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NEW YORK, APRIL 8, 1905.

THE NEW YORK SUBWAY GOLD-MINE. THE RIOTS IN

The Workings of the Sort of "Municipal Ownership" Established by Tammany with Republican Aid.

Gustavus Myers in New York "World."

an unsettled one. Has the company the right under its lease to lay con

duits for placing transmitting wires of

to utilize this privilege, it will find

early as valuable as that for operat-

\$900 a mile—in some instance 000 a mile—for using its condui-

for wires. It was recently reported

ing. Did this mean that the company

the city had to pay for the construc-

Now let us see what the city expects

During the first five years of the

now capitalized at \$25,000,000.

The apparent profits could

What is there to prevent this capital

being watered to twice the amount or

tion companies have done this; in fact,

it is the regular, recognized process.

It is fairly certain that for the first

five years the city will get nothing ex-

cept the 31/2 per cent. interest on its

For the next five years the company

is required to pay the 3½ per cent. In-terest and ½ per cent. Interest on the principal until the 5 per cent. net pro-

fits are made, and then the company

has to pay another ½ per cent. on the principal. During the next forty years

it has to pay 3½ per cent, interest and 1 per cent, on the principal. Much of what the city expects to get

is based upon the contingency of the

fits on the investment. WHO WILL KNOW WHETHER IT MAKES 5, 10

OR 20 PER CENT.? Who knows white

its investment actually has been, is or

will be? Incredible as it may seen

the city authorities know nothing spe

The Conduit Juggle.

Fifteen years ago one of the most valuable franchises in the city was

given to the Consolidated Telegraph

and Electrical Subway Company-to

lay conduits in all the thoroughfares of the city. The company was requir-ed to pay to the city all over 10 per

cent of its net profits on the cost of construction. It has never paid the city anything. Its books never show

It is the backbone of the electric light

and telephone monopolies and its rea

prefits are enormous. Yet by skilfu

bligations to the city.

juggling of its books it has evaded its

onigations to the city.

It is perhaps unjust to prejudge. The indications, however, are that the city will not even get all of its own advances back. If it gets back its \$50,000,000, with 3½ per cent. Interest, it will be extremely fortunate.

The netual profits in farea from the

The actual profits in fares from the

operation of the Subway will be at least \$2,000,000 a year—perhaps more. We shall be able to know this better

a year hence. These profits will be made on what? A five-cent fare. It

happens that away back in 1852 re

monsible parties offered to give trans

aponsine parties offered to give trans-portation for a three-cent fare if they could get a franchise for a surface railway on Broadway. At that time the population of the city was not

One Redeeming Feature

The one and only redeeming feature is that the franchise was not given in perpetuity. It is somewhat singular that, along with its other follies of

ion did not graciously incorporate

perpetual clause. It practically did this in its recent grant of subway rights on Sixth avenue and other

streets. Although the charter express

ly forbids the granting of franchise for longer than twenty-five years, th

provisions of the charter seem to be contravened by those of the Rapid Transit Act. The franchise for the Broadway surface road was given

away by the notorious "boodle" Board of Aldermen of 1864. The corrupt price paid was \$500,000. The road was built

by private capital. Yet for the fran-chise of this road the city receives \$150,000 a year—the largest sum so

paid by any company.

The Subway franchise is the most valuable in the city. It was built by city money, and the vast privileges in-

city money, and the vast privileges in-corporated in it were ostentationsly given away by the honorable and emi-nently respectable Rapid Transit Com-mission. It is doubtful whether the city will get any adequate returns for this franchise of practically seventy-five years. Leaving out its perpetuity clause, the Broadway railway fran-chise was by far the better transaction

chise was by far the better transactio

Apparently the Rapid Transit Com-mission is to impose upon the city more of its peculiar work.

A SOCIALIST WATERLOO.

A SOCIALIST WATERLOO.

No Democrats or Republicans appeared in the recent election in Waterloo. Iows.—just capitalists under the name of "People's" and weekingmen for the Socialist Party. The People's candidate for Mayor received 1,908 and the Socialists 220 votes, which is doubling our vote, as the vote cast for Debe last November in this place was only 419.

ent, the Rapid Transit Commis

pinal profit of over 6.28 per cent

mpany's earning 5 per cent, net pro-s on the investment. WHO WILL

itself in possession of a franchis

all kinds? If it has, and if it pro

ing the road. The present condui-

\$1,000 a mil

Without either waiting for or strongly demanding the passage of adequate legislation to govern the granting of further subway franchises, the Rapid in unsettled one. Has the company Transit Commission is preparing to give away a series of new franchises. Evidently these are to be granted on general terms as those ob tained by the Interborough Railway

In the current number of "McClure's Magazine" Ray Stannard Baker has an article entitled, "The Subway Ireal." Admirable as this article is in many ways, it does not give the full facts.

It can be approximately demonstrated that the Rapid Transit Commission gave to the Belmont syndicate a virhundred millions of dollars which should have gone into the public treas-It can be strongly indicated tha the Interborough Company obtained the entire road, equipment and all, without its costing the company one cent of its own money.

Some Concrete Facts.

I shall present some concrete facts. In the first place, the Interborough's Subway (it would be a travesty on common sense to call it the city's Subway) is relieved from taxation on its equipment and franchise. The Itapid Transit Commissioners contend as a defence that at the time the lease was reasted the project was such a doubtgranted the project was such a doubt-ful one that strong inducements were

Perhaps the commission regards this defense as a plausible one. At the time a number of thinking citizens pointed out the vast commercial value of such a subway. Perhaps, also, the commission did not know what as a rudimentary matter it should have known, that nearly forty years ago several companies were anxious to get franchises for underground railways. and some did get them. The cost of undertakings must have present ed itself as one of huge amounts, ye the projectors did not ask one dollar of city aid. They were willing to risk their own resources. For various reans these early projects were never

The great value of subways was, however, distinctly recognized at the

The Rapid Transit Act exempts les-sees from taxation. The Franchise Tax Law treats equipment and franchise rights as real estate. The In-terborough Company, whose road was terborough Company, whose road was built by city credit, enjoys singular es denied to all other franchise ling corporations in the state. Although the company's franchise is valned in Wall Street at from \$50,000,000 to \$60,000,000, the company does not have to pay a single dollar of taxes on franchise or equipment.

& Sift of Millions In Taxes.

This means that the company has been presented with a gift of from \$75,000,000 to \$100,000,000 on this

equipment and franchise it would be equipment and franchise it would be assessed at present at probably \$300, a year for franchise tax—in all. \$1,000,000 a year. The company's lease of the Subway ostensibly endures for fifty years, but practically for seventy-five years. It is highly grobable that twenty years from now, or even ten, the assessment values would be proportionately greater than now. Granting that the Franchise Tax Law will subsist as it is (and it has been upheld unanimously by the has been upheld unanimously by the Court of Appeals), the company, in the seventy-five years of its lease, would, had it been taxed, have had to pay into the public treasury a total of over \$75,000,000 at the very least.

Yet the Rapid Transit Act remains the same. It still contains the pro-vision exempting lessees from taxa-tion. The commission has made no tion. The commission has made no real effort to have the act changed, and it even betrays a disposition to anticipate any new legislation by giv-ing away more franchise leases.

commission blind or are there subtle influences at work?

There are still other features to be

The city's bonds for construction of the Subway will amount to about \$50,000,000. The profits on the work of construction have been probably \$10,000,000—not a great deal less at any rate. The cost of real estate, building power-houses and otherwise equipping the road has certainly not been more than \$10,000,000. It is the duty of the Rapid Transit Commission to know, yet it has not even made an investiga-tion. This fact stands clear: It is the opinion of those who have considered the matter carefully that the whole road has been equipped from the pro-fits on the cost of construction. IN OTHER WORDS, THE COMPANY GOTTHE ENTIRE ROAD FREE OF ANY REAL EXPENSE TO ITSELF.

Millions More in Advertising.

The privilege of putting up adver-tising signs in that long stretch of the road above Fulton street was another gift. If the courts decide that the com-pany has a right to put up advertisgift. If the courts decide that the company has the right to put up advertising signs iff the Subway the freedom from this offensive display will not be due to any initial efforts of the Rapid Transit Commission. The great value of this advertising privilege was shown recently when Ward & Gow, in applying for an injunction against molestation, stated that they were paying the Interborough Company \$450,000 a year for the first two years, and that the payments in the ten-year contract amounted to \$5,150,000. At this rate, if its claims to advertising privilege are sustained by the courts, the Interborough Company will receive in the

THE CAUCASUS.

Virtually a Repetition of the Kishineff Affair.

The Tsar's Government Deliberately Stirred Up Mohammedan Fanatics to Bloody Attack on Armenians in Hope of Dividing and Crushing the Labor

The International Socialist Bureau ress of the world a letter received by opoly, for instance, charges from \$700 Bureau from "Droshak" of Ge lutionary Federation, dated Mar. 10, in regard to the recent massacres at Baku in the Russian Caucasus. The Bureau that the Interborough Company had put in a bid for the city's electric lightleclares that the conduct of the Tsar's rovernment in this affair is but a rep had extra conduits stowed away along its route? It will be remembered that tition of the crimes of Kishineff and Gomel, a deliberate awakening of race hatred, directed then against the Jews and now against the Armenians, for tion of these conduits. This phase is one of the utmost importance. he purpose of dividing the victims of its own tyranny and keeping them in subjection, and it recalls to the atten-tion of the civilized world the resoluto get in return for the privileges it has given and for its great expendition adopted by the International Sci cialist and Trade-Union Congress of lease the lessees are required to pay 314 per cent, interest on the bonds and 1900 in regard to the similar atrocities perpetrated at that time in Turkish Armenia at the instigation of the Sul-tan's government, in the following NOTHING ON THE PRINCIPAL CENT. NET PROFITS. The company

Paris, affirming once more the feelings of all peoples, is filled with indignation by the violences, the crueltics, the massacres committed in Armenia; before the working people of all lands it denounces the crim inal complicity of the various capitalist governments, and it pledges the Socialist epresentatives in various parliaments to the Congress addresses the assurance of its close and ardent solidarity.

The "Droshak" letter is to the folowing effect:

Not content with having connived at the great massacres of 1895 and 1896 in Turkish Armenia, Tsarism now menian element in its own empire, which it considers dangerous to its policy and its domination in the Cau-

A second Kishineff has been organized on an even more frightful so in the large industrial city of Baku.

In this region thousands of workers of all the mixed nationalities have re cently fraternized in a great strike against capitalism and absolutism. The against capitalism and absolutism. The intrigues of the government officials, however, succeeded in stirring up strife between the two main divisions of the population, who had been living peaceably together, the Mohammedans and the Armenians, There followed a terrible butchery asting for several days. Seven lasting for several days. Seven or eight hundred persons were killed and about fifteen hundred wounded; the Armenian quarter of the town was devastated, houses set afire, and whole families burned to death

The Governor-general, with his detachments of Cossacks, looked on calmly at these barbarous scenes They were not, however, altogether in The police agents and the officers of the Cossacks were instructed to help the Mohammedans, supplying them with weapons and disarming the Armenians.

Thousands of Armenian workingme purried from the neighboring factories of Balakhany to aid their compatriots: but at the gates of Baku they were stopped by the Cossacks and disarmed, while large bands of Mussulman fan atics were allowed to go about freely burning, pillaging, and killing.

A few hundred brave comrades of the Revolutionary Federation were able to gather in arms in the Armenian quarter and, in spite of the Coske to repulse the attacks

lohammedans.
The Armenian Revolutionary Com mittee, having vainly appealed to Gov ernor Makachidzé to put an end to the bloodshed, promptly took measures of its own. Well knowing that the trouble was fomented by the Russian government and that the outburst sian government and that the outburst of Mussulman fanaticism was but a transient phenomenon, the Committee, faithful to its principles of solidarity, refrained from offering any provocation to the Mohammedans, and limited itself to measures of actual self-defemse for the Armenian population.

Among the Mohammedans, too, there were not lacking wise and generous.

were not lacking wise and generous men who, in this crisis, gave protec tion to Armenian refugees. They un-derstood the true cause of the atrocity erstood the true cause of the atrocity While the government will undoub

While the government will undoubt-edly try to provoke similar conflicts in other cities of this region where there is a mixed population of Russians, Ar-menians, Georgians, and Mohamme-dans, in its effort to stife the move-ment of revolt against capitalist ex-ploitation and absolute government, here is hope that its malign attempt will have less success in future, as will have less success in future, as every effort is being made by the revo-lutionists to create a good understand-ing and cultivate a fraternal feeling ng the various elements of the pr

AMERICAN AID FOR RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Secretary Loopoloff and Treasure Ingerman of the Russian Social Demo cratic Society of New York acknowledge the receipt of the following con edge the receipt of the following contributions for the assistance of the revolutionary movement to Russia: Previously reported, \$1,910.76; Worksingmen's Sick and Death Beneat Society, Br. 56, Stapleton, S. I., coll. \$21.75; Br. 39, Philadelmin, \$5; Br. 180, New York \$2; Br. 23, Bloomingdale, N. Y., \$16; Br. 196, Taunton, Mana, \$0.45; Br. 124, Toledo, C., \$1.25; Russian political life swarmed

United Brewery Workers No. 114, Providence, \$10; Local Plainfield, N. geois protest of the most various colors, Providence, \$10; Local Plainages, A. J. Socialist Party, and Workinginen's Circle, Br. 84, coll., \$7.80; Local Covington, Ky., \$1; Local Topeka, Kas., \$7; Ladles' Aux., Local Arkansas City, to the most loyal addresses to the Tsar appealing to him to voluntarily abolish Tsar-

Kas., \$7.75; Local Cincinnati, \$5.35; First Ward Br., Local Essex Co., N. J., \$5; Local Garden Grove, Cal., \$2.50; Local Pinon, Cal., \$1; Brauch Sver-green, L. I., \$5; Mrs. Arnold, New York, coll., \$7; Verein für Volksbildung, per Mrs. Arnold, \$3; per M. Ingerman. Brooklyn—Isador Goldfarb, M. Sachs. J. F. Lief, and P. London, \$1 each, Dr. Londoner, \$2, L. Manulkin, \$3, and Dr. Rosie, \$5; per Dr. A. F. Konikow, Boson-German Club, \$2, L. Marcus, coll. \$5.70, and Chas. Claus, coll. amon cigarmakers, \$3.85; O. Kessler, Ka consciousness of the proletariat.
On the other hand, the organizations gis City, Kas., \$3; H. M. Reding, Clarksville, Ark., 25c.; J. Neaf, Mt. Pleasant, Utah, 50c.; A. Arlinson, do.,

Sc.; total to April 4, \$2,045.38. Contributions should be sent and drafts and orders made payable to J. Loopoloff, Secretary, 121 E. One H dred and Twelfth street, New York

\$1; Chas. H. Townsend, Saugs, Mass.

STAND OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

Conference of Strictly Social D cratte Organizations and Their attitude Toward the "Bloc" of Terror ists and Liberals.

