The word of Orker.

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PRICE 2 CENTS.

VOL. XI.-NO. 4.

## RADICAL AND PRACTICAL, TOO.

The Social Democratic Party Neither Soars in the Clouds Nor Flounders in the Bog Guided by the Revolutionary Ideal, It Alone Prom-· ises Tangible Present Gains.

It is fast coming to be recognized that the question of the distribution of wealth-or, to put it in a single phrase. the Labor Question—is the great living question of American politics to-day and, indeed, of the politics of the

While the old parties are trying to while the odd parties are frying to evade this question and to distract the people's attention from it, and while various 'referm' parties are offering makeshifts and compromises, the So-cial Deinsceptic Party alone faces the stion without fear and, rejecting all ises, bases its proposed soluon a frank recognition of the The Social Democratic Party alone is truly radical-going to the root of the matter; and for this reason, the Social Democratic Party alone is truly

#### THE PROBLEM STATED.

The problem now confronting the orkers can hardly be better stated than in the following extract from the national platform of the Social Demoeratic Party:

longer be owned and operated by the workers' individually. As a comthe one side the few who own the means of production and thus live with out abeful work, on the other side the many who own nothing and must there-fore work without really living. The

#### THE SOLUTION.

litton? Let us quote again from th platform of the Social Democrati

#### A RADICAL PROGRAM.

chop's since the evils grow out of the cansuch re-tails i ownership of the means of pro-hooker duction necessary to society is life, the so, 'sta remedy is to be found, says the Social wordlet Democratic Party, in removing the opnable cause in substituting collective owner-ly. Harnsisip of the means of production for nucless capitalist ownership, in organizing and c. Fise conducting industry for the public ser-yms then vice instead of for private profit.

acqual | Since it is the working class which s of act suffers chiefly under capitalls. I used lorblying the working class devolves the mission medacy rof substituting Socialism. Individual en he percent the capitalist class may from hu-abit. Temane and generous motives, join us in ble evaluths buttle, but the main responsibility

ind to main responsibility and the workers, whose ind tr it is the interest is involved.

The line interest is involved.

The line interest is involved.

The line is that of political action. The important upon the line is that of political action. The important all along and along an are of the political power is proven by

the engerness of the capitalists to control that it. The workers have to learn a second vital it. The workers have to learn a second vital its control that it. The workers have to learn a second vital its control that it is second vital vit

ing or to extract profit from another's roll; in which all shall do useful work and all shall enjoy the product of their

It never compromises. It never ex changes "endorsements" or traces smence" with other parties. These are methods by which politicians may suc-ceed in getting office and spoils. But such is not the purpose of the Social Democratic Party. It is in the field for principle, not for Social. principle, not for be

#### IS IT PRACTICAL?

Thus the Social Democratic Party is clearly radical, because it works for the removal of the very cause of the evils It seeks to abolish. But is it practical? We answer: What is truly radical is always practical. To be radical is not lolent or hasty. To be radical is to be thorough. In politics, as in everthing else, it is practical to be thorough to be radical, to go to the root of things. The opposite of "radical" is "superfi-cial." It is never practical to be super-

A radical policy may be slow. It may be difficult. But it is sure. The Social Democratic Party would rather inov-slowly in the right direction than mov-rapidly in the wrong direction. There is easy; it is also swift; but it is notorlously hard and slow work climbing to be heaven. Yet Socialists would rather climb than fall. The Social Democratic sh Party would rather gain 10 per cent. gain was a real one, than gain 100 per cent, by political trickery and cheap talk and know that the gain might nielt

#### "A STEP AT A TIME."

Socialists are sometimes repr some short-sighted people say because we cannot get it right away Let us say, nothing about the final alm, but work for some small reforms that we can get now. We must take a step

at is very true that we must take "a tep at a time." But if we do not keep At is very true that we must take "a step at a time." But if we do not keep our final aim in view our "steps" may all be wrong. A man who does not know where he wants to go will waste a great many steps. He will wander from the path, and he will be lacky if he does not yet stack in a box he does not get stuck in a bog.

No Socialist expects that Socialism will be established at a single stroke. We are always ready to take a step to ward it, ready for any partial chang-that shall be in the right direction.

But if we should have no final aimso ideal, if we should work for imme liate measures without regard to their altimate effect, we should often find Because we want a radical righting of social conditions, we work for all measures in that direction. Because measures in that direction. Because we want every measure taken to be such as will tend to that radical righting of social conditions, we never cen to call attention to the ultimate goal. That is the practical radicalism and the radical practicability of the Social Democratic Party.

#### "SOMETHING NOW."

The Social Democratic Party is some thing of present beneat to the ers, but with feeding them on hopes of the distant future. Sometimes that thing of present benefit to the work

To show its falseness, let us quote again this time from the platform ppon which the Social Democratic Party went into the last State election

So the capitalists receive prafti-fied other men's labor they must be held to strict accountability for accidents occur strict accountability for accidents occur and their service.

2. Reasganization of the system of far-tory inspection; inspectors to be ricetted in tory inspection; dispectors to be ricetted in

building the Co-operative Co

Some of them-have been advocated by "reformers" outside the Soci Democratic Party. But the reforme did not look any further. They had no radical and consistent policy to guide them. They failed, therefore, to organ-ize a solid and self-reliant party, capa-

ble of marching, through hardship and repeated defeat, to final rictory.

The Populist movement advocated some progresive measures—along with it was afraid of Socialism. It had no guiding principle, It fell into inconsistencies. It compromised and traded and fused. It poiled a big vote and then died. Its mourners cannot point to one solitary thing that it accomplished before its death.

We have had "reform parties," "mulcipal ownership parties," "independant labor parties," and the like, with

ent labor parties," and the like, with out number. They were afraid to commit themselves to the self-consistent and radical Socialist ideal. They tried to take "one step at a time" without knowing where their steps were to lead them. They tried to patch up a defecive structure without knowing either the plan upon which it was built or the ious fruts without touching oot from which they grew. They falled and died.

The Socialist movement has not su ceeded yet. But it is still alive an growing stronger year by year-simply because it knows what it wants and is not afraid to avow its whole purpose.

Such is the Social Democratic Parfy-radical and practical, uncompromising and courageous and disciplined. It epcials upon the intelligence and I tion of its rank and file, not upon the of "backers."

It is the party of the workers. -As such, it is the party of the future. It has a great work to do. It calls upon every workingman who cares for own welfare and the welfare of his hildren and his class to join the ranks. stand shoulder to shoulder with coin rades, and do his share for Labor's

#### VAIL IN ST. LOUIS.

Comrade Charles H, Vall's meeting n St. Louis on April 16 was one of the most successful ever held by the S. D. P. in that city. Despite many adverse circumstances, Druid's Hall was filled to its uttermost, and Comrade Vail's speech aroused great enthusiasm. Fif teen new applications for membership were received. The successful meeting is taken as an indication that the Social Democrats are going to continue their campaign for Socialism with as much nergy as ever.

Comrade Vail also addressed the reg ular meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Union while in St. Louis and his masterful presentation of the class struggle was received with much applause. 'It is reported that the caus of Socialism has been greatly strength ened in the C. T. and L. U., by Comrad Vail's address.

#### LECTURE ON MODERN SOCIALISM. Courtenay Lemon will deliver a lec

ture on "Modern Socialism," Friday evening, April 20, at the Manhattan Liberal Club, 220 East Fifteeuth street, New York city.

#### A QUESTION OF "RIGHTS.".

The supreme court of Pennsylvania has decided that the American Federation of Labor has no "right" to enticy oppoentices working in a factory to be-come members of the Glass Workers' Union, holding that the manufacturer "right" to employ workmer independent of any labor union, and the "right" also to adopt a system of apprenticeship excluding, apprentices charge is made in good faith. By people who very well know how false it is.

To show its falseness, let us quote ion, and when reading this decision would sub stitute the word "power" wherever "right" occurs, they might perhaps place themselves in a position to discover some invaluable information about "rights" which would prove ex-Workers' Call.

... Canitalism turns scripture topsy turvy. Instead of "in the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread," the capitalist reads: "In the sweat of other en's brows shalt thou eat bread-

Comrade W. C. Edwards writes from Portsmouth, O., that he is highly pleased with The Worker, and says "Bravo" to our position on the Carnegie library question. Also that he hopes to get 1,000 copies of this issue into Portsmouth to keep the good work going. A thousand every week until next election would mean a further increase of Portsmouth's vote for on next fall. Get the boys to

vestment. A ten-cent pamphlet will stand a good many readings. Buy a few, read them, and pass them on to your friends. They are guaranteed to make people think.

patches, negotiations are in progress for the absorption by the Southern Ohio Traction Company of the electric street railroad lines of that city. Many politicians of our time zi in the habit of laying it down as a self evident proposition, that no people ought to be free until they are fit to unger to be the control of the control of the control of the food in the sold story, who resolved not to go into the water artifi he had been not in solin, if no a gre to wait for illustry till they become use and good in slavery, they may include wait force. Manager,

deed wait forever. Macaulay

#### THE DEADLY CONTRAST OF OUR CIVILIZATION

Socialists Think It Would Be Better to Dispense with Imperial Palace Cars, if Necessary, in Order to Assure Comfort' to All Who Will Work.

7 From the New York Times.

"Olympia."

The train in which President Mc Kinley and his cabinet will cross the

continent on their trip, is a marvel of luxury. It will consist of two sleep-ing, a dining and composite car, con-

sisting of smoking room and baggag-compartment. The president will sleep in the magnificent Pullman, the

X description of this car would fill

contains five private rooms finished in

monarchs are provided for the serv-

ants, Silk, antin, plush, and velvet are lavishly used in furniture in the

are in evidence; large mirrors and wardrobes are provided, and each pri-

vate room contains the complete fit

tings of a bedroom. All have separate

tellet rooms. The car is seventy feet long, and is used only for the accon-

room car is finished in vernillion, elaborately carved, and the rooms are dec-orated in ivory and gold. The ceilings

are beautifully tinted and the upho!

stery and draperies are of the finest

material. Two state rooms connect with the salon by folding doors. Wide

restibules line the smoking car. Ther-

is a fine barber shop in it and a bath room with a tiled flooring and wains-

coting. The smoking room is twenty-

one feet in length, fitted with unbal

stered chairs, lounges, secretary, cabi-ugts, and library. A buffet is also pro-vided. The exterior of the train is in

keeping with its interior splender,

A Chicago dispatch further says:

"Because the name 'Imperial' stood

out in bright gold letters on the side of a magnificent private car offered by the Pullman Company for the use of

President McKinley, to be attached to

the splendid special train to be fur-nished for the presiduatial party, the

committee has diplomaticall, side-tracked it, and has decided to select A

car with a name of different signifi-cance. The president will in all prob-

ability ride in the richly furnished pri-

vate car 'Olympia.'

dation of nine péople. The drawing

oration. Onyx and marble fittings

Oriental prince with wonder. It

From the New York Press.
With one child in his arms and with his wife carrying another John William Booth trundled a baby carriage containing two infants all the way from Fayette City, Pa., to New York. The oldest child is six years old and the youngest four mouths. They start ed in January and reached here Wednesday. Through the harsh, wintry weather, over the cold, bleak roads they traveled half starved and never knowing where they were going to lay their heads at night, yet, although the husband and wife look pinched and weary, the children are well,

Booth tells a story of great misery endured in the coal mines in Fayette Cify. He went there last May in answer to an advertisement of the Pittsburg Coal Company, Superintendent Meara of the Immigration Employ ment Bureau, who did not know what sort of a place he was sending the man iring the job for him. He was to gef \$1.75 a day. Booth says he found the sum the company charged for food which he had to buy of the company's stores, the rent and sundry expenses amounted week after week more than his wages. None of the married men was in any better dx can be. The single men got a little oney each week to keep them in tobacco or buy something to drink one

lecided to get no deeper into debt. Leaving what few things he had in his shanty, he and his wife started off with the baby carriage and the bables They waked from town to town and got help in each place from the poor-master. They wheeled the smallest children in the baby carriage. The father carried the eldest child and the mother the other. Once in a while they let the oldest baby walk a way, bet

not often.

Whenever he could the father worked at sawing wood or some such job. The winter was hard, but they managed to get a place to sleep every-night and, though hungry often, succeeded it keeping from starving. Booth is an man and wants to get back to his native land.

#### ANNEXING CANADA.

The industrial kings of America the small capitalists of the Dominion are alarmed at the way things are de-veloping along that line. The latest evidence of annexation comes in the shape of an application for incorpora-tion to the Cauadhan Parliament from a concern which asks for most extraordinary powers, perhaps greater than has ever before been requested from the Parliement.

The remarkable powers asked by the

new company from the Canadian gov-ernment would enable it to carry on an plying of light and power to a city Ek-Montreal would form a very small part. It asks for the right to manu-facture, use, supply, and dispose of electricity, water, gas, and hydraulic and other power; to maintain works for the production, sale, and distribumay construct and operate canals, water courses, raceway. unay construct and operate canals, water courses, raceways, and water powers in or adjacent to the St. Law-rence River at any points castward from Dickenson's Landing, and con-struct dams, shuices, conduits, and

It also wishes to acquire patent rights, manufacture and dispose of pulp wood, calcium carbide, acetylene gas, and other carbide products, mine erals, construct furnaces, ovens, etc.; construct tramways, wharves, own vessels, conduct a towing busiown vessels, conduct a towing busi-ness on the St. Lawrence and adjacent

waterways, and other things.

Who the capitalists are behind this scheme is not definitely known, but no doubt our industrious Margan and Rockefeller are the invaders. They have to stread out or bust, and exploi-tation can be conducted as well under the laws of Canada as in the United States. The form of government makes no difference, for the capitalist system is everywhere the same, operating in the same manner, bringing the same dire results to the working class and to the middle man. Protests class and to the middle man. Protests from the small capitalist against the atroduction of American competitors will be fruitless against the power and aggressiveness of consolidated capital. And Socialism is coming.

Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all the men-bers of society, can it be set in motion. Capital is therefore not a personal, it is a social power. When, therefore, capital is converted into columns preperty, into the property of all the men bers of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social char-

# The administration had no objection to the fact of imperial luxury, but it was thought well not to be too frank in the use of names.

HERRON LECTURES. George D. Herron'speaks at Cooper Union on the following Tuesday even ings: April 30, May 7, May 14. At the Park Theatre, Brooklyn, be spehks on Sunday evening, April 28, May 5, May 12. Admission free.

The Boston comrades have aranged a neeting for him at Paine Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton street. Thursday evening, May 2. His 'subject will be "Socialism and Liberty." To defray expenses, 10 cents will be charged for

He wil speak in the Music Hall, New Haven Conn., Friday evening, May 3, · In Elizabeth, N. J., be will speak on Thursday evening, May 9, in Jacob's Theatre, under the auspices of the American Branch, Social Democratic Party. A small admission fee will be charged to cover expenses. All courades are expected to do their utmost to make the meeting a success.

The National Secretary announces the following dates for Comrade Herron, speaking under the direction of the Soeial Despocratic Party: May I, Spring-field, Mass.; May 2, Boston: May 3, New Haven, Conn.; May 8, Jersey City, N. J.; May 9, Elizabeth; May 10. 1st Philadelphia. May 17 is still onen and any local near New York or Phila-delphia desiring Comrade Herron's ser-vices should at once communicate with the National Secretary, William But scher, Theater Buildi

#### YE ROBLE STATESMAN

Senator Walcott is said to have cleaned up a cool falltion in a railway stock deal last week. "Other congress-men who were given the tips," also "deal" with great came out of the fortunes. That is the way the res. That is the way the press rts from Washington put it in de-ng the latest railway consolidation. It is worthy of note that the men who were back of the railway enter-prise are also the men who want the government to step out of the Panama canal project and let them construct and own it: and that Senator Wales ties will have no great difficulty under standing that the noble senators did not risk much in winning fortunes in this "stock deal." The stock market used to be a straight gambling proposition. But it isn't any more. It has been lifted above the element of chance. It's a dead sure thing-forthgressman with a vote.-- Union Labor News, Los Angeles,

-It is reported that the America i cter of the property that is changed. Loses its class character. The Company, claiming to have an output of

The steel lenst will acquire the growt rail and narios steel works of the France Yank Steel Compony, near Baltimore. This will give the trust control of a piant that can speedily be be related by the relation and steel shipping points in the world.

