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The Worker.

OUR INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM.

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

Written for The Worker by Gustavus Myers.

THIRD ARTICLE.

LUDLOW, Mass., Dec. 16.—It is nere, in this jute and henry manufacturing center that one chances upon a lusty specimen of that form of industrial development so well pictured in W. J. Ghent's "Our Benevolent Feudalism." In most industrial centers re-crudescent feudalism is in the mid-way stages only. Some of the essentials are clearly perceptible but the comprehensive embodiment awaits time and further opportunity to mature. Here it is no longer a gravitation toward thorough industrial feudalism. That state is already in benign and all-embracing operation, as perfect a process as in the flux of quickening conditions could so far have been de-

vised. The long, grim mills, immensities of industrial might, look out upon a region of river-stretch, tilled land and woods, dwellings, stores, schools and churches all under the complete domin ion of absentee magnates who come perhaps once a year to survey their far-reaching possessions. They own land for miles along each side of the Chicopee River and back for a distance. They own the great dam at Red Bridge with its, and other, feudal, absolute rights of water power. They own almost every building in sight, of high and low degree, on both sides of the river-mills, warehouses, store buildings, cottages and tenements, whole radius embraced in a single grasp of corporate ownership. Their money and land has either built or helped build schools, library, churches and public buildings. They own the electric light plant from which their army of dependents must get their light. They own woods which supply timber and firewood and farms and dairies the produce of which is sold

The Absentee Magnates. In their corporate capacity they are the Ludlow Manufacturing Associates. All live elsewhere, most of them in Boston. Mysterious, great personages to their thousands of workers and de pendents, clothed with all the concrete attributes of distant, mighty industrial potentates whose transmitted word is law, they come here but occasionally, like some monarch who condescends to leave the grandeur of his palace and vouchsafe a visit to his subjects of a remote realm. They, the Ludlow Manufacturing Associates, are practi-cally the town of Ludlow; and the five thousand souls here and across the river are dependent upon their will. The coming of any one, or all, of those magnates is an event. But they need never come. They might disport themselves on the crookings of the Nile or bask in the balm of placid Italian shores and the system will work as smoothly and the dividends flow in as enremittingly. All here is system, elaborated, mathematically precise, no detail left unseen and unprotected. In direct charge of this vast donain is an agent, a kind of modern industrial pro-consul, vested with large absolute and large advisory powers. He has grown gray in their service; he knows how to earry out their slightest wishes; and their commands become his com and their commands become his com-mands. When these commands are pro-mulgated, two thousand employees must bend the knee and obey or stand the penalty of rebels. Under the agent es and bead-taskmasters—all from apex down nicely apportioned each to his allotted task, each responsible to a superior, the whole culminating in the autocratic agent, who, in turn, stands at the orders of the financial bosses

low Manufacturing Associates.

The Story of Ludlow. The revenues of a cluster of princi palities go from here to those few magnates every year. Since exploita-tion is the mainspring of the times and leads to wealth, honor, high station, mastery, eulogy—all that is embodied in the meretricious magic of the load-star mere. star success—the owners of these mills were wise in their foresight. Thirty years ago the site of what is now Ludlow was homely Jenisville and its sole industry was an old-fashioned stone cotton mill built fifty years before. In 1871 the Ludlow Manufacturing Company bought this mill and began making gunny bag-cing ludge twines and twines linen ging binder twines, and twines, lines, and jute carpet, marlines and webbing for upholstery. Men of less busines sugacity might have rested satisfie with running the mill with its accrus. Not so the men of the Manufacturing Company Theirs was no modest prospective shackled by narrow comprehension oultimate scope. With the real instinct and the inspired wisdom of true capindustry, they realized that that many activities could be made to revolve about it. The tendencies of the times were their gospel. Why back satisfied with owning a few pa try rods of land when the whole lo to build and own houses when they themselves could do it on a great scale and thus get back a large part of the wages paid out? Moreover there was evolent aspect—that knightly, high-minded benevolence of the pos-sessors who set themselves up, by divineauthority, as stewards for the nor cent. profit. The company would build cont. profit. The company would build "model" houses for its employees and exercise generally a kindly sway for their good. If, in the process, large dividends were made, that was plain business, and business, as we all know, cannot be run on sentiment. The time of the Ludiow Manufacturing Company was transferred on March

for small enterprises, furthermore, has gone by. At Chicopee, Chicopee Falls, Holyoke and elsewhere the mill owners, in starting, hed wofully lacked foresight in not buying miles, instead of a few blocks, of land. Had they done so they would have owned not merely parts of, but whole cities.

Own Both Land and Mills The Ludlow Manufacturing Compan

saw and profited by the shortsic edness of those blunders. It proceed equests of those bunders. It proceeds systematically to buy land, Gradually its demain increased until it now owns all the land along both sides of the Chicopee River and considerably back into the country for a distance of five miles above the mills to Red Bridg and a mile and a half below the mills In an advertisement it published eigh years ago, the company stated that I wned 6,000 acres of land. Its owner ship of land is now much greater. By free state gift, by purchase or by shee institution of possession it has ob-tained, little by little, exclusive power rights to the waters of the Chicope River until now you cannot follow the winding course of that stream for miles without stepping on company land and without looking at water the power rights of which, by edict of law, belong to the company. Several years ago th company, at a cost of \$2,000,000, built a great dam at Red Bridge, the power from which is more than enough to rur groups of mills and the electric light plant. The water rights of the company are so enormously valuable that even the agent cannot give any apto assure you that they are "very, very valuable." The one original mill has grown to many mills and warehouses, acres upon acres of them, so many industrial castles surrounded by

Incessant Acquisition.

The corporation's policy has been one of incessant acquisition; none but the inside clique knows of the real ex tent of its possessions here and else-where. The state officials do not know or profess not to know. Mill buildings worth millions of dollars are assess at merely a tithe of their actual value The rule of the company, strictly en-joined upon all employees, is secrecy respecting those delicate affairs which might influence taxation or the tarif or which might directly or indirectly involve the company in trouble of financial loss. In the offices here they cannot, or will not, tell what the exact present capital stock of the companis, except to volunteer reluctantly th information that it is about \$1,200,000 With zealous alacrity they disclaim knowing what the annual dividends are. "We would rather not have publicity. the agent naively demurs. No doubt. For years these jute manufacturers frantically-implored Congress, in behalf of a languishing industry, to impose a high duty on the imported product The agricultural element opposed it: Meantime, while the company's nournful petitions were being p ed to Congress, the company was rear-ing vast new mills and warehouses, in-creasing its force, augmenting its water rights and plants, buying more land, and building more houses. Publication of the profits would disturb its plans. And if the employees knew what those profits were, discontent might ensue. "Everything you see here the company owns," says the agent with a majestic sweep of his arm as if that were an all-inclusive and satis-factory statement. If common report is to be believed the profits are enor-

Where brawn of arm and ferocity and dexterity of onslaught were the weapons of the original feudal lord those of the industrial feudal lord are unning. If the law is defective it suiting his purposes, he, in the might of his cunning, will have new laws made, or failing in that, evade old laws. With all his present power he cannot always dictate what the laws shall be, especially where those par-ticular laws are the product of a re-cently all-potential middle-class which still musters sufficient strength to keep then, is the alternative. The magna may not know that powerful dynam economic forces are propelling him for-ward to concentration of industry. The intrinsic philosophy of his position is lost on him; all that he knows is that he wants to attain his selfish end and the cunning of which he is master enables him to do this, law or no law This disdain of all legal obstacles was well shown in 1902 when the

Ludlow Manufacturing Company, by an audacious subterfuge, created itself into a trust and vested in itself, by extra legal process, a new charter which greatly expanded its powers and increased its privileges

Under the General Corporations Act of the state, the company was simply empowered to manufacture. It had no legal right, for instance, to build houses, to own and operate an electric light plant, to run a restaurant. All as various activities apart from manu facturing had been conducted and cloaked under various expediencies designed to give legal sanction, but they were clumsy devices at best. An old state law which had no specific relevan-cy to modern conditions of industry and which had been pursued by distinct purpose, was discutombed to suit the purposes of the company. This law, it was found, gave the most

1902, to the Ludiow Manufacturing Associates, under a declaration of trust filed with the Old Colony Trust Company of Boston. Assets, liabilities, management and shareholders all re-mained the same, but the mere adopmanied the same, but the mere adop-tion of the new name and the filing of a deed in trust, gave the company the right—or it was a right which was as-sumed—to combine various properties in a trust and the company was also secure in the possession of a vast, com-

secure in the possession of a vast, com-prehensive charter which empowered it to do almost anything.

"The company," said the "Boston Advertiser" of March 6, 1902, "have taken advantage of a legal subterfuge, have killed off the old company and have formed a 'trust.' This seems to be about the only way of evading the corporation laws of this state—to get up a deed of 'trust' and do business in that way. * * * The corporation laws of this state were made to meet date. Either Massachusetts corporations must keep down their business t a small scale or they must evade th laws by some trick or they must get out of the state."

Futile Makeshift Laws.

This, in fact, was the company's own explanation. It contained the essential truth that the irresistible momentum of economic forces cannot be impeded by makeshift laws designed to cover a In nearly every state and in Congres corporations are nearly always able to have special laws passed for their benefit, but they have not been able to efface from statute-books those laws, passed at the behest of the once dominant middle classes, which outlaw combinations and trusts. Hence against them. Evolutionary in their ourse, they are bound to go ahead in despite the sullen opposition of the dying middle class

There was, therefore, nothing remarkable in that explanation, except inasmuch as it revealed how law is perverted to benefit the possessing classes and to beat down the aspiring projectariat. Contrast this cumping eva-sion of law with an opinion handed down by the Attorney-General of Massachusetts two weeks ago. The cotton mill strikers at Fall River have The been in a desperate condition of destitution; many have been forced to apply to the city for relief. An attorney for the mill owners dug up an old, obsolete law the purport of which was that every able-bodied man could be forced by the city to work for the support of its paupers. This law, the Attorney-General declared, was valid and could be enforced. The ulterior aim of its resurrection was to break the strike by using this law as a club the mills upon the belief that the, would rather work there for some wages than be compelled to do city work for the support of the city's de-

Under their new charter the Ludlow Manufacturing Associates concentrated compactly in themselves all the powers and feudal privileges which before they had held in rather loose form, and they added to these new privileges. Feudal in inception and essence whatever its superficial char-acter might seem, the system now be-came a practical and enlarged feudalsny under a protection which the 'aw had never designed to give, but which, perertheless, subsists as s'rongly, and, to all intents, as unassatiably as if the law specifically conferred it. Unlike other trusts and combinations the Ludlow Manufacturing Associates did not nanifold their vast properties, powers and privileges into great issues of stock. The corporation is still a close one, composed of a few families, and the stock, as far as can be ascertained, is of extremely small issue. The merel was too good to distribute

Although unapproachably silent in matters where the financial and trade rote of the trust are concerned the agent readily consents to speak of its various outward activities. He is a bowed and busy functionary, this gent; for twenty years or so he have ocen a part of the system; and he kindies with enthusiasm as he tells of the nodel homes and the other benefit provided by the company for its workers. It is not a counterfeited enthusithat the company has done a high service for its workers, something no-table to be recounted with honest pride an achievement placing it high expected upon the principle that bene its should reap benefits. And such is he deceptive character of its performances that many an unthinking emloyee, allured by the glitter, regards company as an exceptionally ben evolent one. (Continued next week.)

IN THE SWEATSHOP. In one of these sweatshops one day, a roman worker, in a case I know of, gave to a child-behind a curtain hung a woman had stelen a few moments to be with her. The child was born dead. When the mother saw that the child was dead, the cried out, shricking, but only for a few limites. Then she dried her eyes.

"Thank God." she said. "I could not And a few days later she was again at

er place in the shop. That sort of work made brutes of mer

Nowhere was there, apparently, any re-lief for this feroclous waste of buman life. These people were cast into the turmoil of the "let-alope" civilization of America; no one paid any attention to them, or cared what happened to them.—Ray Stannard Baker, in McClure's Magnaine.

nders, the uncount of this paper and out of its meditions depends on their as charlettes assets

PROBABLY NOT "FIT TO PRINT."

Belmont's Daily Persists in Misrepresentation.

etter Written By a Socialist, Calling Astention to Obvious Errors in Its Vote Tables, Coolly Ignored - The Worker Prints the Letter, Which Suggests Interesting Questions. We publish below a letter by Edward Perkins Clarke of this city, which

was sent to the New York "Times" the lay after that paper published its tables of the presidential vote in the United States and by counties in New York state. For reasons best known to themselves, the editorial sponsors of "all the news that's fit to print," or rather "all the news that it sees fit to print," did not consider it worthy of publishing. of publication, nor do the writer the courtesy of returning it, although a stamped and addressed envelope was enclosed. It is worthy of remark that tled "Swallowing the Socialists," they still stick to the total Socialist vote they originally gave of 392,857, though official figures for New York, lready published in the "Times," give the lie to its original New York figures of the Socialist vote. But what is a matter of 2.400 votes "among friends?" The letter follows:

"The energy and enterprise of the Your Vork 'Pimes' in successfully undertaking a work of such magnitude securing an approximately complete official canvass of the popular vote in the United States for all presidential candidates at the last election, and publishing the same some time prethe vote, deserves not only recognition but heartiest commendation and will the 'Times' as an invaluable news agency. While the figures are not entirely accurate, as will be pointed out later, they are as nearly complete as can be expected at this time, barring

typographical errors.
"Roosevelt's plurality in one state, Pennsylvania, is within 2,000 votes of being as large as Parker's pluralities over Roosevelt in the solid South, all added together. Parker received fewer votes than any Democratic presiden-tial candidate has received in the twen ty years since 1884. Compared with four years ago, the Democracy this four years ago, the Democracy this year lost 1,265,013 votes, or nearly 20 per cent. As the result of this Demo cratic slump, one would naturally ex-pect to find a very large increase in the Republican vote; but, on the contrary, we find it enlarged not quite 6 per cent., or 422,974. The mino sition parties altogether received accession to their ranks of over 400,000 Doubtless there are many who think even now that the Republican vote increased tremendously in the recent election, a conclusion which will not be borne out by an analysis of the returns

"One feature which must not be overooked was the small total vote. Fewer votes were cast this year than in 1900 or than even eight years ago, in 1806. Although the population of the United States increased 20 per cent, in the last deedde the total vote in 1904 1900 and 389,558 smaller than in 1806. If the normal increase in population be taken as the basis of reckening, over 16,000,000 votes would have been the reasonable expectation this year, and political students were counting on between fifteen and sixteen million votes

"Why did between two and three million voters not exercise their franchise this election? Was it because there were no strong, vital issues be-tween the two leading parties and parently whether a vote was cast for either party? The reason most frequently given is that it was considered a certainty that Roosevelt would be elected and therefore many did not care to take the trouble of voting. It has also been suggested that many are disgusted with the outcome of their voting for the old parties and have resolved not to vote at all. Whatever the reason may be, it is too serious a matter to be lightly disregarded. "In the table of the vote of New

York state for President there are some paipable errors and some mis takes which will probably have to be laid to the compositor. The sum of the Debs Socialist vote in New York is 33.343, instead of 34,443 as published, while the vote of the Socialist Labor candidate, Corregan, foots up 10, 807, instead of 11,418 as printed. These errors, of course, vitiate the correct ness of the complete United States re turns concerning the Socialist vote, Have you not exchanged the Debs and Witson votes for Cheming County? You now give Debs 28 votes in Cheming County and the official vote and nounced previously gave Debs 378 votes there. You have also exchanged cialist, Prohibitionist, and So cialist Labor votes in Genesee County, judging by earlier official reports. The most serious error is the exchanging of the Socialist and Socialist Labor votes of Monroe County, which Party votes of Monroe County which makes a difference of nearly 2,000 votes in the total of the Socialist and Socialist Labor votes, and upon this transfer hinges the question of the ap-pearance of the Socialist Labor Party on the official state ballot in the future 10,000 votes being necessary for offi-cial standing. The complete Debs vote in New York state will probably be about 37,00%, and the Socialist Labor

"The official Socialist vote in New Hampshire is 1,000, instead of 530 as published; for Wyoming, 1,574, instead of 1,077; for Texas, 2,791, instead of 2,287; for Virginia, 218, instead of 88.