The Worker has already given some account of the conference of certain of the Russian revolutionary parties—the bourgeois Liberal Constitutionalists ("Osvobojdenie"), the Revolutionar Socialist Party (commonly called Ter rorists), and various Polish, Fine and other nationalist groups which was held last fall and which formed a "bloc" or coalition for united action a "bloc" or coalition for united action to overthrow Tsurism. We have also given some extracts from an article by Comrade Dahn explaining why the Social Tiemocrats did not join this bloc. Those who realize the import-ance of what is now going on in line-sia will be interested to learn that at the close of January there was held a conference of the Social Democratic conference of the Social Democratic organizations and to read the declara-tions which it issued. We take the translations from London "Justice."

The Social Democratic Party of Russia, the General Jewish Labor Union in Lithuania, Poland, and Russia feomin Lithuania, Poland, and Russia Jeommonly known as the Bund), the Let-tish Social Democratic Labor Party-and the Revolutionary Party of the Ukraine were represented; the Social Democracy of Poland and Lithuania, the Polish Socialist Party "Proletar-far" and the Assaulan Social Democracy of the Polish Socialist Party "Proletar-far" and the Assaulan Socialist Party "Proletarfat," and the Armenian Social Deme invited, and the two last named ex pressed their willingness to partiel pute but were unable to send cele gates. The Bund took the initiative is

calling the conference. The conference lasted for two days and the deliberations covered a whole series of questions of tactics and or and an appeal was dr up embodying the fundamental political demands. We give the text of this appeal and such of the resolutions as may now be made public:

1.- TO THE PROLETARIAT OF ALI RUSSIA.

The development of social reintions Kussia has sharpened the radical income ibility of the autocratic regime with the in terests of all classes of capitalist so and has more clearly demonstrated the

to all the progressive elements of Bo ganism, when the poverty of the workin class has reached unprecedented extents when the needs of the village became a se rious menace to the further developmen of the productive forces of Russia, when i the shameless management of the autongly lead the country to its complete

and inevitable ruin. The working class was the only force racy in a death struggle—the autocracy monstrous legacy of the Middle Ago shield of its bayonets.

To the demand for liberty, the anse f the autocracy was deeds of bleed, pris ons and exile. It sought, by inciting tional hatred, by infaming the wildest animal instincts of the ignorant mol, to par-alyze the growth of solidarity in the working class. The "pagroms" (robbery and massacres of Jews) were the weapons of the government against the growing

The Russian government still believe that a systematic policy of repression we perpetuate her power. But she could a long continue in this path. The war ca needed by none, hated by all—the war with its senseless and terrible sacrifices. It awakened the meekest of inhabitants from wakened the mecause with the flery language is political sleep. With the flery language is political sleep, and of the guns, with rivers of spill whole ocean of poverty and misery, it aught him politics.

The Brightness of the autocracy tak The Drightness of the autocracy faced fewers. And when under the pressure of military disasters, and in view of imminent bankraptey, it turned to society and pro-ciding "spring" (the promise of reforms by the government and the looseing of the screw of the censor has been uniqually in orj, society met it by a us rees of opposition in the local collection of the last of the autogracy, the striving of the legacy she

During this period the proletarist dis played little activity. It was as though it waited till the fog of empty words of the Liberals would clear away. The short sighted in the Liberal camp were convince that the proletariat was fast asleep. An this faith inspired them to hope that, shut Russia as the work of their own hands to the whole people, strongly urging th necessity of forgetting the antagonism of classes. The cloud of Liberal phraseology seriously threatened to obscure the class

the proletarians acted independently of one another. The activity of the Social Democ the hearty concentration of the bourgeol dealogy, the Social Democratcy could oppose a series of separate organizations act ing independently, without a common plat of campaign, and without a guiding center The need for unity among the various or felt, the need for some scheme of an agre nent, if even of a temporary character, fo attack against autocracy rapidly nearing to its end, and for the defense of the inter sts of the proletariat against the pretense of the bourgeoiste. In the meantime, within the working clas

n great work was being completed. A grand protest arose, pregnant with tre-mendous consequences. The streets and mendous consequences. The streets and suburbs of St. Petersburg were overflowing with masses of proletarious. "The eight hour day," "More scope for the forand oppressive officials;" such were the cries from the hearts of the poverty-strick en and oppressed masses of the proletaria: of St. Petersburg, which had just awaken risen to its full height, still not fully im bued with aclear and proud self-conscious ness of its great power and the grand mision of its class. Vollers of musket shot Hundreds of human lives was the price pai by the masses of the people for their child ish beliefs, for their historical prejudices. The lightning of thought and the fire of wrath took possession of the minds and elemental force there rolled forth waves of proletazion sevolt threatening to crush be neath them the Tsar's throne and wipfrom off the face of the earth the hatefu tyrants listifling even superstitious fear in the hearts of the "liberty-loving" bourgeoisie. The breath of the storm swept throughout the length and breadth of th country, lighting the fires of rebellion and gathering under the banner of Socia emocracy tens and hundreds of thousand of workers ready to win liberty or die.

And these grand events call with a pow of all the Social Democratic forces, to es tablish a true guide for the projetarial movement, to direct it under the banner o Socialism to the true proletarian goal. By the crimson light of the January days of bloold, the first step was at last taken to wards the unity of the whole Social Demoracy of Russia. The Conference of the rep the Social Democratic Labor Party of Rus sia, the Rund, the Lettish Social Demo eratic Labor Party, and the Revolutionar; Workers' Party, is the first stone of th grand and splendid edifice of the future-the one united and powerful party of the projetariat of all Russia

grasp each others' hands. The great prob lem before us is to give direction to the gathering together in one immense channel meeting his political and social emane p tion, to direct in accordance with one pla working in union, in the clear and complet

We direct our appeal to all the workers of linssis. The time has come for energetic action against the autocratic regime. We of that liberty we may carry on a still greater struggle against the capitalist exploitation in the name of the grand ideal of Socialism. Our days are days of the great-est historical moment. For long will they determine our role in the political life of

Let then all workers of Russia without distinction of nationality become imbue-with the consciousness of their luterests, lethe air ring with our proletarian demands

1. The convocation of a constituent asset bly of the people's representatives, elected by all citizens without distinction of sex, direct count and universal suffrage with the

Z. That the war with Japan be stopped Z. That all those arrested or exiled opolitical or religious grounds be set at ill erty forthwith, and all such cases be

4 The immediate establishment of th ight-hour day for all wage workers in all factories, industrial and agricultural under

We will not lay down our arms uptil at stituent assembly (which must give to Russia free institutions of government) we will not cease struggling for the creation of such political forms as will guarantee the freedom and the unimpeded development of our class struggle for the complete realiza-tion of our immediate projetarian demands and our final aim—Socialism.

3. The abolition of the autocratic regime and the substitution by a democratic republic run the basis of universal, direct, equal, adult sufrage with the secret ballot.

2. An extensive local home rule on a similar halfs of sufrage, and home rule for such districts to may bear distinct characteristics wing to their local conditions and the compatition of their population. the competition of their population.

3. The inviolability of the person and demicile, and the unlimited freedom of conscience, speech, press, meetings, strikes, A DEFEAT THAT

4. The abolition of the estates; the co plete equality of all citizens without dis sex, religion, race or na

5. The abolition of all exceptional laws directed against separate nationalities; the all nationalities to be guaranteed by law the right of everyone to receive ed in, and to use, their native tongue in all local, social, and governmental institu

4. The election of judges by the people the right of all citizens to prosecute befor a court of justice, in its ordinary course, o all officials.

7. The abolition of the standing army and its substitution by the arming of the whole prople.

8. The separation of the church from the state, and the schools from the church, II.—RESOLUTIONS ABOUT AN UNDER-

Considering—

1. That the wide-spread liberation move ment among sections of the bourgeots so clety has brought and will bring about the formation of various organizations with more or less democratic programs and ten dencies, and that in these organizations tion of all the auti-autocratic forces with out distinction of programs or aims, and on the basis only of their comm fundamental aim, the abolition of autoc racy, and in the interest of the more rapid realization of this alm.

2. That such a striving after the concer tration of all the forces of opposition causes some bourgeois organizations to seek an alliance with proletarian bodies, R. That the Social Democracy, striving

for the abolition of the class character of present society by means of the conturn of as its most important object the develop ment of the class consciousness of the Social Democratic Party.

4. That this object can only be attained if the Social Democracy will take an active part in the whole of the political life of to all other bourgeois parties, and on every pecasion to proclaim the demands of it program and its revolutionary policy.

We, therefore, consider that it is impose ble for us to enter into any alimnee wit nim to utilize all the forces of the proltariat in the interests of a bourgeois transformation of Russia, and as such utilizatio would have meant the disconnice of the political force the proletariat would be ome merely a tool in the hands of the den ocratic bourgeoisie in its struggle with the autoeracy.

to reveal the class character of the bour geols parties, not in the least retreating ley and not in the least sacrificing the in dependence of its organization, the Social Democracy in the interests of the struggle for the emancipation of the working arate acts in the struggle with bourgeols parties, but only upon condition that thes onvocation of the constituent assembly or the basis of universal equal and direct suf

III.-RESOLUTION ABOUT THE BLOC OF THE REVOLUTIONARY AND OP TIONS OF RUSSIA.

1. That a real democratic reconstruction n Russin is only thinkable if the autocracy is substituted by a democratic republic based upon universal equal and direct suffrage with the secret ballot, and that in its turn such a reconstruction presupposes the convocation of a constituent assembly on the basis of such suffrage.

2. That in the program of the Liberal emocratic bloc the demand for a demo cratic republic is replaced by an indefinite this bloc has not defined its relation towards the demand of the convocation of a constituent assembly on the basis of noi-

ration of all the forces of emancipation of Russia under the guidance of this blowould be a serious menace to the cause of the democratic regeneration of Buest and it is not therefore compatible with the program and policy of the Social Democ racy for any Social Democratic organization to fold this bloc.

The four organizations repre at the conference signed all these declarations, and the Polish Socialist Party "Proletariat" also endorsed hem intoto; the Social Democracy of Poland and Lithuania accepted only No. 1, the Appeal to the Proletariat of

VANDERVELDE ON AMERICA

In "La Revue Socialiste" for March Emile Vandervelde writes on his imressions of America. It is interesting to note that, after giving an outline of the events of 1903 and 1904 in Colo rado he says: These facts constitute,

arkable confirmation of what Bebel said at the Amsterdam Congress, that, in crit-ical matters, bourgeois republics act no better in regard to the projetariat than about

He protests, however, against the ex-aggeration indulged in by some which sould represent the government of this country as more corrupt and tyrannical than other bourgeois gov-ernments, and is confident that Ameriernments, and is confident that American democracy will be able to over-come the existing evils. He closes by speaking with admiration of the en-thusiasm and solidity of the Socialist movement in this country, so far as he was able to observe it and expressing the brightest hops for its future.

—The candle complained bitterly of the unpleasantness of seeing so many accrebed moths in her vicinity.—F. Anatey, "Para-bles of Pillosk."

IS A VICTORY.

The Socialist Party Polls 20,000 in Chicago.

Doubles the Vote of the Last City Campaign — Special Difficulties of This Spring's Fight and Significance of the Result.

CHICAGO, April 4.—John Collins, candidate of the Socialist Party for Mayor, received 20,323 votes in the unicipal election held to-day.

At the last city election in Chicago held in April, 1903, our party polled about 10,000 votes. At the election STANDING WITH THE LIBERAL AND | held in November, 1904, our national candidates, Debs and Hanford, received about 36,000 votes in Chicago. This means that, under a very severe test, Socialism has doubled its vote in the second largest city of the land in two years, and that it has held, in the election, about 40 per cent. of the gain that it made under the especially favorable conditions of the last nathe most sanguine of our comrades ex pected much less than this would by our experience in other cities and

The city campaign just concluded in Chleago was probably the hardest fight that Socialists have ever had to make in this country. Chleago is the center of "radical Democracy," as every one knows. The complete domi-nation of the national Democratic organization last year by the great capitalist interests resulted in an utter de-moralization of that party in Chicago. more than anywhere else. This showed itself cheiffy in a "stay-at-home vote," but partly also in an abnormally large vote for the Socialist Party. That a part of this large vote for Debs and Hanford was only a negative vote of protest was frankly avowed by all Socialists last fall.

But the capitalists and their politi-

clans were alarmed. Their lowed itself in the daily press of both thing; accordingly, when the city cam paign come on, something was done. The Democratic party—for in Chicago, just as in New York, so far us local politics are concerned, that is the dominant and representative capitalist party-took measures to win back as many as possible of the votes it had lost, to conceal so far as possible the fact of the class struggle, to hold forth attractive promises of reform and so to run the revolutionary lightning into the ground. Never be fore, in all the history of American politics, did either of the capitalist parties play so bold a game, make such a profession of radicalism, as the Demo-cratic party has done in the city cam-

paign just closed in Chicago. Dunne, the Democratic candidate, publicly stood for municipal ownership in a manner which, had there not been good understanding behind the scenes, would have been really alarming to the capitalists. Any man who was a mere radical, who "believed in Socialism to a certain extent," but was not well grounded in the principles of Socialism, had every reason to vote for

On the other hand, this "reform on the other hand, has movement had the support of the most corrupt element in Chicago politics. "Hinky Dink" and "Bath-House John" and the whole gang of b cians were in on the deal. Carter Harrison never ran with more corrupt as sociates than has the good respectable and high-minded reformer. Judge

Thus the Democratic party had the advantage of appealing at once to the idealism of the half-baked "Socialists too" and to those whose votes are to be had for a dollar or a few glasses of That he won is nor that he recaptured some of the well-intentioned but ill-informed of those who voted for Debs and Han-ford last fall.

The Chicago Socialists are now lookng forward to Mayor Dunne's admin istration as a period in which abundant material will be supplied for Socialist agitation. He will find himself cialist agitation. He will find himself between the Devil and the deep sea, between the masses of voters who ex-pect him to do something to restrain the franchise corporations and im-prope the condition of the working people, on the one hand, and the heel-ers, who have got their pay from these corporations and who have a first mortgage on the administration they have helped to elect. Chicago will have have helped to elect. Chicago will have a fair trial of such a municipal owner-ship program as a capitalist party dares to adopt, and by 1907 it will know the difference between Social and reform of the Dunne brand.

Meanwhile, the Socialist Party has at once recommenced its yearly work of education and organization and will be ready for the next campaign on the

THE SOCIALIST SCHOOL

On April 11 begins the fourth course in the lectures of the Socialist School at Brevoort Hall, 154 E. Fifty-fourth street. On this and the five following Tuesday nights John Spargo will lee ture on Socialist Political Activity A Relation to the Social Problems of City, State, and Nation. As a discussion of the application of Socialist principles the application of Socialist principles of economics and politics to "questions of the day" this course will be of great interest. Tickets for Spargo's six lec-tures and the two by Morris Hillquit on the Future State which will follow them cost \$1 and may be had at the

-PLEASE don't use pencil nor red lak in writing to The Worker. The eyes of editors and printers deserve some consider

NEW YORK CITY CONVENTION

PRICE 2 CENTS.