—Comrade R. T. Maycumber of Baltimore, in renewing his subscription, says: "I would not like to be a time that the world in the steel shipping points in the world.

#### THE SOCIALIST VOTE IN DENMARK

Icmarkable Advance, Ne s of Which Is Carefully Suppressed by Capitalist Papers.

No definite account of the election mark has been given by the old dailles. The reason is easy to in Denmark has been given by the old party dailles. The reason is easy to guess. The elections showed a splen-did healthy growth for the Social Democratic Party, and it is the policy of the capitalist newspapers to suppress such news;

The returns are very pleasing. The Social Democratic Party had candi-dates in thirty parliamentary districts. Fourteen were elected as against twelve in 1808. The total vote was 42,-972—a gain of 11,100 over the last election, three years ago. This merely con-Mexican manogany and maple. The private dining room at one end is fin-ished in vermillion. Apartments fit for tinnes a steady growth of many years. In 1887 the Sociafist vote was 8,408; in 1890 it gose to 17,232. In ten constitu-encies: in 1892 it advanced to 20,004 in fifteen districts; in 1895 it was in-creased to 24.508 in seventeen districts; in 1898 it reached 31.872 in twentyturee districts; this year seven more districts were contested and the vote raised about 35 per cent., as above

.Of the twelve constituencies won at the last election one was lost by a nar-row margin. To compensate for this three new districts were carried.

The Conservative party went com pletely to the wall, electing only eight candidates, of whom three are against the present Conservative ministry. These were carried by very small majorities. The Moderates also lost heavily, their total vote falling from 36,587. to 23,006,

#### GLEN ELLYN DOES WELL.

The comrades at Aberdeen, S. D. give us another pleasant surprise this week. Last fall the city gave 16 votes for the Social Democratic Party's national ticket. In the city election held this month, Comrade Wells, candidate for treasurer, polled 118 votes. The aggregate vote for the ward candidates ran somewhat higher. . In the First ran somewhat higher. In the First Ward we poled 7 rotes for alderman and 16 for member of school borrel; in the Second, 10 for alderman and 45 for school board; in the Third, 9 for alder-man and 35 for school board; in the Fourth, 63 for alderman and 27 for school board. The whole State co. "buted only 176

votes to our total of 97,000 last Naven-ber. South Dakota will be heard from

At the school election in Glen Ellyn III., April 20, May Wood Simons, candidate of the Social Democratic Party, received 27 votes out of a total of 128. The local was organized only last De-cember. Mrs. Simons is an active party worker and well nown as a Socialist

Thos. Kerr, who is also a devoted worker, is to make a Southern trip, speaking at Greentown, Ind., May 2, at Cincinati, May 3, at Louisville, Ky., May 5, and at Affin'ta, Ga., May 7.

When we salled from Tampa Bay, (Cylia Libre)
Add our ships got under weigh,
Add our ships got under weigh,
(Cylia Libre)
As we floated down the tide,
Crowling to the steamer's a'de,
You remember how we cried,
"Cula Libre!"

When we spied the island shore, (Cuba Liline).
Then we shouted load once more.
"Cuba Libre!"
As we saink Cervera's ships
Where the southern sea wall dips,
What again was on our lips?
"Cuba Libre!"

These are Areign words, you know "Cuba Lilire".

That we used so long age: (Cuba Lilire).

And in all the time between a Such a lot of things we've seen.

We've forgotten what they mean "Cuba Lilire".

Let us not the President, (Cuba Libre); What that the of Spanish mean: 'Quba Libre'; Ask McKinley, Root, and Hay What on earth we neant to app When we shouted night and the 'Cuba Libre'.' But sins! they will not speak, (Cubs Libre!)

(Cuba Idhre!)
For their memories are weak,
(Cuba Libre!)
If you have a lection,
Borrowed from a Spanish don,
Send it down to Washington,
Cuba Libre,
—-Krnest Crosby, In est Crosby, In Life.

#### REGULAR SUNDAY LECTURES

All workingmen and others interest-ed in social questions in New York City are invited to attend one or another of the following lecture meetings of the Social Der West Side,-At Eberle's Rall, north-

West Side—Al Electric real, actives the color of the Colo

-At 300 E. Fifty-afth street, corner Second avenue, at 8 p. m., F. Schlucter on "The Purpose of Life." 21st A. D.-At Colonial Hall, One Hundred and First street and Columbus avenue, at 8 p. m., Job Harriman on "The Attitude of the Trusts foward the People." Good music. The Broux.—At the W. E. A. club

house, 3300 Third avenue, at 2 p. m. Leon A. Malkiel on "Municipal Prob

#### MAY DAY IN JERSEY

Jersey City will celebrate May Da at the Hendquarters, 224 Centra areune, Good speakers will be pres

ent. Bding your friends,
Newark's May Day celebration will take place at 124 Market street, the new headquarters. Frederick Krafti will be the speaker.

#### MAY DAY---ITS PAST AND PRESENT SIGNIFICANCE.

Of Old, a Day of Simple Rejoicing-To-Day, an Occasion of Protest and Demand.

#### BY C. B. BENHAM

In the history of the progress of ankind, May Day is destined to have a bright and lasting page. It has a significance beyond the ordinary labor days of modern times. The celebra-tion of the First of May as Labor's day is not simply an evidence of the class-consciousness of the workers. It is also a living testimony to the evolution of human society. To-day's observance is an indication of the world's progress from slavish supersti-tion to high ideals of political and ecsnomie freedom.

Rome - superstitions and pagan Rome - celebrated the First of May, and laid its tribute at the feet of mythical deities. The arms of the Caesars carried the May Day observ-auces to the European people. It found a prominent place among the festival days and in time became a Christian holiday.

In England May Day was long cele-

brated as the welcoming of spring. With the assistance of the priest, the gally decorated Maypole was raised: the younger people plaited the gar-lands of the Mayflower; and it was a day of festal decoration, of dancing, and of innocent mirth. Feats of strength and skill occupied the attenon of those ambitious for athletic onors. The Queen of May was selected from among the fairest of the maids, and received her crown of May flowers amidst the acclamation of the joyous throng.

The shifting methods of industry changed the aspect of May Day. It came to be a day best known for its celebration by the chimney sweepers of the European cities. It lost its hitherto namistakable rustic character. It lost both its Pagan and its Christian significance, only in a later time to take on, throughout civilization, a broader and a grander meaning. May First was selected first in the

United States as a day to be remem-bered by the tollers. The American Federation of Labor in 1883 decided Federation of Labor in -1883 decided to attempt to gain for the workers the eight-hour work day. Mag. d. 1884, was selected as the date upon which the eight-borr day should be inaugurajed. It was in endeavor to have the eight-borr laws of this country made operative. This attempt to support the legal rights of the workers resulted in serious disorders throughout the country. These culminated in the Haymarket bomb throwing and the harping of ket bomb throwing and the hanging of Spies and his associated in November.

The Parts Socialist Congress of 1889 commended that May Day be cele-ated throughout the civilized world by Socialist and workingmen's demor strations in protest against the iniqui-ties of capitalism. At this time the spe-cific demands for economic justice were first vigorously politically advo-cated on American soil. Since that time celebrations of May Day have become part of the effort for the bet-terment of conditions and the final maneipation of the working class throughout the world.

In the streets of the European cities the May Day demonstration takes dences of displeasure shown by the capitalist class and the oft repeated interference by capitalist government al agents. The workers of the Old World are with those of America in the May Day celebrations. They are with us in sentiment and in action. They are with us in needs and desires. They are with us in demands and in organized efforts for economic emancipation. The workers interests know no national bounds. The intelligent workers of the world to-day demand the full product of their toil. place every year, regardless of the evi-dences of displeasure shown by the

Our May Day speaks not for legends and myths. May Day has come to mean something more than the strew ing of flowers on the altar of a heath en goddess. It means something more than the weaving of garlands or springtime exhibitions of rustic chivalry. The sensons of the year signify but little to the wage worker of to-day. What difference spring or winter-to the toiler condemned to the loom or the slave chained by necessity in the mile? Our exhibitions of in the mile? Our exhibitions of strength shall not now be idly made in contest with each other, but every effort directed against the capi-class against those who are he shut the gates of opportunity.

A protest and a demand now go with see our brothers and our sisters toil that others may enjoy; we see our masters overturn the farce of free contract by the force of economic power. We see these men who own is, searching with telescopic eye to find new means for exploitation and oppression in this land. Not content with robbery and murder in m factory and sweatshop, our lems." Good music.
East New York.—At Penn-Fulton street and Pennsylvania avenue, at 8 p. m. Algernon Lee on "Labor Politics and Socialist Politics." Good music.

The social street and Pennsylvania avenue, at 8 p. m. Algernon Lee on "Labor Politics and Socialist Politics." Good music.

The social street and pennsylvania avenue at 8 p. m. Algernon Lee on "Labor Politics" in the social street and social stre deal with the workers as individuals. They desire the interests of capital to be above the interests of man in the halls of legislation, and their wish is

The significance of this day and of

us to send their representatives to nake laws for us, we will answer them NO! When they ask us to con-quer new fields for economic robbery and industrial murder, we will

and industrial murder, we will alvery, swer them NO! If they ask us it was a rearrant to fight, we will answell 81, and are afraid to fight, we will answell 81, them NO! but that our fighting a well as our voting will hereafter been fred done in our own interests, and no longer to support our masters. We well oppose the capitalist class on the congels, nomic field, we will fight them ownick Earpolitical field. The warfare for justified for the congel will be the constant of the congel and the con shall never cease until the vi g in

Our efforts in the future will be to bring to earth a better life, in which men and women shall no longer be the victims of individual caprice or of corporate masters. The enemies of Sooventake society without the private capitalist. Ills there might be, but they would then rest upon the broad shoulders of a real and militant democracy. When economic justice democracy. When - economic justice comes, the enlargement of humanity will rear a social structure tall and grand. That its proportions may not be circumscribed, we demand as its foundation a base as broad as the will of the people freely expressed unre-stricted by color, by location, by sex, or by property. When a real demo racy is the basis of society, opportunity will display the allurements of free-dom, and every industry will move more rapidly toward perfection, every science will have a more complete demonstration. Art will then be sought for the sake of its own development, no longer guided by the profits of the picture dealer or the whims of the rich. The true greatness of cuterprise, the advance of science, grandeur of art, the perfection of literature will all be possible. The con-ceptions of the wise and good men we every age will be fulfilled. In the march of time knowledge and liberty" have pressed onward together. When Socialism comes the open hand of op-

portunity will point the way to every truly great and glorious end. The assurance of ever present justice will uplift mankind, and all will journey onward and upward to heights not yet in view.

We wise celebrate raise up no queed of a day, We speak for the advance of man. We shout our honors to Labor, the only and the rightful king of civilization. To day the world's proletariat proclaims the principles of freedom. proclaims the principles of freedom. Before the tribunal of mankind is faid the tribute of the workers, 'Our offering, is all the wealth of earth, all the benefits of civilization. In return for these, the living, breathing, useful peo-ple of the world demand, our this day, all that is good and great for man

portunity will point the way to every

So you think the government could not run the industries as well as privade individuals? Now, let us see, Charles Schwad is going to "run" the Caited Stafes Steed Company. He is "running" it for Rockefeller, Morgan & Co., and he will do it most excellentive well for them. Would like ability ly well for them. Would his ability change if the government took that trust for itself and told Charles

A big steel and iron plant will be erected at Sault Ste. Marie in Canada which will employ 10,000 men and be capitalized at \$50,000,000. The plant will be operated in connection with the great power canals being constructed at the Camadian Soo by F. H. Clergue and his associates of the Soo Power Corporation. It is expected that the plant will be the most complete in the world, the best machinery being used."

Negotiations are going on a good prospect of success, for the absorption of all the considerable indesorption of all the considerable inde-pendent sewer pipe manufacturing companies by the Sewer Pipe Trust. -The scheme to consolidate the Shenango and Mahoning blast furnneys in opposition to Morgan has

falled. There is strong talk of a demant for organization of the union in the Southern cotton mills and of a proble general strike to back the de Simultaneously come rumors, from the most reliable sources, of \$ consolidation of the cetton mills into one gigantic combine, parallel to the re-cent consolidation of the steel in-

dustry. -Competition for the carrying ha ore from the Minnesota mines has been ended by the absorption of all the necessary railroads by the steel trust, which will save \$100,000 right off by the stopping of mitroid extension work. Railroad men and ore mine; will be forced to stand together in future.

Georgia and South Care passing events awaken us. When our | Compress Associations, controlling the masters ask as if we will be still, we square bale in the three states, is resquare bale in the three states, is re-

#### A RECORD OF INGLORIOUS FAILURE.

#### Made by the Lobbying Policy of the A. F. of L. in the Last Congress.

Another derider of Socialism in the

from Washington on what is going of

"A Congress which assessed ever

man, woman, and child \$10 annually, or each family \$50 a year for the sup

port of the government has just, ad-journed without paying the slightest attention to the legislation desired by

organized labor. 'The eight hour and convict labo

eral welfare of e wage workers, yet Congress wase too liusy promoting a standing army and seeing that the speculators and franchise grabbers get

a free hand in Cuba and the Philippines to pay any attention to domestic

expected at a short session just follow-ing a presidential campaign, but it be-gins to look as if organized labor will

have to devise some new means of it

pressing upon Congress the necessity for the legislation which is ardently de-sired by wage workers all over the

That is a very good argument for So-

cialists to use. But there is no ludica-tion that the officers of the Federation

have any real intention to use or ser

ously to advocate any "new means" in the place of the lobbying policy that

has brought them such inglorious fail

Hawaii, the deportation of starved

As to the abolition of slavery it

workers from Puerto Rico to that

emancipated island furnishes sufficient

upon by the capitalist representatives in Washington, "Free labor" now ex-

sts in Hawaii and the opportunities for exploiting the Puerto Ricans at the

confined. The assurance of profits up

der the "free labor system" is alway

The quotations made from the utte

to the results of a policy of begging of lobbying for laws from a capitalist co

gress furnish such convincing evidence

and wastefulness of that policy that Socielists can add little to make the case stronger. And being conclusive

evidence of the failure of that policy

rogressive policy should be adopted Socialists present that policy. It is

for the members, the "rank and file

of the trade unions to say whether this better and wise policy shall be adopted

FLEISCHMANN'S

VEGETABLE YEAST

HAS NO EQUAL

TRADE IS TRADE.

Trade is trude.

And the funn night some time see
How pitcons files the poor decree
That trade an more than trade must be!
Does histiness mean, "Die, ron-live, 1?"
Then "Trade is trade" but algas a lie;
"Its only war grown miserly.
If business is better, name it so;
War-erimes less will shame it so,
And whitows less will blame it so.

—Sidney Lunier,

-The Social Democratic Party never makes a compromise of princi

ple in order to gain a quicker victory Victories gained by such methods soon

---The Social Democratic Party is in the field to stay until Socialism is established. It can afford to grow

slewly, for it grows surely. All great tasks take time and perseverance for their accomplishment.

No vote east for a principle v

ority and right than in the majority

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it becomes proof that a better and

ances and reports of trade unionists as

west possible wages are free and un

entirely fair and reasonable

nation's capital. Here is a sau

most dense advocate of "keeping Sc Here is the answer to the question: | cialism out of the trade unions. What did the Fifty sixth Congress do ADMITS THAT NEW for labor?"

"In closing this report, which is practically the record of the efforts during the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses, on the part of labor to obtain effective legislation for the improvement of Labor's condition, it is undeniably true that as to this Congress it may be summed up in one single word, failure, with the exception of the abolition of slavery in Hawaii.

