good as his bond.

Little or no work was done by the Socialist local in Girard, it being the complete patronage of Mr. Way land. None of the stockholders of the 'Appeal" were actively ident'fied with the Socialist movement, but seemed only bent on how to find a way to

make money.

Untermann and Ricker had had a fierce time in trying to make the "Appeal" a clean and four-square Socialist paper. Wayland was the czar who insisted on ruling with an iron hand, and with the help of his brother-inlaw, Chas, D. Bevans, held a most perfect system of espionage over each and every employee.

The wages paid the great majority of the employees was \$3 a week. To ask for more was in many instances to invite a discharge. This fact can be fully demonstrated. Ask Wayland to publish in the "Appeal" an itemized list of the employees, with wages paid on July 1, 1903, and then wages paid and number of employees on the pay-roll Feb. 1, 1904. After my discharge the staff's wages were materially advanced, and I was informed that Wayland now draws \$50 a week.

I fell into great favor with J. A. Wayland during the first three months of my experience on the "Appeal." I made several addresses out of town, which be attended and which he characterized as the most radical and pro-nounced ever delivered. I continued in his good favor without interruption until I began to insist that the things I stood for on the soap-box should be practiced in the operations and workings of the "Appeal" plant.

From the moment that I began to demand that the "Appeal" plant, should be run fairly and under wellestablished union rules, I became a marked man, and on Tuesday, Dec. 29, 1963, received the following notice:

"C. L. Breckon, foreman of the 'Apren, who will take charge of that department of the Appeal Publishing Company, be being now one of the owners of the office into whose charge that department has been placed. For this reason, the balance of the force being sufficient, your services will no longer be needed.

J. A. WAYLAND." "(Signed) J. A. WAYLAND."
Prior to the removal of my family
from Chicago, and when in doubt about incurring the expense, J. A. would be responsible to return me and mine to Chiengo without cost to me. On the strength of that proalse my family came. After my discharge I presented a bill to Wayland for same, which he utterly repudlated. I was compelled to borrow money enough to get a part of my family of the control me that in case I did not remain he compelled to borrow money enough to get a part of my family out of Girard, where I might hope to secure work and a living, leaving my goods temporarily in that town. As I write this considered simply an advertisement—I situation. The charge will be raised that I publication in the same. It was porarily in that town. As I write this considered simply an advertisement—I situation. Those who know me also

I am in Memphis, Tenn., where I have secured temporary employment.
Under International Typographical

out violating union procedure, and thus jeopardizing the union label and possibly inviting a strike, except through consolidation. This was seem-ingly done in the PURCHASE of the

"Coming Nation." The organization of Federal Union No. 11,478 was followed by many stormy scenes, finally closing in the discharge of Chas. D. Bevans, W. F. Phelps and the refusal to work with A working contract was signed which bound J. A. Wayland to do only certain things and preventing him practicing the things he had formerly freely indulged in. He soon found a way to break over all rules, and ed to be ably seconded by A. W. Ricker, as witness the following letter written by him (Ricker) while at Grand River, Ia., under date of Dec. 14, 1903, called thither by the sickness "Dear Wayland:--My expectations

removed from noise and annoyances

for the typewriter. I have a great thing in conception and if I am able

to develop properly what I have will

add something to our literature that

will be an eye-opener. I am greatly rested and refreshed notwithstanding

I have lost some sleep. A trip into the quiet of the country is a great in-spiration. When I get back I want

to put a limit on that drum contest,

and close it out. WE HAVE NOT REACHED THAT STAGE IN OUR

MOVEMENT WHERE WE CAN

GET MUCH OUT OF THE ORGANI-

ZATION. I INCLINE MORE AND MORE TO THE STRICTLLY PRO-

PAGANDA PLAN OF CONDUCTING

THE PAPER WITH SHOH MEAS.

be learned by experience, and such experience is invaluable. I have writ-

ten Brewer to have Lockwood handle

the circulation report and the drum contest. I wish you would have him

write something on the certificate to

the Army also. Tell him to include

for entry has been extended to the

last week in January. Tell him not to make any mention of the number of

make any mention of the number of entries, as I wish to handle this in a

THE MAJORITY IN THE UNION.

BUT I HAVE ALWAYS ACTED AS

THEIR LEADER, AND MY AB-SENCE MAY HAVE EMBARRASS-

ED THEM. Well, peg along, and pre-

pare to take a rest when I get back.

prepared to take it as soon as I get

back. I can handle the editorial and

make-up without any trouble, AND GET THE VERY BEST OUT OF

MASON AND LOCKWOOD. I will

be in at the close of the week, with or without family. In the meantime be

The emphasis is mine.—C. L. B.]
As a result of the seeming under-

Stories were carried to Wayland by

members, among them his son, Walter, I was made to appear a mou-

strosity because I always insisted on

the "Appeal" being in reality what the public were made to believe it

On Saturday. Dec. 26, 1903, Way-

land stated to a union man from

Pittsburg, Kans., who was visiting Girard, when queried by him respect-

ing the retention of Breckon after the

purchase of the "Coming Nation":

No I would rather spend ten thou-

Wayland may have never drawn any

dividends out of the "Appeal." I don't

know. But each building occupied by the paper has been purchased when occupied by the plant. When larger

quarters were needed a new corner

was purchased by Army money. Way-land now draws rent on several such

buildings, one a fine corner on the

square. A few years ago he appor-tioned to the several members of his family, some \$5,000 each. The present

large building occupied by the "Appeal" plant has been purchased by Army money and belongs to Walter

Wayland by gift from his father. The

plant, building and machinery is easily worth \$100,000, all having been purchased out of the receipts from the

Army. A well-nigh perfect tool of production is in the hands of J. A. Wayland. A few weeks before my dis-

charge Wayland absent-mindedly drop-

ed in my hearing the hope that the

first month of the new year. Any-

thing near the same receipts for 1904

as 1903 will show a net profit of from \$15,000 to \$25,000. Improvements cov-

ering fully the latter figure were put

in 1903, and all paid for out of the re-

ceipts. The published financial state-ment at the head of the first page is

a fiction. It simply shows cash re-cripts and expenses and obligations. No inventory basis whatever is given,

and the declaration that all receipts over expenses shall go to the propa-

ganda do not seem to spell much, as

in all the hundreds of thousands of dollars sent in by the Army in the past

few years, but one thousand found its way back. After that check was mail-

would be to so stimulate the income

"RICKER."

(Signed.)

