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OUR INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM.

Pictures of Actual Life Among the Textile Mill Work ers of New England.

Written for The Worker by Gustavus Myers.

FIRST ARTICLE.

CHICOPEE FALLS, Mass., Nov. 29. -Literally within a few rods of the old homestead where Edward Bellamy wrote "Equality" a state of modern industrial feudalism subsists. Lack-ing all the advantages of medieval feudalism, it has most of its disadvantages. The lords of old who exploited their vassals were at least bound by a crude code of honor, by self-interest and by custom, to protect them, and they could not afford to be entirely callous to the well-being of the lowly swarms about their castles. It was feudalism representative of the insti-tutions of the times, neither isolated to one community nor incubated by artificial means. Slow in growth, it lasted for ages, for it served its dis-tinct purpose, and when that purpose d it passed too.

Here, in many of the mill towns of New England, the ancient feudalism of Europe has been transplanted, and while the good features, suitable to by-gone centuries, have been elimin-ated, the worst, serving the profit-seeking ends of modern industry. have been ingeniously preserved and improved upon. In looking over conditions here one recognizes without difficulty the renascent development of the old-world feudalism, but it is a development strictly in obedience to the mandates of the powerful indus-ial magnates, a development whose structure is founded neither upon the

spirit of the age nor the necessities of reciprocal service and protection, but purely upon the relentless aim to wring profit from buman flesh. It is, however, a contradiction to say that this newer branch of feudalism is altogether unrepresentative of the spirit of the age. The exploietation of human beings for base ends of profit is so dominantly the spirit of the age that the creators and sponsors of this feudalism can find for it a similar appropriate modern justification. Yet elaborate justifications need not be cought for. The revision to a system long since thought to have been forever abolished needs no explanatory gument. It is business; and all

Day and Night Profits.

It may seem an extraordinary an-oundly that a system is in force where by absentee industrial magnates are enabled to grind profit out of human fiesh twenty-four hours to the day. But resolved out, it ceases to be an Once the sole motive is profit it is but a natural sequence that the magnate, wherever he can, will push the plan to its limitations. Ten hours, in the mills will viola hours in the mills will yield a good profit, but the employee-man, woman and child-is capable of greater possibilities. And so the corporation has builded its houses wherein human beings are herded in shambles and the work in the mills before, as a rule, he is in his corporation owned tenement, for the rent of which a great part of his wretched wages goes. Working or sleeping, his mortal frame is constant-ly a source of profit to the mill-owners.

The cotton mills at Chicopee Falls are owned by the Chicopee Manufac-turing Company. The stock of this company is said to be held by a few Boston families, and I shall presently describe what is said to be a deliberate plan by which the large stockholders plan by which the large stockholders laboring part of which, as a rule, work have traded upon the hunger and the poverty of thousands of human beings in order to depreciate the value of the stock, drive out the small stockholdton goods are made flannels and blankets. The trade is largely one of export to China. The company em-ploys about 1,500 men, women and children. Occasionally some of the stockholders make a hasty visit here and return to Boston complacently satisfied. The real management of the mills is entrusted to a superintendent and to an agent. Until recently these two functionaries lived in rather pretentious houses, owned by the co pany, on a slight hill overlooking the rows of corporation tenements, butquite fastidious enough and so they moved.

Lords of Land and Water.

The Chicopee Manufacturing Com-pany is essentially a feudalistic indus-trial concern. It has prior rights, granted long ago by the state, to the use of the water of the Chicopee River. Jost of the water is diverted by means of a dam and a canal to its use and t the use of the Dwight Manufacturing Company (which is largely owned by the same interests) at Chicopee. The mills on the other side of the river have to be satisfied with the scanty surplus of water that happens to escape the maw of the camel.

The Chicopee Manufacturing Com-

pany owns the greater portion of the town of Chicopee Falls. It owns at least 135 tenements. These are noth ing more or less than mouldy, disrepu-table-looking two and three story plain brick houses, without the slightest adornment, built half a century or so ago. The land doubtless cost the company nothing, or at least a triding sum were the days when industrial as often received gifts of land ses were built to accomodate one family and no more; when they were built American labor was almost exclusively employed in the mills. Now some of these little houses are pressed to contain twenty-five families

does not hold at least fifty persons They are euphemistically called "tene ments"—each floor being a tenement-

ments"—each floor being a tenement— and there they stretch from the very gates of the mills, block after block of them, ugly, worn, congested, full of poverty and disease.

The Tenement System. It is an inexorable rule of the company that no one who does not work in the mills can rent its tenements; an employee who quits work must instantly leave his tenement. The underlying reason for this rule is said to be to prevent strikes. Another stand-ing rule of the company is that every family must have at least three members employed in the mills. Otherwise they cannot get employment, The reason for this rule is said to be the insistence of the company upon the certainty of getting its rents. All rents are deducted from the wages before the wages ever reach the employee's hands. The system in force is to rent ments to a certain tenant, called the "boss" of the house. He is held re-sponsible for the general well-being of the house, but the rents, as has been said, are deducted by the company itself from the employee's wages.

"The Good Old Times."

When the company's houses were first built, the American labor in the mills was well paid compared to present wages. The skilled adult made \$1.50 a day and a house could be rentyears ago a company here started to make bicycles, and as those were flourishing times for that article, labor was needed badly, and high wages were held out. Most of the American and Irish laborers in the cotton mills transferred their labor to the bicycle mills. The Chicopee Manufacturing Company thereupon took advantage of this movement to import cheap labor. French Canadians were brought down and the company's agents scoured Poland. One hundred Polish families were coaxed over and their expenses paid, with the contract that the sums advanced were to be deducted gradual-

ly from their wages. The French Canadians were somewhat intelligent and soon learned how to do the work. The "Polanders" were ignorant and slow. The company instituted a sys-tem, which it has adhered to, of making them work for three or four weeks before giving them wages. Each Po-lish family had its relatives or friends whom it desired to bring over; and often a Pole would be compelled to, pay one of the factory bosses \$10 or \$15 for guaranteeing a relative work when he arrived here. It is to the credit of the company, that when it discovered this scheme of taking advantage of the Poles, it took away from the petty bosses the power they had held, centered it in the hands of the superintendent and stopped this

petty extortion. The influx of French Canadians and Poles has increased to such an extent that they have about totally supplant-ed all other nationalities in the cotton mills. Out of a total population of 24,000 there are now about 3,000 Poles ("Polanders" they are called here) and 4,000 French Canadians in Chicopee Fails. The balance of the population is made up of Irish and Americans, the

Both the Poles and the French Canadians were compelled to accept the ers, and concentrate the stock in their same rate of wages. Both have a low Canadians are somewhat superior to the Poles, if fine degrees can be drawn; With this inrush of cheap labor wages have gone down steadily. The same grade of work that used to pay \$9 a week now pays \$5 a week for a full week's work of fifty-eight hours-that being the maximum number of bours a week according to state law.

Law Constantly Violated. Child labor is exploited here, as is

every other possible resource of ex-ploitation. Under the state laws, chil-dren under 14 years of age are prohibited from working in factories; but it is clear, from the testimony of well-informed observers, that this law is constantly violated and that of the hundreds of children employed in the cotton mills here and in Chicopee, a considerable proportion are clearly un-der age. The children get, on an aver-

While wages have gone down in ten years, the cost of living, as accurately as could be ascertained, has increas about forty per cent. First of all, rents are higher. Where ten years ago a tenement of three or four rooms could be rented for say \$5 a month, the average rental now is from \$6.50 to \$7 a month. Every vacancy is made the pretext for an increase of rent to the new tenant; up goes the rental 50 cents on each of these occasions. Ten cents on each of these occasions. Ten years ago beefsteak could be bought for 9 cents a pound; it now costs 23 for 9 cents a pound. Bread is dearer, for though the price is the same a smaller loaf is sold. Vegetables and groceries are about 8 or 9 per cent higher. The price of clothing has increased, espe-cially in Chicopee Falls, 75 or 80 per cent in ten years. A pair of shoes that in 1894 could be bought for \$2 now cost \$3. Coal sold for \$5 a ton eight or nine years ago; at the present time, even before the dead of winter has set in, the price is \$7.25 a ton. In brief,

(Continued on page 3.)

SOCIALIST VOTE.

Official Returns from Several More States.

Full Result Cannot Be Accurately Known for Some Weeks Yet-States Report ing Quadrupled Vote in Four Years.

The following table shows the vote or the Socialist Party in those states from which we have official reports for the election of 1904, with comparison for 1900 and 1902:

1	States.	1900,	1902.	190
١	Alabama	*928	2.312	58
١	Arkansas	27		1.81
1	California	7,572	9,592	29,53
ł	Connecticut	1,741	2,857	4.5
١	Delaware	57		14
J	Florida	600		2,3
	Illinois	9,687	20,107	60,23
1	Indiana	2,374	7.134	12.01
17.7	lowa	2.742	6,360	14.8
1	Kansas	1,005	4,078	15,41
i	Louisiana			91
4	Maine	878	1,974	2,10
	Maryland	908		2,17
	Massachusetts	9,716	33,629	12,9
	Mississippi			111
	Missouri	6,128	5,335	13,00
١	Nebraska	823	3.157	7,38
	New Hampshire.	790	1,057	1,05
	New Jersey	4,000	5,491	9,5
	North Carolina			1:
	Ohio	4,847	14,270	36,1:
	Oklahoma	815	1.963	4.4
	Oregon		3,532	7,6
	Pennsylvania		21,910	21,8
	Rhode Island			71
	Tennessee	410		1,4
	Texas	1.846	3.513	2.7
	Utah	717	2,927	5,7
	Vermont	371		8
	West Virgina	. 286		1.5
	Wisconsin	7 005	15.957	98 9

"The star indicates that in this state there was no state election in 1902 or that the Socialist Party did not have state ticket nor candidates in all the sional districts, so that no full count of our vote was made.

The states and territories reported above gave our party 73,431 vetes in 1900 and give us 311,782 this year.

Aside from Mississippi, Louisiana Arkansas and North Carolina, whereit there were few or no Socialist votes in 1900, the highest percentages of gains in four years were made by Kansas, 865; Nebraska, 796; Illinois, 730; Utah, 701; Ohio, 678; West Virginia, 450; Oklahoma, 445; Iowa, 441; Indiana, 406, and Pennsylvania, 352.

Maine.

AUGUSTA, Me., Dec. 3.—According to the official canvass, Debs and Han-ford, candidates of the Socialist Party, receive 2,106 votes in this state. It 1900 we had 878 and in 1902-the record was 1,974. We gain 140 per cent, in four years; for the last two years ou gain is small, only about 7 per cent.

The S. L. P. was not in the field.

The Prohibitionists have 1,510, a loss of 1,075 in four years. The Populists have 338; they had 2,487 in 1866, the last time they were on the ballot here.

Connecticut.

HARTFORD, Conn., Nov. 30.-The official canvass shows that the nation al ticket of the Socialist Party receiv ed 4.543 votes in the state. In 1900 we had 2.857. Thus we gain 161 per cent in four years and 59 per cent. in two

The S. L. P. has 575 votes, as against 00S in 1900 and 669 in 1902.

The Prohibitionists have 1,506 a against 1,617 four years ago. The Populists have 495; they were not in the field in 1900-and pretty certainly will

RALEIGH, N. C., Dec. 3.-Debs an Hanford have 124 votes in this state, according to the official canvass. Of course we actually have many more, but so many are counted. We never than elsewhere, to prevent the Socialhad any before.

The Prohibitionists have 361, as against 1,006 in 1900. The Populists have 819, as against 830 in 1900. The S. L. P. does not exist here.

Missouri.

ST. LOUIS, Dec. 6.-The Socialis Party has 13,003 votes in this state, by the official canvass. In 1900 we had 6,128 and in 1902 we fell back to 5,335. Our gain in four years is 112 per cent. 1,294 in 1900 and 969 in 1902,

Texas.

AUSTIN, Tex., Dec. 5.-The stat canvass is complete and shows 2,767 votes for Debs and Hanford. In 1900 we had 1,846; in 1902 we had 3,513. There is every reason to believe that we have lost heavily by fraud, but we cannot "go back of the returns." sidering the immense territory and th comparatively small number of party members, it is obviously impossible for us to have watchers at more than small proportion of the polling places This year, owing to the apprehension of a big Socialist vote, the Democrati ringsters were ready for any rascality But our time will come.

The S. L. P. is credited with 421 The Prohibitionists have in 1902. 4 244 we against 2.644 in 1900, and th years ago.

DES MOINES, Ia., Dec. 3,-The final official count gives us 14,847 votes fo Debs and Hanford. Two years ago we had 6,360; four years ago, 2,742. Our gain is 441 per cent. since 1900 and 133 per cent. since 1902. We win official standing, polling over 3 per cent of the total vote. Our best counties are Polk, with 1,651 votes; Scott, with 1,240; Dububue, with 847. 1,240; Duhubue, with 847; Woodbury, with 629; Monroe, with 617; Des Moines, with 615; Boone, with 599;

Wapello, with 531; and Appanoose, with 545,

Washington. TACOMA, Wash., Nov. 28.-The offi cial count shows that the Socialist Party has about 10,000 votes in this state. This is five times what we had

in 1900.

Oregon.

PORTLAND Ore Dec 1 -- We have 7,615 votes in this state, according to the official canvass. In 1900 we had 1,494 and in 1900 we had 3,532. Our gain in four years is 410 per cent, and in two years 115 per cent. We now have over 8 per cent. of the total vote. The S. L. P. is not in the field. The Prohibitionists have 3,800, as again

2,536 four years ago. The Populists have 784, as against 203 four years

Two More Counties Reported - State Canvass Not Yet Done-Our Judicial Candidates Run Ahead.

NEW YORK'S VOTE.

The canvass at Albany is not com-pleted, as we had hoped it would be, in time for us to give the results in this ssue of The Worker. From the county clerks we get official figures for two

more countles. Nindara gives us 101, as against 20 in 1900, 51 th 1902, and 251 in 1903. The S. L. P. has 45, as against 67, 40 and 68 in the other three elections,

Onondaga gives us 700. as against 336 a 1900, 367 in 1902, and 475 in 1903. The S. L. P. has 200, as against 1,000, 456, and 223 in the other three elec-

This gives a total for Debs and Hanford, in the forty-four countles report-ing, of 31,637. In these countles we had 10.355 four years ago, 19,370 two years ago, and 25,008 last year.

The S. L. P. has 7,670 in these forty four counties. It had 0,363 four years ago, 13,379 two years ago, and 8,783

As already reported our national ticket has 16.472 votes in New York County. Pendergast, for Governor, has 10,446. The lowest figure is 16,421, for Malkiel, candidate for Attorney-General. Matchett and Nugent, for Judges of the Court of Appeals, ran ahead of the ticket by over a thousand votes, getting 17,547 and 17,508 respectively. This is probably accounted for by the fusion of the two old parties in support of Cullen and Werner, both on record for their hostility to Labor. Otherwise

OUR VOTE IN COLORADO.