Social Democrats Will Nominate on May 30.

According to Present Indicates
Will Be the Fermal Openia Epoch-Making Campaign Epoch-Making Campaign-1. Hard Fight Before Us, but th is Ready for It.

The New York State Comm! the Social Democratic Party, for the various locals in the te following

CALL FOR CITY CONVENTION "A Convention of the Social I cratic Party of the City of New for the purpose of nominating of dates for city offices to be voted for the ensuing general election to be in November, is hereby called to on Tuesday, May 30, 1905, at 10 a in the New York Turn Hall, corns Fast Picket, 18th teast and Leave East Eighty-fifth street and Lexins City and County of New York.

"The basis of representation in convention is one delegate for delegate for every ten membe good standing in the Assembly trict organization or major frightness in accordance with the primaries in accordance with the tion Law of the State of New and in conformity with the regulations of the Social D Party.

By order of the State Committee the Social Democratic Party of State of New York. "JOHN O. CHASE, Secretary

This convention will nominate a city ticket and adopt a municipal prom to voice the interests and as tions of the class-conscious wor people of the metropolis, and it formally open what, according to pent indications, is to be an epuncion committed. making campaign.

The fight will not be an easy It is imposible yet to predict many tickets will be in the fi-under just what disguises the talist interests will this time a it is certain, however, that the p of organized graft, large and from the great franchise corpor-dows to the corner gin-mill, w as active as ever on the capitalish It is probable, too, that there will old party names or masqueradin an "independent reform" moves and every effort will be made to t dust in the eyes of the work! iniquities of capitalism. These ocles the Social Democrats must e to face and must resolve to over

The party is not ill-prepared for fight. Indeed, it was pr better prepared. Several s elections, state and municip brought small but solid gains to ranks marching under the embler the Arm and Ttorch, and the re of last year's contest was es encouraging. The winter month not been passed in idleness. Mu been done to get the party of ocen done to get the party organs into better condition, and the es-tional work, by means of lectures bates, literature and personni a bates, literature and personal as tion, has been carried on more tematically and effectively than in previous winter. No doubt there still weak points, and no doubt as can be done toward fortifying between now and the end of But, generally speaking, the commare rendy for the campaign, at good one may confidently be pred

HAYES CHALLENGES COMPERE

MAYES CHALLEBOES COMPERION
MAX S. Hayes, editor of the Cle
land "Citisen," the official organ of
United Trades and Labor Council
Cleveland, has grown tired of Saus
Gompers' abuse of Socialists and
constant insinuations that the Social
Party is trying to disrupt the united has challenged Gompers to de
these questions with him in Pitti
when the A. F. of L. holds its contion in that city. Hayes offers totion in that city. Hayes offer half of the ball rent and let fix the time. Hayes is also nent member of the A. F. of I. says in his paper:

Gompers has the andselly to to is fair! In debates he insists using the discussion and to take whe likes; in his magazine (for the tionist" is conducted as though it to him) the anti-Socialist is given shoot his shafts, but the Socialis barred. Yet he told me in his best at Washington that he is "always at washington that he is "always fail Now, to test his alleged fairness, I a make Mr. Gompers this proposition: I pect to atend the Pittsburg Convention the A. F. of L., and will gladly meet him the A. F. of L., and will gladly meet him by public debate, he to prove, first, that the or dorsement of the trade union movement by the Socialist Party was not in good faith or, second, that said Socialist Party was a rectly or indirectly concerned in the forma-tion of the proposed new federation, or thirdly, that Socialism is wrong in princi-ple. He may arrange the time, and I agree to pay one-half the expense. La that fair! to pay one-half the expense. Is that fall

A CHANCE FOR DISCUSSION

At the East Side Settlement, See a enty-sixth street and East River, See to day April 2 and 10 and 1 day, April 9, at 8 p. m., Ever Wheeler will lecture on The Eth the Strike. Discussion is invited an an intelligent and critical audience desired. It would be well that ac comrades should be present capable stating the Socialist position ca. and courteously, but firmly and or out compromise.

senal of trustworthy information.

--- Robert Hunter's "Porerty"

Demonications which do not chose requirements are likely arrived. Rejected manuscript. Turned unless stamps are encloses are never sent to individual a Acknowledgment. e Publishing est New York York, N. Y., Post Office on April 6, SOCIALIST VOTE. relatist Party (the Social Democ of New Yorkt has passed through several election. Its growing passed and its aposedy victory and by the great increase of its

state of New York, on account of revisions of the election laws, the Party is officially recognized under us of Social Democratic Party, and on is the Arm and Torch.

THE WILWAUKEE AFFAIR.

It is never wise, of course, to make in out of a molehill. It id he onite possible to exaggerate rinnce of the Milwaukee incim which we commented last It is well that such exaga should be avoided. Let us stick to the facts and keep quite cool; it, on the other hand, let us not fall

It is most unfortunate that National tteeman Trautmann, of Ohio, in ing the matter up for considera on, has "bungled the job," introduced ant or unsupported insinuations. d thereby confused the issue about hly as it was possible for to do. In his excessive eagernes: ke a point against Berger he has overshot the mark and given advantage to the defense. н tated facts—as when he of state candidates, where actuicipal candidates are cond; he has neglected to observe the of procedure prescribed by the nal Constitution of the party is h cases; and he has made the fatal ler of resting his case on an inted "collusion" which he does no pt to prove.

on that ought to be pre to the party is this: When, in locality, at some certain time, the rennization finds it inadvisable ke nominations for certain ofta it allowable for the party or se party press to give support, out formal endorsement, to ther of the non-Socialist cau-That is what has actually of in Milwaukee. The party as e has a right to consider whether is a right or a wrong course, and ght to have considered that questend, the National Committee alled upon to pass upon Comrade ann's real or apparent suspic of "collusion"-in plain words, of in and sale-which are not supd by an lota of evidence.

s to the real case before us, having Comrade Berger's statement very tively, we must, with little qualiu, reiterate our judgment of last

As to the decision of the Milcomrades not to enter this campaign for the election of i judges, a plausible argument, at can be made in favor of it. We w York would not be swayed by tions that have decided inkes comrades. We make it a nate a full ticket every ever we have the organiza make nominations, even though re not at the moment in condition ce the danger of temporarily lomay happen in the case of judiy we have not the men who once legally qualified to take on and considered by the coma fit representatives of the a the last-named emergency we n whom the party con d wait to take action on the that this plan which we different unions; it will just as cheer-

fully stand with Berger and Hayes than the canny method of our Milwauagainst such a policy of making the kee comrades. We believe that he Socialist Party a tail to the American Labor Union kite as it will with Haye who is always ready to fight for a good cause, even when he is sure of and Trautmann against the endorse getting knocked down, who takes his ment of non-Socialist candidates on the "licking" with a good grace, and who political field. And it is confident that rises after every knock-down and this is the true feeling of the rank and file of the party, the country over, fights again, commands the respect of all who love grit and fair play. For and hopes they will make their views all that, we would not pretend to deny the right of the Milwankee comrades in such a case as this, to decide, if it seems to them best, with their knowl-

that the phrase "non-partizan" is

are all affected by it. The situation in

Milwaukee is not altogether isolated

pretty much the same all over the

of it is pretty much the same. "Non

time and place, it is the duty of com

emphatically, we hold, it is a violation

one in a position of trust and influence

or, at least, not so bad a man as some

and he would have been right.

Milwaukee affair. We have not the

slightest reason to suspect any cor-

rupt or traitorous motives. We do be-

leve that a very serious error of judg-

ment has been made. We think the

party should express itself to that ef

fect. And we suppose that Comrade

Berger will be at least as amenable

to such purely moral discipline as

many of our dissentient comrades in

When the comrades in Milwauke

raise the cry that they are the victims

of "heresy hunters," they do a very

wenk and foolish thing. There is no

question of heresy involved. Socialists

have no credo, and do not talk about

heretics. What is involved is an im-

portant question of party policy. Let

our Milwaukee comrades not complain

of "heresy hunting," but face the mu-

sie like men, and, if need be, take their

nedicine like comrades. We shall all

Finally, let us say quite frankly,

this question is likely to be mixed up.

if some comrades have their way, with

mite another question-that of the at

titude of the Socialist Party in regard

to the American Federation of Labor

the American Labor Union and the

proposed reorganization of the trade

mion movement. Travtmann is known

as an ardent advocate of that reorgan-

ization scheme. Berger is known as

an ardent opponent of it, in the form

it has taken. Both may be inclined

to confuse the one question with the

other. Such confusion should not be

allowed. For us, as we have plainly

indicated before, we are heartily

reginst Trautmann in his tendency to

compet the party to one side in a trade

union fight; we are just as heartily

igninst Berger in his tendency toward

reformism on the political field. We

call upon the comrades, therefore, to

keep the two questions as clearly sep-

arate in their minds as they are in

fact and to decide such on its own

merits. So far as The Worker is con

cerped. It stands for uncompromising

Socialism and the revolutionary So cialist Party, first, last, and all the

time; it stands for trade unionism, bu

t refuses either to try to dictate terms

tions or to be an accomplice to drag-

to trade unionists on trade union o

ove and respect them the more.

Germany have been.

LET THE CAPITALIST PRESS BEPLY IF IT CAN.

A number of capitalist paper throughout the country are making a great deal out of the report that some locialists among the New York Sub way and Elevated strikers advocated the use of violence as a means of fight ing the Interborough Company.

The editors of these papers k very well how such news is manufac tured in the editorial offices to suit the purposes of the franchise mag

nates and other capitalists. It is possible-we do not know pos tively enough to deny it unqualifiedly that some individuals among the strikers may have advocated the use of violence. It would be pretty hard to get together any crowd of five or phrase, and nothing more.) This is a six thousand men of any class tha matter that does not concern Milwauwould not include some irresponsible kee alone nor Wisconsin alone. We fools. It is even possible that some such irresponsible fanatics may have alled themselves Socialists, without and peculiar. Capitalist policy is the remotest idea what the word means. But we can say this-and it country. Judicial power and the abuse ought to be enough to make these capi talist papers, from the New York partizanship," so called, is pretty "Sun" to the Backwoods "Screecher" much the same. In this matter, we either "put up or shut up"-that if one hold that, when the party is, for any of them will name a single member or reason, unable to nominate at a certain ccredited representative of the Socialist Party (known in New York as rades to refrain from voting. Far more the Social Democratic Party) who has advocated the use of dynamite or of of duty if any comrade, and especially violence in any other form in connec tion with the New York rapid-transit in such a situation, uses his influence strike, we will guarantee that the in favor of some capitalist candidate party organization will publicly repuon the theory that he is a "good man." diate and discipline that man or that we will publicly admit our error. Come other candidate-thus giving sanction on, gentlemen; it is up to you. It is to the false "good man" theory, which easy to make general statements. Naw in the next campaign he has to disgive us some definite ones that can be investigated.

avow. The result of his action does not stop with the moment; he cannot The Socialist Party does not stand trammel up the consequence." Inevitafor the use of violence in the class bly, unless promptly and emphatically struggle in this or any other country repudiated, such conduct tends to a where the working people have the relaxing of the moral fibre of the party ballot. It knows that men who do not there and elsewhere, to a disposition yet know how to vote right for their to yield to the allurements of "nonclass interest certainly cannot be expartisan" parties with "good men" or pected to use bullets or bombs or other their tickets, to so-called reformism weapons wisely. More than that, it and confusion. And we are quite sure knows that, if the workers knew how if, in the very trying municipal camto use their constitutional power they paign of 1903, the Social Democratic would not need to resort to violence Party of New York City had followed Still further, it knows that, in very a similar policy, if it had refrained many cases, the men who advocate the from nominating a full ticket, and li use of violence are, not fools merely The Worker had given its endorsement but actual traitors, agents of the capito some of the men of unquestionable talist class, whose trade it is to raise dissension among the workers, to in personal honesty who were running on the non-partisan capitalist ticket of cite them to rash action and give the the Citizens' Union-we are quite sure authorities a pretext for bringing that, if we had done that, Comrade down the force of the penal law or Berger would have called us to time; even of the military power upon them. We are on our guard against these We do not for a moment think that "agents provocateurs" and allow then there has been any "collusion" in this to have no standing in our party.

Let us repeat our challenge to any or all of the capitalist press: Name one man who has advocated violence in this strike, and prove him to be Socialist, recognized as such by the party, and see what the party will do: if you cannot do this, and if you fail to retract the general accusation that you do not prove, let the people brand you as slanderers.

NOTE COMMENT AND ANSWER Adulteration and poison are a large part of the sustenance of every stage of Il

every class. How long shall we endure it? A popular weekly asks the question and helpless tone. We answer: We shall have to endure it until the wageworkers, the only class who have no interest in fraud, are thoroughly enough awakened and until enough of you well meaning but rudderless re-formers have found your bearings and joined the class-conscious wage-work ers to bring the political power of fundamentally honest class to bear in the execution as well as the making o laws. Is that clear?

Max Hayes, in last week's issue the Cleveland "Citizen," goes on the warpath with a tomahawk in each hand—one for Berger and his lax tendencies in party affairs, the other fo the group of comrades who are, inten-tionally or not, doing their best to drag the party into a trade-union fight. H

The fruits of state "autonomy" and th policy of unduly magnifying the important of the immediate demands in the party platform, to say nothing of the careles ness among the rank and file in allowing "the American Bernstein," Victor Berger to swell up as a would-be boss, have protentative fusion. At the coming election Milwaukee the Socialists will nominate judicial ticket, but they are going to tur round and play the old, old game of pur shing an enemy and rewarding a friend-choosing the lesser evil between capita choosing the lessor evil between capital indic candidates. The netion taken in Mil wankee is clearly unconstitutional, and the National Committee will be forced to take cognizance. What with the impossibilists and their anarchistic phrasemongering on cognizance. What were and their anarchistic phrasemongering the one side, and the populatic ref-the one side, and the populatic ref-the other, there is plenty the one side, and the populatic reto sheaters on the other, there is plenty noise. New we only need another \$, & L. A to remind as of 1890 and sub-quent years of hard struggle. And some the impatient brethren who take more terest in splitting hairs over details a terest in aplitting hairs over details an ânding fault with their own committee that to get out and attack capitalism with all their energy are going to monkey with the acheme, too. Next some members will be

og a church or a thirty-leven de-

ree secret society and pretend that the While the party will no doubt from job. While the party will no doubt from time to time be haransed by all sorts of plans promutested "by" impatient or in-triguing individuals, the mass of the mem-bership, the rank and file in the country as a whole, can be depended upon to stand solid for the party organization, its principles, platform, and internal laws, with ut any frills or fads.