GREATLY

easy.

was-square.

and get a rough draft of my MS, ready

The army must know that all Way were realized, and I found a case of pneumonia under way, with the crisis land has done is use their money to reached a few hours before my ar-rival. Boy has improved so rapidly that I can safely figure on taking him make him a czar and enable him to exploit helpless girls and boys, and put him in position where he may seli the latter part of the week, and will out the movement when and how he starting until that time, Wayland declares that if provoke time I shall work on my book, and this is a splendid opportunity. I will be able to seclude myself in a room

too much he would cease publishing a Socialist paper and begin an anti-reli clous publication. To what base use is the money and devotion of the noble comrades to be put? He declared he would junk the whole plant unless he can run it and run it his way. This was what made him so sore on the Union. He found his hands tied, but the way was kindly opened to him by "the leader of the conservatives" to break down the Union. To-day the Read the records in the archives at Washington on file with a. F. of L. at Indianapolis with I. T. U., and a Omaha with Secretary Mailly.

an investment-bread cast upon th

in a very few days. There seems to b

no disputing the fact that Wayland and family greatly rejoice that the plant is now fully back in their hands.

During all the years that it required al

the receipts to go back into the plant the army were stimulated by the thought that the plant and its earnings

were theirs. No sooner does the time arrive when real dividends may be paid, and the finished tool is fully in controls the whole thing, and has also

swallowed up his only competitor, the

(See "Appeal" of Jan. 9, 1904.) While

boy voluntarily returned, the facts are

that he forced the child to come home

finding the opportune time when the "Coming Nation" firm was nearly bankrupt. (See Wayland's letter in the

last issue of the "Coming Nation.") Ben Warren told a Girard friend that he did not care how the matter went,

for he cleared up \$6,000 as his share

in closing the deal.

would have the public believe the

child has returned to "papa's"

Every condition that prevailed be fore the strike now prevails except the personnel of the employees and a slight increase in pay. Many of the poorest paid and most needy have been laid off. The "faithfuls" (at the top) like parrots they will swear by the conjuring name of J. A. Wayland.

OUT OF THE INDIVIDUAL WORKER. All these things have to The "Appeal" has always been one a new roll call. So offers a cheap cer tificate to hang on the wall. The mem bers of the army had strained them selves to the limit to pay for the nev press. Ricker figured that there were ten thousand in the army. Five new subscribers from each would mean 50, 000 new subscribers. Personally I con tended when this was proposed and declared the whole scheme looked bad. Write-up myself. I WAS TLY WORKIED ABOUT GREATLY WORKED ABOUT UNION AFFAIRS WHEN I LEFT. BUT HOPE AAT YOU HAVE MANAGED AFFAIRS COOLLY. THE CONSERVATIVES ARE IN THE WOOLT IN THE UNION. My opposition availed nothing, only to ne out of further counsels. The men (the Army) work for nothing, pay their own postage, and buy their own postal orders and stationery, all to place in Wayland's hands a club to hammer employees to death and any and all means to make money. Wayland deciares an editor valu less he can bring in money. This is why he did not like Untermann and why he opposed others like him. Rick-

He (Ricker) declared to the writer he expected to win such a reputation that when his services are at an end with the "Appeal" he can go upon the national Soap Box and earn a better living, because his name will be known far and wide over the country. Wayner" in the sheaves-of gold.

standing between lileker and Way-land the position of the union was nullified and my discharge followed. Wayland loves money. With him it is not a question of what is right to print, but if printed will it hurt the

> See the Drum Contest. Note Ricker's letter. Go after the individual. Then take a look at the Tennessee Contest. Chas. D. Bevans said he would not take the property and pay the taxes on it. Fully \$50,000 has been naid in on this contest, but the end s not yet. Rumor bath it that a whole estate by will has been left to secur the last payment upon the contest. and thus come off winner. Josephine Conger showed me a letter that came over the files in which the writer, ar old man, declared he had sent in fully \$200 on this contest, and he could no afford it. He was suffering for the last man. But no word can go back to him. Miss Conger was greatly wrought up over this and many similar letters. She declared to me that she had about reached the conclusion to write letters to several such parties and tell them of the honeles tion and forever quit such an institu tion. But she didn't. She has been discharged and quieted with the story that she is to be reingaged later as editor of a woman's paper. Anothe means of future exploitation like that of the "Goa Paa," a Norwegian paper, that Mr. and Mrs. Mengshoel are working 15 to 18 hours a day to pro-duce, and of which Wayland stands

> reap the profits.
>
> Of the Warrens and Richardson I know personally almost nothing. Their general reputation seems to be good. I have heard Wayland say, and se have many other people in Girard that these men were thieves—they stole his mail list, time and postage and then stole his reputation in the paper he had founded, the "Coming Nation." He declared that they planned-to start an opposition paper while still on his pay roll. The facts seen to be that the "Coming Nation" wa revived by them because they would not longer stand Wayland's exarism and they really went out as a rebuke and protest against what they con-sidered the unrighteous discharge of

Surely circumstances do alter cases Surely circumstances do after cases. These men may have been bad, but Breckon was so much worse, that in order to get rid of him he (Wayland) could sleep in the same bed with the men he had characterized as thieves. What a scramble to get away from the "worker's table" and find a seat at the "middle-dear table". at the "middle-class table."

know how lightly P-hold a situatio No situation could buy my silence. fought Wayland when in his employ the same reasons. Many have preced-ed me. They have been unable to leave behind them a single warning Some were not permitted to re-long enough to unpack their. They were fired before they could possess any real knowledge of the case. I believe such practices as those now going on at the "Appeal" are dangerous to the movement, and that I would be recreant to the Sopossessing such information and for any cause refusing to make the same public. I question the wisdom of placing an engine of power in our novement in the hands of any one man. The cause is greater than the man. Capitalists would rejoice to "run" the Socialist Party. But there our danger and here the cause of thes

deny the above facts, but time will prove their truthfulness. The first is sue of the "Appeal" after consolidation, Jan. 9; 1904, contained a "start er" for another boom edition, and any and all means will be "worked" to make the "Appeal" "pay." The reader can readily see how I

have nothing whatever personally to gain by publishing this letter. Re venge would be contemptible. We So cialists decry the flerce exploitation practiced by capitalism. Never was more fierce exploitation ever practices in America than that of the under the management of J. A. Way-land, and I have simply discharged my duty as a comrade in the movement when I have related the facts set forth above, growing out of a seven months experience, as an employee of J. A. Wayland and as foreman and a member of the staff.

If the Army knows and continues as heretofore, I shall have nothing to say. My duty is done, and to me it is a sense of duty. Others may b made to walk the plank by Wayland, but they cannot do it blindly after the publication of the above.