This extract is taken from the repor of the legislative committee of the erican Federation of Labor, pubhed in the "American Federationist April. Those who wish to read the uplete story of the defeated atopts of organized labor to secur ded legislation should get the "Fedionist." It will repay reading. im exposition of the methods of dist legislaters to block and kill on, to thwart the efforts of La tangible laws, the report is in

To some people the main strength of the report will lie in its authorship. Those who wrote it are not Socialists, and yet the tale they tell is no more than many Socialists have already told.
But the Socialists have been called adical extremists" for telling thes troths, while Messrs, Furuseth and Tracy delight to be known as safely

ger servative gentlemen, who disdain the "wild vagarles" of the Socialists. And yet a more frank confession of the failure of the present policy of the ti Socialists in the American Feder on of Labor could not have been pured. The authors undoubtedly did t intend their report to be a confes-

Federation Committee were rti-injunction, prison labor, eight-cur and the seamen's bills. Efforts to heve thirty thousand copies of the fe ry and acguments in the Cour ne bull-pen investigation printed mullified by the committee on try affairs, which "succeeded in military affairs, which smothering the evidence and nts, not only so fa, as the pubusing to furnish copies to the min members of the congress."

#### A FAMILIAR TRICK.

By a shrewd move, characteristic a capitalistic "friend of labor," th nction bill was defeated, AND BY THE CONSENT OF THE LABOR LOBBYISTS THEMSELVES to legal advisors. "the meat and a blood and sines," of the bill va-inated. This confronted the Fed niternative of either having the bill wored down or accepting the bill, with the amendments included. The former norse was adopted, so that the com-nities had the satisfaction of consent uz to the defeat of their own measure We can imagine the feelings of th admittee in their predicament, but as hey evidently believe in being made ods of, they hardly excite pity.

What makes this experience into ested sympathy for the downtrod th a defense for killing it. The pol

blame for the defeat of the eigh well, and others. Somebody has go be blamed, of course. All the legis ters, by any other names, would have ted just the same. They are and d by their class interests, which of the capitalist class. Work class representatives are absent in congress. That's why working

#### UNFOUNDED OPTIMISM

pleasant feature about the diffe ert reports about the congressional work is the unraffing optimism of the anti-Socialist trade unlouists. If pa-tience is a virtue then they are indeed rictions. No mafter how severe their reverses they come up smiling with the same old rheterical phrases about labor "making itself felt" in the legis lative halls of the country. For in stance, the "Ceast S. amen's Journal," commenting upon the failure to secure the passage of the seamen's bill, says:

The time of the representatives in the taken up with the discussion of bills to establish a colonial arms, as usalize alipowers, etc. At an pric, the alleged importance of these positors is put forward as an excus-for the failure of the pending labor legislation. But, although for the pres-ent the people of the country must adintinent, there remains th ertainty for the future that the labo

the close of every congress fo ers, and yet the enactment of the la dustrial, events knows, that the adency on the part of represen-tives of both old parties is towar greater and greater consideration the spection of colonial policy and so sely measures. The shipping subship bil created an uproor which will be repeated during the next congress and the labor bills will again be defeated. The labor bills have been growing in topartance to the working class, while on the other hand capitalist measures have been growing in importance to the crostalist class; who as the juster class in control, its moneyres will be con-dered and the later measures neg-cost. This should be clear to the

#### "WORLD" EDITOR

In His Display of Ignorance of Economic Principles The Question of How Much the Workers Earn Gives

RIVALS BRYAN

The flippancy and the ignorance played by our capitalist ed.1 rs when they touch on the question of the dis-tribution of wealth is beautifully thus trade union is Mrs. Eva McDonald Valesh, who is furnishing the trade un-ion press of the country with letters rated in this extract from the editorial has of the New York "World." When lovely woman stoops to figures in octal economics she can be generous indeed with the finances of the nation and its capi-

the on a stare and does a little sum in Hotalys. Houghly and roundly speaking, the working population of the United States is 15, 000,000. All Silo per day these tollers would earn \$750,000,000 every twenty four hours. The money of all kinds in circulation in this country on the direct, at last, October amounted to \$2,113,224,083. This would carry the payrolis at the rates just quoted for not quite three days. The process of continuing the payment of laborers by joint stock and mortgage methods, after the ready money was exhausted, would be increasing to all but the soulless corporations.

can hardly be believed that the Chi

ago lady's proposition forms a key to the roblem of the age...
'The "World" does not name the "pro gressive matron of Chicago" and we have no means of learning whether or not she is correctly reported. If so, her figures are, we think, rather extravagant. But the method by which the World" editor seeks to discredt them is more ridiculous than any possible exaggeration of figures could be. His economic ignorance puts Mr. Bryan quite out of sight.

It would be impossible that all the workers should be paid \$30 a day- be cause, forsooth, there is not enough noney to pay such wages for days! Does the "World man really think that he has touched the question? Probably so. This is not the first evidence that paper has given that its editors are strictly for lischarge.

The amount of money has of cor nothing-or next to nothing-to-do with the payment of wages or with the production of wealth. A large part of the payments for wages and for other purposes are not made in money at all. Mr. Schwab, for instance, will not put \$19.231 silver cartwheels down in his jeans every Saturday night. He will get his salary in checks and will make his own payments in checks; and n of those checks will never be actually eashed.

workers of the United States produced an average of \$65 worth of goods every day they would get about \$30 a day in wegen-accord ing to the present rate of division. And noney there was, the payments would be made without trouble

The trouble with the "World" man is that he thinks that the capitalists real-ly pay the wages out of their own pockets, whereas, in fact, they merely re-turn to the workers at the end of the week a part of the value that the work-

rs have created during the week.

As to the \$30 a day proposition, the
uestion is, not whether there is money nough to pay such wages for three days or for one day, but whether the workers produce that much value. The sgures are probably too high. The atninable statistics, do not indicate tha the present average product is more than six or seven dollars per day. If the workers, who create that, got the whole of it-and that is what Socialists ant-it would be a gain worth fight

that a large part of the workers are employed at wholly or partly unpro-ductive labor-unproductive in the se that, while now unavoidable, would be superfinous in a just society. For instance, we could dispense with most of the lawyers, hotaries, judges, officials of various sorts, and police erty and settle disputes about it. Or ganization of industry would dispense with the labors of more than half of the clerks and bookkeepers, most of the bankers and brokers, a large part of cried forms. A third category of so cially unproductive labor is that of the personal servants of various sorts, the larger part of whom are merely employed for osteniation; then would not be needed in a society where all received the product of their labor trion was allowed.

If the legions of men and women now ncluded in the "working population n the forms of socially useless labor here canmerated were to be put at pro-ductive labor, it is possible that be Chicago woman's statement would be justified and that the average produc-tion would reach an amount represent-ed by the figure of \$30 a day—and that without counting upon the future im-

n bounds and to avoid any appearance of exaggeration in these matters. It is bad enough that the workers get only 46 per cent. of their product in wages and then pay a half of that in, rent and in profits on the things they buy. These figures are easily demonstrable; and while below rather than thove the truth, they are strong mough for our purposes.

But that the editor of the "World" could find no better criticism to make than that quoted at the beginning of this article is one of the best pieces of this arters be brought forward of the intellectual bankruptey of the defenders of empiralism. Even if they are a good case they do not think straight enough to defend it.

A. H.

The threatened strike in the plants — The threatened strike in the plants of the American Sheet Steel Company was averted by the reinstatement of the discharged men at Wood's plant in McKeesport. It is reported that Schwah, president of the steel trust, gave the order to the goinpany offichis to settle without a "back down." The time was probably not ripe for autocrat Schwah to show his true colors.

#### TOLSTOY'S ATTACK UPON SO

The Nobility of the Count-Peasant's Motives. Contrasted with the Futile Inconsistency of His Theories.

#### BY LEONARD D. ABBOTT.

No man has loomed bigger before the | crude and foolish. It is the public eye during recent months than Count Leo. Tolstoy. He is the one personality in latter-day Russia that real-ity commands our admiration, and we turn, with a sense of deepest relief m the corrupt bureaucracy, the bruof Russian government, to this whole-some and manly revolutionist, who has cast behind him the riches of the world and thrown himself heart and soul-into the cause of the world's disinherited. He is one of the most picturesque hgures of the ages—this count became pensant, this literary genius who ploughs the fields and labors with

espect the personality of Tolstoy and the motives that inspire him, we can-not fail to be keenly alive to his incon-sistencies as a social teacher. Tolstoy, is a strange intellectual paradox. See-ing clearly the monstrous evils of modmotives that inspire him, we can ern society, longing ardently for the new society of freedom and equality. vet has no adequate conception of nizing that the power of exploitation is intreuched behind brute force and eco nomic privilege, he yet preaches doc-trines of "non-resistance." He is com-munistic in his teaching; he believes that land and the tools of produc should be owned in common, and yet he seems utterly unable to accept any practical method of reaching thi nical goal. While ready to adm; that the social problem is fundamentally an economic problem, he yet contins to make his appeal for personal and individual regeneration considered as something entirely apart from industrial conditions, In the last issue of the "North Ameri-

can Review" we see Tolstoy's philoso phy in all its weakness. His indictmen modern society is magnificent, but his analysis of the chuses which are re sponsible for present suffering and in-justice is extraordinarily inadequate "In order to remove the evils from which mankind suffers," he says, "neither the emancipation of land, nor the abolition of taxes nor the communizing of the instruments of production, nor even destruction of existing gov ernments, is required; the needed is the annihilation of the falsely called Christianity, in ch the men of our time are educated." insion reached than this? speaks of religion as if it were the laste fact of life. Religion is some-thing that rests back upon and grows t of the economic conditions that

workmen, imbued with the doctrines of Marx, came to Tolstoy's house to confer with him. When they told him their program and asked his advice, h "The first thing for you to do is to sacrifice; to ask nothing; and give everything. There is the only solution: not laws, not organizations, not force of any kind-only sacrifice." Is it a matter for wonder that these working-men went away "disappointed?" One ould hardly conceive of a more idioti answer to their requests. Here came to him poor wage slaves, robbed by their masters, crushed, propertiless, suffer ing from the fundamental injustice of capitalist society; and he told them to "sacrifice!" Could any answer hav pleased their greedy exploiters better

"Socialism is organized selfishi ava Tolstov in an interview with Ed ward A. Steiner in last December's "Outlook;" "just as soon as man is working for himself only, he is work ing for this new slavery. The Socialist says in substance: 'It don't matter what you do now and how you live now; ne day in the future, when we make laws enough, you will have a heaven on earth, streets of gold, and gates of pearl! The great trouble with men like Dr. Herron and others of the same class is that they are willing to teach things which are not absolutely true, in order ultimately to reach the truth; but that is an impossibility. They have no right to teach us, and they are like the blind nieu who lead the blind."

This whole attack upon Socialism shows an utter misconception of every problem involved. No Socialist every told man "to work for himself only;" in fact the primal concept of Socialism is the solidarity of the working class and recognition that it is utterly in ble for man to live to himself alone You may search Socialist literature from beginning to end, but you, will never find either the thought or the statement that "it doesn't matter what you do now and how you live now." Socialism has never discounted personal virtue, and among its advocate race are shaped by economic c and that popular morality can hardly be expected to flourish in an immoral

In his last book, "The Slavery of Our Times," Count Tolstoy devotes a char Times." Count Tolstoy devotes a chapter to what is probably the most direct attack on Socialism that he has yet made, under the title. "The Bankruptcy of the Socialism last theal." He troks out the old boger of Socialism as the "counting slavery," because the state will be compelled to "decide how long seeh workman is to work." "No statistics." he continues, "can show how istles," he continues, "can show how much is wasted and what articles ar eded to satisfy the demand in a ciety where the means of production will belong to society itself—that is, where the people will be free. The de-mands in such a society cannet be demanids in such a society cannot be defined, and they will always infinitely exceed the possibility of satisfying them. Everybody will wish to have all that the richest now possess, and, therefore, it is quite impossible to define the quantity of goods that such a society will require."

Such reasoning as this from such a man as Teistoy fairly takes one's breath away. It is so unepeakably

problem in the world to find out the matical calculation. If an individual needs so much food, clothing, or shel need a hundred times as much, and thousand individuals a thousand times most precise way, exactly "how my is wasted and what articles are need Socialist society, the quantity and quality of such luxuries would be determin such luxuries they could have them; if they didn't care to produce them, they wouldn't have them. It is in the highest degree improbable that "everybody will wish to have all that the richest now posses," for if Socialism means anything, it means revolt from every

feature of the parasitic "luxury" of the so called "upper classes" of to-day.
"Who is to do the dirty work unde Socialism?" asks Tolstoy in this same, chapter-truly a strange inquiry from one who, in his own private life, has "dirty work." Society, will solve this in the same way that Tolston two ways of facing this problem. One is on the present basis of forcing all your dirty work upon others and ther despising them for doing it-of brutal izing a class of people to do such work and keeping them brutalized by the very nature, of that work: The other way is to face life, as men , should ulder to shoulder, on a basis of com radeship and equality, on a basis that will make it impossible for us to ask others to do what we are not willing to do for them. Once face life on this basis, and the problem will solve itself. Machinery will help to solve it; short shifts of work will help to solve it solve It. In this chapter on the "Bankroote

of the Socialist Ideal," on, giving voice to all kinds of irrelevant objections to Socialism. ire people to be induced to work at ar ticles which some consider necessary and others consider unnecessary or even harmful?" he asks. "Who will decide what articles are to have the preference? Which are to be made first nd which after?" Tolstoy concludes his chapter with the statement that "to suppose that with communized mean of production there will be such an bundance of things as is now produced by compulsory division of lab obvious self-contradiction." a contradiction? Why is it unreason able to suppose that in a society, or-ganized and scientific, using the most moders machinery and the most economical methods of production, draw ing upon all nature's boundless ra-sources for its wealth, every man and woman would have enough and more than enough? Every statistician in the tain articles, the relative importance of me and the relative unimportance of of the majority of the people.

Count Tolstoy, in this connection, seems to be quibbling, and his argu-ments are utterly unworthy of him. One naturally seeks to find some reason for such strange kinks in his littel-lectual make-up. A recent critic prob-ably touched the truth when he said:

"Tolstoy's greatest lack is that he does not see the past, its developments and its lessons; his supreme individualism has separated him from the wholesome lessons that other men have taught. Tolstoy revealed his own weakness tho other day when he said naively to friend that he had "just read a book that completely overthrew the Darwin ian theory of evolution." Whatever the cause the fact remains. Count Tolstoy supremely great as he is along many es, supremely wholesome as general tendency, show me as he is in knows practically nothing at all about the philosophy, the economics and th nistory of modern Socialism. New York, April 20.

#### THE OLD LADY'S AILMENT The United States is a nation ap

to a new social'system. We are like an old woman who has all sorts of pains and all sorts of quacks prescribing for her. She is a foolish old thing difference between a quack and a real physician and she does not yet dar to make her choice. The quacks say she has all sorts of diseases and try to force all sorts of absurd remed down her throat. She herself does no sees the quacks don't know either, a though she takes some of their medi-cine from time to time to get rid of them. She hears with wondering delight and surprise the theory of the Socialist as to the cause of her illbase flatterer. How could she, erable, beastly, selfish, ugly old thing, ever think that there was any reason for her being so delicately indisposed She allmits she rather likes the but she resolutely refuses belief, "The trust certainly signifies, my madam," says the Socialist t whenever he gets a chance at her ea between so many consultants, "that you are to give birth to Socialism." "No, no," cries, one of the quacks othing of the sort. The trust is a daugerous foreign growth, a tumor that should be destroyed before it grows bigger and destroys the pa-tient." Then another quack steps up-elbowing the first one aside, and says. "Don't listen to him, madam, he woul estroy your life. The trust is now tod large a body to take from you without causing death. Let it alone and it will radually pass away of itself. It will a natural death." "But." says the been teiling me for fifteen years, and am getting worse and worse, and seems to be neually getting to be bigger than I am myself.

"Ah, my dear madam, that is all in he course of nature, and anyway it is rather an ornament, and a useful ontoo, to you than otherwise. Don't t do without it. What would become o We your life's blood if it did not go to feed that tumor? You would die of apoplexy. You would wear yourself ut with natural exuberance should rid yourself of it. It gives steady employment to all your natura functions. Your heart, your lungs, even your brain are all now well en demanded of it, and it might stop bent ing altogether. I really think at times, madam, that this tumor, which you are pleased to call a foreign yourself so long with it that you ar no longer beautiful and strong as ye worth so very much, anyway. In fact the only reason. I can see for your liv-ing at all is to keep the tumor alive.' The old woman is rather shocked a such a frank statement from the do-

tor, but he is the old family physician and she is so ill that she has lost ti courage to discharge him. The Socia ist doctor is persistent, however, in whispering to her the real meaning of her pains, and while she does not take his advice in discharging her quacks, she at any rate commences to do so thinking on her own account. Ever lay makes her condition more and more critical, and strange to say, it cems to corroborate both the theor of the quack and the Socialist.