Spite of Deportation, Blacklisting, Fraud, and Mere Anti-Peabodyism, Socialists Hold Over Half of the Vote of 1902 and Six Times That of 1900.

DENVER, Colo., Dec. 3.-Complete figures, not official, but undoubtedly very nearly accurate, show that the national candidates of the Socialist Party received 3,918 votes. Floaten, our candidate for Governor, has 2,498. In 1900 we had 684 votes and two years ago 7,431. The S. L. P. has 303 votes for its

antional and 230 for its state ticket as against 714 in 1900 and 1,349 in

The Populist vote falls in two years from 6,403 to 789 and the Prohibition ist from 3,916 to 3,260.

The counties giving us the best vote are: Denver: 790; Delta, 369; El Paso, 240; Montrose, 220; Mesa, 200. In the strike counfies of Las Animas, San Miguel, and Teller we are credited with but 7, 50, and 62 votes respectively. Of course, a large proportion of our men had been deported or else black-listed and compelled to seek work elsewhere; but after allowing for that, 4t is certain that wholesale fraud was

While the showing for the state is not what we would have desired, it is better than some of us expected. We against us. The gains in other states will inspire us to renewed activity and Colorado will make a better rece

IN MISSISSIPPI

BILOXI, Miss., Nov. 28 -I notice in the last issue of The Worker you give "we 'uns" in old Mississippi 191 votes and say: "It is not probable that the total vote will be over 250." I am glad to report to you that you

can safely put us down now as 500 strong, as the Secretary of State re-ports 459 Socialist votes with three counties still to hear from. Taking into consideration that practically there was no campaign in this state beyond the distribution of literature I think we have done exceedingly well did not at any time predict the ing of over 350 votes in our favor.

But I loke for great changes during the next four years. Many are com ing to us and requesting information as to what Socialism really is, and many are saying, "We are with you next time." The great work now be-fore us is to make all these people who are suddenly interested in our party class-conscious voters, and not only men who will tavol beat the Republican party." men who will favor "anything to

ONE OF OUR LITTLE VICTORIES. ARKANSAS CITY, Kas.-Cowley County gave 800 votes for the Socialist Party, as against 256 two years ago, and we elect a Justice of the Peace, a Constable and a Road Master,

Socialism is disregarded by work-m mostly because they don't un-

VICTORY FOR THE OPEN SHOP.

Court Says Union Shop Contracts Are Unlawful.

Principle of "Sacredness of Contract" Thrown to the Winds When Boss Wishes to Repudiate Agreement with Workingmen-Three Republican Judges and One Damocrat Agree.

The Appellate Division of the Su preme Court of New York, Second De partment, has decided that contracts by which employers agree to employ only union workingmen are unconsti-tutional and void, and that an employer who has signed such a contract has a right to break it and a forfeit or penalty to which he has agreed cannot be collected by the union.

The case in which this decision was rendered was that of the Profective Coat Tailors' and Pressers' Union, Lo-cal 55, of the United Garment Workers, against Morris Cohn & Sons, clothtig manufacturers.

The agreement in question was be-

tween the union, the firm, and its em ployees, and prohibited the firm from employing labor not belonging to the local, and not even to employ a mem ber of the union unless he had a card signed by the business agent of the

A money penalty was provided for in this contract, and to secure the pay-ment of the penalty Morris Cohn & Sons deposited with the President of the local a promissory note. They vio-lated the agreement, and the action be-fore the court was brought to collect the amount due on the note. Judgment was obtained in the court below but the Appellate Division sets this

Justice Hirschberg (Rep.) gives the decision, which is assented to by Jus-tices Woodward (Rep.), Jenks (Dem.), and Höcker (Rep.). Justice Bartlett (Dem.) dissents, holding that the con-

tract is lawful and binding.

The decision is bailed as a great victory by Parry and all open-shop advo-cates, and with some reason. It is cer-tainly a defeat for those unions that have counted upon legal contracts, instend of counting on their own econe mic and political power, to maintain union conditions of labor.

Really the greatest importance of the decision is that it is one more of a long series of object lessons showing that, in the great majority of cases, the fudges nominated by both capitalist parties are distinctly capitalist judges and will hold contracts valid or invalid according as they are good or had for the interest of the bosses. When work-fagmen vote to put their own men on the bench it will be different, and not

STEEL WORKERS TURNED DOWN.

President Was "De-lighted" to Meet Union Officers, but Wouldn't Raise a Finger to Help Settle Their Strike.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 2.-President Shaffer and David Evans of the Amatgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Plate Workers called on President Roosevelt to-day to ask him to use his influence to induce the Steel Trust to submit to arbitration the questions at issue in the strike at Youngstown and Girard, O., which has been on for

several months.

President Roosevelt expressed himself as "de-lighted" to see the labor leaders, gave them all sorts of compliments and good wishes, and—told them he wouldn't do anything to help them. He "deeply regretted" that he could not properly do anything to bring about a settlement of the contention, being without authority or

Thus Shaffer's mission ends as dole fully as the legendary French King's march up the hill. It was to be expected. The Republican party has Shaf-fer's allegiance and 'influence' alfer's allegiance and 'influence" al-ready and it has most of the steel workers' votes. Why should the President do anything to conciliate them? They can't loosen his hold on the big stick for four more years, at least—and that is a long time, with such "ab-sent-minded beggars." The Steel Trust, on the other hand, is a power that must be respected—one of the powers behind the throne, in fact—and the President is not foolish enough, in Attorney-General Knox's phrase, needlessly to "run amuck" against it

Shaffer personally will probably get his reward for political services ren-dered. The rank and file of the steel workers may go hang—until they lear to vote for what they want instead of begging for it. That is the philosophy of capitalist politics, as illustrated in to-day's conference at the White

OUR STRONGHOLDS IN PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA. - The Socialist Party has votes this year in every county of the state. Our best counties are Allegheny, which gave us 3,438; Philadelphia, which gives 3,254; Berks 1,313; Lawrence, 1,090; Luzerne, 983 Schuylkill, 805; Mercer, 736; Erie, 729 Schuyikili, 806; Mercer, 736; Eric, 729; Carbon, 691; Lycoming, 647; West-moreland, 557; Venango, 509, and Crawford, 504. Twenty-three other counties give us over 100 votes each. There are only three counties in which There are only three counties in which the S. L. P. vote reaches that figure— Allegheny, with 616; Philadelphia, 386, and Luzerne, 100.

The Italian railway workers have call d a congress to discuss why there was not a more general participation in the gen-

A SCHOOL OF SOCIALISM.

Local New York Will Establish One.

Intended Primarily for Eductaion of Propegandists, Though Others Will Be Admitted-Between Jan. I and May 30 Courses Will Be Given in Economics, History, Philosophy, and Application of Socialism.

Realizing the need of more thorough and systematic Socialist education for our comrades, and especially for those who will go out on the street or into the meeting halls next campaign as propagandists, Local New York has decided to establish a School of Socialism to fill this want.

Last year several comrades, among them George D. Herron, Morris Hill-quit, Henry L. Slobodin, Courtenay Lemon and Algernon Lee, formed themselves into a voluntary committee for the purpose of establishing such a school, to be conducted under the direction of the Local. Much work of a preparatory character was done, but for various reasons action was indefinitely postpor It has now been decided to take the matter up for immediate action. What is to be done this season will on Δ much less claborate plan than that devised last year, but it is hoped that in another year the work can be expand-ed and made more thorough and satis-

factory.

A sub-committee of the City Execu-tive, with the assistance of some of the comrades already named, has drafted the plans for this year's work, which have been fully considered, revised and approved.

The Board of Instructors will consist of Comrades Hillquit, Lee, Slobodin, and Spargo. The school term will ex-tend from the first week in January to the last week in May. There will be one class a week, probably on Tues-day evenings—twenty one lessons in

Five courses will be given, as fol-

lows: 1. History of Socialist Thought, by Morris Hiliquit, four lectures.

2. Philosophy of Socialism, by Henry I. Slobodin, four lectures.

3. Economics of Socialism, by Al-

gernon Lee, five lectures. 4. Application of Socialism to Social Problems, by John Spargo, six lec-

tures. 5. The Future State, by Morris Hillquit, two lectures.

It is to be understood that this is not to be regarded as a mere course of propaganda lectures, but as a school in the strict sense of the word. The instructors will take great pains in preparing their courses, and it is ex-pected that those who avail themselves of the opportunity offered will realize the responsibility of pupils, will be as

prompt and regular in their attendance

as they would be at the City College, for instance, and will make an earnest effort to do such reading as may be advised by the instructors and in all ways to make the instructors' efforts It has been decided by the City Executive Committee to prepare for the next municipal campaign an official list of duly accredited speakers, the list to be chosen from among the attendants of the school. We shall need in the city campaign especially speakers who are not only familiar with the

basic principles of Socialism, but also,

and particularly, with the municipal issues involved, which Comrade Spar-go will treat in his course. The register of membership is now open and those desirous of attending the school will be required to enroll beforehand. Membership cards will be issued and admission to the classes will be strictly confined to those holding cards. A nominal fee of \$1 will be charged for the whole season. Those wishing to enroll are urged to send their names and addresses at once to the Secretary of the Board of Instructors, John Spargo, 23 Belmont Terrace,

Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y. It will be understood, of course, that admission is not limited to those intending to speak for the party. All party members will be welcome as pupils, but especially the speakers, actual or prospective, are urged by the City Executive to attend.

ANOTHER GOOD GAIN.

City Elections in Portland, Me., Brings Encouraging Growth of Socialist Vote.

PORTLAND, Me., Dec. 6.-The city election was held here yesterday. The Socialist Party polled 406 votes—an increase of 137 over our record of a year

this year we had 192. At the national election in November we came up to are inspired by this progress.

Our candidate for Mayor, Comrade Lord, is treasurer of the Central Labor m and a charter member of the Iron Molders' Union.

ANOTHER GAIN IN ENGLAND.

Our British comrades have sco nother municipal victory. In the byelections at West Ham, the candidate of the Social Democratic Federation, John Jones, was elected by a vote of 1,063 to 263 over the capitalist coalition candidate. This increases by one the list of Socialist city councillors in England. Three wards in West Ham now have a solid Socialist delegation five S. D. F. men and four of the In-dependent Labor Party.

-If you find it hard to convince your neighbor of the truths of Social-ism why not let this paper help you

"THE NATION" IS PROSPEROUS.

"The nation is passing through a | year than during the same month of period of noteworthy prosperity," says President Roosevelt in his message to Congress.

Two weeks ago the Bowery Mission in this city undertook to serve "breakfast" (bread and coffee) free to 1,000 homeless men every day till the first of April. This statement was made by those in charge: "The mission expects a heavy rush for the food offered tomorrow night, and fears that many will have to go away hungry. There is food for one thousand, however, and as long as that lasts the doors will be kept open to all." Truly, an example of noteworthy prosperity.

Last Monday it was announced that the Salvation Army would give free dinners on Christmas Day to 250,000 poor (25,000 of them in this city), and it was expected that 400,000 would apply. The hundred and fifty thousand who go away hungry can bear witness to the noteworthy prosperity of the nation.

The New York "Times" Wednesday morning said:

"Never in the history of the city's charitable institutions have there been charitable institutions have there been so many unemployed inen to care for as at present, and some surprising figures compiled by the authorities at Bellevue Hospital and at the Munici-pal Lodging House indicate an appalling situation for the winter. "The city certainly faces a serious

problem in the care of the unem-ployed this winter, said William C. York, Superintendent of the Municipal Lodging House at 39% First Avenue last night. 'According to my record there are at least 40 per cent, more idle men in the city this year than there were at this time last year.'

"Assistant Superintendent M. J. Rickard of Bellevue said last night that he had referred 700 more applicants to the Department of Public Charities during November of this

1903. " There certainly seems to be a sur-

PRICE 2 CENTS.

prising number of idle men in the city this winter,' he said. 'We took in 2,276 patients this Novemeer, which is 68 ore than during November last year. But whereas we turned about 400 over to the Department of Public Charities in November last year, we turned over 1,100 during that month this year. A' majority of these 1,100 that we had to turn away were men who were out

of work and wanted a bed,"
"Superintendent York said that for the first three-quarters of the year be had taken in 49,950 men, as compared with 35,272 last year."

What a marvellous exhibition of our noteworthy prosperity!

Every day we read of at least one or two cases in this city alone (and how many more occur that we do not hear of, it is impossible to guess) of men and women dying of actual starvation or killing themselves, after a long and vain search for work, to avoid the choice between hunger and the bitter bread of "charity."-How noteworthy, indeed, is the nation's

prosperity. Is the President, then, a liar? Or is he ignorant? No, neither. When he speaks of the nation, he does not mean the men and women who do the nation's work. HE MEANS THOSE WHO OWN THE NATION'S WEALTH. For him, THEY ARE THE NATION. So he has been trained; that is his point of view. They constitute HIS nation.

The nation of possessors does enjoy noteworthy prosperity. Its prosperity is founded on the unspeakable misery of the nation of producers. Let us have an end of sweet, false phrases and recognize the truth of these two warring nations-and decide, each of us, for which he will think and work and vote.

FAVORABLE DECISION.

For Once, a Decision on Labor's Side-Appellate Division of New York Supreme Court Holds That Contracts by Which Workman Releases Employer from Liability for Negligence Are

Void. SYRACUSE, N. Y., Nov. 26.-Justice Hiscock of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court has given an inter-esting decision in a labor case. Wonvor of the workingman. Of course, it may be overturned by a higher court, but for the present it is worth record-

Kay Johnson, an employee of the

American Express Company, had, on getting his job, signed a contract releasing the company from any and all responsibility for damages in case he should meet with accident in the per-formance of his duties to the employer. This is one of the companies that requires the signature of such an in-famous contract from all its employ-ees. Johnson was hurt, while at his work, under conditions which, had he not signed such a contract, would have made the company clearly liable under the Employers' Liability Act. He sued for damages. The Municipal Court gave a decision in his favor and awarded him damages, holding that a contract by which an employee waived rights guaranteed to him under a stat-ute intended for his protection in life and limb was illegal and void. The company appealed, and the Appellate

Division now sustains the finding of the trial purt. In his decision Justice

Hiscock says in part:

clusion that the release I reach the co from liability for his neeligent acts urgeby defendant is not valid but is contrary to public policy and to those considerations of general welfare which would be impaired and endangered by permitting em-ployees freely and without restraint and without penalty to be subjected to the dangers of negligence upon the part of their employers. The common law liability which imposes upon the employer the exercise of reasonable care and diligence for the protection of those working under him is not too onerous and I believe that a practice which swept it away would be a ter considering it, the employees rematter of public concern and detriment.