You have also inadvertently exchanged the Rhode Island Socialist and Prohibitionist figures. These changes, with the correction of the New York figures will bring the Debs vote in the nation

o over 400,000."

Comrade Clarke's estimates of the Socialist vote were very close to the facts, as the complete canvass for New York and the now nearly complete offi cial figures for the country now show. But such papers as the "Times" cor rect their errors only when they car do so without hurting their millionaire

backers' interests.

The fact, to which Comrade Clarke calls attention, that two or three million voters stayed away from the hallot-boxes last November is a most significant one. Those two or three mill ion non-voters showed the negative side, as the 400,000 Socialist voter showed the positive side of the widecal revolt that is now going on.

THE PROGRESSIVE STAGE SOCIETY.

Ibsen's "Enemy of the People" to be Given on New Year's Day at Berkeley Lyceum - Another Production of "The Scab" for the Benefit of The Worker.

The second production of the Progressive Stage Society will take place on Sunday, Jan. 1, at three o'clock sharp, at Berkeley Lyceum Theatre. Forty-fourth street, near Fifth avenue. Henrik Ibsen's "An Enemy of the

People" will be produced. Admission to the theatre can be ob tained only by membership cards. This method is necessary on account of the Sunday law. The monthly dues are equired only during the season of performances, and entitle the member to sent in the theatre at each month's production. Payments of the initiation fee of twenty-five cents and the monthly dues, which are fifty cents, should be made to Julius Hopp, Presi-dent, 215 E. One Hundred and Thirteenth street.

On Sunday afternoon, Jan. 8, 3 p. m., there will be a general discussion of the play at the hall of the Professional Woman's League, 108 W. Forty-fifth street.

The society will give a performance for the benefit of The Worker, at the Academy of Music, on Sunday afternoon, Jan. 22, of the two plays for merly produced—"The Scab," by Barker, and "Miner and Soldier," Tola Dorinn and J. A. Malafayde, Further anouuncement in regard to this affair will be made next week.

FOR RUSSIAN FREEDOM.

Annual Social Democratic Ball on New Year's Eve Has a Practical Sig-

The grand annual ball of the Russian Social Democratic Society of New York, which will be held in Murray Hill Lyceum, Third avenue and Thirty-fourth street, next Saturday, is much more than a social gathering. It has a very practical significance, because the proceeds, 35-cents admission fee and the 15 cents for hat-checks, go directly to help our comrades in Russia in their strenuous fight against Tsarism. This annual ball is always an interesting event and this year it should be an unprecedented success, because of the critical situation existing in Russia.

The Society has issued an address calling the attention of the New York comrades of other than Russian nationality to the energetic manner in which the Social Democratic Party of Russia is now mobilizing the forces of the proletariat "and, in fact, has already begun to storm the Port Arthur of absolutism." The Russian government, they rightly declare, is not only a curse to the people of that country, but an obstacle to progress and a men-ace to freedom in all other lands. All New Yorkers who sympathize with the Russian Socialists in their beroic struggle for liberty are invited to show of international solidarity by attending this ball and so helping to supply the "sinews of war" for the Russian revolution.

STRAIGHT TALK IN NORWAY.

During a debate in the Storthing the Minister of State denounced Comrade Eriksen, a well-known evangelical minister, and declared that it was nothing less than horrible that men whose life work it is to preach the evangel of love and peace are sect acting as leaders in extending the gos pel of class batred." Comrade Eriksen replied to this and

in the course of his reply gave utter-ance to the following, which may well be commended to the perusal of some members of his profession in this country: "It seems to have been some-what displeasing to the Minister of struggle, when my work is suppose to consist of preaching the gospel of peace. I am well aware of the phil-csophy. Mr. President, which holds that the ministers should bless the rulers of society, and that Christianity should be used as a cloak for every of the gospel should teach the poor to say that it is God's will that they should live in the situation in which they now are and should be satisfied and contented. The ministry has cer-SOCIALISM PROPORTIONALLY tainly done this hitherto and it is con tainly done this interest and it is com-prehensible that the wrath of the con-servatives is roused when one of us breaks with this custom and will have nothing more to do with it. I am glad, as a Danish Social Democrat has once said, that my hand has been raised against the most disreputable of all politics, the politics which consist in deceiving mankind in order to make it possible for the strong to set their feet upon the necks of the most mis-erable."

SOWING THE WIND

Capitalists Getting Ready to Reap the Whirlwind.

Coolly Proposed that Republican Majo ity in Colorado Legislature Shall Throw Out the Whole Yote in 1800 Precincts and Declare Peabody Elected.

If it is true that "whom the god would destroy they first make mad," it would seem that capitalism as repreented by the Republican party Colorado is coming very near to the day of its doom. The following report, which is not taken from a Socialist source, but from the Associated Press dispatches, show the almost incredible awlessness of the Republican party in

"DENVER, Col., Dec. 25.-If the fifteenth "DENYER, Col. Dec. 25.—If the fitteenth General Assembly of Colorado, which is to meet Wednesday, Jan. 4, shall effectuate the plans formulated by the managers of the Republican post-election campaign, Gov. James II. Peabody may serve as Chief Executive of this State for two years more, despite the fact that Alva Adams still has nearly 10,000 plurality.

"There will be a Republican majority of thirty or more in the General Assembly, which will canvass the vote for State officers. It is proposed to have the General Assembly appoint a special contest counission of from nine to twelve members, to which will be submitted the evidence of the wholesale election frauds in Denyer,

to which will be submitted the evidence of the wholesale election frauds in Denver, and possibly some other counties, which evidence the Republican committees have been collecting since the election.

"The Republican managers maintain that with the fraudulent vote of Denver eliminated Gov. Peabody will have at least 7,000 plurality in this county and 2,000 in the state. The Republicans say they do not intend that the legal votes shall be sifted from the filegal and then counted, or that the Legislature shall reject the entire vote of Denver County, but they purpose that alout 1,500 Democratic precincts in the state shall be thrown out, on the ground date shall be thrown out, on the groun of alleged frauds, and that the vote of the Republican precinets shall be counted. They asert that the Supreme Court has established a precedent for such a procedure by rejecting the vote of five Denver

It may be that the Republican politicians actually in power will think better of it and decide not to carry this audacious scheme into effect. But ed in Colorado during the last year and of the reckless arrogance shown by the Republican party in the nation since November, we need not be sur prised if the coup d'état is carried out as foreshadowed in the dispatch.

Socialists can look at the matter

with entire complacency. The domi-nant party, of capitalism is rapidly laying up a store of precedents suffiient to supply a revolutionary party

THE WISER CAPITALISTS.

The late Socialist vote has certainly alarmed the exploiters that feed and grow fat upon profit. The aristocratic herd that stand at the crib of ill-paid labor, and revel in opulence while labor exists upon the husks of poverty look with fear and trembling upon the signs which indicate the downfall of capitalism and the regen-

eration of man. The National Civic Federation, the masked enemy of labor, makes the fol-lowing statements in a recent declera-

There are organizations of capital that eck and find the establishment of honorable business relations with corresponding organization of labor.

There are other organizations of capital whose present aim is to 'smash unions.'
Another foe simultaneously assails him. That foe is Socialism. Although Socialism is the avowed foe also of capital, it re rards as an aid to its cause the radical their common hatred of unionism. Socialism sees in unionism a means of bettering the condition of the masses that must tion. Before Socialism can deliver its assault upon all capital it must remove from the wage earners.

cialism should equally seek to convert to a policy of business negotiation the employ-ers' organizations that are aiding the proids of Socialism by their heated dere to smash the unions.'
The Civic Federation is a far worse

enemy of organized labor than Parry' National Association of Manufacturers that comes out in the open and de-clares its relentless hostility to the principles of unionism. The Civic Federation is attempting to adminstor an opiate to organized labor to luli it to sleep. The deadly weapon of the Civic Federation is gloved by hypoc-

Every organization of capital has but one object in view and that is to obtain as much profit as is possible from the cheapest labor. There may be a difference in the methods ployed, but the object to be attained is

The capitalist that is in sympaths with the National Civic Federation is clearer student of the economic blem than men of the Parry type diplomacy to postpone the day of jus-tice when labor shall discard the rags slavery and robe itself in of wage slavery and robe itself in the garb of economic liberty.—Miners Magazine.

STRONGEST IN FAR WEST The states having the highest Social-

ist vote in proportion to the total vote in the late election were California and was 8.8 per cent. of the whole. Oregon followed with 8.4 per cent.; then Nevada, with 7.8 per cent.; then Washington, with 7.2 per cent.; and then Idaho, with 6.8 per cent. It is rather curious that these six sates, lying all together in the extreme West, should thus head the column in this repect.

FOR THE DAILY.

How and Why All Should Work for It.

Speakers Needed to Address the Unions in Behalf of the Coming Socialist and Trade Union Newspaper - Financial

Now that the movement for the es-tablishment of a daily workingmen's newspaper is again in full swing every should do his utmost to giv the enterprise the support that is due it. John C. Chase will take charge of

the work of organizing the speakers and has sent out invitations to abou fifty speakers. Up to this writing speakers have responded for visiting fifteen unions per week. Every speak er invited is urged to respond to this call to duty as by united action on their part every trade union and labo organization in New York City and vicinity can be reached, which means the ultimate success of the enterprise

A committee called on the Kings County Committee, Social Democratic Party, asking for its support and re ports that it decided to contribute \$25 toward the fund now and made pledge of \$500, payable thirty days be fore the date of issue of the New York "Call"

Every trade union, labor organiza subdivision of the Social Democratic Party is invited to send two delegates to the "Call" Conference of New York, which meets the second and fourth Thursdays of every month at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, New York, or the "Call" Con-ference of Brooklyn, which meets the fourth Thursday of every month at Labor Lyceum, 940 Willoughby avenue Brooklyn.

avenue, Brooklyn.

Members of the Workingmen's Cooperative Publishing Association are urged to attend all meetings of the As ociation, which are held every third Monday in the month. It has become more important now than ever before that prompt and regular attendance be Every workingman of New York

City knows that nowadays working for a livelihood does not mean alone regular occupation at his trade and

getting his pay, for in order to keep our trade in a tolerable condition we must often strike, make demands and suffer lockout and blacklist. We also reported. must have organizations, meetings, discussions and other things that keep us together and prevent our employer from reducing us to a condition that would be worse than outright slavery. But in the struggle with our employ ers we are at a great disadvantage for the capitalists have on their side a powerful ally against us, the daily press. The New York dailies are al-ways on the side of the capitalists and In 1900 the Socialist vote was 2,826. Thus it is more than trebled in four against the workingmen. The printers years. have learned this during the "Sun' strike, when the other newspapers stu diously avoided any mention of the strike and refused space to the strik-ing printers even for pay. Every daily newspaper is under the control of the capitalists. If any newspaper poses as a "friend of labor" it is only in order to serve the capitalists all the better. to serve the capitalists all the better; why, then should we, workingmen, not have at least one newspaper which should always stand for our interest and present our side, where our af-fairs would be fully discussed and our meetings advertised and reported? workingmen, bitter experience has taught you to sacrifice each his individual interests for the interests of his class. In this case this virtue becomes necessity; the work of estab-lishing the New York "Call," which is

The following amounts were receiv-Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association:

to be a Socialist and trade union daily

calls for your support. Do something.

each of you who are reading these

Cash Contributions: H. Vogel, City, M. J. Kraemer, City, 75c.; A. Grofe, punch card, \$1.25; S. Menseker,
 D. Milhods, 45c.; Chas, Schad, 45c.; Ios Proiniges 45c : Local Kings Com tal on cash contributions, \$33.25; previously reported, \$4,101.11; total, \$4,134.36.

Paid on pledges: E. Ditze, 50c.; L. D. Abbott, \$10; total, \$10.50; previous ly reported, \$3,727.75; total to date

Recapitulation: Income on cash con tributions, \$33,25; income on paid pledges, \$10.50; previously reported, all \$16,589.11; total to date

IN FREE AMERICA. Marie Van Vorst, author of "The Woman

who Tolis," worked in an American cotto "The air in the mill," she writes "is frightful, the floating particles of co employees use snuff, even the youngest children; their mouths are brown with it heir tongues black. The throats of many secome incurably diseased; pneumonia i almost an epi-lemic. Unwashed little chil fren, clad in dirty rags, the same clothing in winter and summer, are driven to the mills for thirteen hours of toit, so wear; that they fall asicep at intervals of labor They have no childhood, no schooling, n play, and know only sin and misery. The drinking water breeds fever; a horrible steuch pervades the district; there are no

SCHOOL ELECTION IN SEATTLE.

Seattle, Wash., held school election ast month. We are not yet informe of the exact figures, but we learn that the Socialist candidates, Thos. C. Wis well and J. A. McCorkle, received about one-third of the total vote cast.

READ THIS AND PASS IT ON.

SOCIALIST VOTE.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

Official Returns from a Few

More States. Total Will Be Something Over Four

Hundred Thousand-In New York Our Court of Appeals Candidates Ran Well Ahead of the Ticket. Returns so for received from all of

the forty-five states, most of them offi-cial, show a total of 402,696 votes for Debs and Hanford, candidates of the Socialist Party, as against 95,869 for our candidates in 1900. The territories of Arizona and Oklahoma add 6,428, giving a total of 409,124.

New York.

We reported last week the Social Democratic vote in the state of New York for the head of the ticket. We are now able to give the vote for the various state candidates. The vote for our national ticket was 36,883 as reported; for state officers, as follows: For Governor, Thomas Pendergast-

For Lieutenant-Governor, Charles R.

Bach—36,463.

For Secretary of State, Edward J.
Squires—36,645. For Treasurer, Emil Neppel-36,519.

For Comptroller, William R. Passage 36.655. For Attorney-Genera!, Leon A. Mal-

kiel, 36,461. For State Engineer and Surveyor Squire B. Early—36,687.
For Chief Judge of the Court of Aponly Charles H Matchett_38 581

For Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals, William Nugent-38,127. The fusion of the Republicans and Democrats in support of Cullen and Werner for the two judgeships accounts for the fact that our candidates for these positions ran so largely ahead of the ticket. Otherwise, our vote is

Minnesota. St. PAUL, Minn., Dec. 22.-The state

very solid.

canvass was completed to-day. Debs and Hanford have 11,692 votes, as against 3,065 for Debs and Harriman in 1900-a gain of 281 per cent. The 8. L. P. has 974, as against 1,329 four years ago. The Populists have 2,103. Ohlo.