CHARLES L. BRECKON Memphis, Tenn., 155 Adams street

### LABOR SECRETARIAT. (Continued from page 1)

several wage-claims of members of Painters No. 499 have been settled and others are pending. The claim of a number of Carpenters No. 513, for damages sustained by falling down an elevator shaft, is under consideration Bro. Blum of Carpenters No. 375 was injured by a failing derrick and suit has been begun against the contract tors. A wage-claim of a member o Bakers No. 50 for \$12 was compromised for \$10. A \$25 wage-claim of a member of Jewelry Workers No. 1 has been taken to. Several wage-claims of members of Butchers No. 211 have been taken up and some of them settled, while the others ar

Bosses' Persecution Folled. A very interesting case was the de-ense of Jacob Scheck, a member of Bakers No. 25, who had been held in \$1,000 ball for the Court of Special Sessions on complaint of Boss Baker Heinemann of 547 Hamburg avenue, Brooklyn. Heinemann is boycotted by the Bakers' Union and Scheck was charged with having pasted boycots circulars on private property, which was alleged to be a violation of law, more than six months or a fine of not more than \$250 or both. When the was present with several other mem bers of the Master Bakers' Associa tion, and they were gleefully congratu lating each other on the prospect of sending this union man to inil. When Heinemann's counsel called him to the quit of the Secretariat interposed with motion that the case be dismissed. arguing that the acts alleged did not constitute a violation of the section of the law under which the case was brought. On consideration the court sustained the motion and dismissed the case against Scheck, much to the employers' disgust.

The following delegates were absenfrom the meeting: John Wurm, Arch. Iron Workers No. 42: J. Lazard Bakers No. 1; T. H. Philips, Bakers No. 3; H. Werner and H. Happe, Bakers No. 25; L. Sauer and Chas. Bakers No 88: J. Ronner and O. Rollmans, Bakers No. 93; Chas. Seech-mensky, Butchers No. 50; John Ruemer, Butchers No. 211; Chas. Vollmer and Herman Walter, Cigarmakers No. 90; Chas. Rollman, Carpenters No. 300; E. Gass and Aug. Sessier. Painters No. 499; E. Glassman, Wagon Worker No. 127; John Ried, Wagon Work ers No. 135; A. F. Mueller, Machinists No. 313: G. Sollmene, Bakers No. 320 I. Hatleth and O. Haar, Bakers No. 284; Chas. Brocklie, Carpenters No. 12; Wm. Jarsdorf, Coopers No. 2; J Schwarze, Barbers No. 507; A. Brown Bakers No. 305.
Delegates Matzdorf, Campbell, and

Schilling were elected as an auditing committee. The next meeting will be on Saturday evening, Jan. 30.

### HERRON'S LECTURE ON PARSIFAL

George D. Herron's lecture at Tuxedo Hall last Sunday on "Wagner and 'Parsifal'," for the benefit of the Socialist Daily Fund, was a great success, the hall being so packed that many were turned away. This inter-esting lecture, accompanied by Mrs. Herron's beautiful rendition of illusretron's beautiful rendition of hist-trative seletions on the planoforte, will be repeated in Brooklyn next month at the Labor Lyceum. The date will be announced next week. Tickets not used at last Sunday's lecture will be accepted at the Brooklyn lecture. Comrades holding tickets or money for sale of tickets are requested none; to make immediate settlement immediate set

ing criticized for using money in poli-tics?" "Yes," answered Senator Sorghum. "If you use money they criticize you, and if you don't they forget all about you." The Washington Star.

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### REVOLUTION.

(Fordinand Frolligrath, 1850 Trans. lated by Ernest Jones !

And the ye caught your noble prey within your hangman's sordid thrall. And the your captive was led forth beneath your city's rampar;

wall: o' the grass lies o'er her green where at the morning's early red peasant girl brings funeral wreaths—I tell you still—She is

not dead! And the from off the lefty brow ye cut the ringlets flowing long. tho' ye mated her amid the

thleves and murderers' hideous throng, And the ye gave her felon fare—bade felon garb her livery be.

And tho' ye set the oaknun-task—I tell
you all—She still is free!

And the' compelled to banishment, ye hunt her down thre endless

lands; And the seeks a foreign hearth, and silent 'mid its ashes stands; And the' she bathes her wounded feet where foreign streams seek foreign sens.

Yet-yet-she never more will hang her harp on Babel's willow trees! Ah no! she strikes its every string

and bids their loud defiance And as she mocked your scaffold erst, she mocks your banishment as

well. sings a song that starts you up astounded from your slumbrou

your heart-your craven heartyour traitor heart-with terro beats!

No song of plaint no song of sighs for those who perished unsubdued, Nor yet a song of irony at wrong's fantastic interlude-

The beggat's opera that ye try to drag out thro' its lingering scenes, Tho' moth-eaten the purple be that decks your tinsel kings and

Oh, no! the song those waters hear is not of sorrow, nor dismay— 'Tis triumph-song-victorious songthe pann of the future's day-

The future—distant now no more—her prophet voice is sounding free ell as once your Godhead spake: I was, I am, and I will be! Will be-and lead the nations on the

last of all your bosts to meet, And on your necks, your heads, your crowns, I'll plant my strong, re-Avenger, Liberator, Judge,-red battles on my pathway hurled,

stretch forth my almighty arm, till it revivides the world.

You see me only in your cells; ye se me only in the grave; Ye see me only wandering lone, beside the exile's cullen wave:—
Ye fools! Do I not also five where you have tried to pierce in vain?

Rests not a nook for me to dwell in every heart and every brain?— In every brow that boldly thinks, erect erect with manhood's honest

prideot each bosom shelter me that beats with honor's generous tide? every workshop, brooding woe? not every but that harbors

grief? Ha! Am I not the Breath of Life, that pants and struggles for relief?

'Tis therefore I will be-and lead the peoples yet your hosts to meet,
And on your necks—your heads—your
crowns—will plant my strong. registless feet!

It is no boast-it is no threat-thus
History's from law decrees—
The day grows hot on Babyidn! "Dis
cool beneath thy willow trees!

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# 9000000000000000000000000 PARTY NEWS.

National Organizing Fund.

The following contributions have been made to the National Organizing d since last report: G. H. Stroben, Newark, N. J., \$50; Branch 1, Local Neenah, Wis., \$2.25; Julius Mobus, Herman, Mo., 50 cents; W. H. Schock, Plateau, Utah, \$1; total to noon, Jan 23, 853.75; previously reported, \$2.541.24; total, \$2.504.90.

The report of the organizing and lecture work being carried on by the national headquarters should stimulate every comrade to renewed activity for the Organizing Fund. The amount and extent of necessary work performed by the national office will depend upon the comrades in all parts of the country.

### National.

State Secretary Martin of Colorado reports the vote on National Commit eman for, 1904, as follows: A. H. Floaten, 292; J. Monroe Stewart, 26. A. H. Floaten is therefore re-elected.

The election of National Committee man for Alabama for 1904 resulted in The election of National Commi

teeman from Minnesota for 1904 is reported by State Secretary Holman ns follows: Thos. Lucas, 36; M. A. Brattland, 22; C. C. Talbott, 2; J. E. Nash, 54; S. M. Holman, 95. Comrade Holman is elected.

The Michigan state convention of the Socialist Party has been called to meet in Lansing, Feb. 26. The call issued by State Secretary Menton specifies that the convention will hold two sessions, the first to consider the constitution and propa-ganda, choose headquarters for the party, and such other business as may properly come before it; at the next session nominations will be made for candidates for presidential electors and state officers.