The expression is pretty forcible— some may think it harsh; but the ideas expressed are sound, to our way of

Hamilton Wright Mable is reported as saying, in an address to the lents of the Eastman Business Col-

If I were a young man or a young woma going out lute the world to day, I should not dare to go unless I had given myself sible educational opertunity—un less I had made myself absolutely master of the thing I wanted to do. I tell you, to day, that the tragedy of modern life is the tragedy of the half-educated man or roman. It is the tragedy of the man of roman who wants to do something and annot do anything well.

That is all very nice, all very goo But has it ever occurred to ear Mr. Mable that a good half of the children of the United States to-dayost of the children of the wage-work ing class (except a few extra nechanics) and of the poorer farmers -are prevented by their parents' poverty from going be ond the comm chools, and that a large proportion of the other half cannot go beyond high school (which is only half-education, after all, without neglecting their duty to their aging parents and their younger brothers and sisters, and that it is only by a combination of excep-tional good luck with heroic sacrifice that the average working-class couple can send even one of their children to the university or the higher technical school and give him or her that bro and deep education that Mr. Mable rightly considers so essential? Has be ever thought of this? If not, we com mend it to his consideration and ask that he think of the injustice cial system that absolutely shuts out the vast majority of the children of he most useful workers from the pos sibility of

Nourishing a youth sublir With the fairy tales of science and the long

and that he devote a little of his great influence hereafter to righting this huge wrong.

That very funny and often very sensibly funny paper, "Life," grows unin-tentionally and foolishly funny in an editorial intended to be serious (How colish, anyhow, for a funny paper try to be serious on one page each week!) in its issue of Mar. 23. It quotes Jim Hill of the Northern Securties as saying that "the present stan ard of wages in this country is artifi cial, and must be reduced if try is to compete with others in th narkets of the world," and quotes Robert Hunter as saying that "ten million people in the United States are unable to earn enough to maintain physical efficiency, and are more or less dependent on charity."

Mr. Hill is a wise man. What he say: is apt to be true. Mr. Hunter is a very earnest man. We don't know how wise he is, but what he says is certainly impres sive. We do sincerely wish that these tw gentlemen would get together, and try to conclusions as to what w ought to do, as a people, to be saved

We have said that this is intended to tended as a joke, it is a very stuple

Mr. Hill can hardly be called a wis man, unless we are willing to give that bonorable title to Mephistopheles. Jim fortable place on the working people backs. What he says to or about then therefore likely to be-false. Hunter is, we agree, "a very earnest man" and what he says is not only "impressive," but demonstrably true. To ask Hill and Hunter, or any other spokesmen of the capitalist class er" is like asking the lion and the lamb to get together. We know that they do sometimes—the lion outside. And while workingmen continue to behave as lambs, they will continue in the condition that Hunter has described. The question is not one of getting toother Mr "Life" The On which side are you?

"Collier's Weekly" is blossoming as a mouthpiece of radicalism. We are glad to see it. It is a sign of the times. A periodical with a 600,000 cir-culation, published as a business enterprise, does not make itself a spokes-man of discontent unless it knows that there is a very intense and widespread discontent seeking expression. But, like all such mouthpleces of radi-calism, "Collier's" cannily keeps just behind the vanguard—watches which way the procession is going to turn, turns quick, makes a great noise, and SEEMS to lead. We could wish that SEEMS to lead. We could wish that "Coilier's," with its immense potential influence, would really lead, that it would be just a bit more radical and a good bit more intelligently radical than it is. For instance: Last week's numcartoon as frontispiece, with the in-scription, "Gentlemen, we are ready," there are Rockefeller, Morgan, and Cassatt, entrenched behind a barriber has what is considered a "daring" ende of money-bags, some of them Our Judges," "For Our Newspapers," "For Our Thugs and Heelers," and so forth, others with labels indicating whence the trio got them—"Plundered from Investors"—"Raifrond Rebates," from Investors." "Railroad Rebates and "Plundered from Small Produ torn and defiled, and some skulls label-ed "Competitor," "Small Producer," and "Independent Dealer," So far, so good. It tells the truth, so far as it good. It tells the truth, so far as it goes-but what an infinitesimal portion of the truth. We ask "Collier's," in all good faith, and expecting a reply: Where does the wage-worker come in? Have you not one word to say for him? And do you really think that all that wealth, behind which the trust kings are barricaded, says plundered only from the sunsil business men and not from the wage-workers in field and factory and mine and rail-

in field and factory and mine and rall

LEMENTARY COURSE IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

XVIL-The Labor Movement and the Interests of Social Progress-Capitalism Means Waste and Discord, Socialism Makes for Harmony and Efficiency—Elements of Strength in the Labor Movement.

[This is one of a series of articles, begun in The Worker of Dec. 4, as an attempt toward a systematic and correct and yet popular statement of the fundamental of scientific Socialism for sesistance of those who really wish to study (not merely to read son and who have too little time to undertak targer and more complete treatises. Those who find any points not made clear or who have pertinent questions suggested by these articles are invited to write to the Editor of The Worker, and are assured that an earnest attempt will be made to answe

XVII.—Labor Movement

and Social Interest

We have yet one more point to work out before proceeding to the considera-tion of the methods of the class strug gie, and particularly of Socialist poli-tics. We have to show that the move-ment of the wage-working class for the overthrow of capitalism, while pri-narrly impelled and guided by class st, is, in a larger view, a move ment in the interest of social progres as a whole. If we succeed in this, we shalf have demonstrated the uncon querable strength inherent in the la bor movement, shall have assured our-selves of the certainty as well as the desirability of its ultimate triumph, in space of all its present faults, all its frequent mistakes, all its repeated failures.

Social progress, or progress in social efficiency, we may define as including the increased production of material goods and their distribution in such manner as to increase the aggregate physical well-being of the people along with this, the development of such conditions as will enable an ever-larger portion of the energy of the people to be relieved from the service of material wants and devoted to the satisfaction of moral and intellectua needs. This necessitates, not merely an increase in the productive power of each unit of society, but such a rela tion among those units as shall caus them, with the minimum of compul sion, to act together harmoniously, thus increasing their total efficiency instead of acting discordantly and hampering each other's efforts.

First, let us consider the individual and class interests of the two classes separately. We declare that, in get eral, the conscious interest of the in-dividual wage-worker coincider dividual wage-worker coincides pretty closely with the interest of his class, and that, as capitalism develops, this harmony between the individual interest and the class interest of the wage-workers becomes more and more perfect and obvious; and we declare, on the contrary, that the conscious in-terest of the individual capitalist frequently, if not generally, conflicts with the interest of the capitalist class, and that, as capitalism develops, this conflet shows no signs of dimhrishing.

The obvious interest of the individual wage-worker, as such, is to succeed in seiling his labor-power regularly at a good price—that is, to get and hold a flob with as high pay, as short hours, and as pleasant conditions of labor as possible. Considering that there are almost always more men than jobs, that competition for employment is a permanent condition, that the army of the unemployed is a normal institution under enpitalism, it would seem as i essentially an individualistic interest; for if some are sure to be un willingly idle and in want all the time then one man's success in getting em ployment means another man's fail re: the immediate interest of the man in the street, to get a job, and that of the man in the shop, to hold the job has, would seem to conflict outright. And so they do; but the conflict is so obvious that workingmen see beyond it to a somewhat more remote identity of interest, or to a means of harmonizing the conflict. The man in the shot knows that his job is unwillingly threatened by the mere existence the man in the street; he knows, too, that his own job is made harder, even though he does not actually lose it, by the existence of that man in the smaller pay because of that competi-tion; so he sees his own immediate in-terest in helping that man in the street-either in bringing about condiby reduction of hours, or by dividing a part of his own earnings with him in

some other method. The man in the street, on the other hand knows that if he goes in and takes that job and throws out that man now in the shop, the job will not be so good for him as it was for the other man, that he will have to take it at a reduction-lower pay or harder work or both-and that he will be even less secure in it than its old possessor was; so he sees his immediate interes in standing by the man in the shop as long as he can, in trying to provide for himself without hurting the other. Moreover, among those who are em-ployed, it is obvious that any increase in wages or reduction of hours or im-provement in conditions for a part is indirectly a benefit to all, making coman see even a very little way beyond helr individual noses, the fact that every wage-worker knows his own job e and that he cannot h d it by his individual efforts ex erk on condition of submitting to be riven harder and paid less, makes in realise that his own immediate attrests are identical with those of his lition of submitting to be This was not so in earlier days.

This was not so in earlier unys, then competition for employment was as intense, when the labor processes were more individual, when there was more of a personal relation between employer and employee, and when there were greater chances for the were greater chances for the corker to leave his class and be an independent producer or a capitalist. But now the averag-ngman cars not hope to rise out ingman case not hope to rise out | rein others becomes more and more in b class; he sees that if he or his resiscible. The old rule that "Com

children are to be able to rise at all, it must be with his class. There are still exceptions, of cours

There are still great numbers of work

ingmen too ignorant or narrow-mind-ed, too much under the influence of

venal politicians and editors and priests and parsons, to see, as we have said, beyond their own noses—and so they are led by the nose. There are others so miserably poor and so accustomed to poverty that they cannot con ceive the possibility of better condi-tions, and that they have not energy ceive the to think out and execute a plan of con mon action. But these are, on the whole, temporary conditions. The em-ployers who have imported large numbers of Hungarians, Poles, Bohemians Italians or French-Canadians, becaus they were content with a low standard reached by the "agitators," have seen these immigrants gradually developing new wants and realizing their soil darity with other workers and assert ng their demands. The existence such masses of ignorant or apathetic workers is an obstacle to the labor ence has shown, an insuperable one A more hopeless exception to the rule s the type of the clerks, salesmen, bookkeepers, and office workers generally, who are likely to think of themselves, not as wage-workers, but as "gentlemen on salary," as embryo capitalists, and who commonly exhibit a slavish docility, a narrow egotism, a tendency to ape the manners and bow to the will of their employers instead of having any distinct ideas and ideals of their own. Yet we believe that observation in recent years shows an improvement even in this section of the

working class. The recognition that the interests of wage-workers are the interests of each has been a gradual growth; first, the engineer saw his solidarity with other engineers in the same trade and the same locality: then with others in the same trade in other parts of the country; then with those in other trades and in other countries. The international solidarity of labor is no an empty phrase or a beautiful senti rely; it is, first of all, a cold fact which the workers learn by experience: the workingman of to-day easily sees, for instance, that an im provement of labor conditions in Rus sia or Italy would react favorably on by checking immigration or accustom ing the immigrants to a higher stand-ard of living, and vice versa.

If, then, the workingmen to a great

and growing extent realize their mu

tual interdependence, this is an ele

ment, for it enlists the personal self

ment of strength in the labor mov

interest of every such class-con-

workingman in the common effort of his class. How is it with the capitalists? The small capitalists are competing more and more intensely with each other and with the great capitalists; the great capitalists, even though the trust system has now developed so far, are still competing to some extent at home nd to a greater extent abroad; as cap italists, they must compete in each department of industry and in each territory until competition has killed itself and produced monopoly. The completion of monopoly means the throwing of most of the unsuccessfu competitors into the working class, to earn working-class ways of thinking and feeling and acting. The number of monopolistic capitalists can never large. So the capitalists ar essentially competitors for the profita ble sale of commodities. Now, we have seen that the competition of wage-workers to sell their labor-power produces a condition of mutual interde pendence, or solidarity of interest prompting them to act loyally together Must not competition among capital-ists produce a similar result? We maintain that it produces just a cou trary result, that it sets the interests of each capitalist against those of all the others and of his class as a whole. Let us see the reason for

this difference.

Among wage-workers the

competitor (down to a certain limit)

the most formidable one. In other

not those better of than himself, but those worse off, that eac workingman has to fear: the failure o certain workingmen in the struggle their reduction to a lower level, doe ut them out of the running, but makes them a drag on those who so far succeeded. Among capitalist it is just the reverse. The poorest cap italist is the least formidable competi tor. The capitalist who is a little bet ter off does not fear him; he fears the one still better off than himself. The dangerous competitors for each work-ingman are the workingmen below him, so that it is his interest to raise them, and his allies are the working men above him, who are helping to pul him up; the dangerous competitors of each capitalist are those above him, so that it is his interest to pull them down, and those below him are his predestined victims, and it is his interest to crush them out. We see this prin ciple illustrated every day: On the one hand, poorly paid laborers or factory operatives go on strike, and better paid mechanics vote them funds or strike in sympathy—not altogether from high know it will be better for them if thes poor fellows can rise to a higher level; on the other hand, certain capitalists and themselves on the verge of failur and straightway all the other capital lists in the trade rush in, not to help ists in the trade rush in, not to help them, but to push them over luto bankrupter—not out of any personal malignity, but just because the inter-est of each capitalist is to have his competitors fall, Jeaving a larger share of the market to him. And just in proportion as capitalism develops, as the inequalities between capitalists greater, as competition grows ntense in a narrowing field, this don of such capitalist to try to

petition is the life of trade" come to mean, for the most of them, "Competi-tion is the death of the trader"—and yet they cannot stop competing, for he who stops first is at the mercy of all the rest. "Live and let live" is a faeach one of them knows that it is an impracticable rule for him, that "Each hindmost," is the only law he can recognize.

This conflict of the immediate interests of individual capitalists with each other and with the interests of their whole class is an element of weakness in their joint resistance to the labor movement, since it makes it difficul constantly together on one settle for them to trust each other and act

Let us now consider the interests of these two classes with relation to so cial progress as a whole. that the class interest of the workers is in harmony with the interest of so-cial progress and that of the capitalists opposed to it.