The trust tumor seems more and ore an inseparable part of the body vet it drains more and more upor resources of a physique less and les able to bear the strain. However, i uch ambiguous cases a true diagnos is but a question of time, and in this particular case the Socialist doctor ws that the time when the patient will determine for herself what ails proaching the throes of giving birth her is rapidly approaching. Sclah.

#### \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* PARTY NOTES.

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* An S. D. P. local was organized at Warren, O., on April 14. The new comrades are enthusiastic and

· Locals in Ohio are voting on the proposition to hold state convention

The "New Economy Club" is the name of an organization recently formed in Cincinnati for the purpose of promoting and encouraging good fellow ship and the social) political and ecomle education of the wage working

As a result of the action of the Cou tral Trades and Labor Union of St Louis in compelling Mr. McArthu onlis in compelling Mr. Johnston to resign as president for a epting the nomination for office on the Democratic ticket, one of the proposed an amendment to the tution-providing that no officer be al lowed to accept a nomination from any political party whatever. This, o ourse, would have acted upon the So lalists as well as the other partizans When the amendment came up, it was defeated by a vote of 42 to 56, a two thirds vote being necessary to carry. The C. T. & L. U. seems to be all right.

Social Democrats of Fairhaven Wash., are hustling. Lectures are held regularly, larger quarters have been secured, 2,400 books will be distrib-uted in all the logging and fishing camps in the vicinity, and two lectur ers with stereopticons will be sent out. A. Women's Educational Club was formed recently.

Under date of April 15, Comrade G B. Hoitt writes from Exeter, N. H., that the Socialists have formed a large and enthusiastic organization unde the name of the Exeter Socialist Club Very pleasant quarters have been s cured in the Leighton building, which are being made attractive, and fu ant games. Also plenty of literaturebeing added that it may become the reading room for those who wish know more of Socialism. Busine meetings are held Saturday evenings Sunday afternoons are devoted to the discussion of Socialistic topics. Fred erick H. Williams is chairman and Charles Blethern secretary.

Spokane, Wash, Social Democra

Kansas City, Mo., central committee is publishing "The Socialist," a four-page, neally printed paper, for local distribution and devoted solely to the propaganda of Socialism, a function which it ably fills.

Brockton, Mass., Social Democrats hold general debates on Socialism every Sunday evening at Socialist Hall, Main street, to which everybody s admitted free.

"From nothing to the largest weekly circulation in the state of Washington in the short space of six months," is the report of the Seattle "Socialist's" progress. The paper has been edited and published under great difficulties and deserves all its success and more

Comrade - D. M. S. Fero ef Glen Falls, N. Y., was a visitor to The Worker office last Saturday, taking of a visit to the city to be-Populist, but east his first Socialisvote for Debs and Harriman last fall forces at work guarantee it.

The San Francisco May Day celebra tion takes place at Metropolitan Teo-ple, Wednesday, May 1. Admission

Comrade Scott Anderson of San Francisco, has been appointed state organizer for the S. D. P. in California and will take the road at once. He is reported to be an able speaker, and a devoted worker for Socialism. For write to John M. Reynolds, 422 Sutter street, San Francis

The "Socialist Women's Alliance" of Brockton, Mass., will hold the annual fair for the benefit of the S. D. P. in Kuplan's Hall, April 25, 26 and 27, Season tickets, 15 cents.

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monthly. Subscription, 60 cents per year, if you send us that amount to forward to forward to you the above pamph also No. 1 of the "Library," contain "The Communist Manifests," by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Century," which also sells for 10 cents SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO.,

184 William St., New York.

## Over the Water

Germany is bringing the "servant girl problem" more and more to the from But Socialism, which will solve the se called servant problem, is coming to the front quicker. For further inform-

dispatch to Reuter's, agency from Petersburg says that although the udents remain quiet, the authorities are disturbed by the attitude of he working people; and isolated troubles are considered unavoidable on May 1. The working people are attempting to introduce Labor Day observances. Practically all of the operatives of the St. Petersburg Steel Company, an im-mense concern, including the manuacture of ordnance, recently demand ed a half holiday and full pay, Whe the demands were refused they broke into the manager's office, forced the company's officials to flee for their lives, fore their fur coats into shreds and burned valuable books and papers. Police and mounted gendarmes chased and routed the rloters.

The young clergymen of the Reform ed Church in France appointed a com-mittee to sound their brethren relative to co-operating with the Socialists, and newspapers say that the replies are causing a sensation. A characteristi answer to the committee's circular is that of Pastor Gounelle of Roubalx and one that American clergymen can do well to study. "My Christian con-science has for years not given me any rest," he says. "My inner unrest has forced me into Socialism. It is now a duty of the hour to reorganize a badly organized social world and convert it into a rule of righteousness based on the Sermon on the Mount and on the parables of Christ, on the solidaric dog-matics of a St. Paul and off the Capi-tal of Marx. For what did the prophets and Christ come to establish? A king dom of righteousness on earth. Not only the salvation of the individual, but also the salvation of society, which is sick and sore at heart. I, for on do not see what it is in Christianity that forbids the transfer of individual possessions into properly of the com-munity, the change of competition into co-operation, the substitution of princi-ple of love for that of selfishness. On the contrary, consistent evangelical principles lead inevitably to Socialism." Cleveland Citizen.

re talking about the action of Rev. Pletistic Church Institutions in Wurs-temberg who has become a Social Dem-ocrat, following in the footsteps of Rev. Paul Gohre, who was the leader of "Christian Socialism," and has enlisted in the Social Democratic Party,

The Socialist Party of Denmark has received at the elections to the Folke-ting (Parliament) in the thirty districts where it had candidates, 42.972 votes an lacrease of 11,100 since the electi

The Socialist Party of Belgium held its annual convention. On the order of the day was: A campaign in favor of universal suffrage, a national demonstration and a general strike. , It was voted , to employ all revolutionary means to obtain universal suffrage. A national demonstration was considered unavoldable. As to a general strike. will be precipitated when the momen

#### NEW YORK, ATTENTION.

206 E. Eighty sixth street, Sunday, April 28, ht 2 p. m. By order of the C. E. C., a borough

meeting of the comrades of the Broax will be held at the W. E. A. club house, 200 Third avenue, Friday., May 3, at

8 p. m.

Thirportant business is to come before these meetings. Every member should attend. Admission by membership.

The General Committee will meet at the Labor Lyceum, Saturday, April 27,

The May Day Conference will m 27, at 8 p. nr. As this is the last mee ing before the parade, al delegate ould attend pr

J. GERBER Organizer

The cotton duck trust is said to be gobbling up the outside mi

## Westchester Park. **Grand Opening** Sunday, May 5, 1901.

Dancing Commences at 2 p. m.

ADMISSION FREE!

mod days are open for PICNICS.

#### OUTINGS, etc. Union Beer for Cutings at \$4 a keg

It is easy to reach the Park. Tak trolley digget to Park, or by Wes Farm, Mount Vernon and South Boule vard trolley from theth steet and Tihed avenue or 125th street and 8th avenue to Third avenue Combination Fare, "L" and Trolley, 8

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To introduce our CUCKOO, QUAIL

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CLOCKS direct to the American people we

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> men in the Black Forest, Germany. sent with each Full dir clock.

SWISS CLOCK CO.,

65 Barclay Street, - - New York.

To recognize and celebrate the May Day of Workingmen and showing our great admiration and friendship, we concluded to allow from above prices a special discount of 10 per cent. and enable every workingman to beautify his home, by presenting this advertisement. •••••••••••••••••••<del>•••••••••••••</del>

#### THE SOCIALIST DISCLOSURE OF SPIRITUAL SOURCES.

The Religion of the Future Must Take Its Articles of Faith from the Bible of Life and Labor-We Wait for the Co-operative Commonwealth to Liberate Soul and Body Alike Individual Freedom to Come Through Collective Action.

of history, and light and lead it on its way, the religion of the future must take its articles of faith direct from of life and labor. It was d this bible with no fear of the un known to darken its pages, and holdly spring from serene trust in the divia ity of known facts. They must follow these facts with infinite daring, and walk in the common clay. They must not fly on the mystic wings of old faiths, nor speak in their language of supernatural authority, for men know that the gods of the skies are dead. ey must touch the world with name and unwonted gladness—tis gladness begotten by freedom to find and face the truth, after the dark cen-turies of tyrant faiths and menacing fears. And we shall see, after our eves have grown used to the truth, that th which the apostle saw.

At this particular human juncture ed by what seems to be a material interpretation of history. It is a nelox to say this; for all coheren aking and aspiring must henceforth se themselves, upon the identity of irit and matter. To regard the faclabor as the safest guar dians of the spiritual idea; to start re to totalize one's faith in universal good and get down to the working has upon which God works. If the need of spiritual knowledge is ever to take root and grow into a tree of Hi for the healing of the nations, it must be in the soil of economic fact and de-velopment, for that is where God is. In acknowledging this, we face the most stupendously responsible and pregnant spiritual fact which the buthat the working class Socialist puil esophy of history alone gives the account of life and labor out of which religious synthesis can its woven faith in the all-goodness of universal facts and forces which the scal of man fooldy so sorrely needs for its reet and peace, re the great battle for a new world allo the human field. The sources of life which it discloses are identical with the spiritual forces which Jesus revealed; but the identity inrecognized because Sectar, be to us in the scientific to

#### THE PRESENT NEED.

But before trying to analyze thes dritted sources, let us recall the his connection of the religious need with the Socialist movement. The ec-The human need which early for a ne-The unity of the economic with the spiritual life is one of the joining together which are vesily from Go and which cannot be put asunder with out dispeter and desolution to the vorce them, for the gain of emitalistic influence and 'money'; the con-has never been permanently. sis to forever sent the union by work ing with the manifest economic devel epment, and by connecting human faith with the spiritual resources tha development uncovers, if Socialist represents the next historic develop ment, then the new synthesis mus travel with the Socialist movement a the terms of it, our first question non

an teadly traveling, without regard to our

king and working for a free and n society, yet tharoughly distrust Soism as a safe way of reaching it, not share in the fears that Socialwill merely exchange the tyranny the individual over society for the many of society over the individual contracy. I can find no histori to liberty except the highway of omic unity which Socialism must et prepare. But granting that ther great risks and disappointments exciety along the Socialistic way ting that Socialism will put so through a long period of needles ipline under the law before it us the gospel of liberty; even so, if socialistic highway is the one pro

ed by the historic developmen we shall have to start our spihave a faith that deserves a h alothe people until they get to the end of e. t. To believe that God is not in the

any short or direct cut to take that did not seem to me a faithless and atheis-tic descrition of the people. If I folhand, and start to the promised land he people about the preposterousness of trying to build a wilderness high way, when they could have avoked its way, when they could have avoked its pertls by coming with me. If I were an exclusive disciple of Henry George as great a spiritual nobleman as Tel-stoy. I should stendfastly stay in Egypt, and work with the Egyptian order of things until the enslaves ready to accept my program of liberty. road. But Moses was greater than either Tolstoy or George, and was in-seed one of the most misterful and far-seeing men that human need has should take my lesson from Moses: 1 would go with the people when they would not come with me, to serve them n both their great and mean struggles vithout forethoughts of reward or he midst of their unsolved problems without ever seeing their pro and, except from afar. And this was of Moses seems the only way that the only way by which faith can waik

THE PROMISE OF SOCIALISM

with God and work for man

Notwithstanding their splendid spir itual vision, and with all their heroic devotion to truths that are really true both Tolstoy and George postulate their truths on what is to me an atheis tic interpretation of, history. On the other hand, notwithstanding its, atheis! articles of faith, materialistic Socialissit postulates itself on an interpretation of history that is profoundly spir itual, when deeply and analytically read. It is an interpretation that p identical with the historic philosophy pretation that uncovers Jesus' working basis of faith in the good and unifying nature of things. It discloses spiritual resources for a cosmic faith that lights up the meanest life with the promise verld upon the shoulders of the hum blest man, and places the centuries a the service of the proletaire. In the light of the Socialist revelation, (get individuality is the supreme worth and concern of the universe, and the free And such, also, was the revelation of Jesus whom men call Christ

Socialism is coming; it is manifestly socialistic road is the o and if we have auxthing to say to the to go along and stay with the people to the end of the journey. If it is free land we are after, or a free reli on, or a free family, or a wholly free socie. we shall only find it at the other side of Socialism, or along the socialistic way. Whatever our ideals or plans for the human future we shall have to fall to with the proletaire and build the Socialist road before we can get or deserve a hearing. We may se what kind of Socialism we shall we shall have Socialism. We are being driven to it by evolutionary forces It in. We may work with these for and processes; we may mark out the channels through which they shall the whether Socialism shall come in the red garments of international trag-edy, or come clothed in the white gar-ments of peace and bearing the sym-bols of good-will; but we cannot pre-vent the revolution of civilization along the bues of an ultimately demo eratic collectivism. Beyond choosin by what spirit and in what manner S

ialism may come, our power of choice

nor will it tarry because some of us

are talking against it: It con

them. In fine, Socialism is coming be cause it is as inevitable as human lifstage of historic development, Social-ism is the common life's confession of faith in the goodness and justice of social evolution. It is the class-cons attempt of labor to answer for itself the question which political economy has never honestly faced, and yet to ber-produce of the world, while plainly say what it well enough hnows that there is no righteous basis for the industrial system which em-ploys it. The instinct of tabor is lead-ing it to the discovery that this capi-

cut into the love-land of liberty which the still hours have promised to my soul for the human-race, if there were any short or direct cut to take that did al is the society which permits the fev tie desertion of the people. If I fol-lowed Count Tolstoy, a lofty and truly pend. One campot really think or feel simple and massive soul, I should drop my Egyptian baggage, renounce has sanity and indecency of an economy sanity and indecency of an econe which permits an owning class to ganize the labor of humanity for hunanity's continual exhaustion and redom of life are labor's only sane and worthy motive. A civilization that is failt upon the robbery of the whole world, and upon a robbery of the resources by which labor might employ itself, yet which imprisons a starvia, laborer for stealing a loaf of bread only needs to be clearly looked at to is dismissed from the service of man-kind. Even the hideous joke of its laws and punishments for stealing, the grotesqueness of its pomp, the grim humor of its moral pretensions, cannot relieve its aspect of universal tragesty. And the longer the capitalistic order stays, the more fearful will be the tragedy of its departure.

#### THE SCOPE OF

#### THE NEW FAITH.

No one can give a definition of So-inlism that will be conclusive. The socialistic idea comprehends than any definition of 4t; more that any man's social philosophy or eco nomic theory; more than is represent ed by any creed or sect; more than intended by any party or propaganda. There are many different foreth nights, and there will be many different afterthoughts about the issues to take roo the socialistic soil, and about the Among equally thoughtful and faith ful Socialists, there are divers widely apart opinions as to the methods of reaching essentially the stue end. Still, from whatever ter the Socialist idea comes, it alway looks for the Co-operative Commo wealth and the Free Individual,

As comprehensively as we can define Socialista first means the co-operation tion of the whole of society in the pro-It next means that men shall freely and equally receive of these goods, ac-cording to the ability of each to use them in bringing forth into realization his lamost and uttermost possibilities of strength and spiritual beauty. It ilso means a collectivism that shall be through and through democratic; a co-operation that shall come from be-neath the human fact and not from above it; an adminstration of society that shall hear and beed each man's thermore means what the Sermon on the Mount means; that society cannot be content with less than the 'full blossouring of each individual life, and that in perfect liberty; and then that est and richest output of his life, and

that as his giad and reasonable service. Turning now to the more specifically ism; we are first impressed with the homense spiritual service rendered by philosophy. It is by flux philosophy that the human soul is for the first time cleared of imposed and coercive faiths, of superstitions and the tyran nles built upon them, so that an in-herent and courageous faith may spring up and bear the fruit of free and noble action. Having given no bestages to either past or future, be-ing free from obligation to any creed. Socialism may survey all the facts of life without let or menace, and appro-priate whatever is good or true in every faith. It may relate these facts and faiths in a human synthesis that shall for the first time make truth the sole religious authority. Without know-Ing it, the Socialist idea grounds itself on a profoundly religious basis by af-firming its faith in the good of runda-mental being, and in our power to cooperate with it; it makes no differe to start with, whether we call that being spirit or matter.