The Socialist vote in Ohio is 36.633. nstead of 36,122, as was previously

Nebraska. The Secretary of State informs us that our vote in Nebraska was 7,412.

Our earlier report put it at 7,380. Michigan. LANSING, Mich., Dec. 22.—The offi-cial canvass shows that Debs and Han-ford received 8.946 votes in this state.

THE OX AND THE MAN. My father's oxen, I recall, Were pounded, whipped and beaten; Yet stupidly they labored on,

Just fill their maw with chaff and straw, These cattle, strong but humble, Would gee and haw, would work and chaw,

But never, never grumble But people nowadays require More rapid means for meeting. The vast demands of modern greed For pomp and show competing. And so the working class invent Machines that work and rattle single one creates more wealth

Than any thousand cattle. The crafty drones, detesting work, Direct the laws' construction; And thus they legally acquire Machines, and their production: But shrewdly give the working class.

class itself p And they creating all the wealth. secept this little measly sixth. And smoke and eat contented. And round the world they wander

A wage, which buys about a sixth

On pleasure bent, with dude and rakes To gamble, waste and squander. They dwell in royal palaces-The working class have made them, Who live in squalld buts themselves. With rents which sore degrade them. Now, every dozen years or so

The parasites lock up their mills Lest profits be arrested. The land is burden so with wealth

It seems unique and funny; The working class have made so They starve for lack of money Then patriotic seal requires foreign complications, To sell the goods our workmen need. For clothing, heat and rations

The press responds, the eagle screams Old sabres clank and rattle; E'en churches cheer the votunteer To deeds of blood and battle, We kill and burn, good times re-To save we all endeavor: Our wage soars high, yet when we buy There's little left as ever Again we hear, from far and near

Will strike for living wages. The working class have votes enough, By learning how to use them, To claim the earth, and get it, too, instead, they take their master's vote. In ballot box they chuck it,

Deluded men! not one in ten

Content if they can only fill The old tin dinner bucket Or volunteeer for battle, My mind reverts with some relief To father's stupid cattle

-J. H. Muivey,

The Worker AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY (Known in New York State as the Social ocratic Party.) PUBLISHED WEEKLY

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Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post Office on April 6, 1891.

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

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



OLD FRANCE AND NEW RUSSIA -PARALLEL AND CONTRAST.

There is one characteristic of the Russian government, especially noticeable during the last few weeks, which is even more noteworthy than its cruelty or its corruption, and that is its utter inability to follow out consistently and firmly any one line of conduct, its extraordinary vacillation between a policy of conciliation and one of repression in dealing with popu-

The conference of zemstvo represen tatives was called under governmental sanction. When the representatives had arrived, their meeting was officially forbidden. They publicly announced their intention to meet "privately" and were not prevented from so doing nor punished for it. When the result of their deliberations-virtually a demand for representative government with a high property qualification—was published, the Socialist workingmen and students began to hold demonstrations in the streets, not, as some American news papers have stupidly or malfelously alleged, against the proposed reforms, but to demand that the reforms go further-in a word, to demand univerall suffrage. These demonstrations were a denunciation of Tsarism and a bold challenge to the government. In many cases the government abstained from interfering, but in a few cases, with no good reason for different treatment, it broke up the meetings in an extremely brutal manner. A numbe of municipal councils adopted resolu-Hops endorsing the remetvoist momortal, and only one or two of the councils were rebukted for so doing. At the same time a number of "politicals" were recalled from exile, the restrictions on the Jews somewhat relaxed, and certain concessions made to the Finns. Yet the Tear's birthday was allowed to pass without the customary pardon manifesto. Next came the news that the Council of State had considered the zemstvoist memorial and emphatically rejected it as "subversive of the fundamental principles of government." And now comes the news that an imperial ukase has been Issued which embodies some of the essential points in that memorial-just enough to convince the remsivousis of the government's weakness and fear. but not enough to satisfy them even

The only exhibition of vacillating government policy equal to this which we can recall is that of the latter years of the reign of Louis XVI., the with the Parliaments, the Assembly of the Notables, and the events that led up to the convocation of the States-General. This weathercock uncertainty of the government's conduet is characteristic of all despotisms and all oligarchies at the moment when they feel themselves serional threatened from beneath. The two we have cited are classic types, but we a less acute form in the conduct of our swa capitalist class, now offering arbi- in the art of calling a halt or order

tration and profit-sharing and organiz ing Social Service Institutes, now en foreing bineklists and suing out in junctions and building Bull Pens. The social revolution aproaches, the world over; the political revolution, which must precede it in Russia, seems to be absolutely at hand.

Indeed, this wavering policy is no the only point of likeness between France in 1887-80 and Russia of today. Up to a certain point the resemblance between the two historic mo ments is very close; in each we see i rising capitalist clas preparing to break the bonds of an antiquated political form, to destroy the autocracy which prepared the conditions for its birth and to substitute the bourgeois constitution necessary to its free de relopment. Within certain limits, we may safely predict that Russian his tory in the next few years will follow the same general course as that of France a hundred and fifteen years earlier-not necessarily the guillotin and the delegates on mission, but th establishment of representative gov ernment on a basis much more libera than its projectors intend, the general extension of civil rights, the emancha tion of manufacture and commercial from traditional restrictions, and, in general, the subordination of government to the making of capitalist prof-Its as the "chief end of man." And we may expect it to go on much faster in the Russian than in the French instance, and with much less likelihood of a Napoleon and a Restoration.

But there is one marked different in the situation. Revolutionary France was surrounded by countries more backward in economic and political development than herself, and she had to become the evangelist of tricolor liberty for all western Europe; and at home, the new bourgeois rulers had to make war, not to any great exten against the precursors of the future but only against the souvenirs of the past. Russia, on the contrary, has a class-conscions proletariat already be fore she has the bourgeois constitu tion, and that proletariat has power ful and ever growing allies in the Socialist forces of every other civilized nation. Let the political revolutio. that the zemstvoists now prepare once be effected, straightway the new governing class will be confronted by the working-class revolt that the Frenci bourgeois did not have to face serious ly till 1848. And the new government cannot divert this popular unrest by wars for the propaganda of liberty abroad, because the only liberty left for anyone to propagate will be the red liberty that means death to al class rule.

Truly, current history is so inter esting-to the Socialist, at least-that one can well understand that Frenchmen of 1793 whose only expression of regret as he mounted the guidoting was: "It's too bad: I should have liked to see what happens next."

UNLIKELY APPOINTMENTS.

We observe that there is a move ment on foot among the trade unions of New York, not only to dissuade Governor Higgins from reappointing Lafor Commissioner McMackin, whos: conduct has been so eminently satis factory to law-breaking employers, but to persuade him to appoint Mrs. Florence Kelly to that office. We think it extremely likely that McMackin will be let out-and probably consoled with some other "plum" in consideration of past services; but we shall be surprised if Mrs. Kelly or anyone so well fitted to fill the place efficiently and conscientiously is appointed. Mrs Kelly's record as Factory Inspector in Illinois is against her-from the capital ist point of view. She made herself a terror to sweatshop bosses and exthe courage and good faith of Gover nor Altgeld the one capitalist poli tician of the last twenty-five year whose memory we can respect-that kept her in office against the protests and intrigues of the respectable criminals. We do not imagine that ever the Socialist vote of last November was quite a loud enough warning to make the Albany ring appoint a Labo Commissioner who would certainly make so much trouble for its financia

backers. This incident brings to our mind the fact that it is now about two years since Carroll D. Wright's approaching withdrawal from the office of United States Commissioner of Labor was an nonneed and yet Wright is there and his successor has not been decided upon. Clark University waits impatiently for its promised president, bu Wright lingers in Washington. Presi dent Roosevelt makes and unmake cabinets like a little boy building block-houses, but Wright sticks to his old place like Casabianca to the burn ing deck. Shaw may come and Knor may go, but Wright goes on forever. And why? The reason is an open se cret. The labor organizations of th country, with remarkable unanimity have arred the choice of William S Wandley as Wright's successor. But Wandby has the reputation of being a progressive trade unionist and not a toady or a truckler. Now the Fates have decreed that the Commis ship of Labor shall be reserved and consecrated to one special use-to-wit. can observe the same phenome-on in the rewarding of labor leaders who

ing a retreat and letting the enemy esape at the critical moment-men of the type of Gompers, Mitchell, and Schaffer, who haven't shown any undue hostility to capitalism in the past and can be counted on not to show any under activity in the service of Labor if appointed. This troublesome Waudby stands in the way of the assign ment of a well-earned prize to some "good" labor leader-and we are in clined to believe that if Waudby lives to be a hundred. Wright will live on

and hold the fort against him. If Governor Higgins appoints Flor ence Kelly and if President Roosevel appoints Mr. Waudby, then we shall cheerfully grant the persistence of miracles and shall expect to see roses bloom in December in our pleasan cemented backyard. But if these mira cles don't happen-then we mildly suggest to our trade-union friends that the way to get Labor Commissioners to their liking is to elect Presidents and Governors from their own class.

NOTE COMMENT AND ANSWER.

A comrade in Stamford, Coun., send us two clippings from a local daily pa-per and says: "What do you think of clippings? I hope there is no truth in either of them." One is a dispatch-probably truthful, in itselffrom St. Petersburg, reporting that "the noted Autisemite Krushewan, the editor of the newspaper Bessarabetz, who is credited with having organized the Kishineff slaughter, is agitating for another tragedy of the same o There is not a word about Socialism in the dispatch, but the fool or knave who edits the Stamford "Advecate" put over it the head: "Socialis Editor Urges Pensants to Another Kishineff Slaughter." Of course every one who followed the history of the Kishineff and Gemel horrors well of the Russian government and that the object of the government in stir Jews was to use race-hatred as an antidote to Socialism, Even Rudolf Ganz, in his recently translated sis of To-day." makes this clear. Antisemitism, as an organized movement, whether in Russia, Roumania, Austria, Germany, or France, is avowedly a movement against Socialism: while So cialism, the world over, is the evangel of internationalism, the enemy of race prejudice. The other item is a dis Rome, purporting to tell of the trial of the noted Socialist, Eurico Ferri, on a charge of defamation of character for alleged attacks upon the personal morality of the late Pope Leo XIII. The stilly garbling of the report becomes obvious when we say that Ferri is reported to have charged Leo with illicit relations with a certain female at a time when she was still an unweaned habe. Of course a man like Comrade Ferri-a university pro fessor, a member of parliament, and man of such intelligence that the ablest defenders of capitalism in Italy shun debate with him-never said anything of the sort. Many of the capi talist papers can lie about Socialism and Socialists with some air of probability, but this Connecticut Ananias evidently fallen into a state of senile dementia.-May we not suggest that in every local there ought to be themselves well enough informed to "unil" such stupid slauders as soon as they appear in the local press waiting to refer them to The Worker. Read The Worker carefully this year and you will be surprised next year to find how much of the information you got out of it proves useful.

A Southern comrade asks why the

New Yorkers are so slow about starting the proposed Socialist daily, "Look at the De Leonites," he exclaims; "fley

started their daily in much less time

and with much less money than you

have already collected and are still

running it. It looks to me as though the comrades in charge of the 'Call project were culpably negligent." To which we reply: Yes, the De Leonites started an alleged daily with only five or six thousand dollars, and it has a or six thousand donais, and courthou-circulation of about three or four thou-and consisting of copies bought by their members for free distribution We could do that, but it would be very We do not wish to start the daily until we are in a position to isar with a fate chance of helping the party lustead of being a drug on it, as the "Dally Peo has to reprint the news from the capi one particular. Now our comrade probably does not realize that the single item of telegraph service costs about \$100 a week. He probably has not considered that a daily paper must have at least eight pages in order to have any chance for general circula tion and that, at prices now generally ruling, the white paper for each copy would cost one-quarter of a cent: that other fixed charges—press-work, hand-ling, etc.—would be nearly as much; that, in order to have a general sponous circulation among working men, it must be a penny paper, sold to newsdealers or boys at six-tenths of a cent per copy; that therefore not more than one-fifth of a cent per copy can be counted on, from circulation, to cover operating expenses-business ofcover operating expenses business of fice, editorial room, composing and stereotyping rooms, rent, heat, light, power, depreciation of plant, etc.; that, accordingly, until the circulation reachaccordingly, until the circulation reach-ed at least 50,000 a day the paper must be run at a loss, unless it could get advertising; that a paper can get very little paid advertising until it has run six months or so, and has built up a stendy circulation—and especially so with a Socialist newspaper; that, there-fore, if we expect to start a real news-paper that will be good enough to make its own way and not be a hurden on the party, we must have a sufficient fund to pay for the plant in full an

rades' energy and disappoint them in the end. About one-third of the needunt has been raised, so far. Th rest will come and the sooner. made in the meantime.

David M. Parry of the National As given about the worst example of the chean mountebank methods character of the capitalist system. He sent out a circular to locals of the Sc ciallet Party inviting them to subscribe der to read "a high-class debate on So cialism between Mr. Parry and one of the leading Socialist exponents of the country"—doesn't that remind you of the circus bills, by the way, even down special inducement, offers a subscrip tion rate of 50 cents a year. The jok is that 50 cents a year, The joke subscription price of his paper. It is safe to say not many So this. Mr. Parry will have to guess

THE SOCIALIST PRESS

One of the III effects of the large Socialist vote, says the "Iowa Socialist," will be the springing up, musis room-like, of new Socialist papers all comrade who thinks he would make better editor than any of those who now push the pencil, and their name is legion. Their inability to learn from the experience of others is equalled only by their faith in their own enterprise. This faith is commendable, of It is to be regretted that there are those who ought to know better who encourage these misguided souls in their mad careers. The enthusiasm and energy that is wasted in starting new papers would be more profitably expended in supporting would be more those now struggling for a footbold. It is hoped the following from the "Florida Socialist" will be thoroughly digested:

"It is painful to bid farewell to the few hundreds of subscribers whose names at least have become familiar. Several of them have shown zeal in behalf of the 'Florida Socialist' which has been as refroshing as rain in a

desert.
"I have decided to resign as editor of the 'Florida Socialist.' My commion in the enterprise, Comrade John T. Wilford, with whom my relations have always been of the most character, will assume charge of the paper after this

"If a score or two of our subscribers would work for the establishment of a state paper as a half dozen or so have not be necessary for me to cay good-bye.