The class interest of the capitalists is to maintain the capitalist system and this system is essentially wasteful even from the material point of view The maintenance of capitalism means the perpetuation of class division and class conflict-the frequent interruption of industry by strikes and lock outs, and the waste of a vast deal of energy on each side in watching and combatting the other. It means the perpetuation of the army of the unemployed—that is, the keeping of a cer-tain part of the population in unwilling idleness while others are overworked and nearly all are in need of more of the products of labor. It means perpetuation of extreme and undeserved poverty, inevitably leading to pauperism, vice, disease, crime, insanand snicide, all of which (not to speak of the moral evil) involve an economic waste in the way of poorhouses, police, judges, lawyers prisons, hospitals, asylums, morgues and the like. It means the perpetua tion of a class living in leisure and luxury-a social waste, not only the members of this class do not pro duce, but still more because so much of the labor of other people is spent

in their personal service.

the perpetuation, up to the time when

monopoly is established, of the "war

It means

of each against all" in the production and distribution of wealth, with all its myriad wastes-advertising, armies of salesmen, drummers, solicitors, agents, brokers, and middlemen, partial dupliention of plants and of working forces keeping of innumerable complex ac counts, frequent overproduction of per ishable goods, adulteration of goods, and so on, through a long list; ever when monopoly triumphs in an industry, this waste is only partly climinated, for renewed competition has to be guarded against, spies maintained blackmailers pensioned, politicians and officeholders bribed. It means the continuance of the struggle for foreign markets, involving the maintenance of armies and navies with enormo expensive armaments which have to be replaced every few years, even if not used, to take advantage of the latest nventions in murder-machinery. It is wasteful on a gigantic but incalculable scale in this, that it puts the workers under such conditions—routine, over-work, want, insecurity, helplessness and subjection to despotic command-that they cannot take human interest in their work, that many of them ar literally "born tired," that their natural instinct is to shirk and to do bad work and to waste materials, and that even a moderate amount of labor is the capitalist system is socially waste The capitalist system is inharmonious with social interest in yet another respect. The capitalists, individual or corporate, are the masters of production; they determine whether or not production shall go on. Their motive or incentive in using this power, now in shutting their factories and now in having them run full blast is not the desire to have goods pro-duced to satisfy human wants, but the desire to get the largest obtainable total net profit by the sale of the goods produced. But from the social of view, from the point of view of hu-manity and civilization, the reason for production must be the satisfaction of uman needs. Now these two do not co incide. It often happens that factories are shut down while very large num bers of the people are idle and willing to work, and still larger numbers are in need of just the things that could

harmony with the needs of mankind and the capitalist system is an obstacle to social progress. For all of these rea-sons, the class interest of the capitalists is an anti-social force. The class interest of the workers which they are learning ever more clearly to see and more vigorously to support, is diametrically opposed to al The interest of the working class is to overthrow capitalism and to substitute a system under which all shall ollectively own the means of production, under which, therefore, all shall be workers-fellow-workers and joint rorkers, and therefore with harmonious instead of conflicting interestsand under which the collective will shall control production. The reader need but go through the list we have thove given of particulars in which the capitalist interest is anti-social to see that on each of these points the in terest of the workers is that of society considered as a whole-its triump means the ending of class division an conflict; the setting to work of the unemployed; the ending of unde-served poverty, and the consequent diminution of vice, crime, disease and insanity; the setting to work of the leisure class and the turning t their present servants to socially useful labor; the elimination of that normous waste of effort now involved in competitive struggle, and the application of the labor power now se wasted to productive purposes: the re-moval of the chief incentive to war, and the consequent saving of military

be produced in those factories.

the eapitalist's chance to make

public need for certain products and

factory profits on the sale of those

ncentive which does and must govern

he capitalists, as such, is, then, out of

do not go hand in hand. The

Hallem, let us refer the receer to Emili-Vanderveide's "Colhetivism and Industrial Evolution" and East Kantsky's "The Social Berolution and the Day After."

and naval expenses; it means that, as the workers would then be their own masters, disposing of the full value of their product and providing themselves with much better than their present with much better than their present average living by much less than their present average of labor, as they would feel that they were producing for use and not for the profit of para sites, such moderate labor as would be necessary would cease to be a burden and would be done with the same pleasure and economy of effort as only the comfortably situated artist or scientist can enjoy now; finally, it means that, as the control of production that, as the control of production would be in the hands of the collective body of producer-consumers, the in-centive to production would be the sat isfaction of the people's needs, and

those needs would accordingly be met.
From the economic point of view and, if we were to pursue the subject, ould find it just as emphatically true from the moral, the esthetic, or the intellectual point of view-it appears that the interest of the working class, in opposition to that of the capi-talist class, tends to serve the cause of social progress.

Right, then, is on the side of the working class. Might is on its side in that, not only is it the more numer ous class, but it is the more capable of united action to advance its interests Furthermore, by reference to what was said last week, we see that the moral ideals of the workers harmonize with their interest as individuals and as a class, while in the capitalist class they frequently conflict.

The importance of the subject justifies the length of this article. If what we have here said is true, and also what we have before said of the tend ency of capitalism to destroy itself, we have made a strong case for the inevitability of Socialism. We need only add that when we say that So-cialism is inevitable, we do not mean that Socialism will come whether any one desires it and works for it or not we mean that it will come because a sufficient number will inevitably desire it and work for it. John Doe may not desire it: Richard Roe may desire it and not work for it; but many other will work for it and bring it about and, if Richard Roe does his share t will come all the sooner. Which is intended as a hint to the reader that it is not enough to accept Socialist ideas, but it is necessary for each to do his share toward putting them into effect. Of the methods of such work we have still to speak.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT.

One Bad Week Follows Another - At This Rate, We Shall Not Soon Reach the 25,000-How About It Comrades?

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is not nearly up to the average record of the last six or eight months. And this gain is more than offset by the loss in bundle circulation. Comrades, you who believe that The Worker is doing and will continue to do a useful service for the cause, are you satisfied with this? Probably not. Will you not, then, see to it that we can begin again reporting a gain of 200 or 300 a week in our list of individual sub-

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AND CAPITALIST LAW.

By M. H. Taft.

candidate for City Attorney of Chicago. The article first appeared in the Chicago body of the law of England and Amer-ica, is based on the doctrine of "natural rights"—according to which there are certain absolute rights vested in individuals by the laws of nature-and it is said to be the principal aim of so-ciety to protect individuals in the en-

THE WORKING CLASS

Joyment of these absolute rights.

It is not claimed, of course, that the people ever got together and discussed the subject of their rights, or that in any other way the people determined collectively what their "natural rights" were and the method of enforcing them. Our system of law it is boun them. Our system of law it is, how-ever, always said grew up with the general consent of the people; they, it general consent of the people, they, is said, by long experience, developed and brought to perfection that rare system known as the common law, a system formed not by any set of men but by the collective wisdom of ages This term, "common law," has served to completely mislead the people as to the real nature of the laws that govern them, and the ruling classes have al-ways been careful to keep the common

people in the belief that it is their (the people's) law that is administered. ple's) law that is administered. A little reflection will cause consider able doubt about the collective origin of the common law. Law is to-day be-ing made by judges, and in the past the law was made and modified by judges—judges in earlier times were even farther removed from the people than now, and their decisions less sub ject to popular scrutiny. Consequent ly the laws that grew up under the on law were really laws Even more than the statute law, the common law is the product of the rul-ing classes, and unless its rigor had been modified by legislation and le chancery courts it would have become modified by legislation and by

The law having been brought by the ruling class into a high state of development, it became necessary to explain and establish it on some other ground than mere precedent. This nigher ba-sis was found in the doctrine of "natsophically it was found that this sys-tem which so carefully protected the rights of the ruling class was in fact no mere human invention. "It was really a part of the law of nature-(that invariably being found to be 'lust,' 'right' and 'natural,' which coin with the interest of the ruling

absolute rights as they affect the work ingmen. First, according to Black is that of personal se "one's legal and uninterrupted enjoy ment of his life, his limbs, his body

his health and his reputation." How carefully the sacred right of se-curity of life and limb is guaranteed to the workingmen, especially to those employed on railroads, in machine and iron works, and in coal mines! Mr. Chent in a recent article compares the casualties in the American Civil War with those of present-day industry, and finds that the total loss in the former was only some 62,000 lives annually while the fatalities of the latter rus m 64,000 to 80,000 annually, with running up to 1,600,000. One has but to observe in a factory or mining town the number of maimed and disabled the number in hospitals, to say noth ing of the vast number of workingmen years of age, in order to appreciate the law's guaranty of personal security. Even the right to reputation, specifically mentioned by Blackstone as protected by the law, does not avail workingmen at the time they most need it. When in search of a "job" he often blacklist and he has no remedy, al ugh no offense has ever been proved

or even charged against him. The second of these absolute rights of individuals is that of "personal liberty." According to Biackstone, it con-sists in "the power of locomotion, of changing situation, or moving one's n may direct without impris course of law." And here it must be eded that the workingman has ample opportunity of moving about, even

A LITTLE INCIDENT.

By Samuel Brazier.

A young man read from a paper A common item of news. A mother was haled to prison stealing a pair of shoes. They were bables' shoes, and the mothe Had a baby that needed them sore; But poverty's baleful shadow Long darkened the cottage door. Her buby's feet were naked. She thought of the shoes and her baby. She thought-and forgot the sin. He sighed and away went he Away in thought he wandered Again he sat by the fireside

And hugged his babe to his breast; And his children gathered at even And sang ere they went to rest. Whose memory never dies.

Then he thought of the mother in prise He could hear her baby's cries.

The young man looked and wondered

At the tears in the old man's eyes.

UNREASONABLE PREJUDICE.

certain Cockatrice, feeling accially in-sed, entered a Mothern' Meeting, bent on thing himself agreeable—but was greatly settled to find himself but coldly re-

The writer of this article is the Socialist if he must travel by freight train; he also "changes situation" as often as he likes (or oftener); his liberty is not mand of a federal judge. The late tion between persons who were "known as professional agitators, or ganizers and walking delegates" (such as Mother Jones and others) and "quiet, well-disposed people who do not want to be disturbed." The former he regarded as "vampires" "busybodies." Against such it is con-ceded that the common law affords no protection, but the power of a cour "equity" can be invoked for that purpose. The workingman is, under the law, given the same rights for travel and enjoyment as the employe He, too, can take a trip to Californ or to Florida when it is cold, and to Alaska or Hudson Bay when it is hot. He is in no danger of "Imprisonment

> usually not having the price.
>
> The third absolute right inherent in every Englishman is that of property, consisting, according to Blackstone, "in the free use, enjoyment and disposal of all his acquisitions." Regarding the origin of private property, Black stone guardedly states only that it is probably founded in nature," adding that "the method of conserving it in the present owner is, however, entirenatural rights theory the original con ception of property seems to have been that ownership rested on creation or production, by which it would, of course, vest in the worker. However by some subtle reasoning, "creation" came to mean "acquisition." Applied to the workingman, Blackstone's definition of the right to property contains fine piece of irony. The workingman "creates" property, but he does not "acquire" it. Property, having been "created" by the workingman, is "ac the capitalist. tion," and not "production," appears to be the foundation of property rights

or restraint." The only restraint is in

It is scaroely necessary to say that "protection to property" means "pro-tection to the property of the capitalist The personal property in the hands of individual workers seldon exceeds the legal minimum, viz., that allowed by the exemption laws, and needs no protection (the theory of the exemption law being that th minimum is allowed in order to limit the burden upon the taxpayers of poor

rates and pauperism). Labor is, however, regarded as proponly by the common law but by constitution and statute. For instance, a law of Wisconsin prohibiting a corporation from discharging a man because held unconstitutional as destroying the right of freedom to contract. A law of Indiana requiring payment of wage weekly was held to be an "arbitrary

invasion of personal rights and tend ed to degrade the workingmen and place them under guardianship. A statute of Kansas requiring pay-"invidiously distinguish the working other citizens, infringing trade his labor for whatsoever he may see fit." A law of California providing for enforcement of wage claims by a lien was regarded as "class legisla tion" and was said to "treat an intelligent workingman as an imbecile." law of Ohio preventing a company from requiring a waiver of claims for benefits from a relief fund in the opinion of the United States Circuit Court, "took away from a large number of witizens a privilege which i dear to all, namely, that of making contracts concerning their own labor. It deprived them of "liberty" and "c the right to exercise the privileges of manhood without due process of law." Such is the watchful care of the courts

for the real interests of the working man. . Such has been the working out of in "the power of locomotion, of ging situation, or moving one's on to whatsoever place one's own tration is carried on by the capitalist ass. It need hardly be said that laws made and interpreted by workingme based on their conception of what natural and right, would be vastly dif-

"THRIFT, THRIFT, HORATIO !"

The Russian government recently announced that as all the men in a certain regiment had been killed the war allowance to their wives of five shillings a month would be stopped Widows are not entitled to pensions. Economy begins with the proletariat.

—Justice.

THE REWARD OF THE TOILER. What I object to is this economic chance-world in which we live, and which we men seem to have created. It ought to be law as indexible in human affairs as the order of day and night in the physical world that if a man will work he harassed by any question of how his re-pose and his provision shall come. Noth-ing less ideal than this satisfies the reason. But in our state of things no one i may have my work taken away from me at any moment by the caprice, the mood the indigestion, of a man who has not the rell or in. At any time of life-at every ime of life-a man ought to feel that if But, as things are now, no man can feel this. And so we go on pushing and pulling, climbing and crawling, thrusting saids and trampling under foot: lying, cheating, stealing; and when we get to the end, covered with blood and dirt and sin and change of the said and sin and sine and

THE IMBECILITY OF BRITISH LIBERALISM.

The Liberats do not appear to be able to take up a definite stand on any subject. Their invertebrate condition has been clearly demonstrated at the National Liberat Federation meeting at Crewe. Here even a resolution in favor of secular education failed to get carried, the meeting preferring the illogical and half-hearted course of fliogical and half-hearted course of condemning religious tests for teach-ers. Surely, if it is permitted for reimpart these dormas should be sub-mitted to a test. If religious tests are unjust to the teachers, it is still more unjust to the children to have the dogmas taught at all. The children should and characters should be trained strengthened and developed, not blind-ed and stunted by dogma; but if dog-mas are to be taught, let us have teachers who believe in these dogmas Why should there be so much solici-tude for the teachers and none for the children? The reason is simply be age of their convictions—that is, of course, assuming them to have conguid, and so, in a matter of this kind, in affirming the principle of religious liberty, they are prepared to palter with the truth and to sacrifice the children to the prejudices of their clerical

What is still more important, the tren attending our schools, finds no favor with the "practical" politicians of the National Liberal Federation. The refusal of the government to give effect to the report of their own cor neglect in regard to a question of vital importance to the nation. But it was also a political blunder, and a blunde of which the Opposition should have availed themselves. To put it on no higher ground, the Liberals have been guilty of political folly and ineptitude in not taking up this question. We have succeeded in making it the most popular demand in our palliative program, and it is a matter of surpris that the Liberals, who are generally ready enough to exploit a movement when it becomes popular, should have neglected this opportunity. It would o be concerned on the children's be half, but, seeing the support our pro cians might have been expected to take up with what is a growing popular demand. But they are just too timid for anything; they are not prepared to give a definite pledge on any While the governm cawber-like, hangs on, something to turn up, the Opposition negations, and hope to win on these The wonder is that there appears every prospect of their hopes

The unemployed receive no more eral party than do the starving school hildren. The latest returns show that there are at least a million of un employed workmen, approximately representing a population of five millions; yet of so little account is the perfectly awful condition of things represented by these figures that it does not ployed problem, as it is called, is the llization. All man's power over nature; all our progress, all the discoverand the inventions of genius, have simply resulted in this, that the producers of all the wealth of which we see such profusion, are conroundings compared with which the lot of the savage is one of luxury and is not theirs to enjoy: its very profusion increases their misery, deepens their poverty, intensifies their toil and throws numbers out on the streets to starve. These consequences must en trols the means of production. It is therefore not surprising that neither Tory nor Liberal capitalists will take any practical step towards solving the unemployed problem except in so far as they are forced.—London Social

CHAOTIC ASPECT OF

THE SOCIALIST PRESS To the Editor of the Worker:-We preach fuction and distribution of commodities in this capitalistic society. When the trust wishes to manufacture a certain kind of thoe, for instance, for which there is a large demand, it does not creet a dozen plants for the purpose, but only one, and that large enough for the business and makes a large saving. But on the other hand, when we Socialists, who preach what we do not practice, and are behind the certain kind of paper we equip several lozen of petty plants and compete with one another with subscription prices rang-ing from 50 cents to \$1.00 s year, so that a large number of comrades must limit their

if we would only go into a trust which would also insure them a larger circulation. At this juncture the Seattle Socialist, a paper that leaves not a stone unturned, is other papers all over the country are about to give up in the struggle for existence. It is an enigma to me why Socialists can press. I would not commit the error of mapping out a path in detail for the party onwealth will be like. I can only as press should be graded better than it is today, that is, have papers for all-clauses of readers, which is not possible in this competitive stage of the Socialist move-ment. There should be an "A. B. C." paper, "Calamity Howier", a "Sane and Steady" Scientific", "Beview of Reviews", "Farm

O. B. LUNATTA

The economists talk wisely about the capitalists' "risk" as entitling them to profits out of the product of the workers' labor. The reports of the Br ton horror tell us that the finan

loss of \$250,000 "is nearly offset by in-surance." But no insurance can cover the loss of the workers—fifty human lives, fifty fathers, mothers, husbands, wives, children. Like most of the disasters in factory, idity nowadays, this one can be trato the capitalists' profit incentive. Here was a wooden-framed building, four stories high, with enormously heavy machinery on the upper floor It was certain that even a very slig explosion or other disturbance belo could cause a collapse of the whole structure. But that was the cheapest way to arrange it. The money loss, if an accident occurred would be equalinsurance. The cost in life was never taken into account, just because it is the profit-takers and not the workers

that were in control. Such things would not happen under Socialism, because those whose lives were involved would be the ones to line the conditions under which they would work.