And Socialism takes up into itself human experience and evolution. number experience and evolution. It is the property of the come the bread of life to each other, of life, but only be sure that it takes every heart of us having a response of in all the facts, to find in its own class By being but a little more scientific than the sciences, socialistic science may see that the love principle is the most elemental and persistent fact of life; it may further see that the co-operative society is the realization of

wisest and deepest sense—a feligion, wage system capitalism pauperizes no matter what it may call itself. The Socialist commonwealth is a spiritual victous standards of rewards and punno matter what it has continued a spiritual is still be standards of rewards and pun-organization of life in place of the shiftents the church pauperizes and present wholly materialistic order. A debauches soul power. So soon as you spiritual democracy that shall associate all, with dominion over none, a in industry, you will find it already common good that shall exhaust the banished from spiritual or ethical mocommon good that shall exhaust the bandshed from spiritual or ethical mo-joyous and self-directed serving ca-pacity of each life—that is what So-even in its materialistic stages, will summon to the service and glory of the whole, each man's utmost spiritual and punishments exists on the low output; for individuality cannot be ground of obligation and menace; and fully and freely realized except on the fully and freely realized except on the scale of universality. A man does not both the scale of universality. A man does not both it only for slaves. Even the vise become truly kinnself until he takes into his life the whole immediate and historic life of the world, and conditions the freedom which springs from the

#### world as its own perfect blossom. WILL NOT STOP

ine authority. As economic competism which destroys the soul's integrity and makes spiritual honesty and liberty in his own soul. To thus find a crime against God and faith. Sectarianism is an attempted monopoly of the difference that the oil combination succeeds. The principle which creates the oil monopoly is the identical printo deliver religion as well ciple which builds up a great religious denomination. So far as the morality of the thing goes, there is not a whit of difference between the oil monopoly and the Presbyterian general assem-bly, or the Roman and Methodist hier drehies. One is just as wicked as the other, except that the oil combination till be easier to deal with in the end. while the religious monopoly is u immoral and spiritually destructive the free and common use of the pro-

man from the confusion and apathy into which he has been driven by re-

this principle.

The forcing of this co-operative ideal upon human attention is the mest obliverance of religion from the wage visus and commonly noted sectional system of rewards and numberents. vious and commonly noted speritual system of rewards and punishments, service of Socialism. Co-operation has always been the open secret of the universe, but the Socialist is making it our Wherever we take a cross section of udgment-throne; he has shown us that the whole human fact, we find the evil we co-operate or perish in increasing principle of the economic system to be slavery. And when we think about it, had been and essence of spirituality and the ground of all liberty; it is the love-principle concretized, the word of love water mark of immorality. The Chrismode flesh and fact. Perfect love or the form of the concretized principle concretized, the word of love mode fiesh and fact. Ferfect love or liberty, perfect goodness or religion, perfect worship or spirituality, perfect fellowship or association, or whatever term we prefer for wholeness and man soul. As the economic system of the soul and meaning of the cantialization of productive means the contrality means the cantialization of productive means. perfect worship or spirituality, perfect fellowship or association, or whatever fellowship or association, or whatever term we prefer for wholeness and growth of life, its simply co-operation perfectly realized; it is harmony with each effect, and with the universe, through an inclusive and mutual adaptation of each to all and all to each. The truly free and co-operative society would be notifing else than what the theologians call the divine self-realization—God finding himself through losing himself. In standing

for such a society, Socialism is in the the spiritual output of faith. As by the comes to, if it is true to its spring up standards of ethical value. Only such a society can make that will at least prepare us for spirit ssible the realization of full a id free | ual decency, and be worthy of manly

asciously co-operates with it; in order that he may give his life back to the world as its own perfect blossom. tem for rewards that are to accrue to WITH ECONOMICS: belief and conduct, is to ground religion in a fundamental and groveling We may be sure that the co-operative lumorality. To seek plety as an estimated will not stop with economic organization and social administration; choose the slave lash for the soul's We may be sure that the co-operative industrial of seek piety as an established will not stop with economic organization and social administration; all that is merely the beginning. So master. To do a good act because one soon as it has subshied unto itself the productive and distributive functions all that makes the doing of it good. To productive and distributive functions of society, it will proceed to organize pursue goddiness because it is profitthe whole range of what is called the 
higher life; for that, too, is filled with 
the waste and disorder, as well as the 
evil passions, of the competitive idea. 
Rarely has it eyer been possible to get 
a co-operative consideration or synthetic discussion of any question. Men 
have yet to learn how to put things 
together, and each look at what the 
know and be and do what is right, the 
capacity to love others with a love so together, and each look at what the sther sees or seems to see, in order to democratically and co-operatively arrive at the truth. The history of husinan thought shows it to have been a continuous struggle between independent propositions and actual facts, between abstract ideals and the concrete human clay. Yet no proposition, however truthful, is true independently of other and very often opposite proposition for the reward of service is in serving; the reward of the routh is the loy of being the truth is the loy of being the reward of service is an actual to the reward of service is in serving; the reward of service is an actual to the reward of service is in serving; the reward of service is an actual to the capacity to love others with a love so parent the will be a pulled to the substitution of the capacity to love others with a love so parent the will be a pulled to the capacity to love others with a love so parent the will be a pulled to the capacity to love others with a love so parent the will be a pulled to the capacity to love others with a love so parent the will be a pulled to the capacity to love others with a love so parent the will be a pulled to the capacity to love others with a love so parent the will be a pulled to the capacity to love others with a love so parent the will be a pulled to the capacity to love others with a love so parent the will be an all the universe has to capacity to love others with a love so parent the will be an added the sufficient motive for making one so we like full and the capacity to love others with the will be an added the will be a pulled to the capacity to love others with the love of the will be an added the sufficient motive for making one so we like full the love of the will be a pulled to the capacity to love others with the love of the will be a love of the ever fruthful, is true independently of other and very often opposite proposi-tions. It is only in co-operative rela-tions with other propositions that any statement of the truth is wholly true. The reward of standing for one's freedom at great cost is the sweetness and power of being free. Nothing is statement of the truth is wholly true. tions. It is only in continue that any tions with other propositions that any statement of the truth is wholly true. The world of thought and search for truth needs a co-operative mode of spiritual growth and inquiry quite as urgently as society needs democracy in production and distribution.

For instance, cousider the curse of religious competition, with its wanton of spiritual energy, and its greatest of spiritual energy, and its greatest of spiritual energy, and its greatest of spiritual energy. in every net a worth and joy which no ion brings forth the monopoly which power in fine universe can take from jestroys industrial liberty, so religious him, since no power outside of himself ompetition brings forth the sectarian- has given them to him; they are the its own seward, to find the value of doing in each deed as it is done, and to tiod's truth supply; just as the great did the joy of life in the living of it oil combination is an attempted mountained poly of the world's oil supply, with lings of good news, which will sprin this is the spiritual gospel, the glad tid-ings of good news, which will spring from the life sources uncovered by the to deliver religion as well as labo from the commercial curse; to oblite

#### from education and ethics, from literature and art, and from the whole range of human activity and motivity. THE CAPITALISTIC RUSE.

merely disclosing the hid spiritual

ate the marks of this apocalyptic beast

sources of life; there is urgent and im-mediate need that it receive thes-sources as its own dynamic, if Social on is not long delayed or terribly dis certainly culminate in a clearly defined eet, which is likewise the survival of not that the capitalistic system canno the strongest competitor, depends upon destroying the citadel of spiritual he within itself. Even if it could continue ing; upon rooting out even the desire for a long time yet, capitalism would for that free individuality which is the finally suck dry the body of humanity motive of man's creation, and the only and perish in the catastrophe of the excuse for there being a universe. Indeed this sectarian delusion of special privilege in God is now the chief moral content of the catastrophe of the world which it had ruined. But capitalism knows better than to try to go on of itself. It will seek to perpetuate in the catastrophe of the catastr privilege in Gpd is now the chief moral support of economic monopoly.

The co-operative ideal of Socialism is thus the distinct and urgent need of the inflividual soul. The economic needs of labor are but the sign and symbol of our common and deeper spiritual needs. While the bodies of men are slowly starving in slave labor, their souls are also starving and dying in the same chains by which labe is bound. Both soul and body wait for the Co-operative Commonwealth to spirualize and liberate the whose of life. Only the hope of it can deliver main from the confusion and apathy into which has been confusion and apathy the with the before a confusion and apathy the with the best of the confusion and apathy the with the best of the confusion and apathy the wit of its highly hired retainers, in legislative halls and churchly councils ligious and economic systems alike.

Only the effort for it will bring forth of wit and spiritual nerve in the Socialthe prophetic and apocalyptic elements of the Hebrew scriptures when it looks a living faith strong to save man from and works for the happy outcome of the devastating effects of his salvaa fiving faith strong to save man from the of the officers of his salvations. And when we co-operatively become the brend of life to each other, askes every heart of us having a response of class promise and gladness for every voice or of footfall, we shall be fed and have to be the content of the footfall of the footfall of the footfall of the content of the footfall aggle a new form of the idealism of means and faithfully rejected the church which bears his name, being but a little more sciencific at the sciences, socialistic acience in the sciences in the sciences in the sciences in the sciences in the science in But there is a still more revolutionary service which Socialism is likely render to the spiritual life, though it is not so obvious as the service of the day, through the laws and classiciousness of those robbers. sciousness of those robbers, whose chieftain the Casar always was. So completely did the Roman upper class blind and ride the essentially prolethat official Christianity has per-

thodoxy of the church, down to this Sunday morning's sermons from Amer

ican pulpits. In like manner, whe the beautiful Franciscan movemen

moment to speak this yea, and speak it as a word of world-making faith. Already have Socialists wrought bet than they knew; they have

working, economic of the kind of life, which Jesus defined as the kingdom of heaven; they have laid foundations for that quality of public order which the apostic called the holy city, coming down out of heaven from God. Le

prayers which may rise from the soil which they have cleared; let them not stand goard against the winged ideals that may light upon the highway which they have prepared.

And then, the Socialist movement may so grow in the wisdom of the will to love, in the beauty of freedom and the grace of truth, that it shall speak the word that is to begin a new world, just as Jesus spoke the word that be-gan the world now ending. It may so grow in faith in the divinity of life and in the knowledge of how to make that faith its working power that it shall at-last speak a greater, word than Jesus spoke the word that shall se the world to building out of human facts the kingdom of heaven which. Jesus planned. It may rescue the blotched and church-rent pattern, of

THE ONLY SALESHOOMS IN GREATER NEW YORK FOR

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was stolen from its yeoman owners, or were also robbed of the fruits of cen-turies of free co-operative labor. In this way, have the great democratic movements of the last two centuries been made to prove so disappointing. Upon every high tide of democracy the Institutions of capitalistic despotism came into renewed power, floating catch-words of the self-governing ide en their ensigns. The American con stitution, the mangled and snob-led thing which England calls democracy the grotesque French Republic, the stripped and manacled unity of Unity the Prussianized German Empire ar alike conscious and deliberate property

ness of the self-governing idea.

THE WAY TO VICTORY. What is to save Socialism from a like apitalistic fate? Nothing less than the profound spiritualization of its alization in perfect consonance with its pre-Marxian sources. A mere eco-nomic propaganda will never carry the Socialist forces to the Co-operative Commonwealth, Socialism must be come a religion, a spiritual as well as an economic ideal, a great and unify-ing faith, a true and omnipotent reviv-al of the human soul. Not a letter of the economic philosophy or historic in terpretation need be sacrificed in or der for Socialism to avow itself as to historic approach to an ideal reaching away beyond itself. Nothing but a faith that will awake the idealistic fustinct in the average man, and attach to itself the glad and immense respon of his whole being, will safeguard the movement for economic freedom from passing under some new yoke fashioned for it by the alert capitalistic spirit If Socialism would break forever the spirit that binds and uses labor for capitalistic gain, and feed the human spirit that has starved until the ca pacity for spiritual desire is almos answer of yea to the question which our divinest brother went to the cross to ask—the question whether human life is able to accept the leadership of the will to love, which alone maketh free. 'And now is the psychological

ered spiritual resources long hid by the church; they have made possible a them not say what may not be built upon the foundations which they have, laid; let them not bind the faiths or-

that kingdom from its official keepers, and spread it before the world as the daily vision of who and what man is.

and the waves and the stars shall obe; his mighty will to love. And without : world-making word of faith calling men to a social glory far beyond itself Socialism will never be able to inherit its own immediate promises. For the walls of the Co-operative Common-wealth will not be built until the sacred altar fire of the ideal is first kindled in the sont of labor.

#### ADVICE IS CHEAP.

General Wheeler Deals Out a Lot, Slightly Shop-worn, but Guaranteed by High Authorities.

General Joseph Wheeler put on full-dress suit the other evening and went down on the Bowery to tell a number of workingmen how to suc ceed in life. The workingmen are reso they were probably in condition to listen to good advice from a well-dress ed superior. This the general dis-pensed to them in good mensure, for advice of the kind is cheap and a lot can be given away without causing

hardship on the part of the givers.

Summed up: the men were advised not to drink or smoke or go to the theater or do anything else but work. "Work." said the general, "is the most harmless kind of dissipation." If that is the case. Joseph didn't step to ex plain why his friends, the capitalis prefer that the wrokingmen should do all the dissipating in that direction Neither did he say whether or not the men or their wives and children should eat or sleep or wear decent clothes. This is the sort of dissipation very properly reserved only for the nor

example of Mr. Schwab, of the Steel Trust, was held up as one worthy of emulation; but again the didn't state that Mr. Schwab's success was built upon the failures of count-less other men, that he was at the top because thousand of workers were a the bottom, giving of their blood shill sweat so, that one man could be great. Again, his listeners must have been

delighted to fearn from their adviser that the Philippines afforded rich op-portunities for the young man who-went there without-capital. Just why young men should go 'to' the Phili pines for opportunities, while all that is heeded for success at home is abstinence from drinking, smoking, and theater going, was a point Wheeler neglected to make clear. Fortunately, such stuff as was dis-

pensed by him on this occasion has long ago become shop-worn, and has little effect upon workingmen whose experiences deny every assertion of their advisers.

#### A LOVELY MESSAGE

Said a poor woman, washing out by the day: "They're all talking about Socialism where I live, and I think its just lovely." For the poor, and especially the poor

women, it is indeed the lovellest mes-sage ever heard in this hard old world. To be delivered from the terrible grind of work, work, work, No res

no recreation, no pleasures, but Just one eternal infernal treadmill. Women prematurely old, with bowed shoulders and slave faces, leading about sickly

To these, Socialism brings promise of plenty of food and clothing and shell ter and leisure.
Oh. for the "Right to be lazy" on

Give us the luxury of Ease and Leis-Indeed, that is a "lovely" story Talk

away, fellow workers, Socialism is an dream. Get your men to vote for it and we will have it.—The Seattle So-cialist.

ent express companies with the object of making a "little more money." Ship-pers and employees will please divvy up the "extra" and look cheerful. The Third Edition

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barmonize the interests of the differ-

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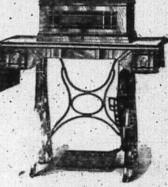
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THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

THE W. KER.