It is argued that all branches of the labor market are free and open; that the employee is entirely competent to take care f himself and need not accept work under to, and that if he does choose to it is a matter of individual interest, which concerns no one else. While this argument may perhaps be urged with some show of force as a mere denunciation of theoretical principles, I believe that if carried into actual and general practice it would draw in its train many and grave exils. For many of those coming within the class denominated employes, work is a compelling and insistent necessity which cannot long be postponed without distress. If it came about that one of these releases was the ordinary incident of employment it would lit be remembered that he gives do be demanded and accepted the same as any who gives without delay. These

eral terms that such releases are valid, we may assume that its effect upon contract of employment will likewise be general. At least it may not safely be assumed that the practice of taking such contracts, if held valid, will not be general. We must decide the question presented to us upon the the-ory that we are not adjudicating for this

may procure from their employees contracts which absolve the former from all obligations to reasonable care and prudence and subject the latter to all the risks and dangers which will flow from indifference and carelessness. Such a policy, if adopted, and resulting from increased dangers and in-juries to the lives and health of a great lass of citizens could not but be the cause

of widespread harm and a matter of gen-eral concern.

It is doubtless true that many employers would not exact such a contract and that many more, even if the same were taken, would not lessen the degree of their care for the safety of their employees; but, in considering this question upon the grounds suggested we must fairly look, not upon the narrowest limitations which might be placed upon the effects of a decision hold ing such a release valid, but rather upon the possibilities from harm therefrom to

the public. Justice Hiscock's decision is concurred in by Justices McLennan, Spring and Williams. Justice Stover dissents, holding that the contract is valid as against the employee. All the five judges are Republicans. Justice Hiscock's term continues till 1910, Justice Stover's term expires at the end of next year, his place being filled by election in the fall of 1905.

Of course the American Express Company has still a chance to carry the case to the Court of Appeals, and it is not unlikely that the decision will

be reversed. AN APPEAL FOR AID.

Boys and Girls on Strike Against Shameful Exploitation - Who Will

A strike that throws particular light on the shocking conditions that exist under capitalism is that of the Paper Box Makers' Union against the firm of

Cohen Bros., 84 Bowery. About 250 boys and About 250 boys and girls, a large proportion of them not more than fourteen or fifteen years old, have been would justify us in calling the affair a lockout rather than a strike. The firm notified the employees of a reduction their already miserable wages. A plied that they would accept the cut if the firm would recognize their union, so that they might have some safeguard against ill-treatment and arbitrary discharge. On learning that they had had the audacity to join a union, had had the audacity to join a union, the bosses refused to take them back at all.

Before the cut these boys and girls were getting only from \$3 to week. They have suffered great hardships and shown a good spirit in the fight.

The United Hebrew Trades has taken up their cause and appeals for financial help. Even the smallest do-nations will be welcome. Contribu-tions should be sent to the Secretary, J. Michaelson, 157 E. Broadway. Let workers are hungry. They have not voted for the evils that oppress them and they deserve sympathy and aid

AUSTRALIA AND THE JAPANESE MELBOURNE, Victoria, Nov. 29 .-

The Federal House of Representatives will next week discuss the question of withdrawing the restriction placed on the entry of Japanese into the commonwealth, on the ground, in the particular plaintiff and defendant, but for all who may desire to take advantage of the principle which shall finally be estab-lished, and that the effect of sustaining the present release will be to say to employers have become the honored ally of Great as a class that if they see at so to do they Britain."

The Worker. IN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY (Known in New York State as the Social PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT 184 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK,

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THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Secinist Party (the Social Democratic Party of New York) has passed through its second general election. Its growing power is indicated and its specily victory for-shadowed by the great increase of its vote as shown in these digures:

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



THE PRESIDENT ON LABOR.

President Roosevelt's message to Congress marks an epoch in one respect. Never before, we believe, has so much space in a similar document been devoted ostensibly to the interests of Labor. This can be taken only as a token of the impression which the great increase of the Socialist votesuperadded to its growth in 1900 and in 1902-has made at Washington.

We advisedly say "ostensibly." The quantity of the President's remarks on this subject is pleasing. Their quality is very disappointing-or would be had we expected anything really frank and practical on such a subect from the strenuous wielder of the big stick. It is true, the President recommend

certain measures which, if enacted and enforced in good faith, would be of considerable benefit to the working class a stringent employers' liability law for the territories and the District of Columbia, better provision for the enforcement of the Railway Safety Appliance Law, a law to prevent the over-tasking of employees or the employment of inexperienced men in responsible positions on the railways. and, finally, a law requiring the adoption of the block-signal system, which, as all experts agree, would save many

This is all very well-if anything comes of it. We may safely predict that half these recomendations will be coully neglected by Congress and that the President will not bestir himself to induce Congress to act on them. But at the best, they are but as a drop in the bucket to what could and should be done in the way of labor legislation even by a Republican Government.

Three important questions touching

the interests of Labor will certainly come before Congress this winter. Their appearance is so certain that th National Association of Manufacturers has raised a large fund to fight any possible action favorable to the workers' demands. We refer, first, to th question of Chinese Exclusion, which will be reopened by the expiration of the existing treaty; second, to the Eight-Hour Bill, proposing to case the burdens of laborers and mechanics employed on public work and, incidentaltion of the unemployed; third, to the Anti-Injunction Bill designed to sicure the right of jury trial to working disputes. On not one of these ques tions has the President a word to say.

This silence is more eloquent than all his words. It is damningly elo quent. He makes recommendations o questions of secondary importance and questions that may easily be evaded, are clearly before the house, he says nothing, and everyone may well unerstand that his failure to recommend to means that the Administration will

exhibition and will again be shown the Socialists in Congress.

"RELEASE CONTRACTS" VOID. When it happens, once in a thou sand times, that a Republican or Dem ocratic judge gives a just decision in case involving the interests of working men, we are glad to record it and "give the Devil his due." The decision of the Appellate Division on "re lease contracts," which we record in another column is such a case.

One of the most shameful incidental abuses of capitalism is this practise of many of the great employing corporations of compelling applicants, before they can get a job, to sign away, or his own part and on behalf of his heirs, the right to sue the employer in ease, through that employer's negligence or parsimony, the employee i injured or killed in the performance of his duties. Such contracts have come before the courts in severa states, and the decisions by no means gree. In several cases the courts hav held that the contracts were valid and actually released the employer from responsibility. In several other cases hey have held that such contracts are 'contrary to public policy" and voic and that the employer is responsible the same as if no such contract had been signed. Judge Hiscock adds one more to the latter, which is obviously from any but the profit viewpoint) th just side. The argument by which be sustains it is admirable-almost exactly the argument which a Socialist

judge would have made. It is not to be forgotten that thi decision is not final. The Court of Appeals still has a chance at it, and we have seen what that non-partizan body can do in the matters of the Prevailing Rate of Wages Law and he Eight Hour Law. It is not well to crow before you are out of the woods. It may still stand in the judge made law of this state that an em employer has a right to exact from the propertiless producer, as one of the onditions for being permitted to work and live, a pledge not to claim dam ages in case the employer finds it profitable to maim or kill him.

. For the present, however, let work ingmen and labor organizations take notice of this decision and see that all versonal injury suits against employers in which the workman has a real case are vigorously pushed, even though the victim may have had to sign one of these murderous "free contracts" in order to get his tob. In this city the Labor Secretariat is doing a very useful work in such matters, and its field of usefulness should be ex-

Finally, let us make a prediction Judge Stover dissented from the decision and upheld the blood-contract in favor of the employer. His term expires next year. We predict that the Republican party will renominate him, in view of this record he has made as an enemy of Labor. would almost venture to predict that the Democratic party will fuse with the Republicans in support of such a good capitalist judge, as it did in the cases of those other enemies of work ing-class rights, Judges O'Brien, Cullen and Werner. When the nomina tions are made next summer, let some one remind us of this prediction

It is with profound regret that w ead William Mailly's note declining enomination for the office of Nationa Secretary We hope that he may be prevailed upon to change his mind. He may have good personal reasons for vishing to withdraw. It is possible that these are strong enough justly to outweight all consideration of the good he could do the cause by standing for etion. As to that we are not in formed. But we do know that his withdrawal would be a loss to the party. We know very well that he is not the only man in the party fit for the place, and that a change would not necessarily be a disaster. But we have tried Mailly; we know him; we know he is all right. Let him think soberly, and see if he cannot recon sider his declination.

Every party member should see that he receives a copy of the monthly "Official Bulletin" issued by the National Secretary. This is distributed through the state committees and lo cals, and comrades must see to it that the distribution is not neglected by lo cal secretaries. The November num ber contains much matter of interes to every earnest party member. We need mention only the reports of Comrades Hillquit, Schlueter and Lee or the International Congress, which it volve questions of policy that the party in this country will certainly be called upon to consider within the next four years, and perhaps sooner. We men tion only this, but there are other things the party members should see.

referies to make their quarterly re ports of membership and finances in frawing near. We venture a suggest tion. There are a good many peopl calling themselves party members wh are inexcusably in arrears in the pay ment of dues. When a member is un gladly see those measures once more defeated or postponed.

And they will be. The Federation lebbyists will again make their pitiable purty, the party ought and always of party papers. We are already makents of party papers.

cheerfully does excuse him and keep him in good standing. But often it is through negligence, sometimes through stinginess, and now and then through theer "cussedness" that members full into arrears. In such cases it is a mistake for secretaries to allow their names to remain on the roll of members in good standing or permit the to participate in the voté on party affairs, beyond the three months of grace allowed by the constitution. The secretary should use due diligence in trying to induce such members to pay up; but if they do not respond their names should be dropped. The So clalist Party has no use for "dead heads." It is well that we should know just what our real strength is not overestimate it.

NOTE COMMENT AND ANSWER

It was a very remarkable editorial that of the New York "Sun" of Nov 28, on "The Italian Monarchy's Prob-lem." If the "Sun" would speak as heartily of the Socialist movement in the United States as it does of So cialism in Italy, we should not dispute its right to the motto, "If you see it in the 'Sun' it's so." But it doesn't. The "Sun" concludes its review the situation with these words!

Should the Socialist popular vote go reasing for the next six years ate which it has exhibited during the las three, nothing can prevent the Socialis party from acquiring control of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, unless, indeed, the ducational qualification for the franchis pended and manhood suffrage social order hold in reserve, from the mo ment that a political modus vivendi is ar ranged between the Quirinal and the Vati

There is an educational qualification for the suffrage in Italy, more honestly and impartially enforced than are any qualifications here. The illiterates have no chance to vote. There, as would be the case here or in any other country, this rule helps the Socialists After stating that there are some 18. 000,000 illiterates in Italy, the "Sun

Now of these Uliterates there are con paratively few in Piedmont, Lombardy Emilia, and Tuscany, where the Socialists have just made large gains in the popular vote. A vast majority of the Italians who lack the educational qualification are to be found in the former States of the Church, in the peninsular provinces of the form-Sicily. It is also just these sections of the kingdom which contain the bulk of the aithful adherents of the Vatican.

The ignorant would vote as the not vote for Socialism. Therefore is not unlikely, as the "Sun" predicts that the Italian Government, in Italian fear of Socialism, may make a bargain with "the prisoner of the Vatican" (more comfortable "prisoner" than A Adams, he), extend the right of suf frage frage "temporarily" — temporarily, mind you—to all adult males, and try

illiterate Clerical votes. A pretty scheme, but a risky one once those illiterates got the ballot in their hands, it may not be so easy to take it away. Also, under the pressure of capitalist and clerical exploitation and with Socialist precept and example of self-reliance before them may, once they get accustomed to right of political power in their own hands, tell capitalist and politiclan and priest to go to Halifax (or whatever place serves the same pur-pose over there), and begin voting for themselves, along with their better ed icated fellow-citiz

the United States passed a foolisa bill imposing an educational test for admission of immigrants to this country, for the avowed purpose of "excluding Socialists and Anarchists." President Cleveland vetoed the bill and said in Anarchists" were generally men above he average of intelligence, and would not get shut out by any educational test. We can safely say that, if a literacy qualification had been bor applied in the recent election, the S cialist vote in the United States wou not have been reduced by one-half of one per cent, while the votes of the two old parties would have been cut down by at least six per cent. It more Legislators and possibly two Congressmen. We should gain by

it, any time. And yet, the Socialist Party does not tand, for an educational qualification stand for an educational qualification for the suffrage. We wish to see the suffrage extended, not limited, even though our party should lose by it for the moment. And why? Because the purpose of our party's activity is not merely to elect our candidates to office, but to perfect democracy, political and economic. Our plan is not to dis-franchise the illiterate, but to educate them. And so it will be in Italy, too.

Rochester is an example of the sort of place where a temporary setback in the yote does not in the least discour-age the comrades. In 1900 we had 946 votes there. In the city election of 1901 our vote rose to about 1,100. In 1902, with a splendid campaign and the object-lesson of the coal strike, it jumped to 2,127. Last year, again with a splendid local campaign, but with the aid of the personal strength of Comrade Sleverman, our candidate in the Secretary Ward and of the in the Seventeenth Ward, and of the shameful fusion of the two old parties in support of Denis O'Brien, it Jumped again to about 3,300. This year it fell mck to almost exactly the figures of

cialists; who would have been "up lu the air" over the big gains in two suc-cessive years, this loss would have come like a wet blanket. Not so in come like a wet blanket. Not so he Rechester. They knew that a part of their vote in 1903 and even in 1902 was only a "sympathetic vote" or a "vote of protest." They did their best to held it all by legitimate means of oronly a "sympathetic vote of a vote of protest." They did their best to held it all by legitimate means of organisation, education, and propaganda. That they have held so much of it assures them that it will go up again

ida and also for a class in economy. We have a clear field be-fore us, with the demoralization of the Democrats, the downfall of the S. L. P. and the entire failure of the Populists to make any showing. We are out for a straight light and a hot one." He adds: "The falling back of our vote from last year proves that personal campaigns are not good for our movement"—refering to Sieverman's brilliant campaign in 1903.

As for this last point, we would not go so far as to say that a campaign in which the forceful and magnetic peronality of a man like Sleverman plays large part is bad for the move paign and the man a real Socialist, as Sieverman is, par excellence. We do not think that. But we do agree that no individual, however able and disservedly popular, can serve as a substiand class-conscious rank and file. In th. long run, such a rank and file can produce the men it needs; but without it the individual can do little. The Ro ester comrades are on the right track. They put the fundamental thing firstthe making of self-reliant Socialists-and then throw their surplus energy to the mustering of votes. Knowing how steadily and carnestly they work on that line, we are very confident in predicting that in another year they will retrieve the lost votes of 1903 and that in the next state election they will make a new high record.

The national convention of the Women's Christian Temperance Union at Philadelphia has adopted the following resolution:

We deplore the war now raging in the Far East, with its merciless alongster, and deprecate the action of our government in fostering the spirit of militarism in the United States by increasing our army and navy, furnishing instructors to schools and colleges, and by other methods, for teaching the art of killing breeds the desire to

This is all very well, so far as it goes but it does not go far. Surely no one imagines that war is going to be stopped or the burdens of militarism in time of peace reduced by the adoption of resolutions, however well meant and however strongly worded.