SOCIALIST BILLS IN THE WISCONSIN LEGISLATURE.

The five Social Democratic members of the Wiscousin Legislature have in troduced in the present session fifty-seven bills. Fifteen of these have althese fifteen all have been killed ex cept one bill not allowing workingmen consent of the wife. For some of the others substitutes have been offered as a compromise between labor and capi-talist interests. Among these is a bill giving truant officers power to inspect

actories in cases of child labor.

Of the bills definitely killed, the mos important are those for annulling all exclusive or unlimited franchises, giving cities the power to acquire property covered by franchises, providing for referendum and initiative, making ten hours the legal working day for bakers, eight hours for employees on city work, eight hours for workmen in

unsanitary employments. The "reform" element in the Legisno interest in the working class. But the Socialist agitation in favor of these measures has been by no means wast-ed. It has been splendid propaganda and the results will be seen later.

MUSICIANS LAY CORNERSTONE.

The cornerstone of the New York Musical Mutual Protective Union's building, to be erected at Nos. 212, 214, and 216 E. Eighty-sixth street, was laid on Mar. 29 by the president of the union, Maurice F. Smith, in the presence of 5,000 members and friends of the organization. This will be the first building erected and owned by a musician's union in America.

DO YOU KNOW WHAT YOU ARE EATING? At the annual meeting of the National Consumers' League, about four weeks ago, it was pointed out that no but there are two mills, one in Ohio and one in Kansas, which turn out a certain grade of Indian corn flour used only to adulterate wheat flour. Adulteration of foods, confectioneries, drugs, and beverages, the making of shoddy clothes, and "jerry" building are among the inevitable results of the vate ownership and operation for pro fit of the means by which the mas of the people produce wealth. The only way to stop it is by striking at th root-by the victory of the Socialist

THE LEADING ISSUE IN AUSTRALIA. Writing on "The Real Australia" in elections will result in great gain for labor." He adds that the main result of the rise of the Labor party will be to force the question of Socialism to the front and that "the fight of the cates and the opponents of advanced labor legislation, democratic reform, and state control of industries."

WHAT AN INCREDIBLE FOLLY!

I feel sure that the time will come when people will find it difficult to believe that i rich community, such as ours, having uch command over external nature, could all, there is nothing in our circumstance save the hunting of profit that drives u normous, unmanageable aggregations call ed towns, for instance; profit which crowd them up when they are there into quarter without gardens or open spaces; profit which won't take the most ordinary preautions against wrapping a whole distric idiotically cramped and confined at best and at worst in houses for whose wretched ness there is no name. I say it is almost incredible that we should bear such gross the workers get out of their heads that they are but an appendage to profit-grind ing; that the more profits that are made the more work at higher wages there will be for them, and that therefore all the in-credible flith, disorder and degradation of modern civilanation are signs of their pres their obvious decency and order be eramments to nature, not disagramments at it.
All this, of course, would mean the people-that is, all necesty-duly organized having in their own hands the means of production, to be entaid by no individual to the state.

gareos are welcomo. S down as graller as

"Mr. Howells iong ago discovered in M Cahan a writer who would do honor American letters. The prophecy seems be fulfilled in The White Terror and ti Red." —The Critic (N. Y.)

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EDITED BY

EUGENE V. DEBS:

ney, he was questioning with himself whether or not the higher heroism of life was passing out of human society; and PETER E. BURROWES: the car window and suddenly got sight o tion, at a great height. This at one GEORGE D. HERRON: day bravery of men in every-day occuptions. It flashed upon him, at the instant that the true heroism of life is found, not only on the day of battle and in desperate

lee of the world, whether of the sailor upo: his deck the brakeman woon his traft; the economic liberty is the liberty of the pand prisoned human spirit. Traubel "As I awake to this unidealized heroic life around me," he says, "the scales seen ed to fall from my eyes, and a wave of

adventures, but also in building every bridge, or in the ordinary day-by-day serv-

began to fill my soul."

AN APPRECIATION. In reply to a letter from the office of The Worker Comrade Henneberg of Rock Island, Ill., writes: "You say is affords you great pleasure to know that I will continue to work for Th best paper we have, and if every party member would read it there would no often is now."

"Social Democratic" and "Socialist

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"The Conservator" is brave and whole

some. With its long sustained and over-flowing vitality it could supply gray mat-ter to an armful of its contemporaries.

There is no paper I would so much like stor." We read our own literature, but we should read something else something that will bid us remember that Sociali

thing else in America, bring this libert of the human enists to our

FRANKLIN WENTWORTH: "The Conservator" never stoops nor wob-bles. It says the thing fearlessly and well. mics of a real personality. It renovates

nomic liberty is the liberty of the yoke.

the soul like elemental fire. COURTENAY LEMON:

Everything that Traubel writes is work reading and much of it is worth rea more than once. The power of battle and the gentleuess of love are in his pen; it is sow a flashing award and new a cureas-ing hand. The high literary quality of "The Conservator," the excellence of its selections, and, above all, the virile writings of its editor, with his unfailing democ racy, his revolutionary summons and a cial faith, his original and compelling styl in the desert of contemporary periodica literature.

HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

By Morris Hillquit. some non-Socialist papers

about this book:
Chicago "Record-Heraid"—Morris Hillquit has written a good history of Socialtim in the United States. It provides a
distinctly needed help in the broader study
of the whole social-industrial situation and if the whole social-industrial situation and if the whole social-industrial situation in the interest of the "Laterary Digent"—Mr. Hiliquit's chapter on Fourierism in the United States is the clearest and fullest, and, at the situation in the clearest and fullest, and, at the situation in the clearest and fullest, and, at the situation in the countries of the political most picturesque movement. The "Fligrin"—Mr. Hiliquit's account of the pilituit tragedy that resulted from the so-called Assorbist uprising in 1857 in Chicago is the best and most accurate brief the second of the secon

comprehends it and enables his readers to see the same ling. Beader (London, English and Comprehends of the same line and the same lines and the same lines and lines are same lines and clearness, that the work cannot fall to be a disfinct; vitualis addition to the library of books as the social discovering the same lines of the same lines (London lines). Hinnesposits "Times" "The book is a knowledge with the same lines and the same lines are same lines and the same lines of the whole topic of focalizes by a same who can be an exchanged without being a same line.

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FIREMEN.

Life and Work of Artists Corrupted by Slavery to Millionaires - Enormous Expenditures to Reach Wealthy Buyers - Exploitation by Middlemen and Agents.

By Clara Ruge.

Capital buys art and therefore owns artists. They are the slaves of the

principle forms the gr This principle forms the ground-work of our entire art life. Artists often have to lead a terrible starvation existence, only to be able to pay for an elegant studio in a fashionable studio building, because there has to be a worthy place to receive the mill-ionaire in case he really should once put his feet over the doorsill. In many cases he never does. The result of being forced to keep such an elegant studio—with a plainer studio—with a plainer in a plainer suddouberhood would entirely suffice for work—is that the artist has to use his own time in keeping the place in order, cooking his meals and doing ork of all kinds. Service an bornework of all kinds. Service and restaurants in the fashionable neigh-horbood are mostly above the means of the artists, if they have to depend on their work for a living. Matrimony is also excluded forever or until they have past the prime of life, unless the choice is made rather for practical then theat restreets.

choice is made rather for practical than ideal purposes. Portrait painters have to bow before "society" more than any other artists. Independent behavior, even strike fads nion, only a few artists of gren tion can risk. They have to ac as the monkeys of plutocratic society, on which they entirely depend. These poor crippled artists kneel down be-fore it in order to enter its circles, which may give them the opportunity

for some work.
Free, joyful gatherings, original so gial functions among artists, are un-trown here. In Europe the refined people of all classes, the aristocrats as well as the plutocrats, rival to enter into art circles. The plutocrat wants to show his higher attempts by doing to the contrary is the case. The can money-maker brags with his is, through which he belongs acto to "good society," Artists to magnates of money, to their forms social intercourse.

Our art associations also have d struggle for existence. The

have to sequire rich patrons in order to prosper. These patrons dominate. They stamp social functions; therefore they are confined to stiff receptions and dinners.

The middle class hardly frequents our exhibitions at all. Many so-called educated people have not the least idea where exhibitions take place. Men are entisely absorbed In their business, in shopping, bargain counters, matiness and gossip, or they belong to the working bodies and their home or the earning of bread and butter takes nearly all their time and thought. The few of bread and butter mach action of all their time and thought. The few dollars that can be spared for recrea tion or amusement will rather be car a theater. Art ha ried to a concert or a theater. Art has this country. Its appreciation does not belong in the ritual of fheir daily performances. Naturally, when pic-tures are not even viewed, much less does the purchase of an original paint ing or sketch come into question, not even with those of a pretty fair in-come. That is why artists have to eling to the millionaire and the young artist has no chance to sell picture even if he will be satisfied with sum. He cannot reach any

middle class will rather buy good or bad reproduction than any or iginal work, even if this were cheap this class stands entirely se arated from the art world. The exh arated from the art world. The exhi-bitions are frequented on reception days by the wealthy patrons; other days only artists, art students and a few lovers of art will be seen; on days without fee, workingmen who have Interest in art than the middle

The millionaire mostly lacks taste and understanding for art. Therefore he has to depend on art connoisseurs for his gurchases. As the art dealers have the name of such, and often are really experts on art, he relies on them. But the exhibitions of the art ations have no connection with glers' own business transactions persons the sales at the exhibiand therefore the sales at the exhibitions of the National Academy of Designs, etc., are of no account. Sales
take place mostly in the galleries of
the dealers. There, of course, the artist
has generally to share equal parts with
the middleman, the art dealer. Still
the aim of every artist is to be pushed
by an art dealer, to arrange a "one
man's exhibition" in one of their
salons, because it is the only way for
the sale of pictures.

A very few dealers have lately-made
a sperialty of patronizing American

A very few deniers have lately-made a specialty of patronising American artists. But the majority of dealers prefer foreign artists' work. They can buy cheaper in Europe. The artist over there has no control of the prices that are asked here; also, living expenses are more reasonable in Europe and therefore the artist can sell his work at lower prices. ART DEALERS MAKE THE ARTIST. This is the reason why the reputation of American art is so slowly rising. It has not been of commercial interest to dealers to promote it.

But even foreign artists who, one

But even foreign artists who, one might believe, make great fortunes might believe, make great fortunes here, like the French portrait painters, really do not, because only half of the remuneration which is paid is their own. The rest belongs to the middle-

Apparently New York is flooded with Apparently New York is flooded with art dealers, but in reality only about a dozen count. These have, of course, a great deal of material to choose from. On both sides of the ocean all the artists are at their disposal. A painter must therefore already have a name or at least the means to pay for elegant invitations and extravagant frames the accounted as entered to frames to be accepted as aspirant for a special exhibition.

The New York art salons are all on

Fifth avenue, and everything has to be shaped for millionaire visitors. Thus the dealers have indeed enormous ex-penses and have to look for artists who can help to carry them, if they

foreigners, whom they can introduce more easily because their work bears the mark: "Imported?"

For a New York artist a special exhibition in an art salon amounts to about \$500 to \$1,000 in rent for one or tw weeks, besides expenses for frames etc., and the commission on sales orders. Everything m same appearance as if the artist were a millionaire himself. The big au tions to which the artists often resort in times of need are also managed in and times of need are also managed in such a way that only the auctioneer has a good profit; and moreover, the artist spoils his reputation because everybody knows he must be in bad everybody anows he must be in the circumstances when he places his work at auction; and the poor artist is the bad artist in the public's judg-

The result of the impossibility, for many artists, to sell or even exhibit their works is that they devote themselves to branches of art which canno claim to be true art. The illustration of our magazines and even the daily papers would, of course, not be as goo as they are if many of the best artist had not to cling to illustration work for a living. With money return this part of our artist brotherhood is for part of our artist brotherhood is for the most part better rewarded than all other artists. But even here the supply is greater than the demand. The illustration work also requires a special talent which not every even ex-cellent artist possesses; his gifts may be in another direction. In this line the free development of art is, of course, hampered, but at least the talented man or woman can make a name for himself or herself. Now to the next class, which is en-

tirely buried under capitalism and commercialism. The artist working on commercialism. The artist working o advertisements and posters hardi ever signs his name. This work stand here nearly as high as in France, but the designer is here hidden in the lithographic firm, while in Europe he has a as an artist and claims to be one. How much money is made out of successful ideas for new goods Who knows the artist? But still these rtists also, while giving up their artis tic standing and their names, are often financially better of than most of the exhibitors of our art exhibition because THEY HAVE ENTERED BUSINESS. Many make their living in this way and try to paint a few pictures besides, so as to rank as art-ists, but the trade work ruins their artistic qualities. The workers for lithography earn more than the desers for industrial establishments, until now had equally to forfeit their names as artists

There is also a great number of artists who devote themselves with talent to portraiture, but lack means and society connections which might enable them to make a success as independent artists, and are therefore obliged to receive their orders through photographers or other agents. Of course these artists never sign their the person whose portrait they have to paint. They must not disclose themselves as the artists because the middleman might lose the customer and the artist receive direct orders. characteristics, the inner life, the tru of a person can never be expressed through a portrait painted paints it it will remain a pho tographic likeness. The payment is in many of these cases very artists working bours those of most other laborers. They exfographic companies pay poorly that only through extraordinary efforts can a living be made. In many cases only twenty-five cents is paid for portraits. Of course these do not pro-

onable photographers pay better and employ better artists, but considering that they have to be men or women who really devoted their lives to art study, that they canno work by the dozen, and that they also have to remain ladies and gentlemen in appearance so as to enter the quar ters of their employers, the money re-sult is not any more satisfactory.