With this, our May Day number, w

ker." Of the circumstances which hav

n ade the change seem advisable at thi

time it is not necessary to speak at

length. Our older readers know how

bitterly and malignantly the partisans

of "rule or ruln" now controlling the

Socialist Labor Party, have, since July

1820, attempted to ruin this paper

They also know that, on account of the

workers outside the party, we have had

to bear much of the blame for the fool

ish and destructive policy of De Leon

sistent assaults of the ring is due to the

rightness of our position and to the de-

votion of our comrades. We have gone

far to show the difference between So

Democratic Party, and disruptive dicta

tership, as embedied in the S.-L. P

We can now afford to drop the old

name and thus avoid benceforth the

stigma which the "union smashers"

This first issue of "The Worker" is

not all that we could have wished. We

hope it may not fall, however, to do

The paper itas been greatly improved

in the last two years. Of that our read

ers leave us no doubt. There is still

room for improvement. Of that we

need no reminder. We have plans for

such improvement, which we shall do

In the meantime, comrades and read

ers, "The Worker" is your paper. It

do. How great the froit of its efforts

ghan be depends very much upon your

work in extending its eleculation-for

a Socialist paper must always depend

"The Worker" will continue in th

ficture, as it has in the past, to fight

the lattics of the working class and of

reason alone is it in existence. There

p lyate profits to be made. Every cent

which comes to the Publishing Associa

tion is spent in improving and circulat

by the paper or in publishing other

S-cialist literature. For that reason

comrades, we call upon you for your

cornest and steadfast co-operation

Les us double the circulation of "The

Worker" as quickly as possible, treble

The troubles of the employees of the

Jersey Central Railroad seem to have

been settled only antisfactorily to a

The engineers and aremen appear to

have acted for themselves and com-

ion of those with grievance

if sprittidy it as often as you please

largely upon the party metabers for

ir utmost to carry out.

have fixed upon it.

and for the labor n

ciplism, as represented by the Social

our new title of "The Wor

In 1888 (Presidential) .: .

In 1892 (Presidential)

In 1894 ....

andia 1898:

break up the home." Entered as second-class matter at www. York, N. Y., Post Office on April At this time, it would be well ! some to remember how the respectable

13,331

33,133

36,564

straight-laced "whited septileures" reated Jesus in his day. When the present boom in Wall street as reached its logical ending, there

this was directly contrary to the or

A department store trust mean

Four hundred children could not

accommodated at the Brooklyn schools

The Cuban problem would soon be

solved if the Cubans would only re

nounce their foolish views about self

any has not even started in yet "to

and Social

EX-PEOPLE GALLEY 20

government.

last month. Children of the rich, or

pore bust for the small retailer.

will be many more people anxious t learn something about Socialism. Men will be able to live right when hey are able to get a living in a right way. Socialism will provide the right

way, as surely as capitalism now com When the religious people say that Socialism would fall because "you can't change human nature," ask

them what they are trying to do under the present system. Assuming that General Wheeler-lived up to his own advice about how to sue ce.3d in life, why didn't he improve the

opportunity afforded by twenty years

n congress to become a statesman? One of the "duties of the idle rich" is to perpetuate a wage working class The supreme duty of the tolling poor is to abolish the system that perpetu ates the idle rich.

The passage of the North River bridge bill is undisputable evidence that the boodling ability of the legisla tors at Albany remains in full and effiient working order.

J. Pierpont Morgan has purchased : \$1,500 dog in England. He buys thouands of American workingmen cheap er than that. But the workingmen se their own value upon themselves. The

There is a probability that the pur and holy Hillis, Raymond et. al. refuse to appear on the same platform with Comrade Herron more because, of a cowardly fear of hearing the truth that

The meek and lowly Dr. Hillis says I refuse to speak upon the same plat form with Professor Herron, not be nuse I am a Christian, not because I am a gentleman, but because I am a plain, ordinary, brute man," The last word should be stricken out.

Socialists not only want women have the suffrage, but we also want them to vote right when they get it That's why we advocate both woman suffrage and economic freedom for women and men at the same time. Th effectiveness of one depends upon the cess of the other.

A speedy settlement of the embroglic in China seems to depend wholly upor the appetite of the allied powers for indemnity and the capacity of China to satisfy it. The reward for sprendngs of civilizati high, but eapitalism must have it. And it is a sweet thought for the allied exploiters to know that the task of co ecting the reward for their sanctifier labors has only just begun.

A Western paper publishes som oman suffragist matter, presumably applied by the advocates of that cause, which contains a report of the speech made by Representative Mac Cartney in support of the woman suf frage bill in the Massachusetts legis tature. As usual the report fails to state that MacCartney is a Social Dem scrat. Is this accidental?

An artist was arrested the other da for committing the heinous offense of sketching Vauderbilt's house on Fifth the Social Democratic Party. For that venue. He said he had sketched the palaces of monarchs in Europe with out molestation. Poor innocent! He knows now that there is a "divinity which doth a bedge an (industrial king" in America which cannot b ared to the moth-esten,; time worst kind so vulgarly common is

> Great is prosperity in Maryland! The latest annual report of the state bu wages of about 10 per cent, within th past two years. The cost of living wever, has increased 15 per cent. du ing the same period. Which means that the workers are actually receiving 5 per cut, less in wages than two years ago. Under that process, how for,

tice to endow libraries as a pastim The "full dinner pail" is a regula Will o' the Wisp." Now you see if and now you don't. And great is pros perity in Maryland!

May Day is the workers' holiday. and like the capitalist system against which the workers protest, its celebra tion is world wide. Even as the sores of spring herald the approach of immer, so do the universal manifes tarious of Labor a series nerate the approach of Socialism, the summer of La bor's émancipation, which will know no nding in dreary autumn or chilly winter. On International Labor Day let every class conscious worker renew his vow to the cause of Labor, and resolve to work with renewed zeal to have that vow reach speedy fulfilment in the Cooperative Commonwealth!

The "Journal" says that a strike of e employees of the Steel Trust would be more than a labor dispute it would be a civil war." Quite true But how would the "Journal" avoid such civil war? By asking the Steel Trust to "recognize" the union and "make an arrangement fair on both sides." That is the way some well meaning but rather short-sighted people tried to avoid a civil war in 1860. They failed. Seward saw more clearly. He said there was "an irrepressible conflict." You cannot reconcile antagonistic interests. And you cannot make a permanent mise between them. Sooner or later the conflict must be fought out. The sooner the better, say we, in order that we may establish real peace in the place of armed truce. We are on the side of the men. On which side does the "Journal" stand?

"The Leadet," a trade union monthly published at Medford, Mass., com plains about the defeat of labor mean ures in the Massachusetts legislature and says: "The fate of all these labor measures warns unionists to put more vigor into the demand for a means to appeal to the people," More votes backing up the unionists demands would have better effect. There is vigor enough put forward new if it were directed into the right channels. When the people are educated up to the right principles it will be easy to ecure the means to appeal to them The referendum will come when the working people know their rights and vote for them through a workingman's party. That would be a guarantee also that the referendum would not be used in the same way that the workers use their franchises now-to perpetuate the rule of their masters. However, "The Leader" knows that the Social Democratic members, Carey and Mac-Cartney, were the chief advocates o the referendum in the Massachuse ts house. The Social Democratic Party is the only party that really desires freedom of action and expression, politically and otherwise, for the working class and that is because it is a workng class party. When the trade un ionists put vigor and votes into that party complaints of neglect will come from the class who receive all the

"Masters of Men" is a serial story onning in the "Saturday Evening Post" of Philadelphia that should be read by everybody who wants to learn how the common seamen are treated marine. The author is Morgan Robert son, who ran-away from home when a boy and served several years before the mast sailing the world over. He therefore knows what he is writing about, and considering what the seamen's unions have had to say on the matter, we are willing to believe that the conditions depicted by Mr. Robertson are not exaggerated. The author suffered himself from the brutality practised upon sailors by the officers aboardship and it is related of him that he resolved to expose the shocking conditions imposed upon the sea men whenever he got a chance. For this purpose he educated himself, and, although he was well on in life before he started to write, yet he is performing his self-appointed mission in manner creditable to his powers and beneficial to the scafaring class. Forcible, vivid, and sympathetic, he writes in a way that stirs the blood even while the soul is shocked at the story he tells. Mr. Robertson has selected the best medium by which he can reach the public and help the sailors. Later on we hope to review the story in these columns when it is issued in

benefit of legislation now.

#### TAGO'S LATEST IMITATORS.

The treatment which the typical capitalist papers, especially those of New York City, have accorded to George D Herror, is at once an evidence of the dishonesty of the capitalist press and

When Professor Herron was consid though his views were very unorthodox, the papers gave fairly full and ac while often criticizing him, treated him at least with respect.

conomic causes of cocial evils and speak more plainly upon public ques reports of his speeches grew more inusplete and more inaccu

ism gave way to sneers and sweeping

Since be has come out openly and uncompromisingly for Socialism the Social Democratic Party, they have passed all bounds, not only of courte or of justice, but of common decens,

The New York papers have, almos ithout exception, suppressed all auement of his lectures. Not one of them has given a single intelligible report of his utterances in Cooper Union. And at the same time they have out done themselves in personal attacks upon him, filling whole columns, under glaring headlines, with maliciously dis torted and, for the most part, abso lutely false reports about the most purely personal matters in his life.

The preachers, too, have taken a hand in the dirty game-at least a number of the most prominent among them. such as Hillis, Raymond and McConnell. Fit followers are they of a ce tain carpenter who is credibly reported to have been denounced for consorting with "publicans and sinners," rather than with Pharisces! .

They know the "Journal" and the other papers which have made the at ack on Comrade Herron, as imscrupu lous slanderers and inventors of "sen eations." Again and again they have protested against the salacious lies of the "yellow press"-when those lies were not directed against the enemies of copital. But now it is different. This man Herron is dangerous to the interests of a class that is liberal in endow ing the church. Therefore they hasten on the word of a harlot, to cast stone at a man who dares speak unwelcome truth.

This is not new. In the forties every ulpit but one in cultured Roston, was closed to Theodore Parker. Why? Be cause Parker was a heretic? No, but because he was an Abolitionist and the vealthy merchants of Boston profited by slavery. Nor d'd it stop at that, Whittier, Garrison, Gerritt Smith, Lovejoy, and other Abolitionists men of the purest life-were denounced by press and by pulpit as men of immoral character.

That is ancient history now. But Hurst, Hillis & Co. are playing the part

ver in defense of a new slavery. It is not in defense of Comrade He ron that we write this. He would not thank us for the defense, He knows exactly the worth of the "public opinion" nfanufactured to order by such men as Hearst, Dana, and Hillis, and he wil ask of them neither the favors they would gladly give to a suppliant nor the justice which they deny to honest men.

We write, not to defend Comrade Herron, but to help in exposing and putting in the pillory the latest specinens of that excrable race who Dante placed in the lowest depths of Hell-the hireling assassins of charac-

#### THE REAL SECRET OF "PROFIT-SHARING."

The profit-sharing movement grow apace. The latest convert to the cause s the National Biscuit Company which announces a scheme by which employees will be permitted to buy shares of stock for cash or by install ment. The object of this offer is rerealed, namely, in the statement that "it is not to be doubted that the de parture will be of mutual benefit, for the graciousness of the offer must stimulate a more lively interest on the part of the employees in the affairs of the concern." We are also told that the scheme is "genuine co-operation and a decided advance in the right di rection." As the only direction recog nized by the capitalists as right is on that leads to more profits, the reason for the growing popularity of profitsharing among them is probably ac

The profit-sharing plan, whatever else its advocates may say, is one that appeals to the thrifty capitalist for several reasons. First, it stimulates the workers to work still harder. The faster they work in a given time the more wealth they produce, consequently they get more wages. But at the same time the capitalist share increases and without extra labor on their part. While the capitalist performs no more labor than now-which is slight if any at all-while his capital invested does not increase, yet the div idends increase as the labor of his em ployees increases. So that any increase of wages comes to the worker at an increased expenditure of labor, while the capitalist's share increases with no more worry, labor or risk than before

Second, where shares of stock are sold the corporation has the use of the savings of the workers with which im provements can be made, and fresh peans of exploitation supplied. The workers actually give back part of the wages received from the capitalist, so that the latter can make use of it to still further increase profits and keep the worker simply a wage-carner for all time. For be it remembered that the number of shares of stock sold to employees is always limited, so that the ownership and control of the con cern can always remain in a few hands. The wage-earners are no less wage-earners. They only possess an added value, first because their earn- did the same thing last week from the ing power is voluntarily increased, and second, because the surplus of wages

at the disposal of the larger shareholders for any purpose that will larger dividends in view.

Third, the ownership of stock by en plovees is a chean way to guarantee the capitalist proprietor against hisub rdination or strikes on the part of hi workmen. The fear of losing what little money they may have invested coupled with the delusive belief that they are "partners" in the concern and that the interests of the capitalist shareholders are also theirs, supply sufficient inducement to keep the proletarian shareholder from making disturbance when ever the condition of the firm requires lower wages, higher fines or longer hours. . They will be reminded that their investments will b injured, while the capitalist, with in terest and dividend assured, has nothing to lose. There are always plenty of idle laborers to fill any demand occasioned by rebellious employees, In the case of the National Biscuit Company a guarantee against agitatio and strikes counts for something, for it has several thousand workmen in its employ.

Again, it must be remembered that in the ordinary profit-sharing schemes the companies do the dividing, they dictate the size of the share allotted the employees and they get the first "divvy." Only after all other claims, such as rent, interest, sinking 'fund. officers' salaries, etc., are settled are profits considered and then the work ers' share of these are decided by the corporations. Add also to this, the free advertising each company that suddenly becomes "philanthropic" receives, and the advantages accruing therefrom, and it will be seen that the profit-sharing plan is far from unrofitable for its promoters, or highly beneficial to the workers.

And neither the biscuit company's, or any other profit-sharing "Dian, is "genuine co-operation." As well say that for a large boy to eat an apple and give the small boy the core, after the latter had supplied the apple, is genuine co-operation." Only when all the people own the tools of production, and all share in the production of wealth, and all enjoy the pleasures of wealth, can there be genuine co-operation. Then there will be no such thing ase"profits," for that term arises only from the fact that those who produce the wealth of the world do not receive the full value of that wealth. Profits are the privilege of the class who perform no labor and yet are able to live and flourish withal.

In conclusion, there are two ques

Two weeks ago we asked the Rev W. D. P. Bliss what he meant by talk ing about "Socialists, who believe in injuring the condition of workmen in order the more quickly to change the system." Inasmuch as Socialists be lieve in nothing of the sort, but preach and practice the exact opposite, we called on Mr. Blbs to retract or explain, "An honest man," we said, "can-

We have received no answer to that nge Perhans the centleman has been too busy getting up petitions for three-cent carfare and other equally "practical" plans for getting valuable "Improvements" in the condition of the workmen, to attend to so little a thing as retracting an outrageous and un qualified falsehood. We therefore again call his attention to the matter.

You are in politics, Mr. Bliss. In polities it is necessary either to have "barrel" or to tell the truth. The politician who has neither boodle nor honor is doomed to failure. The Social Democratic Party is in the habit of telling the truth. Platt and Croker have the other qualification. Have you a "barrel" back of you? If not, why not tell the truth? It would be the wisest course. .

The capitalists are phunny phellows equence. Now that is just what th ong was sung in St. Louis when th when the miners' strike was threater various cities scattered along the rout

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DO NOT ACCEPT ANY EXCUSES: Every saloonkeeper or cigar dealer who trys to sell non-union cigars is an enemy of the Cigarunkers' Union and of organized labor in general.

JOINT LABEL COM . C. M I. U'S, NEW YORK.

afraid of "labor disturbances" and strikes. Running clear across the continent from the far Eastern states to the Pacific coast, the game is a con stant dirge heard year in and year out. and loudest when the workers rouse themselves to demand a small measur

ists, big and little, are only satisfied with the workers when they remain stupefied, faert and dead to aspiration and to hope. The only mission the capitalists have for the toilers to fulfil b "work," and the harder, more cease essly and uncomplainingly they work the more content is the capitalist who is permitted to continue scheming and planning how to make the labor of the corking mass the most profitable. For the working class to think is dangarous to peace, to agitate, a crime agains "vested interests," Along with its selfishness, its brutality, and its hypoc risy the capitalist class is a cowardly class. It lives on an eternally moving foundation of fear-fear of the growing solidarity of labor. At only requires labor to rightly feel its own ower and use it rightly to gain posses sion of the world it has made and should rightly own.