If preaching could do it, war would have stopped about 1,870 years ago; but it has not, and in the present day Christian nations are doing far mere even in proportion to their power, to keep up this particular form of earthly hell than are the heathen. It were well that the Women's Christian Tem-perance Union and the many other bodies of men and women who sincerely desire peace should make a careful study of the causes of war and then work to remove them. While the cause remains, the evil result will per

It is our opinion, put in very plain English, that Comrade Jaures, the leader of the reformist or ministerialist wing of the French Socialists, made fool of himself by offering to fight a duel with the rabid lings, Paul Déroulède, over the tradition of Joan of Arc. A Socialist is supposed to be civilized man. He has no business Jules Guesde or August Bebel even accepting a challenge, much less send-ing one. Comrade Daszschinsky, of Austrian Poland, set the right example in this matter some years ago, when e of the reactionary me covered his opponents with shame by his scornful refusal to make skill in swordsmanship or pistol-shooting a test of political principles. Daszschin-sky, Bebel, Guesde, and other men of that type have shown physical as well as moral courage again and again when there was occasion for it, and they do not feel it necessary to make a bravado display of it in medieval fashion. The bourgeois element in Jaurès (with the aping of aristocracy seems to have mastered his Socialist philosophy in this case.

Borough President Littleton spok ensibly when he declared in the New York Board of Estimate, anent the lighting contracts and Controller Grout's makeshift municipal electric light plant scheme, that he was in favor of real municipal sownership bu did not want it "in a diluted form." We do not suppose that Mr. Littleton would necept our ideal of municipal ownership-taxation on property tostart the enterprise, no interest-hearing bonds, shorter hours and better pay for the workers than in private employ, and then service at cost to alle all. No old-party representative could: well accept that. We do not count Mr. Littleton as "one of us." in any sense. Nevertheless, we may commend his caustic criticism of Grout's proposition -which is either a case of "riding for a fail" or, at best, a plan with no big-ger or better object than the reduction of taxes for the benefit of the proper tied class.

man Imperial Chancellor, Count von Billow, last Monday, that the growing strength of Socialism is the greatest guaranty of international peace is one of the finest tributes the international movement of the workers has received in recent years. His pretended wonder at the protests of the Socialist faction in the Reichstag against the servifity with which the German government accepts Russian insults and carries out the Tran's wishes was altogether "too thin." No candid thinker, it seems to us, can fail to see that friends of peace and freedom must be freeconcilable foes of Tsarism.

Victor sloting and the Inedpendence depot explosion means that the political machinery of the state of Colorado is paralyzed." Does it, necessity of the contract of the contr is paralyzed." Does it, necessarily?
Why may it not mean that the prosecuting authorities knew they had no
sufficient evidence to justify them in sufficient evidence to justify them in bringing these men to trial and, since Bell's martial-law method is played out, decided to drop the case? Why make an inference here, gentlemen of the "Times," that you do not in any other case where a noise present is entered? Is it because the accused in this case were minon man? If met-

AN ELEMENTARY COURSE IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

II.—Roasons Why the Rank and File of the Socialist Party Ought to Make a Study of Economics.

tempt toward a systematic and correct and yet popular statement of the fundamental principles of scientific Socialism for the seistance of those who really wish to larger and more complete treatises. Those who find any points not made clear or who have pertinent questions suggested by these articles are invited to write to the Editor of The Worker, and are assured that an earnest attempt will be made to answer

II.-Why Study Economics ?

It is too bad that it should be neces ary to write a special article to why workingmen should study eco nomics. But unfortunately it seem

Be it understood, when we say "study." we mean "study." We do not consider that a man has studied the subject when he has listened to a few speeches and read a few propaganda pamphlets and got at second hand the principal conclusions which other men have worked out by investigation and careful thought. He may have got the conclusions straight in his head and have caught a number of striking phrases to use in telling them to other people. But he has not really studied the subject until he has come to understand the method by which these conclusions are reached and has made t his own, so that he can expres argument in his own words to fit the minds of different men to whom he may try to explain his subject, so that he can meet objections with facts and thoughts rather than phruses, so tha e cannot be silenced or confused by

skilful sophistry.

Now just the second-hand accept ance of Socialist conclusions may be enough to lead a man to vote the Socialist ticket. But a real knowledge of Socialist economic and politica ciples is necessary to make him good teacher of Socialism or a safe judge of questions of Socialist policy And this real knowledge is to be gain ed only by conscientious study. Social forces are far more complex

and have in the past been far more obscure than the forces of inanimate

nature. But there was a time when even these were not at all understood There was a time when people thought the sin was driven across the sky by a god, as if it were a great shiring chariot; they thought this god might take it into his head some day to try some other road and so but n the earth up by driving too near it or else go off and leave it in eternal dark They thought the wind, the rain, demons or were ruled by gods and denions. They lived in perpetual fear and worship of these natural phe-nomena. They were at the mercy of nature because they did not understand it. Physical science, by giving us exact knowledge of the general laws of nature, has emancipated us from this surery to manimate things and made us their masters, so that the natural forces our ancestors trembled before and offered sacrifices to are now used to help cook our food and weave our clothes and make our pictures and carry us over land and sen and enable us to talk to friends on the other side of the earth.

other side of the earth.

Having accomplished so much in
the field of physical science, we are
now learning to study social science
in the same manner, and the study will
yield similar results. Just as a knowledge of the laws of physics enables us to master and use the forces of nature, so a knowledge of social laws will enable us to use the forces of so ciety-all the varied and complicated mass of human needs, sentiments, hab-its, traditions, beliefs, aspirations, and so forth-for the improvement of so-cial conditions, instead of running counter to those forces and having our best endeavors defeated and turned to

Now the prime forces in society are method in which people produce and exchange wenith. These do not always appear on the surface. Human needs are often disguised under the form of sentiments, habits, traditions, beliefs, not himself know the forces that really move him to such or such an action. Hitherto most of the sincerest social reformers have gone about planning how society ought to be, without really knowing what society is. Nat-urally, their plans did not work. They may be compared to the ancient astrol-ogers and alchemists who, thinking that the physical world was ruled by spirits, plaifned to change it-to turn Iron into gold, to make old men young. incantations to persuade or command these supposed spirits of nature. These astrologers and alchemists did not suc-ceed. However, in their misguided researches they stumbled on some discoveries which set some of them on the right path, so that the sciences of astronomy and chemistry grew out of astrology and alchemy, which were not sciences at all. Just so, scientific Socialism has grown out of quite unscientific social reform, utopianism, and the like. But just as the chemist or astronomer is utterly intolerant alchemy and astrology, and is right in being so, likewise the scientific Socialist has no mercy for the errors of mercy reformers who try to change social litions without understanding so

We repeat, then, that the prime forces in society are economic forces. The ways in which people get their living, by their own work or by other people's work, and the various condi-tions under which they work or exploit, are what chiefly determine the plott, are what chiefly determine their thought and feeling and conduct. If we would understand how different classes act, if we would be able to judge how this or that preposed policy will work, we must study economics, first, and upon the foundation so gained we must study something of poli-

one of a series of articles, be- | of all class rule, not for the enthrone ment of a new ruling class in the place of an old. The abolition of feu-

dalism did not wipe out economic class

lines; it only changed their form. also with the abolition of chattel very. In each case an old form of mastery and exploitation was abolished and a new one substituted. But Socialists aim to do away with exploitation altogether; we may say more, that the Socialist movement is histori-cally destined to put an end once and for all to economic class division and class rule. The rise of the ware-workers, the now exploited class, to power will not mean the enslavement of some other portion of the people under some new form of domination; it will mean that the present owners shall become workers and that all the workers shall be owners, too. The victory of the wage-working class will end its existence as a class along with the existence of the capitalists as a class, will put both wages and profits into the archives of past history, will mean

that all as men shall be workers and

is workers shall be equals and free

comrades. Because this is its peculiar purpo because this is its unexampled mission, the Socialist movement must eeds have a sole and peculiar m -a method different from those of the Greek and Roman plebelans in their struggles against the patricians, dif-ferent from those of modern middleclass elements in their vain struggles against monopoly. Since its purpose is not revenge nor mere destruction nor mere substitution of rulers and ruled, but social reconstruction from the foundation up on a plan of universal and lasting freedom and solidar ity, it cannot depend upon individual leaders for guidance nor upon passion or mere class instinct or mere person al or class interest even (in its crude but must apply in its days of struggle the ideals of its day of triumph, must be directly and continuously controlled by its rank and file. And in order to entrol it wisely and firmly, that rank and power to decide, must be conscious of its duty to obey its own dechiefly insisting on, must be mentally trained to understand its great principles and to analyze the ever-changing problems before it and apply those principles to their solution.

No Moses will come to lead us to the land of milk and honey. If any comes claiming that mission we must firmly reject him. The host itself must know the location of the Promised Land and the way to it through the wilderness. That way is a difficult one, full of tempting cross-paths lead-ing deviously backward and beset with pit-falls and amoushes. There are no short cuts, no easy roads, though many look for them. If we could have a dictator to command our march and to drive us back into the right course when we go astray, we might not need all of us to know our way. But we have not and canno have such a leader. And if we had, though we might reach our Promised Land sooner we would not know how under the task-master in Egypt. It is in the wilderness that we must and do learn; and the sooner we learn, the soonerwe shall get through the wilderness.

Such, then, are the reasons why study of economics is necessary to the Socialist movement and why it should be pursued by the rank and file, not merely by the leaders. But a few words more: We do no

expect many workingmen, with their limited time and their inadequate preparation, to dig through Marx "Capital" and master all its intriccies. That is not necessary, though is to be desired wherever it is practicable. But it is necessary that a So cialist should read and think enough to know just what is meant by value and surplus-value: just how surplus value is appropriated by the capitalists just wherein the exploitation of the wage-worker differs from the exploitation of the chattel slave or the feudal serf; just how the ownership of capital tends to concentrate and the exploitation of labor to become more intense; just how those tendencies produce industrial depressions and these react. He should understand the economic relations between different sections of the capitalist class and those between the capitalist and working classes and the middle class of self-employing producers. He should know how and why capitalism works differently in its infancy and in its full development and somewhat dif-ferently in different countries at any given time. He should know enoug of the application of economics to politics to be able to distinguish between state capitalism and Social Demo under whatever names prese fits and the limitations of the trade union method; to understand why class of small proprietors, however much exploited, cannot serve as the basis for the Socialist movement; t tand why the pauperized or de graded portions of the pro not serve as such a basis; to distin-guis between the effects of partial re-forms applied by bourgeois adminis-trations and of similar measures apoffed by an administration un ed reforms are likely to prove inc tive and to check further progress and which may be expected actually to ameliorate the workers' condition and also to hasten their complete emancip tion. That is, he should know end and impossibilism, to be able to prac-tise statesmanship instead of "playing politics," and understandingly to main

first. But my menting wit seconds of deem it necessary to guard again idea, held by some of the Union party advocates in one ranks a few egs, that because our movement is on prolotagian class interest it can

*This phrase may seem und

tain and bow to democratic discipline against dictatorship on the one

Our subject next week will be: "What Is Value and How Is It Pro

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT.

Big Increase In Subscription List This Week-What Our Circulation Manager Desires.

With inst week's issue of The Worker, the task of increasing the circula tion of the paper was made a perma-nent and regular department of our work. This column will be devoted each week to a brief record of the way the circulation is growing, and to con-tinued appeals to the comrades to keep their shoulders to the wheel. We must add 10,000 names to our subscriptio list, and our circulation manager must have your assistance to do it.
Under the new arrangement, th

comrades will be relieved of most of

the work-not all of it, nor the mos important part of it, for the success of

our paper must always depend upo the hearty and enthusiastic support of its readers and other friends. W. you can through your own individua efforts, just as many have been doing sons any one comrade can individually reach must always be relatively small and as it is immensely important, if not imperative, that the circulation of The Worker should be largely in creased at once, a method that will bring large returns in the shortest pos-sible time has been adopted, to supplement, but not to take the place of, in dividual effort on the part of any cor rade having interest enough to give hi time and labor to the work. To this end in last week's issue we requeste the comrades everywhere to forward lists of names to this office of such men as were most likely to becom subscribers of The Worker, and it was suggested that this would be a goo way of celebrating Debs' victory of November 8. Either this column of a few of the comrades, or else as rep resentatives of the great militant arm of Socialism we didn't have sufficient enthusiasm to feel much like cele brating, for only one list, up to the present writing, has been received. That was a rousing good one, containing 86 names, left at the office by a comrade of the Amalgamated Glass Workers, who was too modest to leave his name. We are sorry for this, a his name. We are sorry for this, as we should be glad to publicly extend our thanks to him, if we knew who

have had a hundred lists by this time Seriously, comrades, are we not to have your support in behalf of this most important branch of our work? The way is all prepared for an energetic campaign for booming The Work er's subscription list. We only need some good names to work upon, and we are depending upon you to send them in. Get at it at once, without further urging! We have no doubt that there

first man to respond to our appeal. But he must not be the last. We should

many men among us who would lay down their lives for Socialism. In fact, many of us pride ourselves upor the fact that we belong to an organiza tion of earnest men so devoted and en thusiastic for the cause that great sa than the exception. But in our will ingness to make great sacrifices, we one of the very pressing little duties just at present is to put The Worker's circulation where it ought to be, and we need the names of 50,000 possible subscribers at once to do ft. Send us the names of your labor union friends of your neighbors who voted for Debs but who are not getting The Worker each week; of the men with whon you have talked about Socialism and whom you know to be somewhat in-terested; and do it at once, so we can get after them and put the question "Don't you want to subscribe for The Worker?" to each one in a persistent and practical way, as we are now pro pared to do. Line up, workers! Get together! Don't let the work drug! Let's have at least a hundred lists of ames at once!

Address the Circulation Manager, New York City.

The expected after-election "slump" in the circulation of The Worker has come. The last two weeks show a loss of 2.928 in total circulation. The loss wholly on bundle orders, and is inmeetings are being held to give an op-portunity for the distribution of pa-pers. The list of individual subscribers during the same fortnight has in-creased by 1,839. Of these, about 1,300 are the three-month subscriptions for normal gain. If we can keep up this rate of gain in the single-subscription department—over 250 a week—it will take less than a year to put The The following table shows the circu-

lation of the last two issue Dec. 4. Nov. 27.