But there is another class of employ ers, worse than the photographic agents, who pretend before the public agents, who pretend before the public to be artists, who frequent clubs, mee politicians and often possess political influence. They profess to make sketches and sometimes take the rea artist along to see the person who wishes to be portrayed, but the artist is never introduced as such. In the eyes of the customer the agent has to be the artist. He receives the mone eyes of the customer the agent has to be the artist. He receives the money and the artist in most cases is cheated out of it entirely. He can go to law, but very often this costs his last money, because behind the artist stands some one more powerful—a great capitalist or politician, often both in one person.

Not only American artists, but also many young foreigners, who land here with entirely wrong conceptions of the land of the dollar, perisn in the far-reaching tentacles of capital. They reaching tentacles of capital. They are still more unexperienced than the Americans and the advertisements of different art companies prove a great danger to them. They cling to these tempting offers when all hopes of exhibiting their pictures or giving them in commission to dealers have falled. When artists come to the point of looking for advertisements of art companies in the papers they are lost in dishonest undertakings. The foreign and the women artists are most frequently the women artists are most frequent; the own who are apt to do so. The have to buy material from the con pany; they are instructed in a speci-manner in which the pictures shall be one; and when they are executed the

done; and when they are executed they will not be paid, because "they do not suit." Often before the artist has been able to claim his money the company disappears, carrying along the pictures which were "a disappointment."

Here the area of swindle begins; of course, all the outcome of present society. I will not go into more desails, because my aim was not so much to deal with fraud, but with what is considered true patropage by our existing plutecratic society, to above how crip-

the money successes. I believe art em-hodies even the highest part of American culture. It surpasses musical col

position, the drama, the novel and sci-ence. It would be greater still if it had not to work against so many adverse cir-cumstances. Why is landscape art so nuch better here than figure painting is often asked. Simply because artists have not money to study enough after models, because they cannot sell figure pictures, because they lack orders for large compositions to adorn public buildings. They do not lack ideas, but the possibilities to carry them out un-

It is indeed a great testimony to

der our present economic system.

Just while I am completing this artiele an illustrated pamphlet of the Sculpture Society reaches me. "Art as It is an appeal to increase the artistic decoration of public builddecorated European buildings with the American, and explains that the time ter: "The development of our country has been so rapid that the public buildings of the past could be considered only temporary structures, but now in this generation we are building care that these permanent monuments should be artistically worthy of and historically expressive of the best our civilization represents."

Very true, but the negation of artisrepresentative of our modern civilization. I am afraid art matters will not stinctly until civilization ha reached another phase.

PARTY NEWS.

Mational.

Requests have been received at na ional headquarters from several locals In Tennessee for the formation of a cals and members does not warrant such organization under the party rules, but a little agitation on the part of each local will put them in a posi-

tion for organization.

Dates for the German-speaking National Organizer, Robert Saltiel, are as follows: April 9, Evansville, Ind.; April 10 and 11, Louisville, Ky.; April Covington; April B. Newport;
 April 14 and 15, Cincinnati, O.; April 16, Dayton; April 17, Bellefontaine; April 18 and 19. Toledo: April 20. Cleveland; April 21, Canton

D. Burgess, 906 N. M. street, and Irene M. Smith, 115 N. Fife street, Tacoma, have been elected members of the National Committee by the state of Washington. Robert B. Ringler, 347 Spruce street,

Committeeman for Pennsylvania. Joseph Gilbert, National Committee by the State Committee for the reserve list of national speakers and organiz-

The March issue of the "Official Bulletin" will be mailed from headquarters in Chicago on or before April State and local secretaries should sethat copies are properly distributed and every comrade should get one.

State Secretary Chase of New York has informed the National Secretary that the experience of the comrades in this state with J. Carlos Becker last year was such that they cannot rec-ommend him for party work. The Kansas State Quorum, which has had more recent experience with him, has work and describes him as a "sower of

The National Secretary sends out ote to the effect that S. P. Schulberg, Selig Schulberg, sometimes known as 'Bush." who was some time ago exselled from the S. L. P. in Pittsburg. s not, so far as information at hand s, a member of the Socialist Party, has recently been operating as a "free lance" in Oklahoma and Kansa n such a manner that the Kansa State Committee, after full investiga-tion, thinks it wise to issue a warning

ngninst him. National Committeeman Hillquit's notion that should no election result on the fifth ballot (now pending in the nember of the National Executive Committee, only the two candidates receiving the highest votes shall go on the sixth ballot, has been adopted by vote of 31 to 2.

MARCH REPORT.

The National Secretary's report for March shows: Balance on Mar. 1, \$30.44; receipts for month, \$1,516.32; expenditures, \$1,398.70; balance, April 1, \$148.06. National dues were received as follows: From state committees—Arizona, \$10; Arkansas, \$6; California, \$68; Colorado, \$30; Connecticut, \$30; Florida, \$10; Idaho, \$15; Illinois, \$145; Indiana, \$25; Iowa, \$25; Kansas, \$20; Kentucky, \$10; Louisiana, \$8; Maine, \$10; Massachusetts, \$75; Michi-gan, \$50; Minnesota, \$50; Missouri, \$80: Montana \$30: New Hampshire \$18: New Jersey, \$50; New York, \$100 North Dakota, \$3; Ohlo, \$90; Oklaho ms, \$29; Oregon, \$25; Pennsylvania, \$50; Rhode Island, \$5; Texas, \$20; Utah, \$5.20; Vermont, \$2.50; Washing on. \$51.70: Wisconsin. \$57.63: total ton, \$51.0; Wisconsin, \$57.63; total, \$1,179.03; from locals in unorganized states—District of Columbia, \$5; Indian Territory, \$12.60; Maryland, \$21; Mississippl, \$3.60; Neyada, \$5; New Mexico, \$10; Virginia, \$8.20; Tennessee, \$4.10; members at large, \$2.20; to tal, \$1,250.83. This would indicate a dues-paying membership of 25,017.

THE WISCONSIN CASE

National Committeeman Lamb of Michigan has moved to table the mo-Michigan has moved to table the mo-tion of Trautmann of Ohlo calling for an investigation of reported fusion in Wisconsin. He says that Trautmann makes no definite charges that can serve as the basis of an investigation, serve as the basis of an investigation, but merely expresses his suspicions and "asks the National Committee to constitute itself a detective agency to ascertain if his suspicious are well founded." The vote on Lamba motion closes April 10, and that on Trautmann's motion, if not tabled, on April 18.

Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee, Na-

statement in reply to Trautin motion. This will, we understand, be such adverse circumstances, we still possess a rapidly growing art, whose orinted in full in the "Official Bulle-in." Berger calls attention to Trautartistic successes stand much above mann's inaccuracy in speaking of "endorsement of state candidates running on capitalist party tickets." as the present election is a municipal one.
"It pertains to judges only and is conducted on non-partizan lines," says Berger. He further declares that "the nsinuation that there is 'a collusion or secret or open understanding in the city of Milwaukee between the Social democratic Party organization or a member or members thereof and rep miserable and cowardly slander." He states that the party in Milwaukee de-cided by general vote, by a majority of four to one, not to nominate in this burden of debt from the fall cam paign; the party has few lawyer mong its members, and only lawyer are legally qualified for the judgeship campaign in Milwanke neans a great deal of work, as it is largely conducted by the house-to-house distribution of literature, and the local comrades, having gone through two big campaigns in the year, were not able to go into a third and carry it through properly; it is more important just now to educate and organize the large numbers of roters gained in the last two years rather than to make a purely political campaign; a superficial campaign would have meant a light vote and loss of prestige. He says that the Miler the letter nor the spirit of the constitutional provision that "no state of ocal organization shall, under any cir cumstances, fuse, combine, or com promise with ony other political party or organization or refrain from mak ing nominations in order to favor the candidates of such organizations." He construes this provision (and construes this provision (and construes do the other Wisconsin, comrades do the has a ticket in the field, it is the absolute duty of every Social Democrat to vote it straight, but that, when the party has not nominated, any membe individually has a right to vote or no as he pleases. To require more than this, he thinks, would be "oppressive fanaticism." He considers the Milwankee situation exceptional. There s especially vigorous opposition to So-dalism there, particularly by the is especially vigorous Catholic clergy. One of the candidates for re-election, Judge Carpenter, is no only personally an active and bitter opponent of Socialism, but in his judi cial capacity has acted as a tool for clergy. It is especially therefore, that he be defeated and, since the comrades had decided, for other good reasons, not to nominate, Berger considers that he did right to advise the readers of "Wahrheit" to vote for Judge Wallber in order to de-feat Carpenter. The City Central Committee approved his position by A Trautmann's motion is wrong in form as the constitution provides that the first step in such a matter must be an application to the State Committee. He is willing, bowever, so far to waive this point that, after the rejection of Trautmann's motion by the Nationa Committee, he will himself ask the State Committee to investigate. closes with some questioning of the sincerity of Trautmann's motives.

Massachusetts.

The Essex County Socialist Federa tion held its monthly meeting las Sunday at Lawrence. It was voted to operate with National Organizer M. Wilkins, of California, in the work ate with National Organizer M. of organizing the county. Monthly pledges of various amounts have been received from different places in the county to help out in this work, and the movement will be vigorously pushed. A list of dates is being made and a route mapped out for a lecturing and organizing tour by Comrade Wilkins. The committee in charge urge the comrades in each place to ac speedily on all communications sent them. Lists of subscribers to the 'Appeal," "Wilsbire's Magazine" The Worker have been sent for, and the committee desires suggestions, in formation and advice from any comrade who can help out in the work What the committee especially desire ized places and information as to halls and the cost of hiring them. Addres-

B. W. Gldney, 35 Mt. Pleasant street, BOSTON.

Geo. Roewer, Jr., will speak at Homestead Hall, 724 Washington street, Boston, Sunday, April 9, 8 p. m., on Economic Determinism

on Economic Determinism.

M. W. Wilkins of California spoke
to a good sized audience at Garment
Workers' Hall. The meeting was held
under the auspices of Wards 6 and 5;
several new members were admitted as a result. James F. Carey will speak at the same hall, 164 Canal street, on

April 7, 8 p. m. Brighton, Ward 25, will hold a meeting on Saturday, April 8, at Roddy Hall, Market street, W. Brighton, at which James F. Carey will be the speaker. The comrades are working hard to make the meeting a success.

Wards 20 and 24 held a good meet-Wards 20 and 24 held a good mees-ing, at which the organizer was pres-en; and made a short address. This club intended to engage Comrade Carey for one meeting but, owing to change of date, the meeting is called The Central Committee met, with

Organizer reported Comrade Carey coming to Boston, and advised ar-rangement of meetings, which was concurred in. Secretary-Treasurer Livingstone reported that the sale of stamps excels all previous sales for any six months of party organization. Upon motion the atter society for the benefit of the Socialist movement was sanction and all comrades who desire to par-ticipate may apply to Comrade Wake-field. Comrade Curtis, the statistician, submitted a lengthy report and the same was ordered placed on file for reference. Coursdes B. Marcus, Wel-gel, and M. J. Konikow were elected a committee to ascertain the legal

a committee to ascertain the legal standing of the party: Clube in the city of Boston are re-quested to communicate with the City Central Committee direct instead of with the office of the State Commit-

organization. At every meeting t club takes in new members. East Boston reports a steady crease of membership. At their last meeting several new members were ing for Socialism nearly every night. Ward 17 and 21 will meet on Fri day. April 7, 8 p. m., at 80 Regen street (near Circuit) and all comr

Clubs should make it their duty to get subscriptions for The Worke among members and friends. When ever a sympathizers for the purpose of induc ing them to join the party, even if no success is had in this a six month's sub. for The Worker can nearly always be obtained.

Day will be held at 330 Shawmut ave nue every Sunday in April at 11 a. m All Socialists who sing are invited to attend.

James F. Carey will lecture at 164 Canal street, Friday evening, April 7 under the auspices of the West Enc Socialist Club. All who are interested in the labor problem are invited. Dis cussion will follow the lecture last week was a great success. comrades are saying: "Wilkins is the right man in the right place at the right time" and think that clubs throughout the state should keep hin The May Day festival of the Boston

Socialists will be held in Knights of Honor Hall, 730 Washington street. Monday, May 1, 8 p. m. Two nev plays will be acted. music, tableaux, and a Socialist ad-dress. Tickets cost 15 cents. Children pay 5 cents admission

who are interested in forming a dra matic club are invited to meet at 230 Shawmut avenue, Sunday, April 16, at 4:30 p. m.

New Jersey.

A debate will take place in Harmony Hall, 653 Broad street, Newark, under the auspices of Branch Seven, on Mon Which will best cure the economi evils of present society and solve the labor problem, Socialism or Single Tax?" The Socialist position will be taken by Fred W. Long of Philadel phia and the Single Tax side by Frank stephens, also of Philadelphia. As a large audience is expected extra souts will be provided, iteasiers of The Worker and their friends are urged to attend this meeting if they wish to hear as keen and educational a discu don as they have ever listened to.

Pennsylvanta:

C. F. Foley of Pottsville, Pa., is tryusing railroad passes in violation o the law. As usual when a Socialist ing, so called radical papers ignore the PHILADELPHIA.

The Socialist School will continu Socialism by Algernon Lee, at 445 N Fifth street, on Sunday afternoon 2:30 o'clock, April 9 to May 7, inch sive. John Spargo will follow with six lectures on Socialist Activity in and June. Course tickets for these eleven lectures cost 50 cents; single tickets, 10 cents. Tickets may be had of the Treasurer, John Whitehead, at the hall.

Here and There.

The National organization has chartered a new local with eight members at Newbern, Va. Ida Crouch Hazlett will fill several

dates in Ohio and West Virginia in the immediate future, speaking in Myers' Hall, 388 Laculs, street, Wheeling, W. Va., on April 10, 11, and Cat Bellaire, O., on April 13 and 14; at Martin's Ferry on April 15; and at McMechen, W. Va., on April 17, 18

Local San Francisco has published statement in regard to the conduct of Thomas J. Haggrty at a public meet-ing arranged for him by the local and held on Mar. 12. Copies of the leafle can be had from Organizer Geo. Willams, 230 Van Ness avenue, San Fran

In Colorado the referendum on the question, "Shall Geo. T. Cramton be removed from the office of State Sec-retary-Treasurer?" has been decided in the negative by a vote of 210 to 38. The attempt to remove Cramton was ful-tiated by the followers of R. A. South-worth, editor of the "Alliance of the Rockles," who has been severely con-demned by many contrades for his method of conducting that paper and his attitude in party matters.

Local Denver has adopted resolu-tions endorsing National Committee man Trautmann's motion for an inves tigation of Victor L. Berger's action in editorially endorsing a candidate on a capitalistic ticket, and calling upon the Colorado National Committeeme o support the said motion.