Don't write on both sides of paper. ORRE- # # SPONDENCE Don't send anonymous letters. Who is Viscount Scully? Why Make Socialism Ridiculous? of Tafe Worker:

P. S. Let some paper tell t

s, the Marquis of Angese; nortgages on all the best fac-ter Duluth and Minneapolis

The City Committee of the S. oston, consisting of Comrades pero, Dyer, Poley, and Moffle, i

BOSTON.

il, conserved to the property of the property

with the least cost

nd money, w and commodious headquarter stablished at 295 Washington s under proposed piss, all B ers will equally share the adva-lle the hecessary political work i

tions that Socialists can well ask the advocates of "profit-sharing," which, by the way, has been put forward as an "antidote to Socialism." As profits are the result of the labor of the working class, why should they be asked to accept only a share and be content therewith? And if "profit-sharing" is acknowledged to be an incentive to ward making the workers more regular and industrious, what becomes of the charge that Socialism-which proposes that the workers shall get the full product of their labor-would destroy the incentive to labor and thus retard progress and produce universal stagnation?

In Cleveland they are protesting against the national headquarters of the International Association of Machinists being moved there because the city already has a "bad name for howl ing Socialists and agitators," and "capital" will not invest there as a copcapitalists of Chicago cald a little while age about their own city. The sam workers protested against injustice. Also in - Wilkes-Barre and Hazleton ing. When the railroad workers of the Jersey Central showed signs of revol ate and criti- saved above mere subsistence level is the wall of the capitalist who wa

#### THE UNEMPLOYED.

New Haven Comrade Has a Word to Say on the Subject.

I would like to say something to the rking class about what are coluonly known as thamps or, in slang phrase, "hoboes," New Haven being on a main railroad line, it is no uncomof the justice which by right should be mon thing to see from twenty-five to nity of these unfortunates camping our All this goes to prove that the capital along the fracks, taking old ties and making huts to protect them from the tain, waiting for a freight train on which they can "beat" their way to the

next station.

Never a word is said about this about this about this about this about the state of affairs, never a word about the rotten system under which the development of machinery thraw-men out of work, puts women and work, puts women and children in their places, and force them to wander in search of employ ment, to find the same conditions every there staring them in the face. I asi every honest workingman: What would you become under such circum-stances? What is left for a mail except to become a tramp, a "hoboo," perhaps to wind up by breaking laws of our capitalist government and anding in the penitentiary? Think, fellow workingmen, what

eans to be displaced by a machina hunt for work; and everywhe meet the same conditions. Is if not enough to drive any man to despair? And remember the development of machinery does not stop. It goes on with gigantic strides and men are thrown out of work in the same gigan-

tic proportions. Wake from your leth argy and ask yourselves what the end will be. See what is going on around You rairond men, can you

hat it means that a compound engine' will hand four times as many cars as the small engines did? Are four train crews still employed? No. Well, where re the men who were laid off? Do you think they are working on some other road or division? But the same thing is happening on all the roads. What does the present railroad consolidati mean? Does it mean that they will employ more men?zNo, that would not be business; and the railway companes are not in it for their health. stead. It means a reduction of the working force, so that those thrown out will compete with those retained and so reduce wages.

Large concerns of al sorts have found nat it is to their interest to consolidate, and they are letting the workers do the competing. This is what makes tramps and hoboes. Surely no one is so foolish as to suppose that men become tramps because they like it. No, the

There is only one way to put an ene to this infamous condition, and that is for the workers to vote their power and introduce collective owner ship of the means of protection and dis

If you are a workingman your total est is with your class. You should make yourself acquainted with the party of your class—the Social Demo-cratic Party, Read "The Worker," the best workingineh's paper in the United States. Besides this paper the Social Democratic Party has organs in the following languages: German, the "Vovwarerts": in French. des Travailleurs"; in Italian, "Avan in Polish, "Robotnih." mancipation of your class. And neve miss an opportunity to vote for the Sc cial Democratic Part

JULIUS J. PAECHT. New Haven, Conn.

#### THE TORCH.

O. Goddens of Liberty, stretch out 'thinarm.
That thy Torch may shed light e'ef mine, field, and farm.
And shock weary workers that they shall find red.
When united they rate, in this land of the West,

Thy Torch-is an emblom and light in the land. Around which there railles a Socialist band betermined to win for the children of toil The free use of industry's tools and the

The light of thy Torch they will follow, I know, a furth their flave conquered their last selfish for. and while they rejoice over capital's fail bld Karth, with a smile, shall bring forth froit for all.

And then, what a world full of brother there if he infed as one over monstein and sen; All flying and working in one social cas With the light of thy Torch to skine on the

· PHILIP JACKSON, - A silver plating combine is being

organized in the East. The American Linscon Compar and the Union Lead and Oil Compan are 'arranging a consolidation will large capital, which will result in

A VERY INTERESTING PAMPHLET . . .

Between 700 and 800 longshor

tre on strike at Newport News, Va-against a reduction of ten cents an neur for night work. Shipping com-

unles are trying to get men from od

er Atlantic ports to take the places of the strikers. The much vaunted growth of our export trade doesn't af

fect the wage reducing industry very



## Tactics of the S. T. & L. A. Toward Trade Unions

JOB HARRIMAN, of the Social Democratic Party,

held at NEW HAVEN, CONN., NOVEMBER 25, 1900, 50 Copies, \$1.50. 100 Copies, \$2.50

SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO., 184 WILLIAM ST., NEW YORK

- JOTTINGS.

The new-comer was duly registered: Blank Skinner, Greedville, Avaria, a икотег

"What did you die of?" asked the "Heart disease," answered the

"HEAR disease," echoed the clerk and a shout of laughter went up in

To the uninitiated it would seem that Free Masons were so called be

cause they cared nothing for either freedom or building.

You deprive a man of all the bread which he, in the the sweat of his brow, has earned for blusself and his family. They starve while you over ill your stomach to the point of burst ing. When you are through, you find you have a lot of crumbs you have no use. You hand them over to the children of the man you robbed. You are a philanthropist and a public benefactor.

He who first said that poverty was no disgrace must have been an em-ployer of labor on a considerable

"This cobweb of yours," said the rat to the spider, "ise no doubt very ennningly woven, but, seeing how fruil it is, I should not have thought that anybody would be caught in it.

"You must make allowance for the stupidity of the flies," said the spider, eliciting a chuckle of approval from a Wall Street man who overheard th

workingman is frequently the slave of production and the victim of asumption at the same time.

Ludwig Boerne somewhere says: Love between a king and hherty is sever protoal, for much as a monarch nay love liberty, liberty never can It will be found that this holds good

of the relation subsisting between freedom and bosses in general. There is no truth in the news re ntly cabled over from Germany that

the Kaiser has gone mad. The poor -devil never was saue. King, Solomon said: "Even a fool, when he holdeth his peace, is counted wise." Nous avons change tout cels. The modern version is: "Even a wise

man, when he holdeth his peace, is counted foolish." Socialism will not change human nature? You are mistaken, broth

It will make men more human, and a deal, a good deal more natural. The yellow papers in this city are

white newssheets claiming to be the olik of perfection. Occasionally they, assume a red coloring, and are always ready to paint one another black, as every successful step of the one makes the other green with envy, so that it looks blue.

William Morris was the gift of the Muses to Labor.

With the increased facilities for inter-communication which modern means of locomotion have brought about the civilized nations are grainally losing their once marked individ-inality. Thus things are getting some-what mixed. At one time, however, and that not very long ago, German was the brain of Europe. Italy, i face. France its heart, Spain its palate Switzerland its 'Inngs," England it hands, the Scandinavian peninsula it ostrils, Turkey its hump, and Russ its, legs, nearly always in chains while Austria was, as it still is, its organic

A Socialist writer who can oot toler an adverse criticism is alike intel erant and intolerable. 411

Half a century ago some one said Shakapeare spells ruin. This is in longer true, for now Shakespeare spells scenery. A century ago: Ham erented Garrick: now Mansfields er ates Hamlet, in his image, too, after his own likeness.

Talking about Shakespears, it occur to me that while we have from his per a gentlemanty intrigue pictured a "Love's Labor Lost," the man is yet to we's Latter Loss, an family life as "Labor's Lo

The Lord Chancellor of England he keeper of the king's conscienlousidering the past record of Albe-Edward, the man is not likely to bre

The great Russian writer Gug ptakes a madmay say that when England, takes spott France sne That limit is undoubtedly in ver-good equipant with his obtains he there is another fact which qualit in the orderlooked it was Funce, e-time, whose sensitive was said to danger of a new estack on liberty at got the narm sauded. of the marm sounded.

Here is a kind of return to they pri which came under my esses firme mare.

"A" was a dealer in der goods, or refued through drink. He beco-enitent, turned over a new leaf, wgan to eke out a livingens a inco projetion noting the warn mode. He thus became a de fry pands once more
M. WINCHEVSKY
New York, April 18, 1991

TO CURE A COLD IN ONE O

Take Laxative Browns All druggious refund (

### A NEW BILL OF RIGHTS.

#### The Wants of the Workingmen to Be Filled by Asser tion of the Rights of the Working Class.

est, we should make no such claims of

demands. For these things do not ex

it the chance to be a wage slave. No

is it an gight hour day. What is it the

whole thing up. First, we want certain material things. We want enough to eat. We want the best. The best is

isone too good for us. We want whole-some food, a good variety, and plenty of it. We want good things to wear

and plenty of them. We want to sa

isfy our desire to look well. No shoddy for us. Shoddy of any sort does no

would choose shoddy goods of any sort. We want good houses to live in. We want large rooms, pleasant sur-

coundings, substantial furniture—the

We want room outside the house lawn, trees, garden, plenty of air, a chance to see the sunset, and all the

conveniences of modern invention. An

we want inside the house picture

make up a pleasant home: We want rest. We want leisure. We do no

to have a good time. 'We want to tray

el, to see the world. We want the or

portunity of education—not just the which the schools furnish for the child

hood period of our life, but all the way

We want our children to have

chance to develop what is in them. We want time to devote to them. We want

to share with them their studies au-

their games. And we want work. Yes, we do not want to lonf all the time. We

want something to do. But we wan

it to be worth doing, something we can

not object to doing hard and disagre

to it all the while. We want variety

we are doing. We want to be able t

It is impossible to tell all our wants

We do not know; all that they are o

Our life has been a suppression of de

ter definition of richness or greatue

sire, whereas the richest life is that which desires most. There is no bet

worthiness of life than to say it i

little. The child wants little, and h

satisfied with trifles. The undeveloped man wants fittle. But in the

neasure of a man's freedom and de

velopment his wants become large, in

Well, you have these wants, if y

are reasonable. You would not be harmed by their satisfaction. Neither

You cannot get them alone.

would anyone else. Now, how are you

animal, whose wants are few, can per-haps get them for himself, though even

there the strong have the weak at their The savage had few wants

and he satisfied them at small expense of labor. But with civilization wants

have tremendously increased. And the means of supplying them have increas-

ed. Invention and machinery has

facilitated the matter. Capacity of

production has vastly increased. And yet, thousands of people are not mate-rially better off, but worse off, than

One thing ought to be clear: Our tre

equal depend. But this production is

not distributed in such way as to sat-isfy the wants of men. Is it not cvi-dent that the method of distribution

must be like the method of production

must be like the memory of produce ecoperative? We ought to produce for the purpose of satisfying these wants of ours, and arrange our distri-

But no-one really WANTS shouldy goods. There is no NATI RAL demand

bution on that plan.

The only method by whi production can even equal demand is co-operation. And that is the univer-sal method of industry. By that pro-

quantity se much as for quality.

work, provided we are not tied

The most notable celebration that If we woarkingmen were really hor takes place in all the year and in all the world to-day is the May Day anni. ry. It is coming to be the one press our real wants. It is not a "job sail HOLY DAY of the world. It is that any man really wants. Neither it takes in all the world and which will sometime prove itself the fulfilm all that is true or good in any re-Il that is true or good in any religion. forcover, this holy day rests upon no history records. It means the solidar day nor a poor man's day. It is not a day to celebrate the ascendancy of the Angle-Saxon or the Slav or the Latin, of the Occident or the Orient. It is a day dedicated to the common interests of the whole wide world of labor. It is, as no other day in all the year, the assertion of universal brotherhood. It recognizes, as does no other day, the privilege, but for right.

This first May Day of the twentieth century ought to be one of vast signi-ficance, and if it is to be that, it must bemarked by something more than parades and picuics and speeches. It should also a day of reflection and determination. It is a good time for the on interest, but for absolutely hostile interests. Capital will not walk in the processions nor write its watch words upon the banners nor be the in niversary. Capital has no special an plracy or thievery or robbery has non If does not represent right and justice, but privilege and injustice, and there-fore it does not wish to call especial attention to itself. It is conte

May Day is the holiday of a classthe working class. It symbolizes a class struggle the struggle between capital and inbor. And only as the meninderstand this fact do they escapfrom being not only rank hypocrites, but blind tools of the exploiters of labor. The then who make up the rank and file of this litternational procession the men to whom we owe every polit of the royalty, nobility and aristocracy from whom these political rights have

At some May Day in the future the united laborers of the world will issue a new "Bill of Rights" either as the hasts upon which they propose to un revolution already consummated. We cannot make a better use of this May

What are the rights which we a workingmen propose to claim and es tablish? Upon what basis are we will ing to stand in the struggle for a better civilization? The question is a very simple one and easy to answer. The with their WANTS. Our WANTS ar RIGHTS. They are the only right shall ever gain. They are the only selves. We should claim as our right

your wants? What do you desire? What are you maining for yourselves? In these days of social progress and GRAVEST DANGER IS NOT THAT YOUR WANTS WILL BE TOO LANGE: BUT THAT THEY WILL inaugurate a new era in human history nobler and more beseficent than any or all that have gone or make shipreck of human hope and lose the rich critinge of the ages depends upon the

heritage of the ages depends upon the largeness, the scope, the earnestness of these wants of yours.

One great difficulty with our labor movement is that it is saturated with the spirit of hypocrisy, which many of us supposed was confined to the church. The world takes the hypocrisy of the church for grouted. It is a universal instinct to discount reighba. No one takes any religious claim sectionally.

But we have to learn that the same hypercisy has completely saturated the labor movement. We workingmen are all saying what we do not mean. We are ising to each other. Our whole profession is a lie. The religious man says he believes in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. But all his fellows know that he believes noth.

ing of the Fund. Practically, he does not believe in any God at all. He acts strictly upon the assumption that there is no God. And the Teretherhood of man' is a transparent fraud on the tips of religious people. I speak as a member of the religious institution.

A large number of workingmen have been alienated from the church. They declare the whole thing a fake. And yet, thousands of these men are trying to perpetuate a like fraud on the world. They are making claims that are crideally insincere. What is it that workingmen want or say they want? Thousands of them will an awer as they did answer in the last political enumption. "We want a chance to work for some one. Ye want some one to employ us Me want to be wage sixtes." And organized their is saying. "We want an elast hour day. We want a few and to be wage sixtes." And organized histor is saying. "We want an elast hour day. We want a few man and the people capital as we move that hour facts the want and the want of it would be a taing of the mast lasts of this production would be vastly greater linan now, for the wants and production would be solely for

the purpose of satisfying those wants

That would make all kinds of work of a higher sort. For only good things would be made. There would be no demand for anything else. "But how could the average workingman much better things than he has new?' you ask. Why, it is just as easy to pro duce good things as it is to produc poor things. And men prefer to pro-duce good things rather than poor. And if the people became their own uployers and the natural proprietors
the earth, THEY COULD HAVE ANYTHING THEY WANTED IN COMMON WAY AND ANYTHING. THEY, WERE WILLING TO GIVE LABOR FOR IN AN INDIVIDUAL WAY. They would not produce for musters or capitalists, but for the bidding or to satisfy the wants of a small class, but to fulfill the wants of all. The interest of all the people demand a large and a good product.

before. But the people must own absolutely the means of production and distribution. Private capital must be abolished. And how is that to be done It is a political task. It can be accomplished only in a political way. the capitalist class be trusted to Hardly. Who are the ones most likely to do it? Those who want it most. at present. And who are they? ngmen. They must unite politi-and if they will, they can accomplish the greatest revolution of l tory—a revolution which will not just touch the surface of things—as in oth-er so-called revolutions—but go to the undation; and usher in something so much better than anything hitherto-called "civilization," that a new name will have to be coined for it.