Single subscriptions12,449 Outside bundles Samples Exchanges Sold at office in bundles 113 or at retail 1,677 4.667

Loss for week..... 1,190

The Rochester comrades—and particularly Joes Moses, the Literature Agent of the local and agent for The Worker-are among the liveliest and steadlest hustlers we know. For instance, on Nov. 16 Comrade Moses ordered ten yearly and twenty halfearly subscription cards; on Nov. 21 te wrote: "Those cards were nearly all old yesterday, so send as many more. Within two weeks after election he sent in \$75 in cash on account of sub-scriptions taken and bundles ordered luring the campaign. On Nov. 21 a good street meeting was held, a dressed by Howard Caldwell, and se eral subscriptions for The Work eral subscriptions for The Worker taken and twenty-three copies of Debs' "Unionism and Socialism" sold, besides a collection of \$1.30. The local takes fifty copies of The Worker every week in the year for sale or distribution at the Sunday meetings, and often sends n special orders ranging from 100 to 10,000 copies. They sell books and pamphlets, too, in large numbers. A hundred copies of Lewis' "Socialism Explained" was among the items in their order of Nov. 21, together with everal bound books.

Comrade Brooks, of Fargo, N. D., sending in fifty new subscriptions, says: "This is the first after-election result. I hope that before another year passes you will have a good list in Fargo. Hurrah for The Worker, for Debs and Hanford, and for victory in 1908!

Comrade Bondreau of Pawtucket, year ago The Worker had not a single subscriber in Pawtucket. Now we have thirty-five, almost all through Comrade Bondreau's efforts. And now he has just laid in a new stock of ubscription cards and is going to keep the list growing.

Comrade Weber of Rochester is a

new hustler and gives promise of b good one. Henry Green of Newark, N. J., says:

"I think that The Worker is the means of propaganda, and every com-rade should try to bring it up to 25,000 circulation." Comrade Green puts this opinion into practice by sending in seven yearly and one half-yearly subscriptions.

Comrade Cuting of Boston writes: "We are getting in some very effective work for The Worker and we intend to do more."

Comrade Keevan of Delaware County, Pa., spoke before Local Darby couple of weeks ago and urged the necessity of pushing the circulation of The Worker. The result was that fifty yearly paid-subscription cards were ordered at once and the determination was expressed to work up the list to at least 100 in Darby alone. Comrade Keevan says: "I propose to push this idea in the other three branches Morton, Clifton, and Media-for all it is

worth. So look out for results."
C. F. Watson of Philadelphia orders a weekly bundle for three ays: "I am going to get all the subs I can, and use every paper you send me to the best advantage I know of, and will have help enough to give a few ninutes' time to everyone that is of

fered a paper."
C. F. Warren of Springfield, Mass, helps along the circulation with a bunch of nine subscriptions. William Elliott of North Tarrytown, N. Y., eight subs; and Comrade Votel of Covington, Ky., remlts seven.

Current # # # Literature

A collection of twenty-one musica compositions by Platon Brounoff, who is a member of the Socialist Party, has recently been published under the title "Songs of Freedom." The author's stirring preface concludes as follows:

"And to the representatives of vocal art. I would address myself. Those of you, sweet and powerful voiced singers who charm and enchant the idlers of to-day, and who dance in a wild craze around the present god of all nations, 'the Almighty Dollar,' selling your feelings and your very souls, don't try to sing these songs, for two reasons: Firstly, they will not bring you money or fame; and secondly, they are written for people of free spirit and not for slaves of Mammon.

"You composers who live on crea-tions of others, by stealing the melo dies from their works, don't try to steal these melodies; they are not "money making stuff" and therefore

"And you musical and literary critics, don't try to criticize these poems or the music; you cannot do it, because these are the outpourings of free hearts and free spirit, and you are slaves of the dollar.
"I hope that if ever these songs are

sung in the future times they will be sung as legends of incredible cruelty and injustice done to the creating and laboring people. "Now in conclusion I want to say to

all: Men and women of the world, from the highest to the downmost, stop for a moment your wild dance around Mammon and bethink yourselves. Bethink that everything around you except nature and science is a gigantic and collossal ile and in-Awaken vonr consc egotistic sleep, bring out your human superstitions which gathered around you from time immemorial, open the blinds and give light and positive edu-cation to your brethren fellow beings who live in misery and brood in darkess, throw away the fetters of religity, and let us become a universa! broth erhood of humanity, men of free spirit but speak and live up to the only one and everlasting ideal-the Truth.

The words of the songs are by Fran-Sam Shiffman, Joachim Rauscher Percy B. Shelley, Arnold Meyer, Lillian Claxton, Sam Finkelstein, Allen Upward, Elizabeth Serber, Emund Curtis. Ethel Lewis, Thomas Hood and Peter E. Burrowes. The plane par of the songs is so arranged that i may be played without singing. The book is published by J. P. Katz, 181 the price is \$1.25.

Horace Traubel writes: "I liked what you wrote about Sinclair's ment in report to Whitman's admir ers. I know men who weep over Whitman who laugh over the wees of the people. They cry 'Whitman n' as some other people cry Lord! Lord!" or 'Christ! Christ!" and thes go about their usual unrependant ways. I am doing all I can at all times and everywhere to call atten-tion to this strange anomaly."

-Capitalists who consider the demands of trade unionists as "unr sonable exactions" will probably re-vise their opinions when the Socialist program backed by a million votes or so is brought to their notice.

The State Secretary of the Sected Decre-cratic Party of New York is John C. Coon, who may be addressed at 68 E. Pourth street, New York City.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

Standing advertisements of Trade Unions and other Societies will be inserted under this heading at the rate of \$1 per line per

LABOR SECRETARIAT,-Office, \$20

roadway, Hoom 701; office hours n week days, from 9 a. m. to 6 p. m.

Delegates' meeting every last Satur-day of the month at 64 E. Fourth

street, at 8 p. m. Board of Directors' meeting every second Monday of the month, at 320 Broadway.

Room 701. Address all correspon-

dence to the Labor Secretariat, 320

CIGARMAKERS PROGRESSIVE

INT. UNION No. 90-Office and Employment Bureau, 64 E. 4th St. The following Districts meet every Saturday: Dist. I (Bohemian)-331 E.

71st St., 8 p. m.; Dist. II (German) -85 E. 4th St., 8 p. m.; Dist. III— Clubhouse, 200 E. 86th St., 7.30 p.m.; Dist. IV-342 W. 42d St., 8 p. m.;

Dist. V-3309 Third Ave., 8 p. m.;

Dist. VI-1997 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VII-1432 Second Ave., 8 p. m. The Board of Supervision meets

every Tuesday at Faulhaber's Hall,

CARL SAHM CLUB (MUSICIANS' UNION), meets Brst Tuesday of the month, 10 a. m., at Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th Street. Secretary, H. Frey, 171 East 5,th street.

MUSICIANS' CO-OPERATIVE UNION, Local 273, A. L. U., of Mudson and Bergen Counties. Meets every Friday, at 11 a. m., at headquarters, 375 Central avenue, June 27 Ct. 7, N. J.

LOCAL 476, MACHINE WODD WORKERS AND TURNELLS. United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. Meets every Tuesday at Bohemiau Hall, 223 E. Tad street, New York. Financial Secre-tary, Win. E. P. Schwartz, S. Mill street, Astoria, L. L.; Recording Secretary, Jon. Noelter, 174 E. 180th street.

7th, 9th and 25th Assembly District

HE SCANDINAVIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY OF NEW

YORK meets first Sunday of every month, 10:30 a. m., in Link's Hali, 233 E. 38th street, New York. All

Scandinavians are welcome. Agi-

tation meetings every third Sunday, at 7 p. m. Secretary, G. Sjoholm, 261 Onderdonk avenue, Brooklyn.

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ble House, Room 42, Astor Place, New

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UNION meets every second and fourth Monday in Links' Assembly Rooms, 231-233 East Thirty-eighth

meets every 2nd and 4th Friday at No.

533 Eighth ayenue.

street.

THE SCANDINAVIAN

1551 Second Ave., 8 p. m.

PARTY NEWS.

How York City.

A regular meeting of the General Committee of Local New York will take place on Saturday, Dec. 10, promptly at 8 p. m., at the rooms of the W. E. A., 206 E. Eighty-sixth street. Important business will be transacted at this meeting and delerates should not fail to be there in

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. Regular meeting of the Executive Committee held on Monday, Dec. 5. Present: L. Liehtschein, J. Obrist, H. Ortland, G. Van Name, Garry Kelly and U. Solomon; absent excused: H. S. Nathan and E. S. Egerton; absent unexcused: G. B. Staring, Emil Spindier, Chas. Lane, A. Fishman and G. Miel-lenhausen. L. Lichtschein acted as chairman and U. Solomon as tempor

Reports from the various agitation

cittees were as follows: First Agitation Committee, delegate not present. Organizer Solomen re-ported that the comrades in each As sembly District composing the First Agitation Committee are making spe cial efforts to build up the districts Organization meetings for that purpos will be held in each district. The first attempt was made in the 16th A. D., with the gratifying result that 25 new members were secured. The 8th will have a meeting on Tuesday, Dec. 6 when a reorganization of the district will take place. The 4th and 12th Assembly Districts are comparatively in

good condition:

Second Agitation Committee: The delegate reported that the committee is in a very precarious financial con dition: that a festival for the purpose of raising funds to pay off debt curred during the campaign will be held on Sunday, Dec. 180 to Labor Ly-

the Yorkville Agitation Committee, J. Obrist reported in detail about the status of organization in each Assem-bly District. The Yorkville Agitation amittee intends to hold a series of lectures on Sunday, beginning with Jan. 1. The only districts where the organization is not in a flourishing con dition are the 32d-33d A. D.'s. Yet, some members, instead of devoting all their time to build up the district organization, are planning to organize a club, which can only result in weaken

ng more the organization.

Acting upon this report, the Execuave Committee passed the following Executive Committee that the Agita-tion or Assembly Districts should encourage the formation only of such clubs as will come under the complete control and jurisdiction of their respective Agitation or Assembly Dis

Harlem Agitation Committee: The delegate reported only about the good condition of the 31st Assembly Dis-trict, as the Harlem Agitation Committee had long ceased to be a working body. It appears from the various reports that the comrades composing this Agitation Committee have never understood the meaning of the Agita-tion Committee. Each district cared for itself and no assistance was given

to weak or unorganized districts.

The delegates from the Murray Hill, West Side and The Bronx Agitation

mittees were not present, Under reports of committees, the chool Committee reported that owing to the lack of time the lectures on "Trade Unionism" and "Socialist Party Organization" were dispensed with that the revised course of the school will be printed for free distribution among the comrades. The comulities further recommends that the lectures on "Trade Unionism" and "Socialist Party Organization," instead of being accessible only to the regularly en rolled pupils of the school, be made order for all party members and that, begining with January, a series of lectures for that purpose be arranged by the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee concurred in the recommendations.

The commendations.

The committee charged with looking for a suitable hall for the school recommended the hiring of Logelinge's ommended the hiring or regional Hall, Fifty-seventh street and Second avenue. It is a good lodge room, contrally located, and will cost only \$75 recommendation was concurred in.

joint meeting of the Harlem comrades called by the Executive Committee for Sunday, Dec. 4, reported that they completely falled in their mission and that the treatment received was not such as a committee from the Executive Committee was entitled to. The meeting was well attended and after the committee stated its mission and the purpose of the meeting, the reorganization of the Harlem Agitation Committee, and before the comrade had any chance of discussing this matter some of the comrades made a mo-tion to discontinue the discussion of the organization of the Harlem Agita tion Committee and to discuss only the organization of a club in Harlem. This motion was carried and after two hours of points of order, appeals, and so forth, the meeting broke up with-out accomplishing anything, to meet

again next Sunday.

The Picnic Committee was instruct-

ed to continue looking for a suitable John Spargo was appointed as a committee of one to write a circular letter for the enrolled S. D. P. voters,

Henry Ortland and Wm. Elret were appointed as a committe of two to buy a safe for Local New York. thta he is at present a good standing member of both Locals Mystic, Conn., nd the 21st A. D., New York. If so that he must relinquish his member-ship in one of those locals as he cannot

work done during the last two weeks: Semi-annual financial reports were mailed to each assembly district; call for election of new officers in the as sembly districts was issued. The finan ending Dec. 4 was as follows:

Income: Dues stamps, \$87.75; nev nembers, \$10.40; campaign fund, 115.97; literature, \$393.63; balance, \$115.97: Nov. 11, \$792.84; total, \$1,400.50.

Expenses: State Committee, on account of campaign, \$67.16; speakers \$28.50; buttons, \$8; Co-operative Press \$37.25; postage, \$38.50; office expense and sundries, \$43.42; total, \$222.83.

The 16th A. D. will have a special meeting on Priday, Dec. 9, at Lafay-ette Hall, 8-10 Avenue D. All members are urgently requested to attend this meeting, as there is very important business to be transacted.

Mrs. Bertha M. Fraser, of Brooklyn will lecture on the question, "Shall We Smash the Trusts?" at West Side Sunday evening, Dec. 11.

All members of the 21st, 23d, 31st, and 34th (South Side) A. D. branches are urged to attend a meeting to be held at 67 W. One Hnudred and Twenty-fifth street, Room 44, Sunday, Dec. 11, at 2.30 p. nr. The business will be: First, to decide on the establishment of club rooms; second, to provide for raising money to secure such rooms; third, to devise plans for raising money for other expenses-rent, furniture, gas, etc.; fourth, such other business as may properly be brought forward at the meeting.

Many Socialists will be interested to know that Elsa Barker will give a recital of selections from her poems on Friday evening, Dec. 16, 8,30 p. m., at the hall of the Professional Woman's League, 108 W. Forty-fifth street. Admission is \$1. For tickets address Mrs. Eleanore Wilton, manager, 118 W. Forty-fourth street.

BROOKLYN.

On Sunday, Dec. 11, Henry L. Slobodin will lecture on "Some Questions Answered" at 315 Washington street. Admission is free.

At a recent meeting of the Kings

County Committee it was decided to form a speakers' class. The class meets in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum and has already had two sess which have proved quite successful.
The exercises will take the form of debate, general discussion and ques-tion box. Occasionally one of the speakers will be selected to review ome current economic or related work which may be serviceable to the speakvelop new speakers and to correct the defects of the older ones. So far no attempt has been made to teach the class except by selecting a critic who will correct errors in grammar, pronunciation, etc. There is no restric tion in regard to the memb the class; anyone may join. All the comrades, men and women, who feel a desire to speak for the party can-not do better than begin in this way. An effort will be made to give an equal opportunity to every member. meets Friday evenings from 8.30

to 10.30 p. m. The 16th, 17th and 18th A. D. branch will meet on Sunday, Dec. 11, at J. C. Holzer's house, 73 Truxton street, Election of officers will be held, and a full attendance is desired.

Ella Reeve Cohen will lecture on "Our Purposes and Our Methods" at Buffalo Hail, Buffalo avenue, Fulton street, Sunday evening, Dec. 11. On Dec. 18 L. A. Malklel is to speak. ent and

upon which L. B. Boudin will lecture before the William Morris Educational Society in Toback's Hall, Thatford and for six mouths, once a week. The half Pitkin avenues, on Friday evening,

Dec. 16. Admission free.

Branch 1, 21st A. D., meets on the second and fourth Wednesday evenings of each month at Wohlral's, 675 Glenmore avenue.