The report of the National Secretary for the year 1903 will be ready within the next two weeks. The re-port will contain, among other things, complete data as to the condition of the party organization throughout the country, receipts and expenditures of the national office, and tables showing the work of the national organing the work of the later and lecturers, with receipts, expenditures, number of meetings addressed, cities and towns visited, locals organized, etc. The standing of the different state organizations to-wards the national office on Jan. 1, 1904, will also be shown, with total ent received from each state for dues and supplies during the year. The work of preparing this report has been delayed, but when issued the party members will be made fully acquainted with all the details relating to the affairs of the national organiza-

### Lesturers, Speakers, and Organizers.

The following dates have been arranged for Franklin and Marion Wentworth for their Eastern tour; Feb. 7. Cincinnati; Feb. 0. Toledo; Feb. 10. Čleveland; Feb. 13, Balti-more; Feb. 14, Washington, D. C.; Feb. 15 and 16, Reading, Pa.; Feb. 17, 18, 19, New York City.

The lecture tour of James F. Carev. under direction of the national head-quarters, has so far been remarkably successful. The meetings at Clevelaud, Toledo, Akron, Cincinnati, O., and Covington, Ky., are reported among the best ever held at those In Cincinnati the hall was filled and the doors had to be closed comrades made application for a return date. While in Colorado, in Februnry, Comrade Carey will spend a week in the Southern coal mining district among the strikers at the exbense of the national office.

Dates are being arranged by the Naand Secretary for A. M. and May Wood Simons for their Eastern tour, to begin March 20 instead of March 24. as previously announced. The tor will probably only extend for four

The following list of speakers has been engaged for a week each by the national headquarters for the municipal campaigns in Wisconsin, especially in Milwaukee: Feb. 1, John M. Work; Feb. 7, F. E. Seeds; Feb. 14, Jas. H. Brower; Feb. 21, Max S. Hayes; Feb. Sincons: March 13, John W. Slayton; March 20, J. Mahlon Barnes; March 27, Jas. F. Carey, Charles Pergier, Bohemian Organizer, and Silvio Origo, Italian Organizer, will also spend a few days each in Milwankee D. Herron will address a special meeting and the Wisconsin comrades are making airnagements direct for the services of Eugene V. Debs, Seym

John M. Ray has been working in the northern part of Wisconsin during January, but owing to a change of plans on the part of the Wisconsin comrades, he will spend February in

John C. Chase has begun work in New Hampshire and will continue there for some time. The German and Bohemian Organ-

izers, Comrades Saltiel and Pergler, re spectively, will take the field early in Pebruary; and Italian Organizer Original reary; and Italian Organizer Origo wili begin in March.

Winfield R. Gaylord has completed his Southern tour and makes a most interesting report which will be given

## Proceedings of Quorum.

The National Quorum met at na tional headquarters, Jan. 16, with Quorum members Victor L. Berger, B. Berlyn, S. M. Reynolds, and John M. Work present. The first session was called to order by National Secretary Mailly at 10 a. m. Berlyn was made chairman for the session and W. E Clark the secretary of the meeting. Reynolds and Work, who had already instructed to complete the work which Comrade Work had be gun the day before, A subinstructed to canvass the vote of Re ferendum B. A recess was then taken or the sub-committees to prepare heir reports.

When the committees were ready to report, Berger and Berlyn reported that the vote on National Referendum B, to amend national constitution, pro-viding for proportional voting on the National Committee, that been duly canvassed and declared the result to to 5,500 for the amendment, and 2,03 against if. The report was accepted and the committee discharged.

Reynolds and Work reported tha the books of National Secretary Mailly had been thoroughly audited, found in excellent condition, and showed that ae total receipts for the year, Jan. 1. 1903, to Jan. 1, 1904, had been \$14.240.00, with total expenses of \$14, 072.55, leaving a balance of \$168.44 and that since Jan. 1 to Jan. 14, in clusive, 'he-receipts had been \$753.87 expenses, \$450.19; leaving a balance of \$303.68, a shown by bank statement and checks on hand. The Auditing Committee further reported the asset to be \$2,458.58, and liabilities, \$1 245,29, leaving a balance of \$1,213,29,

The report was accepted and commit-tee discharged.

The National Secretary then made a verbal report of some of the most important matters to be considered by

the Quorum.

Berlyn and Reynolds were chosen ns a committee to draft cell for the national convention.

The second session was called to

order at 11 a. m., Jan. 17. Reynolds presided. Berlyn and Reynolds reported the

following call for national convention: "To the Socialist Party of the United

States of America.
"Comrades:—The National Commit ee has, by referendum, designated Chicago as the place and May 1, 1904, as the date of holding the national convention of the Socialist Party of America, for the purpose of nomi-nating candidates for president and vice-president of the United States, and for the transaction of such other business as may legitimately come be

"The basis of representation in the convention shall be according to the provisions of the constitution of the Socialist Party as contained in Article X of said constitution, which is

as follows:
"The basis of representation any national convention shall be by states, each state being entitled to one delegate for every hundred members in good standing."

"The membership shall be based upon the average number of dues-paying members as shown by the books of the National Secretary for the period of December, 1903, January and February, 1904. "Alternate delegates upon the sam

basis of representation shall be elected. and such alternates shall be provided with credentials to be presented to the convention in case of inability of delegate to attend.

"Only delegates or alternates shall be entitled to vote in the convention, and they must be residents of the states or territories which they are

lected to represent. "On March 1, 1904, the National Secretary shall call for nominations of delegates and alternate delegates fro unorganized states and territories and in such unorganized states and territories the basis of representation shall be the same as provided in Article X, as above noted.

"The National Secretary shall pro vide blank credentials with duplicates for delegates and alternates for the

"The respective state secretaries shall forward to the National Secre-tary on or before April 20, 1904, dupilcates of credentials, containing name of delegates and alternates elected original credentials to be retained by the delegates and alternates and pre-

sented to the convention.
"The National Secretary shall anounce the results of election of delegat es and alternates in unorganized deutials to the same.

"The originals and duplicates of redentials of delegates and alternat n organized states and territories shall be signed by the respective officials of the state or territorial organi

"The hall and hour of assembling the convention shall be announced as on as arrangements have been com-

The report was adopted. National Committeeman Berlyn was authorized to make arrangements for the national convention, and to request Local Cook County, Ill., to as sist in doing so; such arrangements to be reported to the Quorum by Comrade Berlyn.

Moved by Berger: "In order to en sure the widest possible and intelligent discussion of party matters that will come before the next national convention of the Socialist Party, to be held in Chicago on May 1, 1904, I

"That resolutions of any description that are intended to be submitted to the national convention shall be sent to the National Secretary not later than March 20, 1904; and the Nain the regular bulletins to the Socialist

"This is not to be understood to bar the introduction of any resolution in the convention.