"But that is idle to expect it seems As it is, the time has come when i must do something that will at least feed me. The need for three or et cust two meals a day may be largely artificial. No doubt it is, But when one has formed the had habit of eating regular meals and persisted in it until middle age, it is often fatal to break off the habit too suddenly. And

"Perhaps some renders may say that the 'Florida Socialist' has seemed lately to be edited by a dead man. Let any such remember that unappreciated enthusiasm must become chilled in time. To the comrades who have freely expressed their appreciation of efforts of Comrade Wilford and myself to give them as good a state paper as our slender means would illow, I give hearty thanks. Our policy has been to give the state Socialist news first place. For the rest, the editorial matter has often been harriedly written, sometimes at the last noment, or in intervals snatched from the many details of office manage-

"The appreciation which takes the form of an Increasing subscription list has been lacking, except in the case of a few of our subscribers. To them. beartiest thanks. But certainly when a party can poll a vote of more than 2,300, there should be a subscription list of more than 250 for the party paper. • • •

"I am sorry to have to quit editing the 'Florida Socialist' for so weak a reason as that it prevents me from earning my daily bread. The willing but the prospective lack shelter, food and clothing renders the weak, very weak. Capitalism is things are not really necessary to hu-man existence. My attempt to proc-tically accept this philosophy and turn it to the advantage of Socialism does

"So with the confession that I've been ruined for a Socialist editor by those bad habits of eating regular meals and wearing clothing, I remain, Yours fraternally, OSCAR EDGAR."

UNANIMITY UNNECESSARY.

"Socialism will never come to pass, if only for the reason that the Socialists will never be able to agree on what they want," writes an English critic. 'Tis a futile argument. Pureue it logically, and it will plunge you into the absurd constatutes of any country on earth, embodypeople. On the contrary, the enactment of every law affecting social relations is in-variably preceded by a struggle between pposing parties, often bitter and prolong zation, that is, through the conflict of ideas and the clash of interests, and the slow-won victories of truth and justice. If such might as well shut up our parliament houses and make ready to revert to the habits and custems of our primitive ances-tors. We monkey became man the change was by no means unanimously apchange was by no means untain proved. Many clung desperately tails, and to this day man car

AN ELEMENTARY COURSE IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

V .- The Value and Price of Labor-Power, or the Law of Wages-To Be Read in the Light of the Preceding Chapter.

[This is one of a series of articles, begun in The Worker of Dec. 4, as an at tempt toward a systematic and correct and yet popular statement of the fundamental principles of scientific Socialism for the assistance of those who really wish to and who have too little time to undertake larger and more complete treatises. Those ave pertinent questions suggested by these articles are invited to write to the an earnest attempt will be made to answe them.1

V .- The Value of Labor-Power

It may be a little startling to som who have not thought of the matter before, to hear human labor-powe spoken of as a commodity in the sam this is exactly its nature in the capital ist world

Man is the possessor of a cer strength, skill, and knowledge-embod ded in his flesh and blood, his brawn and brain. This labor-power, as we liave already shown in our third chap ter, is the source of all wealth; that is, value is produced solely by the penditure or using-up of this labor power in the performance of labor.

Now this labor-power has been productive force of the world in all stages of society. But as soon as man emerged from the condition of brute, he began to use something be sides his bare labor-power. He began use material means of production in the performance of labor-first a very simple tool, such as a rouga club. tive tools, until at least we have all the wonderful variety of modern ma-chinery. These tools and machinery are not a source of wealth in them selves; they do not produce any value as we have shown; but they are a of labor. And when the stege of competitive commodity-production is reached, which we described in our last chapter-when the great mass of in a simple and undifferentiated way for the direct satisfaction of the producers' wants, but is divided into special trades and processes and has for its immediate purpose the sale of the product in the market than the use of up-to-date means of production becomes a necessary condition to the per

Let us illustrate just what we mean

by this last statements. A man could

weave just as much cloth with a band-

loom to-day, till just as much ground with an old-fashioned plow drawn by

formance of labor.

a yeke of oxen, cut just as much grain with a cracile and as much hay scythe, thresh just as much wheat with a flail, and so forth, as one of his nucestors did a century ago. family owning sufficient fand and keeping sheep and cattle could produce necessities directly by their own lab-a with simple tools, just us well now as then, and could live as well, not ac cording to the modern standard of life but according to that of an earlier can tury. ation that we wish to live according to the new and not the old standard-w that for the great majority, al most the whole, of the people it would be quite impossible, in any civilized things necessary for such a life. It is all very well to preach about the Sim-ple Life, as Pastor Wagner doss; but it would be morally and physically impossible for us to go back to the old system if we wished to do so. In the present ago we are compelled, whether we will or no, to work at special in-dustries, at special processes of industry, and, justend of producing all the different things we need, to produce or help in producing some special thing, by the exchange of which we get the various other things that we with a hand-loom now as in the eighteenth century; but no man can make a living by head-weaving now, as so many did then, because he has to produce cloth for the market in competition with the product of the modern textile mills. The coming of -loom banished the hand the economic law of competition than it could have been done by any act of Congress. In the present stage of society, then, if a man is to get a living by working, it is necessarry that he have access, not merely to some means of production, but to practically the latest and most perfect means of production now in vogue in his indus

Now consider the position of the typ ical proletarian or wage-worker of to-day: He has the labor-power, but he has not the right of access to the necessary modern means of productionthe mill, with all its engines and ma chinery, in which he must work if he someone else, belongs to the capitalist absolutely, to do what he will with, to have it run or to have it stand idle. The proletarian's labor-power, then though it is the potential source of wealth, is of no use to him as he stands; he cannot do anything by him self. But, on the other hand, the capi-talist cannot and does not wish to run his factory himself; he needs laborone else's labor-power-t run it. So the only thing the proletar-ian can do to get a living out of his labor-power is to go to the capitalist and sell it at such price us he can get

Remembering that it is not a ques talist, remembering that there are many capitalists wishing to buy labor-power and very many projetarians having it to sell (and having nothing else), we see that the relation between capitalist and proletarian, employer and employee, is an impersonal and competitive one, a market relation very like that of the buyers and sellers of potatoes or steel rails or any other commodity. The explicit or tacit agreement between employer and employee is not commonly spoken of as a contract of sale, but as a contract of lating. But the difference is else), we see that the relation between

the workingman's body, that the only way he can deliver it to the buyer is by going into the factory and using up that power in the performance of la-bor. Essentially, we repeat, the get-ting of a job is the sale of so-and-so much labor-power at a price fixed in the market-the labor market-in the same way that the prices of other com

The price of labor-power is called wages. Generally speaking, the price of this commodity, like that of any other, pretty closely represents its value; we pointed out in our third and fourth chapters that the price of any ommodity fluctuates above and below its value, under local and temporar lute competition price and value would be identical; and that, accordingly. existing state of approximately free competition, in the long run the average price pretty nearly coincides with value. Applied to labor-power, this means that wages pretty accurate ly represent the actual value of the

What, then, is the law of wages that we can now formulate, applying our already established law of value to this living commodity? This, in its first form-

value of labor-power is deter mined by the amount of average labor time socially necessary to produce it at a given time according to the methods and under the conditions then generally prevailing.

Perhaps that looks a bit fantastic, at first. Let us examine it more closely. What do we mean by "producing" labor-power? How is labor-power pro duced? Obviously, by the worker's living. When the worker eats, he does ot commonly think he is doing it for the boss. He thinks that is one of the few things he has a chance to do for himself—and that he is lucky if the boss gives him the chance. But in fact, considering him as a wage-worker, not as a human being, when he eats he is just putting certain appropriate materials into the living laboratory of his body to be worked up into muscufor and nervous energy for to-mor-row's work-in eating and doing the other things necessary to keep himself alive be is producing or reproducing his own labor-power, which he hope to sell to-morrow in order to get the wherewithal to reproduce it again for In relation to the capitalist, the wage-worker is not a human being, but an embodiment of thinks of him-calling him a "hand instead of a fellow-man and often name; it is so that he figures in the labor market-not as a being with emoions and thoughts and aspirations, but as a thing that expends labor-power in roduction and keeps on reproducin

of a part of the things produced. The cost of production of labor-pow er, then, is the workingman's cost of living. The value of a workman's the food and clothing and fuel and other things he has to use up during the year in order to keep himself in condition to work; and those things got their value, in turn, from the amount of labor necessary to their production.

But it must also be considered that wage-workers wear out and finally cease to generate labor-power-get old and die. It is also true that it takes some years to develop a human being to the point where he embodies enough labor-power to be worth buying. It is a great pity, for the whole cost of raising wage-workers' children to the age when they are worth hiring is so much dead loss to the capitalists. It was great mistake of the good God, from the bourgeois point of view, not to create human beings who would be able work efficiently from the mo of birth to the moment of death; all the better if they were like the angels, who never sleep and don't have to eat and wear very inexpensive and durable clothes-only, if the wage-workers were built like that, they wouldn't their labor-power would probably sit about playing harps and talking theology, as Milton steady in the factory. Anyhow, wage workers are what they are, and the Now it would never do to let the pres ent generation of wage-workers work new generation to take their places a the machines. Also, fortunately, wage workers have much the same instincts in regard to the propagation of the race as capitalists have. der to keep capitalism going, in or der to keep up the supply of labor-power, it is necessary that the workers' wages should be sufficient, on the own living, but to enable him to have a family and support his children un-til they are old enough to be employed at a profit to the capitalists. The labor power of the parent is simply continued in the person of the child.

Now let us restate our law in accordthis explanation of obrases. It will be-Warns or the price of labor-nower

pretty closely representing its value, tend always to a point at which they will just cover the average necessary cost of subsistence of the workers and their families, under the conditions and according to the standard gener-This is ofen called the "iron law of

wages." That phrase of Lassaile's, which Marx and Engels rejected, is a nisleading and unfortunate one. The law of wages is not an "iron" one, any more than the law of price for any other commodity. We all know that standard of living of the working class competition in the labor market were absolutely free and fiuld, instead of being only approximately so, then the price of labor-power would be identical with its value, fixed by the cost of liv-

IN THE BUSINESS DEPARTMENT.

The Circulation Manager's Talk to Readers of The Worker Who Wish to Extend Its Field of Service—Statement of Circulation for Last Two Weeks.

In order to put The Worker on a self-sustaining basis, its list of subscribers must be brought up to the 25,000 mark. To this end, all comrades are urged to send in lists containing the names of all the men they can think of who are most likely to become subscrib ed with intelligence and care, as the work of this departme necessitate the expenditure of considerable sums of money, and we wish to secure the largest possible results from the amount spent. Members of trade unions, men you have talked to about Socialism, those who you know voted the Socialist ticket, but who are not subscribers to the paper-in fact every body whom you have reason to believe interested in Socialism—are the sor we went. We want 50,000 of them.

Write out your list on plain paper, using only one side, and paying espe-attention to getting the addresses correct. Every name so received will cial attention to getting the addresses correct. Every name so received will be systematically and persistently followed up and the question squarely put: "Don't you wish to subscribe for The Worker?" We are certain of the recomrades will respond enthusiastically and promptly. dress all lists to

CIRCULATION MANAGER, 184 William St., New York City.

lutions, but among business men it also a convenient mile-post-a perior when ledgers are closed up and anced, and a fresh start taken. Most men at this season find it a good plan to "size up" the business they are en gaged in, make plans for the future e what the closing year has devel oped, reorganize and adjust their bus ness in the light of experience, and tackle the future with a new and better plan of campaign. Most Social ists, however, are not business men The vast majority are wage-workers. for the Socialist movement is a movement of the working class. But the printing of a weekly newspaper. even if it be a Socialist newspaper, is nevertheless, a business proposition and has to be conducted along business lines. We have a weekly pay-roll to meet, paper bills and cent to pay and we have an income from the sale of The Worker to partially offset thes But the income does not expenses. equal the absolutely necessary outgo It will not until our circulation reache 25,000 per week-about double the present edition. We must have 10,000 re subscribers. We cannot cut expenses. When your income doesn't equal your outgo, something is wron standpoint. This column is headed "Business Department;" this is also our New Year's edition. This is, there fore a good place and a good time to talk business, to "size up" the proposition, to make plans for the coming year, and as manager of the Circulation Department, let me make business suggestions. Let it be said, in the very beginning, that The Worknt a loss, for it is issued by a co-oper ative printing company, pledged in its charter to expend all its profits on the publishing of Socialist literature. The "Volkszeltung." the leading German Socialist paper, is issued by this com pany-at a profit, and part of the profit is devoted to meeting the deficit in running expenses of The Worker. It is very kind of our German Socialist standpoint of the rest of us, it is a crying shame that they are given the or portunity. We certainly ought to sup port our own English paper so enthu siastically and thoroughly as to mak it quite unnecessary for anybody to

custom, been considered an appropri

ate time for the making of good reso

Here are some practical ways to

help us.

"iron law

1. Comply with the request at the head of this column. Send in a good long list of possible subscribers. We'll get after them from this office with ur new follow-up system in a way w know must bring results.

2. Sometime during the next year your own subscription will expire. Re new it promptly and without urging, and with it send us a new subscriber. It's easier, while you're about it,

employers or of wage-workers, and so

forth, so that it fluctuates as does the

price of any other commodity. Of some of these things we shall speak

in our next chapter. For the present

else, for that matter, in practise), the

it is a very real thing, whose pressure

feels, and on which the capitalists can calculate with a sufficient degree of

Under the heading of Labor-Power

as a Commodity, comparing it, in cer-

tain respects, with other commodities, we shall discuss next week certain

we shall discuss next week certain qualifications of the law of wages, an-

swer certain objections urged against

it, and illustrate some of its effects.

REVISIONISM AND ANARCHISM.

It would seem as if Revisionism had

reduced in France as elsewhere a re-vulsion towards Anarchism, and from recent numbers of "Le Mouvemente

Socialiste" it is clear that, as Kaut-

tending in that direction. That is a

great pity, as there is no need to re ject parliamentarism altogether be

cause others have made too much of it.

The proletariat cannot afford to reject

any weapon which may help them in

fight. It is clearly all the more neces-

sary in face of these exaggerations on both sides that we should clearly grasp

what we have to expect from parlia

mentarism, and what it can do for us; and then we shall see that perhaps its

nost valuable aspects are those which

mulate our demands, and gives an al

most unequalled opportunity for propagating our ideas.—London Justice.

UNCOMPROMISING OPPOSITION.

If then detestest war, as all men should,

Give policy's least mood of proteon gulle No quarter. Sound one note and vary

legions, loudening as ther

been most forgotten of late

sky says, our comrade Lagardelle

accuracy for all practical purposes.

of wages (nor of anything

working class distinctly

et us only add that, while there

The New Year has not only, by long | to remit a dollar for two subscriptions, than to send in fifty cents for one, and you can get some friend to join you in subscribing if you will only try. Lots of people are interested in Socialism least one such whom you can reach.

3. Keeping in mind always the indisputable fact that The Worker is the est possible medium of propaganda, and that every man you are trying to ing it and reading it every week, never let an opportunity slip of mentioning The Worker to such a one, and in addition to inviting him to subscribe, offer to attend to sending in his subscription yourself. sufficiently interested to bother about going to the postoffice for a postal note or to register a letter, but if asked, would hand you his fifty cents. If you are in earnest in your attempt to win him to Socialism, you will be, without question entirely willing to relieve him of all the bother, and get his name and money to us yourself. Try the plan on one or two of your friends. You will get a surprise when you see bow easy it is to get subscriptions this way. And if the worst comes to worst and he won't subscribe, make him a present of a six month's trial sub and no man can read The Worker for six months, if he be a workingman vithout becoming a Socialist.