New York State.

At its last meeting Local Peekskill admitted five new members, all work-ingmen and all satisfied that they have had enough capitalist "prosperity" and now want a change. The members are taking an active interest in the party organization by attending the business eetings of the local. More new members are expected at the next meeting.

The comrades are anxious to start

their lectures and hope the locals throughout the state will accept Com-rade Chase's proposition. It was de-cided to charge an admission fee of ten cents to defray the expenses. It is easier to talk to workingmen about Socialism now, and the comrades Laid get in and hold lectures this

(Continued on page 4.)

FEUDALISM. (Continued from page 1.)

there has been an increase in the cos of all necessities and a decrease in

The average Polish family is large The Pole usually has a wife and seven or eight children to support. Even when the mills were operated on full time, it was hard enough to sustain his family on the scanty wages which the two or three members working i their immigration had to be paid and the secondary and unescapable pay-ment of rent also. The little that was eft over went for provisions and cloth

The Workers' "Homes."

The strain upon his trifling inco was so extreme that to subsist Pole had to resort to the system of taking in boarders. This sou ess is a painful, and were it not act ally seen an almost unbelievable sight. The average Pole not only sup-ports a wife and seven or eight children in a tenement of three or fou rooms, but takes in on an average of ten or twelve boarders. In this limite space they somehow all manage to sleep. In the summer they cut grass use that, or later corn husks, as a bedding, cover it with a sheeting and each sex bunks together in different rooms. Few have beds, although occasionally that luxury is observed. It is anything but unusual to see thirty persons living in a tenement of three persons living in a teachers and four rooms. Every available space in the house is put to use from cellar to attic. In the damp, ill-ventilated cellars it is customary for at least ter persons to sleep. Some of the street upon which the company's rows of tenements front are private—that i to say, they are owned by the company and the city, consequently, has no con-trol over them. The company, also, has its own sewerage system. The sanitary apparatus, such as it is, is defective that it is nothing uncomn -in fact, it is a common practice-for the women to do the family washing in the canal or river. The condition of the company's streets, unpaved as they are, especially after a storm, i appalling.

cents a week from each boarder fo lodging and cooking. Each boarder buys his own food, usually consisting of bologna, pork, bread, coffee and lard. As butter is too expensive, lard is used for smearing bread. The cook-ing is done for the whole assemblage by the "boss" Pole's wife.

"Overcrowded"-Really?

About four years ago the company tenements became overcrowded; and o make additional room for the Poles ent: It had an old stable used for quar tering horses. A new stable for the horses was built and the old stable was somewhat reconstructed and part tioned off into tenements. About 200 Poles—men, women and children—now live in this old stable. It has no sani-tary appliances and it has but one stove. The tenants seep on dried grass or corn husks and they do their washing in the fifthy waters of the canal. The old stable is divided alto gether into about six tenements, in cluding lofts; and each of these tene ments yields the company from \$6.50 to \$7.50 a month rent.

The Revolt of the Poles.

Three years ago the Polish employ es began to feel the first prompting of rebellion against these conditions An agitation, started by some of the more intelligent and forceful Poles an French Canadians, gradually resulted in the formation of a Textile Un Chicopee Falls and Chicopee. French Canadians lived rather better than the Poles; most of them occupied tenements not owned by the company, and they held to a somewhat higher standard of living than the Poles. Both elements, however, began to feel the necessity of doing something to better their wages.

The union before long had a membership of 1,600 and a sizable five bakery in Chicopee and appoin ed as the, head or manager of the bakery a man of experience. This bakery made bread so much better and sold it so much cheaper than the bread that previously had been supplied, that it not only soon had the entire patron-age of the Union's members, but it had a large outside custom also. The Union had its standing committees for set-tling minor disputes with the bosses of the two companies, and, as a whole, was in so flourishing a condition that its leaders considered the time auspicious for a strike. The strike spirit was fast becoming rife among the body of the Union. In January, 1904. the leaders began to make prepara tions to declare a strike sometime in the spring or summer. The demands were to be a 5 per cent increase in wages and a juster system of "docks."

If, for instance, any employee was five minutes late, he or she was held for an hour in the office before being allowed to go to work and was "docked" the full pay of that hour.

How It Was Crushed.

Through secret sources the Chicopes Manufacturing Company and the Dwight Manufacturing Company learned of the intended strike. In learned of the intended strike. In April they surprised the Union by sud-denly and simultaneously closing down their mills for two weeks. The reason given was the slackness of trade and the high price and scarcity of cotion. After a cessation of two weeks they resumed, and have continued, on a schedule of four days a week, with schedule of four days a week, with now and then a renewed cessation for

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lince April the average man employee has been able to make only about \$2.75 or \$3 a week for the four days a week work. He has found it impossible to continue contributing dues to the Union. Moreover, many Union members left for other places. The Union was almost wiped out, and six weeks ago it was compelled to sell its co-operative bakery at a great loss because of lack of funds to run it adequately.

Since April the distress among the cotton mill employees in both Chico-pee Falis and Chicopee has been acute. In both places the economic conditions are identical, although in Chicopee they are more enlarged than in Chico pee Falls. The Dwight Manufacturing Company, which, as has been pointed out, is owned practically by the element that owns the Chicopee Manufacturing Company's mills, employs about 1,800 men, women and children, and it owns about 300 tenements. The same rules hold force and the same seen in both places. The employees get the same wages and have to pay tenements in both Chicopee and Chico pee Falls.

The companies' contrivances of exploitation do not end merely with the They extend even to a form of recreation popular with the Poles. The Poles cessively fond of dancing ties; in the winter it is their one great social relaxation. For every dance in any of the companies' tenements the participants must collectively pay to the company owning the ter the tax of \$5, though why it is imposed is not clear. While, also, the compan-tes exploit their labor to the fullest on the onne hand, they exploit the municipality on the other. They never make any decided improvements in their tenements. Their tenements, in fact, are in such a deplorable condition that were they in New York City they would be condemned immediately by joint action of the Board of Health and the Building Department. On the plea of no improvements and the additional plea that they are the largest property owners the companies in-variably succeed in securing a comparatively trifling rate of taxation. The burden of taxation falls upon the

city's individual property owners.

An Army of Paupers. Pauperism here has increased from 80 to 85 per cent since last April. Re-cently the City Almoner notified the cotton mill companies that, if they continued running their mills on slack appropriation for the pauper depart ent. There are now at least 1,000 paupers, mainly Poles, dependent upon the city. When the mills ran on ful time the employees had barely enough to five upon; now many of them can-not live independently with the cheapest kind of living. You see groups of men, women and children sitting around a table on rough, improvised benches; they cannot afford to buy chairs. You see barefoot young women and children stealing over to chairs. the coal-laden cars on the railros tracks and hurriedly bearing away armfulls of their precious spoil, fearful that any second they may be de-

The rate of mortality in these tene ments is excessively high. Zymotic diseases are prevalent; and the stench in summer is said to be foul beyond conception.

Waste Land and

Vacant land stretches in every direction, but perverted economic necessity ordains that human beings must herd in these shambles. The ox has the fresh field to lie upon and the horse his change of straw and they have pure, fresh air and sunshine and meals are guaranteed them. But they are animals. Human beings must take their chances. They must lie on dried grass and corn husks that are changed once a year; ten hours a day they must

breathe vitiated air in the mills and breathe vitiated air in the mills and breathe worse in their dull sleeping hours. If they do not get enough wages to nourish their bodies with proper food—if they do not have any-thing to eat at all—if they grumble at their existence—they, being free hu-man beings, have the choice of quitting employment and shifting else-where. The mere savage has the wild freedom of the woods or plains; and if his existence is precarious or he is destitute the Government steps in and rations him. He, however, is a savage. rations him. He, however, is a savage. Here we behold a form of civilization. Work is given this civilized herd as a privilege—a boon to be thankful for, and if, perchance, a flash of spirit animates them to seek better wages, they must be taught through fear and semi-starvation the lesson that it is their duty to accept what is given, be grateful for it and rest content. What ecclesiasticism has taught for many ages by authority of divine command, innow and then a renewed cessation for a week or two.

The real reasons for this action of the companies are said to be twofold. The first was to anticipate the Union's move and wholly disrupt the Union by financial difficulties. The second reason is said to be the aim to force out the small stockholders. The price last year of the stock of the companies was \$75 or \$80 a share. Both companies inid an average of 6 per cent dividends. The stock at the present time is sailing at about \$16.56 a share.

The first result of the companies action was to break up the Union. -The State Secretary of the Sectal Demo-eratic Party of New York is John C. Chase, who may be addressed at 66 E. Fourth alrest New York Time

profits in good times. An adverse wor from them means hunger to thusands of human beings, but it is easy to sup press imagination and the hunger far away from the luxurious Bo homes. The superintendent and the agent are on the spot and their per cent and per cent reports say nothing of the congestion and the hunger.

One Ray of Light.

Under it all one ray of light is dis cerned. Five years ago there were only thirty voters here who looke through the confused murk of present day political and industrial lies, by pocracy and calcanery and saw tha the profit system must be abolished. Now, in a total vote of 2,700 there are 350 steadfast Socialists-not an im pressive proportion, it is true, but one full of loope of growth. In the Board of Aldermen two Socialists sit. The majority of the Socialists are the more intelligent class of workingmen, principally Americans and Irish, with a few French Canadians and Poles.

The handful of gentlemen in Bos ton-self-important, pempous in their power, masterful in their relentiess decrees, industrial lords all, leaders of public opinion and mainstays churches-may be and are now able to control much of the economic destinies of a whole city's population. But un-derneath, despite all the power and pomp of money and the repressive force of long-established institutions, a power is growing which, wh are long since forgotten and their bones rotted, will emerge triumphant

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THE DUTY TO THE PARTY

By W. J. Ghent.

and a non-possessing class. The antag onism between the smaller possessors

and the larger possessors may possibly, though improbably, again become

acute, as in 1896; but as against the non-possessors there is a substantial unity between the former which denies

all hope to any project for socializing in the slightest degree either the de-

feated or the victorious of either of

these two parties. In a democracy the

political mechanism is the most power

ful of all means for continuing the ex

ploitation of the non-possessing; and it is inconceivable that the classes which

profit so enormously from its mastery will permit the control of either of its representative organizations to pass

For the possessing classes, if history-teaches us anything at all, never vol-untarily yield their advantage. When,

as in the case of the French nobles and

clergy in 1789, or of the Southern slaveholders in 1865, they give up their

feudal privileges or their slaves, the

know that further retention is hope-less, and in the other case, as a direct

consequence of war. Individuals of

the possessing classes, it is admitted, from the time of the Athenian Clis-thenes, five centuries before Christ, to

the present time, have come out from

their class barricades and espoused the

cause of the non-possessing. But these are few, and the class as a class holds

to what it conceives to be its own, and

yields only at the point of extreme danger or of actual expropriation.

In spite of all that is known of hu-

records, there are still progressists who

right appeal can be made to the pos-sessor, he will renounce his advantage

and take up the cause of the non-pos

found they herald it as a promise of

universal regeneration. They forget that after 1,900 years of Christian ap-

peal, the number of Christians is still distressingly small. They refuse to see

that it is not the Christian appeal, nor

any other ethical appeal, but the neces-

sities laid upon the individual by the prevailing mode of production that de-

termine his belief and conduct in mate

rial things. The plea to the individual to do justice to his fellowman has an origin, indeed, that far antedates Chris-

tianity. It has been made under all

which men have produced and distrib-uted goods—the pastoral economy of

the patriarchs, the household economy of the Greeks and Romans, the town

economy and feudal economy of the middle ages, and the capitalist economy

of to-day. But under one and all of

face of the rigorous pressure imposed by the necessities of the economic en-

Now the Socialist who supports

movement dominated by the possessing

classes believes either that this appear

gain, or else he believes that the min

ority of which he is a part can exert a sufficient threat upon the larger or-ganization to compel it to adopt more progressive policies. But both of these

beliefs as I have indicated, have little

If it be true, as history seems to

record, that the possessing class yields only at the point of extreme danger or

of actual expropriation, there is but

one means of achieving Socialist suc-

to be created, how best may it be con

effectually used? Only by the development of a definite Socialist politica

movement, standing entirely apart

from other parties, whether Republi

can, Democratic, Populist or Labor, which acquiesce in the continuance of the capitalist system, and by waging

an uncompromising warfare upon that system. Such a movement must be based upon the material interests of

the non-possessing; and though it win

to its support those teachers and

preachers who have risen above the retainer mind; those petty manufac-turers and dealers who see in the con-

tinuance of the present regime an ap-proaching ruin of their livelihoods, and all those other men of whatever class

in whom the love of usefulness or the

love of fellowship or the passion for

social justice is intrinsically stronger than the love of profit or of individual

advantage, yet the material interests

of the non-possessing must be its basis. They MUST be its basis, if it would endure and wax strong; for the mere

sentiments of philanthropy or of justice

sometimes held by possessors have but an intermittent ardor in the face of economic opposition; they flare up in a transitory fervor, and as quickly die

out; while the needs and desires of the mass remain forever a constant and fundamental motive for the assertion

Such 4 movement alone can warrant an expectation of Socialist success. It alone can concentrate and further de-

velop the strength needed to compet the possessing classes to grant the con-cessions in hours and wages and con-

ditions necessary to the workers in

carrying on their campaign, and finally to compel them to relinquish entirely their ownership of the means of pro-

duction. It alone can treat with the possessing classes on a basis of power, as sovereign states make compacts and treaties, and it alone can give promise that the final outcome of the social un-

or its rights.

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[The following address was delivered Mr. W. J. Ghent before the meeting of the Collectivist Society in New York City on the evening of Nov. 19. To party Socialists it is, of course, a supe fluous argument. It was addressed however, to an audience most of whon are not affiliated with the Socialist Party and many of whom did not the candidacy of Debs and Han

To be truly a Socialist is necessarily to desire to do something for Socialism. Mere passive faith in Socialism

Divine, far-off event To which the whole creation moves' will hardly pass muster as a qualifica-tion entitling one to the name of So

The problem, then, is what to do; and the alternatives that present themselves to all men sincerely desirous of alding the cause are first, association and work with an avowedly Socialist political movement; and, second, assoclation and work with a movement not avowedly Socialist or not definitely po-litical, but conceived to be making by indirection toward the Socialist goal.