"That the National Quorum appoint committee of three members, the National Secretary to be one member, for the purpose of proposing such changes in the National Constitution as have been found necessary by ex-perience, but without affecting the underlying principle of state autonomy; the draft of said committee to be submitted to the committee on con-stitution that will be appointed by the

convention." Carried. Moved by Berlyn: "That, In view of the fact that the national conven-tion is to meet in Chicago May 1, the Quorum meet in Chicago on April 28

1904, at 10 a.m." Carried.

The National Secretary presented a proposition from the St. Louis "Labor" relative to the publication of the So convention in Boston. On motion of Berlyn the proposition was declined. The strike situation in Colorado was presented by National Secretary with

suggestion that someone be sent to the ld at once. Moved by Work: That John W. Slayton of New Castle, Fa., pe requested to act as National Organ-zer in Colorado and placed at the disposal of the State Committee of that state. Carried.

A letter was read from Comrade Goebel, suggesting that a leaflet or militarism be prepared for distribu tion; and also relative to a new coin card for use in getting contribution to the Organizing Fund. Adopted Berger moved: That Ben Hanford be requested to prepare a leaflet on mili-tarism and its relation to the resist ance of labor to the aggression of capital. Carried.

The third session was called to order at 10 a. m., Jan. 18, Work elected chairman. The National Secretary read letters

elative to the status of the organization in Idaho. Berlyn moved: That the National

Secretary be instructed to communi-cate with Connade L. E. Workman of Boise, Idallo; that he be recognized as State Secretary de facto until a state referendum can be taken of all the locals of the state, including those locals who have sent their dues to the national office: that forty-five days shall be allowed to vote upon such referendum to give ample time and obviate the possibility of future pro-test; and that the officers elected un-der such referendum shaft be recognized as the regular state organization.' Carried.

The National Secretary reported the esult of the referendum to hold a state convention to form a state or ganization in Maryland. Berger mov-ed: That as an insufficient number of cals had acted in the referendum of locals in Maryland for a state organization, the referendum be declared in

alid. Carried.

The National Secretary submitted a report of the referendum taken of the locals in Wyoming to form a state or-ganization. Reynolds moved: That in view of the result of referendum of the locals in Wyoming for a state or ganization not deciding upon a specific date for the convention, the Quorum select June 19 as the date on which said convention shall be held. Carried.

A telegram was received from J. W Slayton "necepting appointment to go at once to Colorado. The question was raised by Work as to whether or not the rules recently adopted by the National Committee applied to Esturers who had already worked under the direction of the national office. Moved the selection of speakers and organizers for the reserve list are not retreactive and cannot be construed to apply to lecturers and organizers who have niready been appointed by the National Committee to act as such. nor to anyone selected to do specific work as lecturer or organizer, unless there is a protest in any case. Car-

The National Secretary presented letters relative to the appointment of B. Feigenbaum as Jewish organizer. It was veted that he be appointed. A proposition was read from Comrade Feigenbaum relative to preparing Jew-ish leaflets, and the National Secretary was instructed to carry on negotiations with Feigenbaum for the pur

the advisability of making some rule relative to the payment of dues. Mov-ed by Reynolds: That beginning Feb. 1, all orders for due stamps from all ources shall be accompanied by remirtance to pay for same. Carried.

The National Secretary presented the following statement relative to the

location of national headquarters: "After a year's experience, I am compelled to state that Omaha does not offer the proper advantages nec-essary for conducting the growing work of the national headquarters. The facilities for securing printing on short notice are very limited. The National Committee has already ordered leaflets printed in several languages Some of this printing will have to be sent to other cities because there are no offices in Omnha for doing such work. In addition to this it will be necessary for the national office to isme considerable literature in foreign languages during the pext national

campaign.

The mail facilities are extremely poor. Owing to peculiar geographical conditions and as a result of washouts, Omaha was almost entirely cut off from the outside world at three different times last summer, blocking all work of the office for two or three In the work of routing ers and organizers, good mail facilities

are of the greatest importance. "In view of the approaching national campaign and the necessity of havnig the national headquarters situated so that the work can be conducted with expedition and with as little interruption as possible, I believe it is cal organization that a better adapted for the purpo should be selected as the location of national headquarters."

Moved by Berger: That in view statement submitted by National Sec etary, a call be issued to the National Committee for nominations for na tional headquarters, nominations to lese three weeks from date of call, the vote upon selection of hendquart-ers to close three weeks after close of nominations. Carried.

The National Secretary reported that the work of the office had gro-to such proportions as to make it n essary to secure additional help. He was empowered to secure additional help at a salary not to exceed \$15 per

week.

Moved by Reynolds: That renewed attention be called to the organizing fund, with an especial view
to securing assistance for organizing among the foreign-speaking popula-tion: and that the National Secretary be authorized to prepare the call. Ca

Adjourned to meet in Chicago

## New York State.

The Social Democrats of Yonke ties. The local papers refuse even to print the bare announcements of their public meetings and everything is done to prejudice the public mind against Socialism. Lectures are being held as often as possible at Grant Hall, 20 Warburton avenue. On Sun-day, Jan. 21, at 3 p. m., J. C. Frost

Do the Political Parties Really Repre sent?" On Feb. 21, at the same hour Algernon Lee will speak on "Prosper ity hid Hard Times." Admission is Admission h free and questions and discussion are At the meeting of the State Com-

mittee on Jan. 26 the vote on the stat

referendum was canvassed and show

ed the following result on the two

principal clauses: proposed Section 2, for, 405; against, 698; proposed Section 3, for, 692; against, 766. The vote of Local Richmond, 21 against, was re-ceived too late to be counted. The vote on the national referendum to give National Committeemen voting power proportionate to membership of the states which they represent was also canvassed and showed following result: Local New York, yes, 387, no. 26 Corning, yes, 9; Utica, yes, 9; Sparrowbush, yes, 16; Oneida, yes, 5; New Rochelle, yes, 97; Fort Edward, yes, 7; Peckskill, ves. 20: Port Chester, ves 17, no. 1; Queens, yes, 55; Jamestown, yes, 3, no. 10; Middletown, yes, 8, no. ; Rochester, yes, 111; Johnstown, yes, 8; Watertown, yes, 20; Albany, yes, 13; Syracuse, yes, 19; Gloversville, yes, 8; no, 1; Kings, yes, 108, no, 18; Richmond, yes, 10. State Secretary Slo bodin made a report of the condition of the state organization and same was approved and ordered published. Slobodin was instructed to hire a tem porary assistant, and was instructed to engage John C. Chase for one year if he will accept. It was decided regard to the election of delegates to the national convention: 1. That New York State shall send the full num ber of delegates to which it is entitled .2 The State Secretary is instructed to call for the election of delegates and alternates by each county (or, in the case of countles where the organization is small, by a division consisting of two or more counties) in proportion to their membership; 3. The expenses of delegates elected by counties must, be paid by the counties electing them; 4. If any counties fail to elect the number of delegates apportioned to them the State Committee shall elect and pay the expenses of delegates enough to complete the full number which the membership of New York State entitles it to: 5. A delegate-utlarge shall be elected by the State Committee. A motion was passed that Leonard D. Abbott and Herman Reich be notified to appear at the next meeting and give reasons why their seats should not be declared vacant for nonattendance. Comrade Reich afterwards appeared and promised to at-tend more regularly in future. It was decided to issue a challenge to D. M. Parry, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, and Cour-tenay Lemon was instructed to draw

### New York City.

The General Committee of Local New York meets at the W. E. A. club-house, 20 E. Eighty-sixth street, Saturdny evening, Jan. 30.