And finally, comrades, let me remind ou that while we must regret being tung," the first of January is no time tor vain regrets over the past, but rather the best of times for looking the future square in the eye, and mak ing up our minds to do our full duty by The Worker for the next twelve months, as its editors and publishers week for the years that are gone. Make it another case, in the words of the poet, Dr. Holland, where

"The future for the dreary past Shall royally atone." I submit to you, comrades, with all of 1905 ahead of us, that The Worker

worthy of our best efforts' We inadvertently emitted the circulation statement in our last issue. We therefore give it for three successive

weeks, instead of two as usual: Week endi: Dec. 18. 17,000

| Single subscriptions | 12,572 | 13,625 | 13,357 |
| Ourside lumilies | 295 | 491 |
| Sold at office in bundles or at relation | 1,913 | 1,801 | 1,375 | Totals14,780 15,317 15,289 Gain two weeks 500

The pleasing feature about this re-port is the continuance of the steady increase in individual subscriptions During the last month, leaving out of ecount the Collectivist Soc have gained over 1,100 in this department. At this rate, we shall have 25,000 regular subscribers before next election—and the rate will probably be

THE MODERN WITCHES' CAULDRON. (With apologies to Shakespeare.)

increased.

Mammon, the Leader (frowning at the other witches)—Thrice bave I heard runors of a strike! The State-Thrice have I nearly met de-

The Ciergy-And thrice I have nearly lost my charge through Mammon's die

The Press—Then it is time for something The State-Round about the cauldron go

In the vile ingredients throw: Laws for the rich, the people's will de fied. The military lash, brutally applied Our land to plutocrace sold,
The Senate by this power controlled
"The Strenuous" bribed with

trains, "Frenzied finance," stolen gains, Vice and crime, maidens lust bought, Homes with want and misery fraught, Dope with this unsavory mass

To satisfy the privileged class, Clergy-To further satiate its greed Drop in some deceitful creed. Blindfolded truth and error deified. pride. Press-And mine; the clink of gold is

Stir in this prostituted sheet.

It aids oppression: wrong it right dendes Anarchy lurks among its treache With ware enslaved motherhood

Lower wages-labor's progress queli-Higher prices, to this broth of hell. Ciergy-By the pricking of my thumbs mething hely this way comes. (Enter John D. Rockefeller.) John De-If you wish that pot to plously

Throw in a pail of Standard Off All-Double, double toil and Fire burn and caubtron bubble -Eva M. Osler, in Chicago Socialist.

DOGMATISM.

"Dogma is the real devil-the father of fles," says Zola. He ought to have sold "false dogma." A dogma may be a truth crystallized in words. It is a dogue of to the same thing are equal to each other. The only way to get rid of dogma is to prove that nothing can be proved—lie a lane Worker.

BEAD THIS AND PASS IT ON

NATIONAL QUORUM.

The National Quorum was called to order at 11 s. m., Dec. 14, by National Secretary Mailly, with Quorum Members John M. Work, B. Berlyn, S. M. Reynolds, and C. G. Towner present. John M. Work was elected chairman of the first session and W. E. Clark was elected secretary for the

The following matters were then taken

Communication from the State Secretary of Colorado, asking that the National Committee indorse certain circular letters ap sealing for funds the State Committee was issuing. It was decided that the Quorus or National Committee had no authorit to indorse any such appeals that may b

Communication from Jas. S. Smith, Sec retary of the State Executive Committee of tive to election of National Executive Cou moved that the communications from Co rades Smith and Simons be referred to in reply. Carried.

man Indiana State Committee, reporting the adoption of the following motion by the State Executive Board, at a meeting held No. 13:

id Nov 13:

"Int the chairman write Com-raide Mailly, stating that the Indiana condition makes the conten-tion that our State Secretary should have the power to route national speakers, when sent into the state by the national arganization, except as provided for in the constitution."

Correspondence between the Nationa Secretary and State Secretary F. G. Strick land of Indiana, affecting the above motion

The Quorum concurred in the reof the Indiana Executive Beard and did not

cial ballot from Springfield, Mass., for the municipal election held Dec. 6, show-ing the candidate for city clerk listed as can and Socialist parties and reported that he had written a letter of inquiry concern-ing same. Action of National Secretary was approved.

Communication from State Secretary Menton of Michigan, relative to the nomi nation of F. A. Kulp for National Secre-tary by National Committeeman Lamb of Michigan, and stating that National Committeeman Lamb knew Kulp not to be a member of the party organization, and requesting that his attention be called to it National Secretary reported that Kulp land sent declination, stating he was not a member of the party.

South Dakota, the National Secretary reported a letter from State Secretary Lovett to the effect that he intended to pay more attention to the affairs of the state organization in the future.

Communication from J. H. Zenger of Salt Committee of I'tah in inserting a clause in the state constitution and referring it to membership for its approval and requesting that the national office initiate referen n of Utah locals instead. Reynoids red that, upon notice being received and evidence presented showing that the clauswhich corresponded to Article XII, Section subdivision of the party for candidate un provision shall not apply to organizations one year," has been inserted in the Utah locals, the application for a state charter for Cials be referred by the National Sec

Applications for appointments as speakers were presented from Luciu R. Kray bill, Rev. C. H. Rogers, Rev. Geauville Lowther, M. J. Hynes and Samuel Levis Berlyn moved that all new applications for ofniments of speakers or organizers be erred to the incoming Executive Com-

Communications from State Secretary Helfensicin of Chilfornia relative to a proposition that the national office pay half the expenses of the State Organizet for California, beginning Jan. 1. The Quorum instructed the National Secretary to 3 tify the State Secretary of California 3nt the proposition could not be ac-

Communications from the Rio Grande Woolen Mills Co., Allenquerque, N. John M. Ray: Local Insperial, Cal.; J. C. Gibson, Rock Island, Ark., prescueling varions propositions, were read and ordered filed.

Proposition from Chas. H. Kerr, rela tive to eard for securing and indexing the names of voters, especially those supporting the Socialist ticket at last election was presented. National Secretary spok favorably upon the card prepared by Com-rade Kerr, and suggested what he thought would be improvements. After discussion, Berlyn moved that the Secretive be in-structed to prepare card for accuring names of voters who voted the Socialist ticket and to furnish as many of thes cards as there are locals, to various state secretaries, as samples, giving price at which eards can be supplied. Carried.

Communication from S. J. Hampton of Purant, Indian Territory, relative to the holding of a joint convention of the Social lat Party of Oklahoma and the Socialis Party locals in the Indian Territory, look ing to the formation of a single organiza calling of such convention weald depend upon the action of the Oklahoma organi-Eatten, was endersed.

Letter written by H. H. Caldwell of

Ohio, signed Member of National Commit-tee, soliciting dates as speaker at Haver-hill, Mass., and sout to the National Secretary. Quorum instructed that the letter of Caldwell be referred to the State Com-

Inities of Massachusetts.
Correspondence from Locals New Ha-ven, Conn., Lynn and Fitchburg, Mass., inquiring shoat the organizers plan proposed by "Wishire's Magazine," and from Contrade Wishire's relative to the plan and Controle Whistire relative to the plan and orders for organizing supplies. Quorem instructed the National Secretary to send notice through the Sotialist press, advising locals to engage organizers employed by their state organizations or those commissioned by the National Committee. It was also decided that Comrade Wibelier be advised to secure organizing material through the accretaries of state organizations where his representatives intend to work. Communication from Emile Vinck of Belgium, requesting the national headquar. Jore to arrestness a tour for him in the

United States, was referred to the incon The National Secretary presented th

The National Secretary presented is lowing report:

"The estimated Habilities of the national headquarters at present date are \$1,700, with estimated assets of \$1,200. Most of the assets are for dues owing to the autional office by state organizations. A national office by state organizations are for dues owing to the autional office by state organizations. As a result, the state of the national office is such three to five months. As a result, the state of the national office is such that no new Hanardal responsibilities can be assumed for some time. Since the effection, the recepts afor dues, as the monthly reports show, are below the regular average. This can be assumed for some time. Since the election, the recepts age. This can be assumed for some state organizations to result dues to relaxation following upon the campaign and partly to failure of some state organization to a full bills incurred through the exampaign before the fiscal year chosed tlain. I), but all indeltedness should be disposed of by Feb. 1, nevertheless.

"Action should be taken looking to the collection of a special fund for astional headquarters for the purpose of furthering the work of organization during the next year and the further the further bureau ture department could be made a means of circulating the best Socialist literature as well as proisibly furnishing revenue for the party organization. The organizing and educational work should go together and the most direct benefit could be secured by acting through the party organization.

The party leaders ollowing report:

be secured by acting through the party organization.

"The party loaficts now printed only in English, should be trans-lated into other innuages, as the work of organization among the non-English speaking working peo-ple promises to soon assume import-

Relative to the standing of state and ocal organizations falling to pay dues during a certain period, in the abse postitutional provision on the subject, th Quorum recommends that a constitutional amendment be adopted limiting the period organizations, and also specifying the number of members locals in unorganized states and state organizations should ha to be entitled to affiliation.

The National Secretary was instructed the literature bureau to be established or a solid basis.

The National Secretary was empowered to arrange to place speakers in the field as soon as financial circumstances would

It was decided that the mouthly "Offi cial Bulletie" be sent in bundles to the state secretaries for distribution among the ber of dues stamps purchased during the preceding month.

Towner and Work presented the lette from Jas. S. Smith, State Secretary of Illi neis, and the letter from A. M. Simons together with the statements in reply to same, all of which follows:

"Chicago, Iti., Dec. 8, 1994.
"Wu. Mailly. National Secretary.
"Doar Controde—At our last seasons of the Execution of the Exe

"Fraternally yours, "JAS. S. SMITH, "State Secretary," In answer to the questions of State Sc

stary Smith of Illinois:

clary Smith of Billiods:

"I. The constitution went into effect on Ang. 4, 1994, in accordance with Act. NV: This constitution shall take effect and be in force, from and after the time of its approval by national referendum of the party membership. In voting upon this constitution, members mind vote upon it as a whole."

"I same as No.!

"I have a very local to the constitution, because of the constitution because of the constitution in the constitution of the constitution, specifies that the National Secretary shall compute at the leaving membership for the purpose of determining the representation of such state, to-wit: Each organized state or terribory shall be representation of the National Confinition of the National Confinition of the National Confinition of the National Confinition to which cach state or terribory may be cuitfied, the National Secretary shall compute at the beginning of each year the average dues paying membership of such state or territory may be cuitfied, the National Secretary shall compute at the beginning of each year the average dues paying membership of such state or territory for the purpose of the very local, the National Secretary who is such state or territory for the preceding year. Since the constitution went into effect on the ninth month of the year 1305, the National Sec-retary cannot issue the statement of the dues paying members until Jan-uary, 1905.

1. The cuil for election of additional Notional Committeemen after a superstanding the superstanding of the statement of membership. The number will be determined by the number of members as provided in Art. IV. Sec. 1; and they will assume their office when elected in accordance with the various state constitutions."

Letter from A. M. Simans:

various state constitutions."
Letter from A. M. Simons:

"Wm. Mailly." Chicago, Dec. 7, 1904.

"Wm. Mailly." Bear Comrade:—I am in receipt of yours of Dec. the antifying me of more committee, and would say that I have no objection to tetting my name stand for that office, but that II seems to me to be a most astonating userpation on the part of the old National Committee to assume that they are the National Committee insant by the constitution, and I can assure you that any attempt on their part to elect a National Executive Committee and thus perpentials themselves contrary to the earlier letter and spirit of the constitution now in force will raise a transmount static letter and spirit of the constitution now in force will raise a transmount static letter and spirit of the constitution now in force will raise a transmount static letter and spirit of the constitution now in force will raise a transmount static letter and spirit of the constitution now in force will raise a transmount static letter and spirit of the constitution now in force will raise a transmount static letter and spirit of the constitution now in force will raise a transmount static letter and spirit of the constitution now in force will raise a transmount static letter and spirit of the constitution to the same time and the same time and the same time explanation. Neither do I visia to same way.

"Yours fraternally," "A. M. SIMONS."

"Yours fraternally."A. M. SIMONS." Reply to same:

"A. M. SIMONS,"
Reply to same:

"A. M. SIMONS,"
We regard the charge in Simons letter, tight the National Committee is trying-to perpetuate itself, as reliculous in view of the fact that the nersonnel of the National Committee is continuity changing the necessary of the National Committee is continuity changing the necessary of the National Committee is small electrons at such times as they deem personnel comments of the continuity in the necessary of the continuity of the necessary of the continuity of the necessary of the continuities of the continuities. In the manner, the National Executive Committee, which may be elected by the National Committee, in the continuities of the National Committee in the charged reasons only the Grangian matrice of the National Secretary is small, by sominations for the Figure in Committee on the Committee o possibility of the charge being made that the Quorum was trying to per-petuate itself."

petuate Reef. The National Secretary asked for a rul ing as to whether the candidates for National Secretary and National Executive Committee should be elected by majority or plurality vote. Berlyn moved that when the vote is canvassed on the National Sec retary and the National Executive Com majority of the votes cast should be declared elected; and a re-ballot be taken or all the candidates falling of election and receiving at least ten per cent. of the votes east. Curried.

enst. Carried.

The National Secretary suggested the advisability of securing information from candidates concerning their membership and positions held in the party. Berlyn moved that the National Secretary ask for information from all the candidates, such information to consist of a brief statement of their relations with the next corresponding relations with the party organization, and that this information be furnished by the National Secretary to any National Com-mitteeman, Socialist Party official, or party

The National secretary reported.

L. Smith of Ohio, member of Local Fremont and of the Ohio State Committee, had recently visited the national headquarters and had asked to see correspondence. received from A. W. Ricker while employ ed in the "Appeal to Heason" office during 1903. Request had been granted and Smith had taken copy of correspondence.

PARTY NEWS.

Mational.

The following have been nominated for members of the National Executive Committee and have accepted: Robert Bandlow, Victor L. Berger, B. Berlyn, George E. Bigelow, Charles Erb, A. H. Floaten, Winfield R. Gaylord, George H. Goebel, Frederic Heath, John Kerrigan, C. J. Lamb, Guy E. Lockwood, William Mailly, Thomas J. Morgan, John M. Ray, S. M. Reynolds, Emil Seidel, A. M. Simons, May Wood Si-mons, John W. Slayton, Henry L. Siomons, John W. Siayton, Henry L. Sw-bodin, Seymour Stedman, Alfred Swing, Carl D. Thompson, Charles G. Towner, Ernest Untermann, John M. Work, The following have been nominated and have not yet either accept-ed or declined: H. W. Baird, A. W. Ricker, George H. Turner. Those who have declined are: W. I. Benesul John C. Chase, John Collins, Ira Cross, Eugene V. Debs, Max S. Hayes, Morris Hiliquit, S. M. Holman, Charles H. Kerr, Joseph La Barge, Caleb Lipscomb, James S. Smith, George H. Strobell Frederick G Strickland Sev. three from any one state-by vote of the National Committee, between Jan 1 and Jan. 22. Candidates not accepting nomination by Dec. 31 are assumed to have declined

For National Secretary the following have accepted: J. Mahion Barnes, Gay-lord, Edgar B. Heifenstein, and Thos. E. Will. The following have declined: Bandlow, Wm. Butscher, Chase, W. E. Clark, Hayes, Lockwood, Jack London, Mailly, and Jas. Oneal. Those who have not been heard from are Franklin H. Wentworth and M. W. Wilkins. The election will take place simultaneously with that of the

The motion made by Lowry of Arkansas to dismiss the charges made by Turner of Missouri against National Secretary Mailly has been carried by a vote of 24 to 6, with 5 not voting. Those voting in the negative are Revnolds of Indiana, Lamb of Michigan, Turner, Thams of North Dakota, Caldwell of Ohio, and Kerrigan of Texas: those not voting are Putnam of Louis-iana, Fox of Maine, Ramp of Oregon. Zimmerman of West Virginia, and Berger of Wisconsin.