During the recent campaign many men who regard themselves as Social-lsts supported Mr. Watson; some, even must be acknowledged, supported Judge Parker; and doubtless many these are still of the opinion that by siding a non-Socialist movement pov ugh to threaten the domin ance of the Republican party, or, as in the case of the People's party, suffielently dynamic to promise a break-up of existing party lines, they are ren-dering a greater service to the ultimate supremacy of Socialism than by suprting an avowedly Socialist move

Truly, it is a touching faith.' It is volves, in the one case, a belief tha a feeble minority, subjecting itself to the disciplity of an organization in which the interests of private capitalism must necessarily dominate, can effect changes of policy antagonistic to capitalism in that body; and in the other case a belief that the preaching of non-Socialist reforms, such, for in stance, as the bolstering up of the de-clining middle class by anti-trust legising masses of men with Socialist prin-

A rapt faith it is; but it is woven of the stuff of which dreams are made As a matter of fact, neither of these things happens. If ever there was a chance for a radical, and by no means feeble minority, to impress its prin ciples upon an organization of which it was a part, it lay with the Populists of 1896-1993. The People's party, on platform of radical "middle-class demands, polled more than one mill popular, and 22 electoral, votes in 18 and upward of one and three-quarter million popular votes in 1894. Per-maded that it could more easily gain its demands by fusion with the Democ racy, it permitted itself to be swallow ed up by that organization in 1896, and it remained in that capacious maw for seven years, when like Jonah, though somewhat less whole and perfect that when it went in, it again came forth. The effect of the Populist movement on the Democratic party is instructive if nothing more. By 1900, there had been so complete a reaction in the com bined body that, although some of the radical industrial and political demands were reiterated in the Demo them were avowedly subordinated to single issue of auti-imperialisa which the campaign was waged; and another three years the reaction had preceded so far that the few re maining Populists who had not been won over to a reactionist policy were compelled to secode. Of all that great nent little remains to itself, while arcely, a trace of its influence is to found in the statutes or institutions of the states in which for a time it aid

ed to keep the Democracy in power, Quite as instructive an instance i that of the labor organizations in this state eighteen years ago. During the two years 1885-86 the Knights of Labor and the trade unions of this city and state reached a strength of organiza on never before known in the histor, America. They exerted a constan threat of independent political action and in the fall of 1886, as the United Labor party, they polled more than 68,000 votes in the present boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx for Henry George for mayor. Their numerical strength and their independent attitude compelled the attention of the political masters, and during this and the fol-lowing year they were enabled to secure a greater volume of really bene-ficial labor legislation than had been granted in all the previous history of the state. But blind to their ow oth as an independent organiza tion, they were led to believe the greater successes awaited them by ex-erting their influence within the Demoorganization. They were swal up by Tammany Hall, and the inevitable consequence followed. La-bor legislation suddenly ceased, and though it has made spasmodic appearances since, it is usually of a kind that an Appellate Division or the Court of Appeals finds no difficulty in declaring

Now, the machinery of the two large political parties is necessarily controll-ed by the possessing classes. It will re-main so, in the nature of things, so long as there are possessing classes

sing classes and the non-possessing class are too fundamental to be solved by any collaboration of classes except as collaboration is involved in the acceptance of concessions by the demand ingclass from the possessing class. The collaboration of classes, as it is ordin arily understood, means in this case only the kind of collaboration so frequently instanced by the lion and the lamb, or what our anti-imperialist friends understand by Mr. McKinley's term of "benevolent assimilation." With all the means of production, with all the political mechanism in their hands, the possessing classes have the power to grant life or to ordain star-vation and death to multitudes of men; vation and death to multitudes of men; it is a power which will not be voluntarily renounced; and only by developing their strength as a separate and antagonistic body can the non-posses-sing attain a degree of power sufficient to compel the possessors to listen to There are, it is to be admitted, many persons not unwilling to be called Se

rest will be a complete reorganization of society and not a mere series of patches on the present social inferno.

The differences between the pos

classes and the non-po-

cialists, who look with apprehension mon a possible Socialist victory in our time. They are fearful of its immediate results, and hopeful that Socialist advances may come only by gradual steps. For my part I can say that, steps. For my part I can say that, realizing fully the possible—though not absolutely necessary—unsettlement and chaos for the moment attending an immediate Socialist victory, I can yet fervently wish for that victory at this bour. Whatever the degree of chaos possible under that circumstance, it can hardly be worse than the chaos everywhere prevalent to-day. It is only because we have been accustomed to the capitalist system from our child-hood, and because we habitually vell our perception of things with an ideological haze that prevents clear see ing, that we can look upon the evils possible evils attending a Socialist po-litical revolution. In this, the most favored of all lands in material resources, there are, according to Mr. Robert Hunter's recent investigations, no les than ten million persons, or one-eighth of the entire population, living in a more or less constant state of poverty. The prevailing industrial militarism yearly entails a greater loss in deaths and manaings than was suffered by all the armies in any year during the Civil War. Last year the railroads alone killed 9,984 persons, and wounded some 76,000 more, while the factories, mills and other workplaces added rmous, though uncomputed, sum to the total casualty list. Throughout all the processes of industry and commerce a fierce and unremitting conflict is waged-a conflict wherein, as a rule, every one must strive to get the advan-tage of his fellow, wherein the cunning and the strong are victors, and the reign everywhere, and the corruption and debasement of human life steadily proceeds in an increasing ratio—a direct and inescapable result of the capitalist system of production. To me at least, it is a definitive conclusion that mentary evil, not even all the temporary inconveniences and evils that might attend a sudden Socialist victory could wreak such havor upon a community

by capitalism.

But whether one would have this victory now or at some remoter date, he can effectively contribute to its coming by supporting a political move-t whose avowed purpose is to strive for it unfalteringly. The vague efforts along other lines are invariably lost among the bogs and morasses of capitalist politics. And therefore the one obvious duty laid upon 'each is from now on till the final victory to s aid and support to the Social-

or a state as is now hourly wreaked

COLLECTIVIST SOCIETY.

Notice to Members, Associate Mem bers and Contributors to the Collec-

The Publication Committee, believing the paramount present duty of all Socialists to e the strengthening of the Socialist Party. and believing the extension of the circulportant means to that end, has decided, instead of publishing a pamphlet at this time, to send The Worker for three months, beginning with the issue of Dec. 4, to each

Your committee hopes that by the time of the expiration of the subscription, you will have found the paper so welcome a visitor that you will order it sent to you for the following year. Fraternally yours,
PUBLICATION COMMITTEE,

There seems to be little doubt that

The Collectivist Society. New York, Dec. 3, 1904.

TO "REFORM" UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

in leading circles in Germany the idea of abolishing—or at least "reforming" -the universal suffrage for the Reich stag exists. That being so, it raises for the German proletariat the very vital question what they can do to ward off the blow, and the general strike naturally occurs to any one. A united decision of the German workers to do no work would be a striking demonstration, and one that certainly need not give rise to bloodshed if the masses are only organized. It must be remembered, as the "Leipziger Volkszeitung" points out, that once the workers were deprived of their grea political weapon, the bourgeoisle would not stop there-the right of coalition of meeting, free speech, and so forth, would soon logically follow. The bour

geoisie would not allow their own work to be stultified. Thus, even if we take the most unfavorable view of the prospects of such a mass rising, it stion whether it is not better to die fighting than to take it lying down. All such questions, however, depend on the proletariat itself,—Lon-don Justice. Steps are being taken to establish at Denver, Colo., a home for aged and indigent carpenters, on a plan shailar to that of the Printers' Home at Colo-

rado Springs. —The headquarters of the European Union of Transport Workers has been removed from London to Hamburg M. Jochade of Hamburg succeeds Ben Tillett as secretary.

SOCIALISM IN THE DRAMA.

A Review and Appreciation of the First Productions of the Progressive Stage Society.

Last week The Worker contained news report of the successful produc-tion of two one-act Socialist plays by the Progressive Stage, a society organized for the purpose of producing modern social dramas of progressive tendencies and literary merit.

The Progressive Stage Society num

bers many active Socialists among its membership; the founder and presi-dent of the society, Julius Hopp, is a member of the Socialist Party; and the purpose of the society deserves the enthusiastic co-operation of all Socialists. The surprising success of the first productions at Carnegie Lyceum New York City, Sunday before last, should therefore be a matter for congratulation among Socialists, especial y as one of the plays-"The Scab." by Elsa Barker—is the first labor play of literary merit and dramatic excellence

by a Socialist author in America. The plays were acted by experienced amateurs, dramatic students and a number of professionals who are so in sympathy with the purposes of the society that they are willing to freely give their services until the society has achieved sufficient success to warrant the regular engagement of its actors. The acting of "Miner and Soldier" was finished and almost perfect; but "The Scab" lost some of its power by defeetive acting at two vital points in the part of John, the striking workingman, although the play gripped the audience from start to finish, holding the closest attention and receiving great applause

"The Scab" is not "stagey" or "the atrical"; it is a quiet play, yet of in-tense draumtic power, and with a "striking climax; it is compact and meaty, exposing the real nature of capitalism by a number of remarkably incisive lines which are called forth naturally by the situation. It not only situation between Labor and Capital, but also indicates the out come; it not only presents a problem, but also has a purpose. It shows the proletarian ideal of the solidarity of labor, the ideal of loyalty to his class, which the class-conscious workingman places above personal comfort and ties of kinship, above all other considerations.

It is therefore a play which will be appreciated by workingmen and succeed at by capitalists; a play which will arouse the spirit and intelligence of unawakened workingmen and will middle-class conservatives. When the labor problem is on the stage, the class struggle cannot be kept out of the theatre; and if this play were produced before a mixed audience, it would probably be hissed from the boxes by the rich and vigorously ap-planded from the cheap sents in the gallery. This play could receive no greater tribute than to be hissed by a fashionable audience; for there is no neutral "human" standpoint in the class struggle, there are only the class

The scene of "The Scab' is a ten ment home in which live a mill-worker who is on strike, his wife and her brother, both also on strike, and d little daughter. The suffering of the workers and the cause of their poverty are both shown, in a way that goes to the bottom of the heart, and convinces the mind as well, by the innocent ques tions of the lungry little child, and by the dialogue that takes place at the visits of the instalment collector and the landlord. When the father comes in he tells his wife that the only hop of winning the strike is in the fac that the son of the mill-owner is run ning for the legislature and the capitalist might give in in order to get the votes of the workers as a friend o labor. Into the scene of want and hunger, next comes the wife's brother, who has been missing all day. /He brings an armful of eatables, saying that he found a dollar in the street. While they are eating the meat and bread which he has brought, the father sees a bobbin in his brother-in-law's pocket and knows that he has been working in the mill, that he has scabbed. A dramatic scene ensues and the enraged striker drives the scab brother from the home that he has disgraced by his treason to his class and its cause. The husband declares: "We want honest food in this house or and agrees that it is better to starve

than to scab. The strike is finally won,

the mill-owner giving in, as the striker vigorously declares, "in order to make political capital out of it." The child

is told that now the strike is over they

will have supper every day; she asks her mother if she will continue to go out in the sunshine with her every day

and teach her her lessons, and when sho is told that this cannot be because both mother and father must go back to the mill, the little one says: "Then I don't see why you are so glad.' The workings of capitalism, the nature of the struggle between Labo and Capital, and the spirit of the class conscious workingman are all brought faintly suggested in this bare outline of the plot. The lines contain an number of such points for so short a play, and all of them come sim-ply and naturally without being strained after. The political power of the working class is suggested by the anxiety of the capitalist to get their votes; and the Socialist goal of the la oor movement is indicated in the few words of the "some time story" which the mother tells the little girl in place me time story" which of the "once upon a time" story which she asks for—an incident in the play which is very different from the long preaching speeches which are so likely to destroy all dramatic merit in at-

tempts at propaganda on the stage— and in one or two remarks of the striker elsewhere in the play. 'As the play was originally written the scab comes back to announce the winning of the strike, and it was so played, but the author had decided time before the performance, al though too late to make the change in though too late to make the change in the rehearsals, to have this announced by another mill hand. The play will be greatly strengthened by this change. As it was played, the return of the scab had a bad effect, because the actor who played the part of the striker entirely missed the contempt with which he was to meet the au-

ement of his brother-in-law that "'We' won the strike" by failing to sarcastically emphasize the "we" in repeating the scab's phrase.

In the quiet parts, Roy Dana Tracy, as the striker, was excellent, but, in addition to the error just mentioned, he failed to act the scene where the scab is put out in a realistic manner, and this climax thus lost some of its power. In justice to Mr. Tracy, how-ever, it must be said that he was sandicapped by severe illness during rehearsals. Anne Troop played the part of the wife with exquisite art and fine "reserved acting;" and all were charmed by the wonderful per formance of little Carline Carman who is a professional child actress of extraordinary ability. John De sia was efficient as the scab; Charles James made a good landlord; and L. lector on very short notice.

The second play, "Miner and Sol-dier," translated from the French of Tola Dorian and J. Malafäyde, is also a strike play. It presents the conflict between the ideals of patriotism or military obedience and labor's solidar-ity. The strikers, driven to desperation, decide to blow up the mine. The military has been called out and the mouth of the mine, with strict orders not to speak to anyone, is a young min who was born and raised in that lo-cality. While he is on guard his sweetheart appears, but he remains motion less and deaf to her joy at first and her wild grief and fury when she finds that he will not speak. Afterwards the striker who was chosen to blow up the mine appears and is about to kill the sentinel when he finds to his horror that the soldier is his son. for at seeing his son turns to anger when he will not speak and keeps him from the mine with fixed bayonet. They struggle, and the mother, who unflinchingly approves her husband's mission, even though it may cost his life, then appears to him. He is still firmly silent. The father in his rige then declares that this can be no sor have been untrue to him with some blackguard. This at last opens the soldier's mouth in defense of mother. He then escapes the dile of his "duty to his country" and his feelings for his parents, by placing the muzzle of his gun in his mouth and pressing the trigger with his foot. Raising herself from her grief over the end though bowed with sorrow tells the father to go to his duty, and he enters the mine, as the curtain

"Miner and Soldier" contains many striking lines, in addition to being so powerfully drauntic. It is a play of extraordinary merit, but it is to be regretted that it makes violence and destruction of property, which can ac-complish nothing, and is therefore almost never used now in any organized way, the weapon of the strikers. Tola Dorian, who has long lived in Paris, was a revolutionist in Russia, and this probably accounts for her introduction of this terrorist method, which is so unsultable, unnecessary and futile in America. Otherwise the play is entirely suited to American conditions.

J. H. Greene as the father, Astolaine Montgomerie as the mother, Willard Duncan Howe has the son, and Eda Brum as the seldier's sweetheart, all played their parts excellently. Charles James was wonderfully touching an thrilling as Grandpa La Fosse, an old workingman, choking with asthma and with "more cold dust than blood in my veins," but still full of the spirit of revolt. As captain of the soldiers. Arthur Story gave an excellent impersonation of the cynical official, conscious of the wrongs and hypocrisies about him, but indifferent and flippant so long as he does not suffer hi The minor parts were well played by Lonis Wainwright, John De Persia R. Milton Boyle, D. B. Gally, Isadora

Lyon, and Gypsy Alcott. When Julius Hopp started the Pro gressive State movement tast spring the difficulties to be overcome seemed almost insurmountable and many thought that the attempt was prema ture; he has brought it to its present success by sheer force of will and indefatigable energy. All such movements owe their existence, of course, to the time and the social conditions, but it is safe to say that this one would not have come to fruition until several years later if it had not been for Comrade Hopp.

society will probably be Ibsen's "En-emy of the People." All inquiries should be addressed to the president, Julius Hopp, 203 E. 114th street, New York City.