The Executive Committee of Local New York decided to hold a mass meeting in Cooper Union this week about the Colorado butrages, but, as the hall could not be had, the meeting

was postponed. Courtenay Lemon will speak at Co lonall Hall this Sunday on "To We Need the Capitalist?" instead of on "The Socialist View of the State" as originally announced.

All members of the West Side Socialist Club are requested to be pres-ent at the next meeting, Friday, Jan. 29. A change in the by-laws has been proposed and will be acted upon at this meeting.

The City Records for the West Side districts can be had by applying to E. M. Martin, Organizer of the West Side Agitation Committee, at the club nectings on Friday night in Clark's Hail.

The Borough meeting of Local Kings County was held at the Brook-lyn Labor Lyceum on Jan. 21.. Or-ganizer Atkinson reported that the local was never in better shape financially and that the membership was active. Financial Secretary Butsche reported that the total assets of the ocal amounted to \$417.78, with no liabilities. The assembly district branches were urged to use their utmost endeavers to follow the plan outlined by the County Committee for visiting the emolled Socialist voters and getting them into the party. The organizer was directed to organize those assem bly districts which were as yet unor-ganized. Warren Atkinson was nomanized. Warren Atkinson was nom nated for organizer. He accepted with the understanding that later in the year he would probably ask to be relieved of the position, as, in his opin-ion, it would become necessary to have a paid man who could devote all his time to the duties. The County Committee was instructed to call a Borough meeting some time in Feb the question of the number of dele-gates to be sent to the national con-

vention and making nominations for the same, also to make recommenda-tions as to the number of delegates it would be advisable to send. At the last meeting of the 8th A. D. four new members were accepted Weinstein was elected organizer, Ph Lane, Recording Secretary, and N. Freiberg, Financial Secretary, Comrades Lane, and B. Weinstein, delegates to the General Committee. It as decided to send out letters to all district inviting them to join the party. The organizer was instructed to arrange agitation meetings and a committee was elected to arrange lectures for every Friday. The regular peetings of the district are held evers Thursday evening at the clubrooms of the Social Democratic Educational Thursday evening at the cluorooms of the Social Democratic Educational Club, 280 Broome street. All the com-rades who reside in the district are equested to attend.

Tweifth Ward Branch of Jersey City has elected the following officers: Organizer, Hirsin Winterich; Recording and Corresponding Secretary Henry Meyer; Financial Secretary rFed Niebuhr; Treasurer, Antoine Kamps, Literature Agent, Fred Dal linger; Delegates to County Commit-tee: Christ. Barthelmes, Hiram Win-terich and Carl Kronenberg; Delegates to City Committee: Fred Niebuhr, Hiram Winterich and Florence Grei-

# FACSIMILE OF TICKET!



Hauenstein; Delegate to Club House, Emil Teutschenbach.

Geo. D. Herron will speak at Wood's Building, 118-120 Market Wood's Building, 118-120 Market street, Newark, Monday Feb. 8, 8, p. m., under the auspices of Branch Sev-en, on the topic: "Socialism and Life." Rev. Wm. H. Wise, of Colorado, will A propaganda meeting of Branch ive will be held Friday night, Jan.

speak in the same hall Feb. 22, 8 p. m. 29, at the home of Comrade Strobell Clinton avenue, Newark, at which J A. Edgerton, formerly of Denver, Col. and now of East Orange, will speak on "Race Consciousness." Branch Seven, Local Essex, held

mass meeting to protest again. 'he recent arrest of John Turner, Moncay night, in the large hall of the Wood's Building, Newark, that packed the hall to overflowing. The meeting was specially honored by the presence of some fifteen men, without counting the Chief and Captains of police, the reason of their presence being an ar-ticle in a daily paper calling attention to the meeting and bringing to mind that a similar meeting was stopped in out according to program, and the comrades are now smiling at the fact that so many good Democrats and Re-publicans were compelled to listen to facts they probably never heard be fore, each of them being also present ed with suitable literature. Contrad: Goebel presided, Addresses were made by Bolton Hall, E. D. Pleydell, Peter E. Burrowes and H. R. Kearns, arous-ing much enthuslasm. About sixty books were sold, 300 party papers given away, a number of subscriptions taken, a collection taken that almost paid expenses of meeting, and \$7.19 contributed, to be sent to Turner to aid him in supporting his family while in confinement for the sake of free speech.

Local Essex County met on Sunday Jan. 17, at headquarters. There was considerable discussion as to renting new headquarters, and the opinion seemed to be that for the present is was not advisable to spend mount of money that a suitable place would cost. The following officer were elected: Organizer, Comrade Ha badank; Secretary, Comrade Roubl-now; Financial Secretary, Comrade Woodruff; Treasurer, Comrade Rau Woodruff: Trensurer, Comrade Rau Comrades James, Billings, Killenbeck Von Denstinen, and Haeppner were nominated for delegates to the State Committee, election to be by general vote. The following committee was elected to make arrangements for the state convention: Comrades Wehrle Roubinow, Goebel, Woodruff and Von

Denstinen. At the mask and civic ball of the Hudson County Socialist Fife and Drum Corps, held Jan. 16 at Central Hall, Jersey City, Major Leo Scho of the Kings County Socialist Fife and Drum Corps, which has disband-ed, presented the baton owned by that corps to Major Joe Gilliar of the son County Socialist Fife and Drum

Fredrick Krafft will lecture on "The Life and Times of Thomas Paine" in the lecture hall of the Socialist Party, 375 Central avenue, Jersey City, on Sunday evening, Jan. 31.

## Massachusotts.

The Board of Directors of the So Educational Association met Jan. 21 at 330 Shaumut avenue. Ros ton. Directors present: Comrades Spero, Konikow, Hall, Koehler, Wolffer, Bracket and Keefe. Communica tion from Comrade Hopp in regard to producing his play for benefit of "New Liberator" Fund received and voted to thank Comrade Hopp and request him to visit unions to ruise funds for "Nev Liberator" report progress. Communieation from Hyde Park received and placed on file. A special vote of thanks was voted to Brewers' union for their gift of \$50. Committee on entertainment reported progress. Let-ter to locals in New England for the purpose of receiving funds accepted as read; voted to print 250 circular let-ters and 1,000 subscription lists. Vot-ed that each member of Board of Directors present a letter at next meet ing and one selected as an individua appeal to members of the party for funds for the paper. Voted that Entertainment Committee have full pow-er to make any arrangement possible toward a ball and entertainment. Treasurer instructed to procure clip-pings on Comrade F. C. McCartney's death per \$3. A special meeting of the Social Educational Association is called for on Jan. 30 at 699 Washington street. Boston. Voted that sug restion be made to association to form Voted to ask asse clation to amend Art. 14 of by-laws t a quorum and that two new directors be elected.