Lowry's further motion that henceforth no portion of the record of the N. E. C. be altered or expunged has been carried by 26 votes to 3, with 6 not voting. Those voting in the negative are White of Connecticut, Turner, and Maschke of Oklahoma, with Ber lyn of lilinols, Towner of Kentucky, Fox. Ramp, Zimmerman, and Berger

not voting. Local Fall River, Mass., has endorsed the proposition that the National Executive Committee issue to all locals a catechism, containing lessons

proved the name of E. B. Lewis as an applicant for the reserve list of national organizers and lecturers.—W. G. Critchlow of Dayton, O., has withdrawn his name from the list of untional organizers and lecturers.

New York State. Secretary Chase has decided not to make his proposed tour of the state this mouth, but turn over the dates he has made to Jos. Wanhope. Comrade Wanhope is going through the state to have Courade Wanhope make the first tour, rather than the State Secre-tary. Only about a dozen locals agreed to have a meeting for Chase, and it would have been impossible to make the tour without great expense to the State Committee. Under the plan now presented the locals that desired to laye Clase can have a speaker and others that made an agreement with Wilshire to take a speaker will also have their meetings. It should be remembered that Wanhope will be the only man that Wilshire will send through this state under the plan be is now working under, and all other speakers that will tour the state will go out from the State Committee. All locals that desire to have speakers plan submitted by the State Secretary, should not wait until too late, but begin arrangements how for the February lecture. Secretary Chase will be the next speaker to go out and will arrange, if possible, to start early in February. Locals that desire to have him should take action now, so that when the matter is brought to their attention they will be able to inform him at once what they can do. Each local

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Tel. 2380-38th St. CORRESPONDENCE STUDY.

The Institute of Social Studies now offers courses in the following suby correspondence; AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL HISTORY, By A. M. Simons. SOCIALISM. By May Wood Simons.
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CLASSES.

Many classes are being organized in which one person is chosen to lead in discussion and read the lecture to the other members of the class, while the reading and preparation of papers is assigned to different members of the class. Special topics with lists of reading are prepared for different members of the class. These topics are first reported on to the class, then after discussion by the class, are sent to the instructor for criticism and sugges tions. For such classes five dollars are charged for each set of lectures fur nished, and fifty cents for each member. All correspondence for such classes must be conducted through one person and all postage paid by the class, as these terms are at the point of absolute cost. For further information address A. M. SIMONS, 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

best to advertise this analy and the tickets, as the proceeds will go to the State Committee for the purpose of extending the work of organization. The comrades are not taking hold of this matter as they should and it is hoped that they will get busy this week. Tickets are on sale at the Labor Ly-ceum. 64 E. Fourth street; the W. E. A. Clubhouse, 206 E. Eighty sixth street; The Worker, and the New York Literary Society, 232 E. Broadway. Admission, 25 cents. All comrudes who can dispose of tickets are request-ed to get them of State Secretary

Chase at the Labor Lyceum.

The State Committee has a number of copies of Comrade Debs' "Unionism and Socialism" on hand and will sell them to locals at \$2.50 a hundred; the former price was \$4. The locals can sell them at all meetings at 5 cents a copy readily. This pamphlet is of great propaganda value and every lo-cal should get as many into the hands of workingmen as pos

The new state party constitution pamphlet will go to press this week and be ready for distribution in a few days. It will contain much informa Quarterly report blanks have beer

sent to all locals this week and should be promptly returned to the State Sec-retary filled out in the proper manner. Local Syracuse will hold a public meeting Monday evening in the Em-pire Block, in W. Genesce street, where a comfortable hall has been leased. On Jan. 9 Joseph Drawbridge will speak on The Insufficiency of the Single Tax. Jos. Wanhope, John C. Chase, and Dr. P. Campbell Ten Eyck will follow, For 10 cents will be charged. The sale of literature is being pushed and sub-scriptions taken for Socialist papers.

The agent for The Worker in Syracus

is George Seibert, 808 Park street. A People's Forum has been organ-ized in Yonkers, for the purpose of ized in Yonkers, for the purpose of maintaining a free platform and hold-ing lectures. John Spargo is president and Fred Bennetts secretary. The meetings will be held in Odd Fellows' Hall, North Broadway. New York and Westchester comrades are especially invited to attend these meetings and ask questions, as the constitution of the organization provides that no lex turer shall be invited to address the meetipgs except with the definite un-derstanding that questions and general discussion by the audience will be per mitted. On Jan. 1 W. J. Ghent will speak on Muss and Class in America

All Socialists and sympathizers in Green Island are requested to call on or communicate with H. C. Romaine 124 Hudson avenue, for the advance

ment of the movement. New York City. Organizer Solomon acknowledges the re

cipt of the following additional contribu tions to the campaign fund of 1904: List 68, L. P., 25c.; List 123, C. G. Teche \$1: List 2)5, F. Neusius, \$1; List 247 George Taufer, 50c.; List 203, Willian Schroeder, \$1; List 206, J. Wundertie, \$1 List 372, C. Anders, \$3; List 379, Emil Kopp, \$1; List 446, Chas. Grapp. 80c.; List 508. J. Marschner, 50c.; List 631, Albert Watter, 25c.; List 680, John Paar, \$1; List 600, Mrs. T. Maikiel, \$2; List 770, Arnold Kopf, 25c.; List 784, J. Hofmeister, \$1.50; List 794 J E. Dickert \$2: List 905 H Feidman, \$1.25; List 929, B. of C. and J. No. 375, \$2.30; List 930, do., \$1.90; List 331, do., 25c.; List 1178, A. K. K., Br. 70 been made for him when the tour of \$1.75; List 1122, do., dr. 24, \$25; List 2280, the State Secretary was proposed, and J. B. \$2; List 2380, A. Boarman, 50. List thas been deemed advantageous, both 2405, Wm. Brudi. \$2, List 2434, A. Estienfor the State Committee and the locals, ac. 50c.; List 2580, J. Kamerer, \$1; List S. S.; List 2803.
 A. S.; List 2584.
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 John Nacel, 51; List 2726.
 John Sach, 51; List 2726.
 John Sach, 51; List 2726. Nagel, \$1; List 2846, Andreas Schuler, \$1 List 2272, Joseph Williams, \$1; Lists 32-76 7. Edw. Field, \$3.50; Brotherhood of Printers and Decorators No. 409, \$2.02; A. E. Lawrence, dountion, \$1; William Hertic. do., \$1; E. Paulson, do., \$1; previously acknowledged, \$3.218.48; total to date \$3,270,15.

The committee to establish headquarters for the 16th A. D. report that all arrangements for a concert and lecture have been made; a thousand tickets have been printed, and that it is now up to the comrades to go to work and sell every one of them. By making this affair a success, they will make certain the establishment of ner make certain the establishment of per-manent hendquarters in the 16th A. D. The affair will take place on Jan. 6, at Jefferson Hall, 90-92 Columbia street. The comrades have worked very hard, have done splendidly during the cam-paign, and have built up a strong or-ganization, and every comrade should make it a point to attend their concert

the matter is brought to their attention they will be able to inform him at once what they can do. Each local is requested to motify the State Secretary what night it prefers for their meetings and the Secretary will do his best to arrange his tour to accommodate them.

All arrangements are now made for the rending of The Sanken Bell' in Copper I alon, Thursday, Jan. 12. by Marion Cerig Wentwarth of Massachusetts. Every contrade should do his the nembers of Local New York for the puspose of exchanging views on the drie campaign, was endorsed. The secretary was instructed that, should see accessing be arranged, posted confined.

trict. Comrade Jarvis was elected tem porary delegate to the Murray Hill Agitation Committee. The next regular business meeting will be held on hoped to begin the new year with a few more new members out of the

At the meeting of the 6th and 10th A. D. on Dec. 15 B. Korn presided. Hyman Nedelman and Philip Rein were admitted to membership. M. Tanzer, delegate to the Second Agitation District, gave an itemized finan cial report of the recent campaigr which was accepted after a prolonged debate, as well as the report of dele-gates to the General Committee. The discussion on municipal government arranged by Comrade Junger was not held, as important matters had to be important one and of timely interest it was decided that arrangements be made to have a comrade deliver a lecture on this subject at the next meeting on Thursday, Jan. 5, 8 p. m., at 64 E. Fourth street, and that it be the only matter for discussion at this meeting. Every member is urged to attend and comrades are invited to participate in the discussion that is to follow the lecture. The following offi cers were elected for the new term:
P. Weidner, Recording Secretary; I. Schrey, Financial Secretary: W. Lehpemann, S. Raines, and S. Williams delegates to the General Committee M. Tanzer, W. Lehman, and F. Romer delegates to the Second Agitation Dis trict Committee; S. Raines and W. J. F. Hannemann, delegates to the New York "Call" Conference: Henry Jun er and Wm. Lehman, delegates to th "Volkszeitung" Conference.

John Spargo will speak for the New York Socialist Literary Society, 233 E. Broadway, Sunday evening, Jan. 1. on Trade Unionism, Its Progress and Crisis.

At the last meeting of the 28th A. D. beld Dec. 15. Comrade Ross acted as chairman. Election of officers tool place, with the following result: Re ording Secretary, L. Rauch; Financia Secretary, Eckert; Trensurer, Marek Organizer, J. Obrist; Literature Agent E. Wolf: delegates to General Committee, Ehret, Wolf, Obrist, Ortland, Rauch. Sühsmeyer, Ross, and Rothfuss; Auditing Committee, Mrs. Graebler and Larsen; delegates to Imily "Call" Conference, Mauther and Ernst Willyonseder; delegate to "Volkszeitung" Conference, J. Apel; delegates to Workmen's Educational Associa-tion, Graebler and Flscher. The district is in a flourishing condition and now has eighty-one members. It was decided to have an entertainment in February for the benefit of the Daily "Call" and a committee was elected to

(Continued on page 4.)

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CIGARMAKERS PROGRESSIVE INT. UNION No. 90—Office and Employment Bureau, 64 E. 4th St. The following Districts meet every Saturday: Dist. I (Bohemian)—331 M. urday: Dist. I (Bohemian)—331 E.
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—85 E. 4th St., 8 p. m.; Dist. III.
Clubhouse, 20d E. 86th St., 7.30 p.m.;
Dist. IV—342 W. 42d St., 8 p. m.;
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The Board of Supervision meets
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CARL SAHM CLUB (MUSICIANS' UNION), meets first Tucsday of the month, 10 s. m., at Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th Street. Secretary, H. Frey, 171 Fast 87th street.

MUSICIANS' CO-OPERATIVE UNION, Local 273, A. L. U., of Hudson and Bergen Countles. Meets every Friday, at 11 a. m., at headquarters, 575 Central avenue, Jetey Civ. N. J.

LOCAL 476, MACHINE WODD WORKERS AND TURNERS. United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Meeta every Tuesday at Bohemian Hall, 252 E. 73d street, New York Financial Secre-tary, Wun E. P. Schwartz, 8 Mill street, Astoria, L. I.; Recording Secretary, Jos. Noelter, 774 E. 150th street.

7th, 9th and 25th Assembly District meets every 2nd and 4th Friday at No. 533 Eighth avenue.

THE SCANDINAVIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY OF NEW YORK meets first Sunday of every month, 10:30 a. m., in Link's Hall monn, 10:30 a. m., in Link's Hail, 233 E. 38th street, New Yprk. All Scandinavians are welcome. Agitation meetings every third Sunday, at 7 p. m. Secretary, G. Sjobolm, 261 Onderdonk avenue, Brooklya.

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PARTY NEWS.

(Continued from page 3.)

make arrangements therefor. The next meeting on Jan. 5, at 1497 Avenue A will be a discussion meeting which Comrade Ross will open and all read ers of The Worker in the district are invited to attend and enter into the

CITY EXECUTIVE.

Regular meeting, City Executive Committee, Dec. 19. Present: Eger-ton, Fishman, Kelly, Lichtschein, Nathan, Ohrist, Solomon, Spindler, Staring. Absent, excused: Ehret, Miellenhausen, Ortland. Absent, unexensed: Edwards, Flick, Lane, Van Ness. Chairman, Egerton.

Comrade Martin granted privilege of

floor. Stated that West Side Agitation Committee consider hall selected for school inaccessible and also that rental is excessive. Offered West Side headquarters for school purposes. Comrade Lichtschein reported for School Committee that he had visited Waiters Union, that they had made no definite objection to Logelinge's Hall; also that he had visited another hall, the rental

Letter received from Local Kings stating that charges had been brought by Comrade Eichwald, of Kings, agninst Comrade Pioetz, of 28th A. D. Local New York, and requesting that Comrade Ploetz be instructed to appear before Grievance Committee of Local Kings. Executive Committee recommends to General Committee recommends to General that Local Kings be advised that a clause exists in constitution to effect that each local possesses power to diselaline only its own members and to further state that if charges brought against any member of Local New York the General Committee will act in the premises.

Letter received from Comrage Slo

bodin suggesting that some steps should be taken to use capitalist press as a vehicle of propaganda. Executive mittee recommends to General mittee that Press Committee be elected by General Committee to agitate through public press as occasionaffords.

First Agitation District, report of Fishman - Effort bei print report of campaign activity Expect to send large representation to school. Organization of East Side dis-tricts progressing well. Sixteenth A. D. has membership of about eighty ation in 4th, 8th and 12th be

Second Agitation District, no report Murray Hill Agitation District, no

delegate present; no report.

West Side Agitation District, report
of Comrade Spindler. West Side headquarters offered for school purposes. Vorkville Agitation District, report of Comrade Obrist. No hall yet ob-tained for lectures. Yorkville dele-gates instructed to bring up matter of sustration for unemployed in Gen eral Committee. District organizations in good condition. All assembly dis-tricts in agitation district to hold discussion meetings. Attempt to be mad-to organize Italian branch in 34th A in conjunction with Bronx Agita tion Committee. Financial report and report of campaign work to be dis tributed to all organizations in Agita

Harlem Agitation District, no meet

ing since last report.

Bronx Agitation District, report of Comrade Staring? Arrangements for bectures consummated and hall en-

Committee on hall for school was instructed to seek for other hall and that, in case no entirely satisfactory place can be secured, that arrangements be concluded with Logelinge's Hall, provided letter can be obtained from Secretary of Walters' Union stat-ing that said union has no objection to this ball

ployed referred to General Commit tee, with recommendation that dele-gates be requested to report matter to respective Assembly Districts and re-port lack to General Committee at Moved and seconded that committee

of two, Lichtschein and Spindler, ap-pointed to confer with Board of Managers of The Worker.

Reported that committee appointed r the purpose had purchased safe and that same was now in organizer's

Next meeting of Executive Commit tee was set for second Monday in Jan-uary, but Committee is subject to the call of the Organizer in the interim. BROOKLYN.