THE ODDS WE OVERCAME IN ITALY. Italian correspondents to the "Pet

Ite Republique" of Paris and the Vi-enna "Arbiter Zeitung" describe the tac-tics which were used by the "Liberal" Government and its reactionary allies to prevent the Socialist Party making any considerable gains at the second bulloting on Nov. 13. The bourgeois Republicans, it is alleged, generally voted against us, in spite of their pro-fessions of friendship, preferring a bourgeois monarchy to a proletarian republic. The influence of the church was used for all it was worth on be-half of the government, which, as has so long been pretended, was persecuting the Papacy. Finally, the govern-ment officials used corruption, threats, and actual violence, almost in Peabody fashion. In some places troops wer called out to terrorize the working class voters. Dead men were voted, as freely as they are in Philadelphia. In South Italy notorious criminals were released, and licenses to carry arm were given out to "doubtful charac-ters" immediately before the elections

GET BUSY, MR. CAMPBELL.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 5 .- Represen ative Campbell of Kansas (Rep.), who was re-elected last month by 14,000 majority in a district that was in only recent years Democratic, thinks the growth of the Socialist party as evidenced by the Delegation of the Socialist party as evidenced by the Delegation. denced by the Debs vote, a disquietin aspect of the recent election. Because the evil is as yet in its incipiency, h the evil is as yet in its incipiency, incipiency, incipience, and be advocates a concerted movement of all parties against the teachings of Socialism, before too many people become committed to its dangerous propaganda.—Special dispatch to New York Evening Past.

A PLAIN SPOKEN ADDRESS

To the Common Soldiers in the Ranks of the Socialist Labor Party.

was printed in The Worker of Mar. 24 1901. It is again very appropriate, after the election of Nov. 8, 1904, and we reproduce it without change.—Ed.

Comrades:-No soldiers ever fought more valiantly than you in the campaign of 1900; not once did you lower your colors or your arm. No soldiers ever worked more arduously than you you tolled early and late and ever. No soldiers ever made greater sacrifices than you; you gave all that you had;

You were defeated, and defeated badly. You may, if it pleases you, deny it to others, and lie to yourselves -but you canot make yourselves be lieve it. The vote of the Social Demo cratic Party's candidate for president is nearly three times that cast for the nominee of the Socialist Labor Party; for governor of New York the candidate of the Social Democratic Party received almost as many votes as did the nominee of the Socialist Labor Party, in spite of your advantage in having legal recognition and the famil-iar name and emblem; and this was the first year of the S. D. P. in either New York state or national politics. Say, if it pleases you, that the S. D.

P. vote is not a Socialist vote-then tell yourselves what became of the 50,000 votes lost by the S. L. P. Were they Socialist votes when the S. L. P. had them, and did they cease to be Socialist votes when the S. D. P. got them? If so, what kind of Socialist votes has the S. L. P. been making, and how about the 35,000 votes remaining to it Are they the same as the 50,000 that have gone before, and do you expect them to go the same way?

To those of you who really believe that the Socialist Labor Party won a great victory in the last campaign have nothing to say, save to ask then how many victories of that stamp they think they can stand. But to those who can learn by experience (and be who canot learn by experience is a fool) there is a valuable lesson in the election returns.

If you are prepared to acknowledge that the S. L. P. was defeated, what was the cause? You will not find it in the stars, unless you look to your star performer; you need not study astrolo ry to find those 50,000 lost votes, no clairvoyant; palmistry might bell you, however, if you would consult the hand and the handiwork of your chief

oothsayer.

If no fault is to be found with the men in the ranks of the Socialist La bor Party army; if they obeyed orders which they did; and fought courage ously, which they did; and still were defeated, which they were; then, there being no possible fault to be found with the comon soldiers, which there is not-then is it not possible that something was wrong with the general of the S. L. P. army and his plan of action? Of course, the thought is treason for an S. L. P. man. But there

are worse crimes than treason. You common soldiers of the Socialist Labor Party fought valiantly; of what worth is valor to a man who bitters his head against a stone wall? You worked industriously; what will his in dustry avail a man who pours water into a sieve? You sacrificed your all for a "Daily People," which-from its first issue to its last, has done all that n daily paper could do against Social-ism; if a man's contributions are used to thwart the cause for which they are made, how great must they be to nchieve his purpose?

No fault can be found with the col

on soldlers of the Socialist Labo Party. The cause for their defeat must then be looked for in the general of then be looked for in the general of that army and his plan of campaign. This brings us to DeLeon and DeLeo ism. When did the Socialist Labor Party thwart his wishes, purpose, or caprice? Not until July 8, 1890. Then he claimed that the oposition was in a minority. This last election has demonstrated that he fied. In Greater New York, where the Socialist Lake Party had the party machine, the offi-cial emblem, "prestige," everything, the Social Democratic Party beats it the first year it goes to the polls. Those election figures of last November show rade Hopp.

The next play to be produced by the July 8, 1899. DeLeon had every point of vantage in his favor, yet at the first

count he is shown to be in a minority.

Then he told you that those who opposed him were not Socialists, but ere men who had been in the S. L. P. to use that party in the interests of Tammany; this year these same men, cording to him, are being backed by the Republican party. Do you S. L. P. men really think that the S. D. P. was backed by the Republican party in the interests of Tammany? Which lie do you like best? This is the man who, a short time since, spoke to an audience in New Haven about an "insult to their intelligence." He was not refer ring to the S. L. P. men present.

He led you to suppose that the Socia Democratic Party delegate to the In-ternational Congress at Paris would not be seated, alleging that he did not come from a Socialist organization; our delegate was seated, and on the squestion of attitude toward trade un-ions the position of the Paris Congress is identical with that of the American Social Democratic Party. Then he told you that the S. D. P. would not try to get on the ballot in New York state: we did try, nevertheless. Then he told you that we could not get the signatures, anyway; we got them, nevertheless. Then he told you that the Republicans got the signatures for us. publicans got the signature and a half re-iterated the assertion that we were a Tammanyized gang. But do not be alarmed; he has not yet told you that the Republicans voted for us to help Bryan, or that the Democrats voted for us to elect McKinley. He has followed one lie with another as fast as he could write them and have them printed. And you men in the ranks of the S. L. P. have believed them all.

DeLeon told you that the S. D. P. would be on the ballot in few if any states; we were on the ballot in more states than the S. L. P., with its ten years' experience and similing in the political field. And he told you that if the S. D. P. did get on the ballot its vote would be insignificant; the vote of

This article, by Benjamin Hanford, the S. D. P. was nearly three times respirated in The Worker of Mar. 24, that of the S. L. P. Is our vote insignated. dificant? If so, in what terms do you

lescribe the vote of the S. L. P.7

But these lies are nothing. In addition to these and many of a similar nature, he has at every opportunity maligned and villified, by innuendo naligned and villified, by innuer and direct assertion, every person w differed from him or disagreed with his methods. Not only persons, but al-most the entire English literature of Socialism in America, save only His "People," was placed under taboo and an. Acting under his inspiration, many of the common soldiers in His Party acted the part of rowdles, ruflians, and blackguards. Many times you did your best to break up meet-lngs of the Social Democratic Party. Taking your cue from DeLeon, many of you regarded it as a wrongful act for an S. L. P. man to read an S. D. P. paper; and an S. L. P. man who spoke to a member of the S. D. P. was looked upon with suspicion.

Does the result please you? Do you

Your felly in following tactics laid down by a fool or a scoundrel did not succeed; such methods never will suc-ceed. But does the result please you? Do you wish to reduce your vote still further? Those of you who like it,

Some of you must be dissatisfied with a decreasing vote as a result of your increased labors. Some of you must be weary of getting men to join the S. L. P. only to have those who are not fools get out or be thrown out by DeLeon's folly or rascality. Some of you have human intelligence, and must see that DeLeonism tears down faster than you can build up. What has been your fault? What

should you do? You have mistaken the means for

the end. At first the miser hoards that he may not starve; then starves that he may hoard. So you formed a party to achieve a purpose; and you have substituted the party for the purpose. To you the Socialist Labor Party has become of primary, Socialism of sec-ordary importance. And your leaders have made the party of all importance.

What should you do? Your first duty should be to withdraw your support from the S. L. P. under its present leadership. Pretty hard, isn't it? It took high courage to ioin the old S. L. P. It takes more courage to leave a political party than it does to join one. Sometimes it is

more important.

At present the Socialist Labor Party stands in the way of Socialism. De Leon knows it. Again, I do not say he is a capitalist agent. But again I do say that, were he a capitalist agent, would pursue exactly the course that he does pursue. Oppose the trade unions. Is the capitalist opposed to trade unions? Certainly. So is De-Leon. How is the best way to fight trade unions? Organize rival unions in the same trade. Would the capital-ist organize rival unloss in the same trade? Certainly. What does De-Leon? With all the power that he has, with all the backing of the S. L. P., whenever and wherever he can, he or ganizes rival trade unions. Would the capitalist like to have the Socialist movement split? Certainly. DeLeon split it. But he has left only the smaller portion now. What will be his next move? No one can tell. But De-Leon will do anything except unite the working class or any part of it, trade union or otherwise, unorganized or otherwise, Socialist or otherwise. De-Leon is discord; DeLeon is destroyer; and, saving clause: DeLeon is defeat. Whatever he has part in splits, breaks up; whether S. L. P. or S. T. & L. A. He feeds on destruction and, like a ackal fattens on dissolution.

You men in the ranks of the S. L. P. who think you have achieved a glorons victory, who think everything is all right, who think DeLeon is the only man in the world who knows what So-cialism is, or what tactics should be, or understands Marx, or taxation, or trade unions, stick right where you are. For those who must worship something human, a foul smell will serve as well as anything. (By the way, did you ever hear of Marx in the rôle of union buster?) But some day even you may discover that Socialist ganda cannot be made with a propaganda cannot be made with a club (in the hands of Socialists) any more successfully than real Christianity could make progress by burning retics at the stake.

To you men in the ranks of the S. L. P. who can think and who dare think, I can only ask that you first read the platform of the Social Democratic Party—not some garbled set of resolu-tions published in His "People," but the whole platform as published in this paper; if it is not a Socialist platform, tell us why not. Then read a Social Democratic paper once. In a while, and find out for yourself whether or not they are making propaganda for Socialism. Learn that if Socialism is not truth, the club and villification will not make it so. If Socialism is truth, it must grow through argument and reason, not through another ma and abuse. Don't read Social Democratic literature as a favor to me; do your-

tells you that that party under its

present leadership follows the wrong course, so I tell you to stay in it and work with it, if AFTER STUDYING ALL SIDES, you think it in the right. But decide the matter for yourself. Better be wrong and make up your own political mind than be right because in blind ignorance you blindly follow some leader, good or bad, great

or small. BEN HANFORD.

PARTY NEWS. (Continued from page 3.)

The state picuic committee will meet t headquarters, 239 Washington street, Newark, on Sunday, Dec. 11,

Courtenay Lemon will lecture in Newark on Monday evening Dec. 12, at Harmony Hall, 653 Broad street, his subject being, "Do We Need the Capitalist?" - The last lecture was very successful; the hall was full, about \$4 worth of subscriptions were taken for The Worker, besides other literature sold, and Morris Hillquit's talk was one that held the closest attention of his audience to the last word.

James M. Rellly will speak at 18 Germania avenue, Jersey City, Friday evening, Dec. 16, 830 p. m. All comrades are requested to attend.

Pennsylvania.

Courtenay Lemon of New York will lecture in Philadelphia on Sunday af-ternoon, Dec. 11, 3 p. m., at Equity Hall, 1924 Lombard street. His subject will be: "Do We Need the Capitalist?"

A local of the Socialist Party has been formed at Easton. It meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., in Oldenweller's Hall, corner Seventh and Northampton streets. All who wish to know what Socialism stands for are invited to join, and those who are already Socialists should join the organization.

A meeting of the Allegheny County Agitation Committee will be beadquarters, 4 Diamond Square, Pittsburg, Sunday, Dec. 11, 2 p. m.

The members of the several locals of the Socialist Party of Pittsburg are notified that a city convention will be held at 4 Diamond Square, Pittsburg, Sunday, Dec. 11, 2.30 p. m., for the purpose of nominating a candidate for City Comptroller; at the same time the comrades of the several wards will ominate candidates for School Direct

Within the past four months half a dozen new locals have been organized in Allegheny County. The latest is a Finnish Local with 48 members. The Seventh and Eighth Ward Local of Pittsburg holds public lectures

every Sunday evening at its headquarters, Franklin and Logan streets. Local Duquesne is arranging to hold weekly lectures for educational pur-

oses. Time and place of meeting will be announced later. Secretary Schwartz, on behalf of the Socialist County Committee of Al-

legheny County, has preferred charges against the Election Board of the Third District, Seventh Ward, Pittsburg, for violation of the election laws, The hearing has been postponed twice, but is now scheduled for Tuesday, Dec. 13.

The Philadelphia constades, inspired by the increase of their vote, are plan ning an active winter campaigh. Lec-tures will be held at headquarters, 1305 Arch street, and every comrade is expected to contribute a little money a possible and a little personal assist-ance anyhow to make the winter's work successful.

Massachusetts.

State Secretary Putney addresses the Massachusetts comrades as fol-lows; The State Executive Committee, at its meeting of Dec. 3, in view of the Tact that many speakers from outside were soliciting from Massachusetts locals opportunities to lecture, voted that all speakers coming in from other states tirst ask approval from the Massachusetts State Executive Committee, and that all local clubs engage speakers sent out by the state office. Executive Committee has engaged National Organizer M. W. Wilkins of California for organizing work in Massachusetts. There is immediate necessity for a thorough work of organiza tion, reorganization, and strengthening of all of the party clubs, and the Ex ecutive Committee wishes Comrade Wilkins to have the largest opportun-ity possible for this work. While many thers may help somewhat in this di rection, we are sure no one is available who can do this work for the state as can Comrade Wilkins. Do not waste large sums of money in hiring halls and paying for a multitude of speakers, but first get right down to a better organization of our forces, and then we shall be ready for the largest possible work of education

A Socialist Women's Club has been organized in Lynn, through the efforts of Miss Ellen F. Wetherell, and is expected to do good propaganda work. Geo. G. Cutting will speak at Home-stead Hall, 724 Washington street, Boston, Sunday, Dec. 11, 8 p. m. Sublect: "Fallacies of the Single Tax."

--- Wherever we turn the dominant politi cal life of America shows the decadence of hypocrisy. The dignity of political office has fallen so low that decent men, even those who profess the plutocratic blas of selves that justice.

In conclusion, as I would have you leave the S. L. P. if your judgment render public service.—Franklin H. Went render public service .- Franklin H. Went-

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