## THE SOIL WHENCE ART GROWS.

I know that no worthy popular ar can grow out of any other soil than this of freedom and mutual respect. I feel sure both that this opportunity will be given to art and also that it will avail itself of it, and that, once again, nothing that is made by man will be ugly, but will have its one form, and its one ornament, will tell the tale of its making and the tale of its use even when it tells no other tale and this because when people once more take pleasure in their work, when the pleasure rises to a certain point, the expression of it will become irresistible, and that expression of

# COLORADO.

(Continued from page 1.)

on Sunday night. He has spent about

These are "strenuous" times in Colo ado. Many of our Socialist comrade have suffered imprisonment or de portation from their homes by the militia, and our fine local at Telluride has been almost annihilated by those uniformed bandits. But wherever our deported comrades go, they go as pro-pagandists of the Socialist Party program, and are the most outspoken of all its advocates.

Comrade Guy E. Miller, President of the Telluride Miners' Union, who is an exile from his home, has been inspiring the Denver comrades by his presence and his words during the

### Prosecution Fails.

The union men and Socialists who have been on trial at Georgetown for blowing up the Sun and Moon property at Idaho Springs have been ac quitted, the testimony showing that the detectives employed by the Citizens' Alliance blew up the property to make a case and break up the

### LECTURE CALENDAR

FOR NEW YORK

Lectures for the week under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party and auxiliary organizations whether by Socialist or non-Socialist speakers, and by Socialist speakers before other organizations, are listed be-low. Unless otherwise stated, lectures are called for 8 p. m., and admis is free.

FRIDAY, JAN. 20.

West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall northwest corner Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, second floor. Dr. G. Fish Chrk: "The Influence of the Trusts on Social Evolution."

Mt. Morris Educational Club, 134 East 110th street. Mrs. Bertha M. Fraser: "The Tragedy of the Machine."

SUNDAY, JAN. 31. Colonial Hall, 101st street, near Co unbus avenue. Courtenay Lemon: "Do We Need the Capitalist." Socialist Literary Society, 232 East

Broadway. N. I. Stone: "The Trusts in the Light of Latest Developments." FRIDAY, FEB. 5. West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall, northwest corner Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, second floor. George D. Herron: "Socialism

and Life." SUNDAY, FEB. 7.

Ladies' Circle of the Voice of Labor, 217 Henry street. Algernon Lee: "The Socialist Ideal, in Battle and in Triumph."

# THURSDAY, JAN. 28.

Open meeting of Eureka Lodge, I. A. of M., 101 Grand street. Algernon Lee will speak. FRIDAY, JAN. 29.

Wm. Morris Educational Society of Brownsville, Tobac's Hall, corner Thatford and Pitkin avenues, 8.30 p m. Debate on the economic interpre-tation of history in which L. B. Boudin will defend the Socialist position igninst the negative of Michael Cohn SUNDAY, JAN. 31.

## street. Adolph Benevy: "Aristocracy and Democracy as Mental States." Buffalo Hall, Buffalo avenue and Fulton street. C. L. Furman. DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS.

Wurzler's Hall, 315 Washington

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., Jan. 21. to-day adopted a resolution urging the election of United States Senators by

Absurdly reactionary as is the present method of electing Senators, may be doubted whether the propos change would do goo, until the nemen awaken to their class interests more than they get here. The House of Representatives is so thoroughly satisfactory to capitalists interests that the difference between it and the Senate is about that between tweedle-dem' and tweedle-dee.

## CAPITAL IS SO "TIMID."

"Do you think the Trusts have any ight to exist?" "My dear sir," answered Senator Sorghum, "there is no use in talking about that now. In my opinion the judicious and proper way to handle the Trusts is to avoid doing anything that might irritate them." Washington Star.

-The Arm and Torch is the en blers of Socialism on the official ballo n New York.

-Japan will not purchase any canned meats in case she goes to was with Russia, the announcement being made that the Japanese army will subsist on rice and dried fish. This being the case, we cry out on behalf of progress and humanity to have the war stopped.—The Chicago Record-Heraid.

-Socialist and Social Democratic are virtually interchangeable terms The Social Democratic Party of New York and Visconsin is identical with the Socialist Party of other states. It is the party of the working class against all parties of capitalism. Its emblem in New York is the Arm and Torch.

# Hawk and Handsaw Tales.

TOLD BY BEN HANFORD.

The trusts reign, and the Government at Washington still lives.

"Buying labor votes is very much like buying jack rabbits on the plains, cannot often make de The seller Now, isn't that a shame! But it's lands? true.

John D. Rockefeller says he cats "a great deal of cheese," and finds it

agrees with him.

That settles it. There's going to be Standard Cheese Trust. Either that or cheese is to be a by-product of the Standard Oil Company.

The last Congress appropriated \$500,000 for the use of the Attorney-General of the United States in the enforcement of the Anti-Trust law. Now the Attorney-General reports that he has used \$25,985 of the half-million. baving in handsa balance of \$474,015 unused. The proportions between these two sums, no doubt, correctly epresents the pro-trust and the antitrust sentiments of the powers that be in our Federal Government.

But suppose there had been some blg strikes on hand, and the Govern-ment had \$500,000 with which to break up labor trusts. How much would now be left? You workingmen who remember Pullman and Cour de Alene can find the answer and drop it in the ballot box on the 8th day of next November.

One thing Attorney-General Knox deserves credit for. That \$500,000 to fight the trusts with has been subject his order since February 25, 1903. He should certainly be given a vote of thanks for his lynx-eyed vigilance in not allowing the trusts to take it away from him.