Local Thomaston, Me., expresses its unqualified disapproval of the action of Victor L. Herger, editor of "Wahr-helt," as reported last week.

New York State.

Dan A. White's tour of the state losed at Earlville April 1. He has been sent to Binghamton for a couple of days to effect an organization at that point if possible. Comrade White's tour has been productive of much good, and the locals that did not take advantage of the opportunity to have him speak for them made a great mistake. He made a deep and lasting impression wherever he addressed a neeting. James F. Carey's Hinerary has been

very nearly completed and a very suc-cessful tour is assured. He will be in the state for four weeks. Only one or two dates remain unaccepted, and these will be filled within a day or two undoubtedly. The State Secretary has gotten up a quantity of hand tary has gotten up a quantity of hand-bills for the purpose of advertising the meetings, and they will be supplied to all locals asking for them according to instructions sent to local secretaries. It is well-for locals to bear in mind that meetings must be theroughly ad-vertised, and advertised in the proper manner. The State Secretary is bet-ter able to get out the right kind of adter able to get out the right kind of advertising matter and say the right thing about a speaker that he sends set than any one else. When the advertising the sends out than any one else. rade Claus attended Ward & and

and editor of "Wahrheit," submits to \$ Club and gave a short address on vertising is printed in one office for the entire series of meetings it can be done at a saving. It is a plan, how ever, that cannot work unless the locals are very prompt in their prom-ise of co-operation with the State Sec-retary. All locals that want this advertising matter for the Carey meet ings must say so now or get left. The list of dates for Comrade Carey, with perhaps one or two changes, will be as follows: April 13, Berlin; April 14, living in these wards are invited to Glens Falls; April 15, South Glens Falls; April 16, Albany; April 17, open; April 18, Schenectady; April 19, attend. New members are admitted Johnstown; April 20, Gloversville April 21, Utica; April 22, Watertown April 23, Rochester; April 24, Syra-cuse; April 25, Rome; April 26, Au-burn; April 27, Gowands; April 28, open; April 29, Springville; April 30 and May 1, Buffalo; May 2, Jamestown May 3, Salamanca: May 4, Wellsville May 5. Hornellsville: May 6. Corning May 7. Ithaca; May 8. Yonkers; May 9. Port Chester; May 10, Peekskill; May 12. New Rochelle. Every one of these locals should exert themselves to make the Carey meeting a banuer meeting. Comrade Carey will be the last speak er in the winter series of meetings The next speaker to be sent out wil be some good open air speaker, who will start some time in the early part of June if nothing happens to prevent

> The State Committee is endeavoring to secure John Collins and Mother There are seven counties in the state that are now entitled to have a memdition to those counties that have heretofore elected their delegates: namely the counties of Orange, Westchester Rensselaer, Steuben, Cattaraugus, Monroe and Erie. The two last named countles are entitled to delegates to the State Committee by virtue of the fact that there is one local in each county with a dues-paying membership of fifty. The other five counties are entitled to delegates because they have three locals each. A call for the election of delegates from these comties is being prepared and will be received by locals this week. All coun ties that are now entitled to delegate. should at once proceed to elect. Full instructions will be forwarded, and it is hoped that every county will elect

pers have been sent to all local secre

taries, and they should be used.

its representative.

The State Committee has decided to issue a call to all locals in the state for financial aid in carrying on work of organizing the state during the coming summer. There is a great field for work in New York state, but the State Committee finds itself unable to do all it might on account of the limited means at its disposal. Every local should make an attempt to aid the State Committee to take advantage of the oportunities that are presenting themselves to organize in unorganized places. The State Committee does not lay down any particular method for the locals to adopt in raising fundall locals do something to help the good work along.

Morris Hillquit, atorney for the State Committee in the matter of ap peal against use of the present party name, argued the case before the Appellate Division of the Third Depart nent at Albany on March 24. on was reserved, and will probably be handed own in the May term of the

Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Bennetts, of Yonkers, and John Spargo, one of our National Committeemen, were married on Thursday of last week. Their res idence wili be at 107 Yonkers avenue

New York City.

A regular meeting of the General Committee will take place on Satur day, April 8, 8 p. m., sharp, at the W E. A. clubhouse, 206 East Eighty-sixth treet. Important matters concerning party agitation and organization will ome up for discussion

Local New York has ordered 10,000 copies of a special New York edition of the May Day number of The Worker. Three thousand copies will be distributed at the May Day celebration in Carnegie Hall, and the rest e apportioned free to the various obly District organizations of Assembly Local New York. The copies will be at the Organizer's office by Friday, April 28, and districts desiring to secure their share are requested to apopies and distribute them.

The primaries of the Social Demoeratic Party of New York County for the election of delegates to the city and other conventions will in all proin May. The Organizer wishes to get as soon as possible the addresses of the places where each district intends to hold its primary. Letters to this effect have been mailed to all the district secretaries or organizers, and it is hoped that they will comply with the request without any delay. Communications were mailed to all

he Assembly District organizations of . D. P. and progressive labor or ganizations inviting them to send del egates to the picnic conference of Lo-cal New York. The first meeting of this conference will take place on Tuesday, May 2, 8 p. m., in Labor Ly-ceum, 64 East Fourth street. Assemhly Districts and progressive labor or ganizations in sympathy with the S. D. P. which have not as yet received such a communication and desire to take part in this conference may do by electing two delegates each and sending their names and addresses to Organizer U. Solomon, 64 East Fourth The attention of the comrades

day for settling for tickets for the May Day celebration was fixed for April 15. We are approaching now the first of May, and the con should do their utmost to push the sale of tickets as much as possible Ther are still a few of the \$2 and \$4 boxes left, each box scating eight persons, and those desiring to secure such sons, and those desiring to secure such boxes may do so by writing to Organizer Solomon. Mall orders will be premptly attended to.

The first meeting of the First Agitation District since its reorganization was well attended, delegates from

every Assembly District within its soundaries and from the Socialist Literary Society being present. Election of permanent officers resulted as fol-

lows: Organizer and delegate to City executive Committee, I. Isadore Bern stein: recording and corres ry, M. Miller; financia tary, Miss Leng Rabinowitz. The de egate to City Executive was instructed "East Side Agitation District," as being more appropriate and better under stood. The secretary was instructed to issue a circular letter to progres sive organizations requesting elect delegates. The Agitation Committee will bereafter meet on the secat 233 East Broadway.

At the last meeting of the 16th A D. an invitation was received fro the West Side Agitation District to de labor-saving machines have increase the number of unemployed." enge was accepted, the 16th A D. taking the affirmative. The debate will take place on Friday evening April 21, at Lafayette Hall, 8-10 Av evening. nue D. The next meeting of the 10th A. D. will be held on Friday evening. April 7, at Lafayette Hall. be discussed at this meeting for rais ing funds to establish permanent club rooms before the next campaign. Other matters of great importance will also sympathizer is urgently requested to be present at this meeting.

The West Side Headquarters of the present plans from being carried out. Press notices for insertion in local pa-Social Democratic Party has been re-

moved to 402 W. Thirty-ninth street, where the present course will be held. The removal was neces sitated by a change in the ownership of the present place and the enlargement of the photographic establish ment which occupied the same floor. The new headquarters is larger and has better facilities for advertising, nue, which is very desirable, it will probably prove to be as good as the old place for the building up of the movement upon the West Side. first lecture at the new place will be by John Spargo, "The Trade Union Crisis and Ontlook," on Sunday evening. April 16, and "Child Slaves in Free America" by the same lecturer on April 19 to be followed by Isador Ladoff on "American Pauperism" and Miss Marguerite V. Weln on "May Day and the International Socialist Movement." BROOKLYN.

At the last meeting of the newly organized 4th A. D., which was held on Thursday last at their hall, corner of Myrtle and Kent avenues, two new propositions for membership were a cepted. This gives this district ten

Preparations for our May Day Fes tival, which will be held at the Labor Lyceum on April 30, are being per-fected. Lithographs are now ready for distribution. Every Assembly Dis trict should have its delegate at the next meeting of the County Committee. April 8, in order to receive them Money from the sale of tickets should be turned over to the Organizer as soon as possible. The Brooklyn Fedof Labor has consented to cooperate in making this affair a grand

At the last meeting of the County Committee fourteen new members were admitted.

The 20th A. D. will hold an agitation meeting at Eldert Hall, 74 Elder

street, on April 18, The 21st A. D., Branch 2, will hold its May Day demonstration on Saturday, April 29, at American Star Hall. The 17th A. D. holds its regular

meeting on the second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at 551 Gates avenue. Comrades living in the district should give this organization their full support and assist in the agi-

A very interesting and well attended meeting of the 9th A. D. was held last Sunday at 131 Imlay street. The usual routine proceedings were sus-pended and the meeting took on a literary character. Comrade Cook read a chapter on Municipal Ownership from Mills' Struggle for Exist-cuce," which was followed by an animated discussion in which all present took part. These "literary" meetings are to be held from time to time for the purpose of bringing out the met bers in greater force.

The comrades of the 8th, 11th and 12th A. D.s are making good progress with their preparations for the concert to be given in Prospect Hall, Prospect and Fifth avenues, Wednes-day evening, April 12. A varied proram has been large number of tickets sold, assuring the success of the undertaking. Com-rades and their friends from a distance can take the Fifth avenue "L" to Six-teenth street and walk one block south to Prospect avenue. The hall can also be reached by the Fifth and Seventh avenue surface cars. The admission fee will be 15 cents.

The regular meeting of the 16th A D. and Branch 1, 18th A. D., will be held at Northern Star Hall, 1898 Fulton street, Sunday, April 9, at 2:30 At the regular meeting of the Speak

ers' Training School, Friday evening at the Labor Lyceum, Mrs. Bertha M. Fraser will give a reading from Alt-geld's "Oratory; Its Requirements and Rewards," to be followed by a quer tion box.

A QUESTION FOR LOCALS. To the Editor of The Worker:-Short

clams and hold everything that comes their way in the endeavor to build up their in dividual local before taking a part in tour ing speakers? I believe a discussion should be started of

this question in The Worker, and that the locals not taking part in touring speakers should be asked to defend their p order to bring this matter up, and have the reasons given why certain locals do not co operate with the State Committee in send ng out speakers, I write this letter. I wish, in the first place, to give some o

my experiences in the movement in thi state, or, perhaps I should say, my experi ences in the Albany local. Since the re organization of Local Albany, so far as know, the comrades have never failed to re spond to the call of the State Committee and have always secrepted dates assigned them. There has never been a large bal ance in the treasury, often a deficit. When ever we have depended upon collections we have run behind, but when we have nave run pennad, but when we have charged admission we have more than cleared expenses and had larger audiences. I believe every meeting can be made to

clear expenses by thorough advertising a Every comrade should be asked to sell tickets. There is too much dead timber in the locals, and I think it all comes from orranizing first and then trying to educate they can build up their locals without aselstance from the state organization. Every local should be a prime factor in the movement, and it cannot be unless it is in close touch with the state organization. There s danger in urging men to join the party before they are at all educated on what ated first; that is to say, that they should have a chance first to hear some speaker. When they become thoroughly imbued with a belief in what the party represents, they will ask to join, and will be more likely to stick and become active workers.

No wan or woman no matter how well educated or brilliant, can become indispensable to the party; the party does not need members so much as the people need the Socialist Party. Personal work and the distribution of literature is necessary, but speakers are also necessary to put enthus! ism into the comrades, and public meetings give the opportunity to advertise the movement and circulate literature that cannot be obtained in any other way. If all locals in the state were doing their duty, the expense to each local for speakers would be much less, and the speakers would have a chance to strike out into un-organized territory. Therefore, it seems to me that locals that are holding back until they get a good balance in the ary, or for other reasons, are descrying of whenre, and should be asked to give the State Secretary the reasons and state the lifficulties to be overcome PRED MILTON DENNIS.

Albany, N. Y., April 3.

THE NEW WAY OF PUTTING IT.

Scuator Clapp, of Minnesota, puts it this way in regard to the political situation at

"The question used to be: Will the President execute faithfully the laws enacted by Congress? Will Congress enact the legislation demanded by the President? "-Chicago

LECTURE CALENDAR FOR NEW YORK

Lectures under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party or auxiliary organiza-ions, whether by Socialist or non-Socialist speakers, and by Socialist speakers be-fore other organizations, are listed below. Culess otherwise stated, lectures are called for S p. m., and admission is free. FRIDAY, APRIL 7.

Preininger's Hall, 1432 Second avenuunder auspices of 26th A. D. Moses Oppen-helmer: What a Socialist City Administration of New York Could Do. Liberal Art Society, 206 East Broadway,

Algeroon Lee: Will the Socialist System Have More Government Than To-day? SUNDAY, APRIL 9.

West Side, 402 West Thirty-ninth street. ohn Spargo: The Trade Union Crisis an Outlook. Independence Rall, 158 East Twenty-

seventh street, near Third avenue. L. R. Bondin: The Collapse of the Capital Yorkville, 1528 Second avenue, near

Eightieth street. Morris Hillquit. Harlem Socialist Club, 250 West One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street. Miss Jo hanna Dahme: Is Socialism a Dream? Verein fur Volksbildung, Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street. Dr. Rudolph Broda

u German: Die Religion der Zukunft. WEDNESDAY, APRIL 12. Hariem Socialist Club, 250 West 125th

street. Dr. Rudolph Broda: Proletaria: Brooklyn.

FRIDAY, APRIL 7.

Wm. Morris Educational Society, To-Leonard D. Abbett: The Religion of Social-Redmen's Hall, 55 Reeves Place, L. H. Bondlu: Socialism, What It Is and What It

SUNDAY, APRIL 9. Silver Building, 315 Washington street, Isador Ladoff: The Situation in Russia.

Buffalo Hall, Fulton street, corner Bufalo avenue. Dr. S. Bertin: Socialism and Morality.

Keramos Hail, 861 Manhattan avenue, near Noble street. W. W. Passage: How All May De Rich. Young People's Social Democratic Cinb. Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby avenue, at 2 p. m. Joseph Spera: Science and Modern

· FRIDAY, APRIL 16.

swered.

William Marris Educational Society, To-back's Hall, Thatford and Pitkin avenues. Henry L. Slebodin: Some Questions An-

Queens. SUNDAY, APRIL 9.

Phil Unfricht Hall, 230 Fulton street, orner Rocksway Road, Januates, John C. Frest. The Class Struggle in New Zealand. WHO WILL DO YOUR TAUNDRY WORKS

X, L. LAUNDRY, CUSTAV LEIST. 774 Second Avs. Bet. 41st & 42d St.

PUBLICATIONS.

NEW SONGS FOR SOCIALISTS.

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Comrades who have an opportunity to reach Italian workingmen and wish to make propaganda for Socialism among them will do well to use the new pamphlet "Che Cosa e il Socialismo?"

(What Is Socialism?) By SILVIO ORIGO.

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