On Sunday evening, Jan. 1, at the Sliver Building, 315 Washington street, Dr. E. P. Robinson will speak on Socialism and the Theory of the Survival of the Fittest.

At the speakers' class in the Brookme, on Friday evening, Dec. 30. the time will be taken up with que tions and answers.

New Jersey.

The ballots for referendum vote on state officers, national committeemen, and date and place of holding state and date and place of holding state convention are now being sent out. They are returnable to the State Secretary before Jan. 31. Comrades should take notice that New Jersey is entitled to two National Committeemen under the new national constitution and they will therefore vote for two of the five

rancisco to deliver a lecture every al-coral Essex County will hold its an-al fessival on Jan. 2, afternoon and allow at Kurz Coliseum. The com-tice desires all comrades willing to dat to report early on that aftercandidates on the ballot.'
Local Essex County will hold its ananni fessival on Jan. 2, afternoon and evening, at Kurz' Collseum. The com-mittee desires all comrades willing to

noon. Presents and prizes should be delivered at the hall. Admission, 10

The recently organized Eighth Ward Branch of Jersey City has arranged a series of lectures at Arcanum Hall, Jackson and Clinton avenues. On Jan. Frederick Krafft will reply to the Rev. Frank Dixon's attack on Social-ism. The comrades of Hudson are requested to be present, especially thos of Greenville and Bayonne

It is proposed to form a down-town branch in Pittsburg, so that comrades living in now unorganized sections can take active part. Those interested bould address Guy Williams, General Delivery, or report at headquarters it

Diamond Square.
The Allegheny County Committee has endorsed the action of English Lo cal Allegheny in calling for the remov al of the state committee from Erie. Through the efforts of Wm. Adar

of Wilmerding a Finnish local has been organized at Monesson, Westmoreland County, with thirty-nive members.

John Spargo will lecture on the ques tien: Is Socialism Economically Morally Sound? in Equity Hall, 1024 ard street, Philadelphia, Sunday, Jan. 8, at 3 p. m., under the auspices of the Socialist League.

Free lectures on Socialism will be given at headquarters, 4 Diamond Square, Pittsburg, every Sunday at 2 p. m. The county committee will meet immediately after the conclusion of the lectures on its usual meeting

The entertainment committee of the Allegheny County Committee has arranged to hold a cuchre on New Year Eve at the headquarters. Comrades

and sympathizers should attend.

The secretaries of locals affiliated with the Allegheny County Committee are requested to send the names and addresses of the officers and members. number in good standing, and times and places of meeting of their locals. At the Pittsburg city convention J

G. Bishop, a union engenver, was nom-inated for City Comptroller. Comrade R. B. Ringler of Rea-ling. Pa., has arranged a tour of seven or eight days in as many places for George Elmer Littlefield of Westwood, Mass., beginning at Roversford, Jan. ade Littlefield will also speak in New York state and at Washington and in New Jersey on his way home

Massachusetts.

Algernon Lee has been engaged to give a special series of four lectures in Boston in February, under the joint auspices of the Central Committee and the Socialist Women's Club. His subjects will be: Capitalism and the Class Struggle, The Politics of the Class Struggle, Present Tendencies of Capitalism, and Present Problems for Socialists. A small admission fee wil

be charged.

National Organizer Wilkins will speak in Homestend Hall, 724 Washington street, Boston, on Jan. 1, at 8 p. m. All Socialists should come and bring their friends.

The Boston Socialist Sunday School with music and recitations on Saturday, Dec. 31, 3 p. m., at 30 Huntington avenue, in Studio 410. All comrades. young and old, are invited to attend. No tickets are required.

The Socialist Educational Associa tion recently held a meeting to which all who had subscribed were invited. The board of directors had decided that on account of lack of interest by comrades in Massachusetts, as well as other reasons which Massachusetts comrades understand, it was an inopportune time to try to publish a paper ors decide what should be done. The treasurer's report showed \$719. It was finally decided to pay all subscribers who wish their money back, then place the balance in the hands of three trustees for a period of two years. The trustees are M. J. Konikow, F. W Wolfer and G. G. Hall.

The Dorchester Socialist Club will The Derchester Socialist Club will give a course of four lectures, each lecture to be preceded by a short en-tertainment, at Emery Hall, over the postoffice, 1436 Dorchester avenue. Some very good entertainers have been gram Geo. E. Littlefield will speak or the Ethics of Socialism, Jan. 5; Dan A White will speak on Socialism from Workingman's Standpoint, Jan. 13: Franklin H. Wentworth will treat So-cial Evolution on Jan. 19; and Levi H. Turner of Quincy will speak on Direct Legislation and Proportional Repre-sentation. Admission, ten cents; whole course, twenty-five cents. Ticket may be obtained from Dorchester comrade or by mail from G. G. Hall, 259 West ville street, Dorchester. Cars for subof hall every five minutes. Take Ash-mont and Millin, Nepouset Bridge and Field's Corner cars out.

Local Randolph, Mass., begins a cours of educational lectures Jan. 6, and has chosen Comrade Littlefield to

California.

Since the election, Socialists in Sac-ramento have been much more alive than heretofore and the state capital is likely to be one of the most lively centers of propaganda in the state. At a recent meeting they decided to in vite Arthur Morrow Lewis of Sur Francisco to deliver a lecture every al

"ONLY TWENTY-ONE MEN WERE KILLED."

By Horace Traubel.

hand of the master of slaves. That only is not a mere word. It is a state of civilization. Any civilization that respected its men would be ashamed to describe its men in such a word.

Only is an insult. Only snybody would be insulting. If I were a dog I would hate to be only a dog. No man,

no creature, is only anything. Maybe you are a member of the presbytery.

Maybe you like to be called a reveren

only. Maybe you have written a successful book. You are only so and so

Maybe you have painted a great pic-fure. Artist so and so. Only so and-so. Well. Why not? Why not only

Why not only twenty-on

twenty-one artists if only twenty-or

poets if only twenty-one miners!

need only because we are brutes

What is it that makes any necessary

sary man? What is it that puts the necessary man in a class below the unnecessary man? What is it that

makes a clerk at his desk an only and

it that puts one anywhere and any

how above another? Social use should fix value. Any useful man is as valu-

able as any other useful man. If we

had our grades right instead of wrong we would cherish the workers of the

world for men and disdain the loafers

"Only twenty-one men were killed."

Only miners. If twenty-one had been setting at a banquet paid for by money

stolen from the poor and had been suddenly blown up by a bomb would you have said that only twenty-one re-

spectables were killed? You reserve

beautiful fact. Work. This world is work's world. Work has been too

humble. It has allowed the loafer and

the pirate to prevail. Work of one sort or another sort. There is nothing

else to life. Social work. Work that enriches the general life. That is the

alisman. You must answer the ques-

lons of work. Too many have only

leisure and luxury. Such answers will

no longer do. Now come the questions of work. Listen. Answer. We will

no longer have an only in our vocabu-

lary. There will no longer be only a workman and Mister or Honorable this

or that his master. There will be only

one class. The class that creates, The

ornamental classes will disappear. The

financial class will disappear. The

gambler. The bandit. The magnate.

These will all go. Only one man will

remain. The workman will remain.

Why should any other sort of man re-

world that he produces. 'The world of

daily work. The world of picture and

ong. The world of work for all and

leisure for all. The world in which

the workman and not the loafman will be honored. "Only twenty-one men were killed." Only twenty-one

common men. Take that word only to your heart. Try it out by your good

miners. Suppose it was your gang on the stock exchange that was destroy-

ed? Only twenty-one members of the

"Only twenty-one men were killed."

were killed. Only

twenty-one men were killed."

stock exchange were killed. brokers. You cry broker. I cry

een able to answer the questions of

fact. The ugly word. Only.

of the world for onlies.

nakes his employer a man? W

man any better than any other nece

There are no onlies in civilized s iety. We are in a brute stage. We

"Only twepty-one men were killed."
Twenty-one useless miners. Twentyone of the common people. Twentyone men with dirty hands. Twentyone fathers of children, husbands of wives, brothers of sisters, sons of fathers. Twenty-one men who create everything and have nothing. Twentyone men who are despised by the peo-ple they support in case and luxury. Only twenty-one. Do you hear. Only twenty-one. Not twenty-one strang-ers. Not twenty-one allens. Twentyone of yourselves. Twenty-one out of the crowd. Only twenty-one, Only twenty-one. Can you measure the fact deht? Especially the only? Do you now what that means? Only twentyone miners were killed. Ordinary nien. Men like you and me. Men without eclat of family. Men without any distinction of heredity. Just the men who do the work. Not the loafers. Not the gentlemen of leisure. The slaves. The wage-carners. The men on the ground and under the ground who are sustaining the fabric of civilization. Just these men. And only twenty-one died. There might have been a hundred. Yes, a thousand. Though that would make no difference. It would be only still. If it were a thousand it would still be For that is where the of the world are placed. In the only class. All the loafers are above. Ali the pirates. Then comes the only class. My class. Your class. The lass of the crowd.

If you damn a man to hell he is in the only class. If you damn a man to poverty he is in the only class. No ne seems to care for the only class. Not even the only class itself. Sup-pose Rockefeller died. Would the world speak of him as only Rockefeiler? Suppose some one blew up the stock exchange. Would we say: Only twenty-one brokers were killed? Is Morgan an only? Is Bishop Potter an only? Is the Emperor William an only? Only seems to be the last word. The word that is applied to the man at the bottom. The workingman is at the bottom. Below him there is nothng. Above him are the pigs, the parasites, the plutocrats, the nobles, He carries everything on his back. All the parliaments. The palaces. The operas. The libraries of the world. institutions of culture. schools of manners. The clothes of the rich. The feasts of the fat. All are carried on his back. If he dies another like him slips into his place. He is killed off in battle. He is the victim of the catastrophes of trade. He dies the slow death of the factory and the store. Yet he always remain the only. The something or other not worth while. The monster anonyusly sacrificed to the elect. I see that you do not like the picture. seither do I. But it is a true picture. I would have no hope for you if you liked the picture. As long as the world speaks of you as only. As long as you speak of yourselves as only. Just so long will you have masters lust so long will you be scorned and destroyed. Do you suppose the people who speak of you as only care whether Why should they care? You do not are. If you cared you could stop it to-day. The minute you say you care all the loafers will go to work and all he elect will get back into the crowd. The hand that could write, twenty-one men were killed," was the

and now there is a propaganda meet-

ing every Sunday evening. Leslie Brown of San Francisco addressed

three very successful meetings there

was to have spoken there, but com-

rades everywhere will hear with re-gret that she has been struggling for her life for over three weeks against

severe attack of typhoid pneumonia

brought on by overwork in the cam-

Oakland is still in prosperous condi-

tion and full of plans for future work. One of them is to increase its weekly campaign, bulletin, "The Socialist

Voice," to the size of a regular week-ly paper. The local will open the year

with scientific lectures every Friday night. Each course is to consist of five lectures; course tickets, 25 cents. Aus-tin Lewis will give the first course.

Arthur Morrow Lewis the second and

San Francisco is as lively as ever. One of the ambitious projects of the

new year is to hold a monthly meet-

ing in the Albambra Theater on a

Sunday evening. The opening lecture, Jan. 8, will be by Arthur Morrow Lew-

is, on Some Objections to Socialism. The success of this plan will depend

largely on the outcome of the first meeting and San Franciso should take note. In addition to Thursday even-ing scientific lectures in the Academy

of Sciences, 819 Market street, by A.

M. Lewis, there will be a course of five lectures by Austin Lewis on Industrial

History, with special reference to the United States. Course tickets, 50 cents; Union Sqare Hall, 421 Post street. On Dec. 18 Jack London spoke

street. On Dec. 18 Jack London spoke in the Alhambra Theater and the party coffers are somewhat replenished by the event. Correspondents to Local San Francisco will please address new headquarters, 230 Van Ness avenue.

headquarters, 230 Van Ness avenue. The Secretary is Lena Morrow Lewis;

Organizer, Geo. Williams. San Fran-cisco is still selling 300 copies a week at its street meetings of The Worker.

uary it is to come up to 300 a month

Los Angeles is busy at present with

debate that will have taken place

As a result of the increased Socialist vote, the local in Corning, Cal., has

been granted the free use of a column in the Corning "New Era" (Dem.) and four of the comrades have volunteered

Nore and There Local Whitewater, Wis., hes arread a course of Saturday evening

hald M. Huntly.

"Social Democratic Herald." and

J. B. Osborne the third.

Mrs. Lena Morrow Lewis

tures to be held in the White Memorial Library, beginning Jan. 7, and ending May 20. In the list of lecturers we note the familiar names of Carl D. Thompson, Ira B. Cross, Edmund T. Thompson, Ira B. Cross, Edmund Melms, Victor L. Berger, Isaac Per son, Gertrude B. Hunt, and Elizabeth H. Thomas. If we may judge from the very well arranged folder got ou to announce the lectures, Local White

vater knows how to do things. Local Portland, Me., is astonishing the old party politicians and the citizens by inaugurating a weekly regular lecture course at its own hall. Or Dec. 12 a large and impressive meeting was held, and probably Geo. E. Littlethat occasion, attracted many because his name is similar to that of the Republican congressman of this district. Local Lewiston also had the same speaker on Dec. 14.

BAKER WON'T DEBATE.

Robert Baker of Brooklyn, Dem cratic Congressman, has declined an invitation to debate with a representa-tive Socialist on the ground that he "cannot see anything to be gained by such a debate" as it would not chang the views of the audience. It is a bit hard to understand why Mr. Baker thinks it worth while to speak on the stump in campaign time or to particl-pate in discussions in Congress, if this is what he really thinks. The local Sodalists are naturally hinting that Mr. Baker consider part of valor."

TO BROOKLYN COMPADES.

The Brooklyn Federation of Labor has issued an appeal to organized workingmen and the public at large, urging them not to patronize the meat houses of Adolf Feucht on Mescole street, Christ Grotsinger on Hamburg avenue, and Emil Fehrenbach on Irving avenue, or stores buying from them, on the ground that these bosses are among the worst exploiters of labor and enemies of workingmen's or-ganizations in the trade. Comrades should take due notice of this request the "Social Democratic Herald," and "Next," and will increase its order to 400 shortly. The order of tweaty cop-ies a month of the "International So-cialist Review" and the "Comrade" has been increased to 100 and in Janand act accordingly.

UNCLE BUSSELL'S GENEROSITY.

WITH ONE EYE ONLY.

By Peter E. Burrowes.

There is really no need for that bandage over your eyes, Madam Jus-tice, your officers will always be as one-eyed as your present class interest demands; and as for liberty and right, a one-eyed administration is worse a one-eyed administration is worse than a blind one. In a state of class divided criminality it takes one set of expert criminals to administer the law against another; and the untold indict ment of America's justice consists of what its Jeromes and grand juries de see, don't see, can't see and won't let others see.

A ruffian named McLaughlin has A ruman names acclaugant has been enjoying, and armed to enjoy, the privilege of shooting and bludgeoning in the night time any low down black or white citizen he had a mind to. He did it frequently and was frequently released by his superior officers; for in a classed ruled society the crimes of pardon are as great as the crimes of panishment and the courts of justice are the chief offenders. Class made law may best be measured by that which it fails to find out, or falls to punish at the right time.