### President Roosevelt May "Expose" Anarchy. So Watch Out.

Regarding the efforts of the Federal lovernment to deport John Turner, I am told that President Roosevelt's activity in the case is not because Turner is a trade union organizer, but for the reason that the Englishman is an Anarchist. This, I understand, he not only admits, but asserts. But if the President is opposed to the doc-trines of Anarchism, why does he not wherein that doctrine is wrong? All know Mr. Roosevelt to be scholar, a publicist, a controversialist and an orator-he himself, while his

eative modesty might not permit him to say so openly, knows deep down in the distant bottom of his lofty intel-lectuals, that he is without a peer (past, present or future) in any these fields. If the President's desire deport Turner is based on the fact that the latter is an Anarchist, he could deal with him more effectively than through the Immigration Bureau. Let the President write a book to mere pamphlet would do) showing the fal lacy of the Anarchist theory, and there rill be no more Anarchy. Better still, let him make a speech denouncing Anarchy, and blasted by the breath of his invincible rhetoric Anarchy would cease to be. He need not even hire : hall. The railroad companies would furnish a hall, free of charge, and take him to and from Washington on a special train, also free of charge This they would do from motives of patriotism, and not from any subterranean desire for sordid financial gain The depletion of their own pockets for the benefit of their country is an attribute inseparable from the owners of railways, and their passionate liberality in this regard drives them ever nearer to the closed doors of the

poor house. I believe that a fair statement of Mr. Turner's idea would be that "The coercive government of man by man is bad." As society now uses those terms, he believes that government and law are unnecessary.

# The President at Cooper Union.

If Redoubtable Roosevelt, in Cooper Union for instance, would take up Mr. Turner's arguments in favor of Anarchy, he could easily snatch the foundation right out from under him, and leave poor Turner (and all other Anarchists) suspended there in midir-certainly better and easier than deportation. Besides, it would be con-stitutional. Following is a poor suggestion as to the probable nature of the President's argument:

No Government? Pray, how can ernment to empower preacher and aldermen to perform the ceremony? If there be no marriages, how shall people be born? No Government? Where shall you get a burial serial when you are dead, if not from the Government? The most casual glance will show any man that he could not be born, or married, or die and be buried without Government, No Government? Tell me, good

people, who can license our gin-mills If there be no Government. Who shall levy blackmail on those who keep gin-mills, if there be no gin-mills?

No Government? No police to club our strikers? No militin to sheet strikers? No judges to enjoin strikers? No Federal army to bull-penstrikers?

No Government? Why, men, do you not know that save for the power of Government all you poor recople would even now be robbing each other of what you haven't got? What would you good people do if there were no Government to keep you orderly and 

If there be no Government, pray tell me who would catch the little thief, and who would send the big thief to the United States Senate?

No Government, my dear friends, would mean no army, and if there be no army, pray what shall we do with our embalmed beef, and what shall become of the sallcylic acid industry Deprive men of their Government-given right to make salicylic acid, and what becomes of their children? Give pause for a moment, you men who believe in no Government, and let the bowels of your compassion be moved as you hear the babies cry for salicyllo

No Government? Let me ask you candidly, ...en, how can we proceed with the glorious and patriotic work of Benevolent Assimilation (with a rifle), if there be no Government? Who shall administer the sacred ceremonies of the water-cure, and who but Government would bury a hog in the Mohammedan's grave?

steal our Government lands, if there be no Government

What Congressman shall get rich supplying government gloves and gaunts to the army, if there be noarmy?

No Government to grant public frauchises to private persons? Pray, what shall become of lobbyists, who are too strong to work and too honest to rob anybody except everybody? No Government customs inspector of

and distinguished citizens reap the precious fruits of smuggling, and perjure their most Christian sonis swearing off the assessments on their ersonal property? If there be no Government, tell me

tax assessor? Pray, how shall our rich

who would buy our Senators, corrupt our Congressmen, debauch our Judges, suborn our Legislators and bribe our Aldermen?

Government More Necessary Than Bread

These things, my friends, are not luxuries—they are customs which have become necessities. A moment's reflection will show you that from a time before you are born till after you are dead and buried you are surrounded by and impaled upon Government through every moment and in every act of life. Without Government so ciety would totter to its fall and you

and I-I in particular-could not exist. Having delivered himself in a manner of which the above is a weak sug gestion, President Roosevelt might challenge any Anarchist present to show a flaw in his argument, and pause for a reply.

### The President Could Deport Those Who Differ. It is hardly possible that one could

be found to dispute with him, but if any one did so, the President could tell him, "Sir, you are drunk!" or he might call him a flar and have the police (the Government) remove him from the hall. Perhaps he might get Secretary of Commerce and Labor Cortelyou to come along armed with a few blank warrants of arrest, and if any one expressed the slightest dis-approval of the President's address, these blank warrants could be filled out and served, and the offender taken to Ellis Island at once and there placed in a cage alongside of John Turner. There would be no need to ascertain whether or not the despicable culprit had resided three years in this free country, as all the proceed-ings would be in secret and the fel-low would be judged by the same minn who issued the warrant of arrest or by his appointees. Besides, he'd

be only an Anarchist, anyhow. Having paused for a reply to hit. speech, and having taken the steps necessary for the deportation of any man who might make a reply. I think I can see Mr. Roosevelt adjourn the eeting in a few modest and well-

chosen words about as follows: Roosevelts' Aggressive Modesty.

Now, my fellow countrymen, I wish to thank you for your attendance here to-night. I came here at great per-sonal sacrifice and expense (to the railway companies), but I did so entirely from a high sense of patriotism such as only I can feel. There will be no more Anarchy in this world. When I speak, the world is my forum. Even now the words of almost more than mortal wisdom which you have had the honor to hear from me to night are traversing the earth by cable and telegraph and telephone, and it is al-most a sin for one whose words are so precious as mine to waste them in telling you that my oration here will as surely remove Anarchy from the face of the earth as my presence at San Juan swept the Spaniard from the free soil of North America. But that is neither here per there. In conclusion if you will pardon me, just a personal word. With those who were Anarchsis (now so no more, thanks to my self). I am free to admit that other Governments than mine may have had their faults. Lycurgus and Solon, Pericles and Hannibal and Ceesar, Elizabeth and Napoleon and Peter the Great, even Washington, alas! all these, I fear me, greatly had their faults. But not so with me None of these had the aid of Cortel on. My Government is all that it hould be. No just criticism can be directed against it. My Government is perfect, if anything too perfect— and if I don't get votes enough next November it will be past perfect.

We must watch the papers for an-nouncements and make sure to hear the President when he makes this speech.

Great interest is being mank fested throughout the country in the preparation-being made for the Grand Labor Industrial Exposition which takes place at Grand Central Palace, New York, this coming spring. The committee which is in charge of the outside dis-tribution of tickets reports that it has already received resultances for quite a number of tickets sent out. arraging letters generally accompany the remittances. A comrade (baker) in Massachusetts writes that since the local union of which he was a men ber, has disbanded, he considers it his per-sonal duty to dispose of the twenty tickets sent him. Another comrade writes that his union unanious cided to buy the tickets sent rightly considering an exposition of this kind deserving of the support of every union in the land. It is dently expected that every union which has received tickets will act as this one did. All tickets take part in a general distribution of prizes, rades who are members of trade unions are requested to do all in their power to induce their organizations to necept the tickets.

- Workers by the million undergo process of slow but certain destruca process of saw but certain destruc-tion in unsanitary workshops, or in dangerous or anhealthy occupations, many of which are quite unnecessary for the needs of a properly organ's d community.—Alfred Russell Wallace.