There are many things suitable to President Roosevelt and the Socialist too. Just because Teddy is in affairs what Lyman Abbott is in religion. leader who keeps his eye on the fron ment he may step forward for the honors, Teddy is a product; no suspic-tion of friginality can ever be held against his barren brain. What more natural than that such a man in these days should require federal control over corporations, a conttrol by which tected from and enriched by their sins

The separate sovereign states, by the plutocrats long used as experiment stations to test the political degener acy of the people, are now as much in the way of this one-eyed man, this unconscious product of his time, as they are in the way of general progress and Socialism, and so this leader walking behind necessity, is even now ready to step up to demand federal supervision of State hatched franchises and every thing else that is loose

Talking of hatching reminds me of an item in one of the papers where complaint is made of an unethical way now practised by naughty chicken farmers to get two egs out of a poor sort of trap is laid that whips the egg away, so that when she looks around and sees nothing, and then puts her spectacles on and esain sees the same sits down with a sigh and lay another egg. Here again the one-eyed unoriginal chicken farmer follows the unoriginal chicken farmer follows the times. The money wage payment of those who produce all the wealth of the world is the same old trap, the same old trick; and labor is the same

old grown up chicken-and who dares to call it unchristian!

How much change in the conditions he complains of and exposes will Mr. Lawson's moral frenzy bring forth! Is he not himself still gambling? People cannot cheat each other by mora rules; though there are some who think that Lawson may be piling up substantial dollars even now during his whooping cough of righteousness. The dreamer thinks he can repeal history by appealing to reason. Booke-feller, Rogers and Addicks are the logic of blind self-denuding labor. What will the Lawson articles do? They will make the middle class sucker more foxy; and that is all, there. What ought they to do? Make the working class more conscious of the rulers' rottenness which precedes

The Russian autocracy, that mon The Russian autocracy, that mon-ster that exists only by consuming the flesh, the mind and spirit of such un-fortunate part of humanity as falls within its blackened domain, is now once more emitting clusive melodies of good intentions to draw more could-ing victims into its grasp. "Why Rusing victims into its grasp. "Why Russia wouldn't be Russia at all, without an obligarchy," naively exclaims one of the arch devils of the imperial famlly. Of course, not; his Russia is the autocracy, and there is no other Russia to say him nay. A reformation in Russia inaugurated by the nobility will be his Russia after a dose of self. ers of Russia themselves prepare the why then?

It is surely a high satanic triumph of slave making and reserving out of sight, this capitalist system! Here we have the press, the President and others blowing the megaphone of na-tional prosperity, while a brief snow storm reveals to us shivering armies of shoeless, breadless men, waiting through long hours of terrible suspense for a shovel to toll through the night on snow for a dollar and a quarte. The contractors are amassing rudi mentary millions out of this famine It is therefore national prosperity, fo are not the contractors the nation?

During the night's shoveling, if patriot fakir came down along the shivering ranks singing: "Breathes there a man with soul so dead who never to himself bath said: This is my own, my native land," the shovele the snow, the cold and fleeting snow is the only land he has Into it his the patriot contractor, who only tele phones down, goes home gloriously fat and fortified with new thousands for the further exploitation of the work ingman. When will labor dig deepe

FREE MAINTENANCE OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

In connection with the agitation inaugurated by the British Social Demo cratic Federation for free mainten ance of school children, a teache writes interesticity in London "Jus-tice." We quot a part of the letter, most of which would apply nearly if not quite as well in this country

There is no body of men and women to whom the present agitation in favor of free meals for underfed school children ar peals more strongly than to the teach in our elementary schools. To them the due-books and statistics. It appeals t them as a tragedy of personal suffering nacted under their very eyes. It no only awakens their compassion; it handi-caps them in their daily work, and mulli-fles much of their effort.

I have spent all my working days (with the exception of four years) in the poorer class elementary schools. For four years I was engaged in a higher grade school. and the experience there serves as a stand-ard for comparison between well-fed and ill-fed school boys. Except for that four with the difficulty of teaching-or trying to teach—poorly fed, poorly shod, and poorly clothed children. For let me remark par nthetically that even state feeding does not comprehend the whole of the trouble even more, for boys will come to school hungry, but if they have no boots to went

Mingry, but it they nave, he was they generally stay away.

Whatever may be said for voluntary effort in this matter in towns, it is pracrepresentatives of rural teachers on the Executive of the National Union of Teach ers have expressed the view that poverty is greater amongst country children than in feeding them is a dire necessity. The latter part of this opinion I fully equorse.

And what of town children? I teach at the present time in one of the poorer class schools in a large town. Here the problem is with us to a certain extent all the year around, but in the winter and spring "It is appalling. We teachers are truly between Scylla and Charybdis. As eachers we are anxious to keep up the ce and avoid unfavorab parison with other and more favored schools. As humane men and women we realize the refined cruelty of trying to stul little belies are empty. Our children fre quently come hungry to school in the morn ing. I have known a little fellow to fain during the opening exercises. Though liv-ing close to the school, more than half of our children "stay to dimer." During the winter months this phrase is purely cor warmth, or because their mothers are ou

No permanent voluntary agency to mee this trouble exists. The teachers do wha they can, and, as in the case of boots

limited number of children was all that there was convenience for cooking, sour had to content ourselves with providing cocca and bread and butter. We were thus able to include more children than we could have done with better fare. But even then the selection of recipients was difficult and arbitrary. In the first case we picked out children with no fa For the rest, we exercised as wide a dis morning school rather than at midday, bu even with this modest fare funds ran ou while the cold weather was still with us A "whip round," and a school concert tided us over another fortnight. Then we had to give up, although children were stil oming hungry. Many-indeed most-elementary teacher

believe with me that voluntary effort is quite unable to deal with this problem It is generally belated in its inception inadequate in its scope, and ceases as soon as the first enthusiasm has evapor-ated. Nearly every teacher who has given the subject thought will admit that son scolaires" of Paris must be instituted if the health of the children, and the effi-ciency of our education are to be preservfeeding, but also of improper feeding we have to face. Nutritious food is a thing unknown to many of our children. I have known mothers who never think of giving their children food to bring to school, but instead give them pence to buy biscuits pearance of these children, as well as servation of their feeding, all tell their atory of improper and inadequate food. Well cooked, nourishing food, partaken of under healthy conditions, would be the iren who have insufficient food, but also of those who have sufficient but of an un suitable and unnourishing nature.

In dealing with this question it is to it

hoped that the authorities, whether state or municipal, will not restrict themselves to what they deem "necessitous" schools only. Any arbitrary classification of this general physical well-being of the children. In schools which are not considered poor schools, there is always a minority of children for whom free meals are a neces-

HOMEST CONVICTIONS IN POLITICS. "McJigger," remarked the man in the mackintosh, "Is the most corrupt politician I ever knew. I don't believe he has ever han one honest conviction." "Of course not," observed the man who had his feet on the table." "If he had he would be

serving a ten-year sentence in the penite tiary."—Chicago Tribune.

-So many talk platitudes about —So many talk platitudes about democracy, without realizing that the essential of all democratic organization must be based upon the loyal co-operation of the minority with the majority to make the policy agreed upon a success, and that anything than this is treachesy in the face of the common transmission of the common transmission.

The proceeds to go for the Russian Revolutionary Literature. | Crand Entertain-PEACE CONGRESSES. ment and Ball

TUST OUT! NEW YEAR GREETING 1905 OF THE WORKER,

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THE FUTILITY OF THE

The International Peace Congress

has come and gone, and I hear from those who attended its sessions in Bos-

ton that they were most inspiring. It is a fine thing to have the attention of

the world called to the subject of

peace even in a more or less abstract

and indefinite shape. It is very un-

fortunate that the peace movement is

so respectable, for respectability en-tails a great deal of compromise, di-

plomacy and insincerity, which a

thoroughly vulgar cause is usually clear of, and for that reason I like vul

gar movements best, and when they begin to be "recognized" by the great and wise, I prefer to flock by myself

Thus the peace movement is obliged to take notice of the government in whose domains it happens to meet,

and this is a thousand pities for the

governments are precisely its worst enemies. Mr. Hay came very kindly

to represent Mr. Roosevelt's cabinet

and made a very pretty speech in which he lauded Count Tolstoy, and

yet everybody present knew that his chief was the chief instigator of the

war-spirit in America and that he

looked upon the delegates as cowards

and cravens who bubble of peace. And as for Mr. Hay himself, if the Colum-

bigns had not been less courageous

should now be engaged in a war of his

own creation, brought about by sharp

practice. If I had been in Boston

do not think I could have sat still

without calling attention to these self-

evident facts, and I fear I would not have added to the prevailing unity,

And for some occult reason which

have not fathomed, peace meetings differ from all others, in attracting to

them people who do not believe in the

fight shy of temperance rallies, but a

peace meeting is sure to have its fair representation of military and official people, who would do anything rather

then but an end to war, and a lot of

doing anything at all positive on be

half of peace. Thus a proposition to criticise the wicked and wanton in-

crease of our navy, was voted down with enthusiasm; that was altogether too much like business. The last peace congress was held at Glasgow during

the Boer war, and there in like man-ner any impolite reference to that heroic conflict of the Britons was

promptly suppressed. Ine of the fea-tures of the Boston meeting was a let-

ter from Andrew Carnegie, who fur

nishes armor plate for our navy. Per-haps he is considered an effective

peace man, because the quality of the

plate has been questioned. Another letter was from Cardinal Gibons, "in

vindication of the policy of Belgium in the Congo State." and expressing his admiration and praise of the noble

ideals of its founder. In any genuine

peace meeting a letter like this last should be suppressed. It brings the whole cause into ridicule.

But the worst break of the Congres

was made, when it moved to New York and held a meeting at the Cooper Institute. It had already paid its re-

spects to the Mayor and given him an

meeting and there they selected for their presiding officer the Rev. Lyman

their presiding officer the Rev. Lyman Abbott. I do not think that it is an

exaggeration to say that next to Mr. Roosevelt, Dr. Abbott has been the

Roosevelt, Dr. Abbott mas been most pronounced influence for war in this country, during the past half-dozen years. It is true that he spoke

out nobly against hostilities agains

England, at the time of President Cleveland's Venezuelan message, but his course on every occasion since then

has shown that it was his devotion to

Great Britain and not to peace which then guided his conduct, and of late he has been the chief clerical apologist

for every war, every increase of arma-ments and every exhibition of war-spirit. He has a perfect right to his

views and as perfect a right to preach them, but that a Pence Congress

should select such a man for its chair

transforms the whole movement into a

At St. Louis shortly before the Bos

ton Congress the Interparliamentary

but this too seems hardly a serious in-stitution. Congressman Baker, in an able address at the Monhonk Arbitra-

tion Conference last Spring, pointed out that there were forty American

members of Congress in this Union

and that yet only two votes were re-

corded in the House of Representa-tives against the appropriation for new

battleships. Such peace agitation is nothing but talk. The delegates to the Interparliamentary meeting were of course received by Mr. Roosevelt, who

politely refrained from calling them weaklings, and announced his inten-tion of calling the Hague conference

together again. And now I see that our streamons President thus stole a march on the German Kalser who had intended to play this same card. But what a farcel The two most conspicu-

man passes the comprehensible.

Butchers do not attend vege

than the Boers and Filipino

peace and concord.

given by the 18th & 20th Assembly District

Social Democratic Party, on December 31st, at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. 4. St. Tickets 10 Cents. Commencing at 8 O'clock.

ous anti-peace men in the world, the two rival incarnations of the war spirit, running a race for the honor of convening the convention of peacel And meanwhile the interesting young man who called the first Hague ference together is engaged in waging one of the least defensible wars on record! It is enough to make the gods

There are of course notable excep-

tions to the rule of insincerity among nominal peace people. The Baroness on Suttner took every opportunity to rebuke the oft-repeated suggestion that war was a necessity if not a good thing in itself. Dr. Trueblood, the secretary of the American Peace Society, upon whose shoulders the arrangements for the Congress lay, is an uncompromising peace man, but his position must have vexed his just soul time and again. Such are the real peace people, and the first thing which the peace movement should do is to unload its false friends, even if such action relegates those who remain to the ranks of the "unrespectable." A reformer has no business to presume to respectability. There is genuine peace sentiment as a rule among Socialists and anarchists and trade unionists than there is among the fashionable gentlemen and ladies who deign to espouse the cause. Pete Curran, of the British General Federation of Trades Unions, was the only member of the Congress who dared to attack our infamous Philip-pine policy, and he ruffled his audience inconveniently. At the late International Socialist Congress the Russian and Japanese delegates shook hands publicly and expressed their detestation for the present war. That is real peace-sentiment, and I would commend the example to Dr. Abbott. In like manner the Socialists of Japan have sent a touching brotherly greeting to the Socialists in Russia, from

as in bad taste. The god of war must not be flouted too rudely. • • • Behind war lie economic and politi-cal causes and it is absurd to oppose war and at the same time cultivate friendly relations with the men who are responsible for those causes. The strongholds of imperialism in America are in Wall Street and Washington and no movement which is on speaking terms with those centers of in-Ernest H. Crosby, in the Whim

which I quoted a month or two ago. I shall not have much hope of lasting

good from Peace Congresses and the

Haugue Conferences until this same spirit shows itself there. At the pres-

ent time it would surely be condemned

capital an' labor was frindly, or labor was. Capital was like a father to laber, givin' it its boord an' lodgin's, Navther intherfered with th' other, wint on laborin'. In thim golden days wurrukin' man was an honest artisan. That's what he was proud to be called. Th' week before illiction he had his pitcher in th' funny papers. He wore a square pa-aper cap an' a leather apron, an' he had his ar-rm ar-round capital—a rosy binivolent ol' guy with a plug hat and eyegiasses, They was goin' to th' polls together to vote for simple of capital. Capital an labor walked ar-rm in ar-rm instead iv havin' both hands free as at prisint. Capital was contint to be capital an' labor was used to bein' labor. Capa-ltal come ar-round an' felt the ar-rm iv labor wanst in awhile an' tyry year Mrs. Capital called on Mrs. Labo pride iv ivry artisan was to warrak as long at his task as th' boss cud afford to pay th' gas bill. In return f'r his fidelity he got a turkey ivry year. At Chris'mas time, capital gathered his happy fam'ly around him, an' in th' pristuce iv th' ladies iv th' neighborhood give thing a short oration brave la-ads,' says be, 'we've had good year. (Cheers.) I have made a millyon dollars. (Sensation) I attribute this to me supeeryor skill, nided be ye'er arnest efforts at th' bench an' at th' forge. (Sobs.) Ye have done so well that we don't need so many iv us as we did. (Long and continyous cheerin'.) Those iv us who can do two men's wurrnk will remain, an' if possible, do four. Our other faithful sar spring,' he says, 'if alive,' he says. And the bold artysans tossed their panper caps in th' sir an' give three cheers f'r capital. They wurrnked till of age crept on thim, an' thin retired to live on th' wish hones and kind wurruds they had accomplated.

portunity to make fun of the move DOOLEY ON CAPITAL AND LABOR. Why is it necessary to kow-"It was diffrent whin I was a tow to politicians, whose very career is bound up with national politics and young man, Hinnissy, In thim days, the army-power? Truth does not need advocates of peace learn this, the better. But after the reception by the Mayor, they hied them to the mass-