Workingmen of the world, your ights are simply your wants your ly selfish and savage ends-such as naracterize the individual members the existing barbarism miscalled civilization but as members of a class working class. No assertion of rights of any human being is possible except as the rights of a membe of the working class. The fundamental ruggle of the world is the class strug gle, and its watchword is: men of all-countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a worl dto gain."

#### SOCIALISM INEVITABLE.

Hitherto every form of society ha een based on the antagonism of op sing and oppressed classes. But h tions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slav ish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to member ship in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern laborer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper are deeper below the conditions of exist ence of his own class. He become pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth dared express them. They are natural. They are not abnormal. They are reasonable. You would not be And here it becomes evident that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society and im-pose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence such a state that it has to feed him in iscad of being fed by him. Society ca no longer live under this bourgeoisiin other words, its existence is no long er compatible with society.

The essential condition for the ex-

The essential condition for the ex-stence, and for the sway of the bour geols class, is the forniation and aug mentation of capital; the combition for capital is wage-labor. Wage-labor restricted exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry. whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoiste, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition b modern industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisic produces and appropriates products. What the bourare its own grave diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable, The Communist Mani-

#### CARNEGIE'S BURCO GAME.

wants of ours, and arrange our distribution on that plan.

How can we do that? Not singlynot one by one, each man for himself.
We can do it only by combining. Well
how shall we combine? There is now
a sort of combination—that of capital
and labor—capital in the hands of
those who take most of the productlabor in the hands of those who do all
the producting. Such a combination is
capable of a considerable product. It
cannot turn out the largest broduct,
because it is not to the interest of capial to do that. The product must be
limited in order to maintain prices and
ensure large profits. This combination cannot secure the best quality, because the product must be made to suit
the buying capacity of the majority,
which is small. So cheap and shoodly
goods are made.

Naturally wants shouldy A street fakir, with a valise full of soap to sell on the circus grounds, usp soap to sell on the circus grounds, usu-ally opens up his business as Mr. Car-negle proposes to close his career—by establishing his respectability with a free distribution of cash. He sells a dollar for ninety cents, and this for eighty, and so on down; or he throws handfuls of nickels about among the people, who risk their necks to get one; then, having the crowd excited and delirious and having established himself as a good fellow, he proceeds to rob them with great good humor and no less of time. What less does Mr. Carnegic do? He uses his gifts to a pur-pose. He tosses fifty thousand to Gal-veston, a hundred thousand to Cincinnati; scatters a couple of million through a dozen states and sets the crowd wild by twirling five millions into the lap of New York. The exciteshartles of small towns or the disease breeding tenements of great cities—in which not only comfort, but privacey or decent cleanliness is physically impossible. We may pass that point. We need only allude to the disproportion of the sexes in different parts of the country. The pulpits ring with sermons on philanthropy and the press prints enough about it to amount to ten militions at regular advertising rates. Then, having established himself as a godly man, and having soliemnly assured the public that it will be a disgrace to dierich. Mr. Carnegie sets quietly at work again and rolls up another fifty millions from the toil of the people.—Los America Labor New. ions from the toil of the people.—Los Augeles Labor News.

Government and co-operation are, in all things and eternally, the laws of life; anarchy and competition, eternally and in all things, the laws of death.

#### SOCIALISM, WOMEN AND THE HOME.

#### How Socialism Will Foster the Family Relations That Capitalism Is Undermining.

nds of men and women who

aner social conditions

If this meant that the mass of w

congratulation. - But it does not me

that. It means that where, in for

dependent and able to care for her,

on the capitalist, are madly

uns. But it has not and cann

ing class are economically dependent

thrown into idieness and misery when he can make no profit out of them. . I would not deny that the "woman

and it cannot be solved separately.

creathing foul air, ruining their e

sufficient to protect them from

board. It is a thing to

weather, and pay for their "cl

Better, it is a thing to abolish

s one of the things the Soci cratic Party is pledged to do.

Yet they speak the truth, and we

to choose. Certainly Socialists

sphere. Free them from the eco

compulsion which now drives the

into a life untitted to their physical and

mall number would gladly stay in the

orce to confine woman in a sph-

sordid economic compulsion which is wrecking the home. Socialism would

put an end to the economic compulsion and that would make the legal compul

sion quite unnecessary;
One of the evils—small in comparison with those we have touched upon, yet great in itself—is the irksome

drudgery of woman's work in the home—I speak, of course, of the homes of the working class. How often do

we hear women quote, "Man works from sun to sun, but woman's work is

never done." There is much to be said

on the other side; vet, on the whole,

continual round of monotonous tasks and petty yet insistent cares, with sel-

dom an hour of real freedom or relax-ation except in sleep. It is, indeed, no

wonder if women are generally so wonder if women are generally some-what narrower in their views and less sound in their judgment than man. The wonder is that the difference is

a dull girl. What women we shall see, when Socialism brings the hours of healthy play! The fact is that, until lately and

even now it is changed only for a part of the people and in a small degree), while all other forms of useful work—

Only one portion of what was for merty housework has been taken over

by capitalism-the making of clother

by capitalism—the making of clothes. Cooking, baking, washing and ironing. still remain, for the majority of women in the category of household duties, to be performed by individual laber with very crude and primitive implements—that is, to be done in a way most wasteful of fluman energy. For a minority this has been changed. From a large part of the city homes baking and laundry work has been banished. But this does not bring

foolishly praise and glorify th

from which economic pressure is selling, her, The advocates of

rightly resenting their legal c

eral constitution, and all but a very

know it. Ninety-nine women out of every hundred would choose the lot of

wife and mother were they really fre

The defenders of capitalism some- | thousands of workers in this con stroy the home and the family and that it would degrade woman. This would be important if it were true, for can be sure of to morrow's chance of the position of woman in society and the character of home life and family relations are unquestionably of great importance. But fortunately it is not

and sleek apologists of capitalism, the and steek apologists of capitalism, the accusation sounds like the cry of "Stop thief", which the real thief raises for the purpose of fixing suspicion on an innocent person, while he safely makes his escape. For if the home, the family, and the position of man are to-day in danger and we believe they are it is through the workings of the capitalist system itself. Capitalism is destroying the home: It is breaking up the family: it is depriving woman of her rightfu place in society; and, as if to conceal its own guilt, it raises a bue and cry against Socialists, thurging them with conspiring to do the very things that it is doing for the sake of profits.

Under our present system, the and family can really exist only wher the husband and father is assured of being able to perform his duty as bread-winner, when he is assured the ortunity to provide by his labor at and children. The men who so bra zenly accuse Socialists of evil designs upon the home calmiy assume that such is the actual condition with the nass of the people at the present time It is not necessary to cite detailed facts and statistics to prove that this assumption is false. We have only to appeal to what every workingman

The use of improved machinery cheld as private property for profits; and the organization of industry into combines and trusts and constantly making em ent more and more uncertain. Twelve years ago it was stated, by so good an authority as Carroll D Wright that we had in this country an "army of the unemployed" of about one million men. At no time since then, certainly, has it fallen below that At times it must have risen

o two million. Hardly a week passes but we read of some new application of machinery, by which a greater or less number of men are to be thrown out of employment. What becomes of the men dis charged? Some become beggars of thires. But most of them proceed to look for other jobs, to compete, with those who still have employment. Thus the position of every workingman becomes insecure, because there is another standing outside, idle and hungry, ready to work for lower

Mills and factories are likely to be closed at any time, because they are producing more goods than the people can afford to buy. A shut-down may mean to the workman the loss of the savings of years, the break-up of the home, eviction, hunger and cold, even starvation. But that counts for nothing. You cannot be permitted to work s a capitalist makes a profit on

years of "prosperity" alternate with hard fitnes." In hard times we see hundreds of thousands of men, sufferthese things, but refused the opportunity. In the ensuing period of pros-perity employment is easier to find, for time, and wages rise somewhat-but not so much as prices rise. Even in good times." we read almost daily of nen who, driven to despair by months of unwilling idleness and undescried poverty, end in suicide or insanity.

When employment is to be had it is necessary to work fast and furiously, in order to save up something for the "rainy day" that is sure to come. But the wages of the father seldom more than suffice for the actual cost of livuncared for and go into the factory or dren, too, must be taken from school or from play and sent to wear out their when "papa loses lits job" the family will not starve. But too often the case is even worse.

The labor of women is cheaper than that of men; the labor of children is cheaper than that of women. Machin-ery is improved so that it requires but. little strength or skill—only wearisome and unremitting attention. Then the men are not wanted; their wives go jo the factory instead; and even the

the factory instead; and even the mothers may be driven out of employment by their own children.

When all are working there can be no home life, for there is none to care for the house and make it homelike. When the man is idle and the woman but half employed and the children are the bread-winners the condition is still. the break-winners, the condition is still worse. To talk of home and family un-der such conditions is to bisspheme against what is most sacred in human life.

I say nothing of the dwellings of the poorest workers-whether the rickety shanties of small towns or the disease

and harvest gangs, in the west there are the mining camps, innover any and and harvest gangs, thousands of men who never have the opportunity to associate with women of moral life. Should we wonder that the marriage relation is related and that prostitution gravits?

lon graves?

These are extreme cases, it is true

such advantage to the women of the working class; since capitalists' profits must be paid on all this work, it only changes the form of the burden; a woman may sew for wages or do scrabbling or type-writing or sell rib-bon over the counter, to earn money to pay for having her baking and washing done somewhere else. Yet think how all this might be done to-day. And even where the evil is not

Imagine public kitchens and bakerles and laundries, not engaged in cut-throat competition and not run for profits, but for the public service. With winning an honest livelihood even for himself. The more conscientions they may be, the higher their ideals of life, the possibilities of modern invention and organization of labor, all this work could be done in the best imaginthe more truly they love, the greater is able way, and under what are now unheard-of conditions for thos might have made happy homes, under loing the work, with an enormous sa

The neitators of what is called the consider that if a woman makes a "woman question" take but a narrow view of the subject. They are fond of home pleasant and cares for her chil-deen she is doing as much work as the world has any right to expect of her. Ill have time to read and sing ber of women now working for wages were becoming economically indepen-dent, there would be some reason for she has "stolen the time," as women

so often say now.

A few women can live such a life ally very attractive and very well-dedays, a woman was dependent on her husband and he was comparatively inveloped healthy human beings bar-ring the evil effects of feelings of pride ngs-barsuperiority, suspicion, and the like, growing out of their position as mis-tresses. Their free and healthy develagainst each other for opportunity to work, and are alike in danger of being opment is now largely secured by the rt of human sacrifice which is called call a female servant a "slavey." not a "nice" word, but it is a true one;

Some superficial people and some quite heartless ones deal out to us a ovement" has done some good. It what is promised—the emancipagreat deal of sickening talk about the incompetence and laziness and stupid-ity and dishonesty of domestic servion of woman. The woman question is a part of the social question-for the ants. 'I am glad that domestic serv ants do often prove incompetent and lazy and stupid and dishonest; not besee nothing to boast over in the facthat so and so many thousand women are working ten or twelve or more cause I hate the masters and mistress which I do-but because it proves hours a day, whenever they can get ings and not machines, not even good slavish slaves. There is hope for them. The attitude of a mistress to her serv-ant is immoral, at the best. Buying co and cigar industry, the textile ndustry, the boot and shoe industry. and their lungs and their nerves, sub someone else to do for you the things that you are ashamed to do for you self suplies a lack of respect for that ected to the petty tyranny or the familiar insults of a sordid boss, and other's personality which is essential arning burely enough to hire a six-byimmoral. The vices of the servants edroom, buy cheap clothing in which cause so much complaint, ply reflect corresponding vices in th mistress. A mistress thinks she is "kind" to her girl if, after making her and curse over, rather than to boast do all the dirty and unpleasant work, she gives her an old dress and allows her to go out with "her young man". The opponents of the women move provided the young man meets the at ment speak foolishly or insincerely, when they talk about woman's sphere. proval of the mistress. Who gave yo the right of censorship over that girl's affections, madame? To put it mild

> And yet you consider it exceeding good in you to "take such an interes in your female slave! As things are now arranged wom cannot live that life which is fitted to their needs and functions, except by this sacrifice of their sisters. But this is not necessary. It is only incidenta to the profit system, the class system Under Socialism, with the means of production held as common property and operated for the public good, with everyone guaranteed the opportunity to work and guaranteed also the fruit of his labor, with the waste of com petition and ostentation eliminated, and with the constant application of invention for the satisfaction of human wants instead for the making of no servant class. How would madame I should say friendly pleasure in the reciprocal service. I have heard of such thingsservice. I have heard of such things-in the lower classes. But I would rather see her cut her hair off or let it go in snarls than have a slave dress it. And as for the productive work, no realled household drudgery, I have pointed out how it might be done in

freed from the necessity of paying profits to a useless capitalist. Let us consider one more point. Want and the fear of want and greed grow ing out of that fear are the moving springs of our society. Think how they affect the marriage relation. We hear people say "She made a good match," or "I hear he married well." What does it mean? Nine times out of ten it means that he or she married primarily for money or for a home. A few openly recognize this fact and cynically defend such conduct. Most of us are ashamed to admit what we know to be the truth of an immense proportion of the marriages, that take proportion of the marriages that take place.

such a way as to give the best result without a blut of drudgery—once it is

that is, of productive industry—have been revolutionized by machinery and organization, housework has re-Now let us ask: . What is the difference between one woman marrying for money and another woman prostituting herself for money? The answer is that mained practically unchanged in it methods, nithough its burdens have some respects been increased. So to one sells herself to a life-long prostitu-tion, velled under certain false pre-tenses; the other frankly sells her some respects teen increased. So far as their housework is concerned, the majority of the women of to-day still live under taediseval conditions. The improvement of machinery has not, as Mill admits, lightened the toil of the body from time to time. It is not a very great difference. But often i seems prudent and even necessary? Alas, it does. And so does the frank wage workers. But it has broadened their minds, inspired in them a thou-sand new thoughts and feelings, and prostitution of the slums.

But imagine a society in which want so payed the way for their emancipa-tion. It has hardly touched woman's special work and has affected her only

should be unknown because all had the opportunity to work and to enjoy the full fruit of their labor. Can gon special work and has an electrical indirectly.

And here, as in every other particular, we may see the economic cause. Housework is productive labor, but it is not carried on for profit—except in certain cases, of which I shall speak. The industrial revolution has therefore the industrial revolution has therefore. imagine either veiled or open prositiu-tion in that society? Can you not see what an enormous step in the eleva-tion of woman Socialism will mean? Can you not see how it would foster the family as a spontaneous associa-tion of mutually loving human beings, instead of a hollow form, as it now so brought to woman, directly, none of its benefits. Indirectly, through the in-security of employment for men, it has brought her all its evils.

That is something of what Socialism would do for women, the home, and the family. Work for it, for the sak-of a better humanity.

—The whole sim and purpose of Socialism is a closer union of aosial factors. The present need is growth in that direction.—R. T. Ely.

—No thinking man will deny that associated industry is the most powerful agent of production and that the principle of association is susceptible of further and beneficial development.

—John Stuart Mill.

#### THE ABSURDITY OF CAPITALISM.

#### "Overproduction." the Most Colossal Lie of Modern Times.

BY JAMES ONEAL.

difficulty in removing it. We associate the term "absurd" with that which is contrary to the known fact, or is con-tradicted by the experience of everyday life. Thus we would condemn the statement as absurd and the person giving it utterance as insane if he were to tell us that roses grow in granite rocks or that monkeys live on fee-bergs. A sense of the ridiculous is im-pressed on us in observing the efforts f the drunken sot who endeavors to keep in the middle of the walk, which becomes positively humorous when he, with the look of a sage, insists that he is successful in his design. These things are easily recognized as being absurdities and will readily be classiexist in capitalist society a thousand fold more glaring and distinct than those mentioned above, which, when pointed out, receive little recognition at the hands of those who suffer from their existence. So manifest are they that it would seem that all that is necessary to remove them is to poin them out to those who would benefit their removal. Yet experience eaches that the greater the absurdity the more intense is its hold on men, and great surprise is manifested in those whose pet dogma or institution is first questioned and shown to be at variance with known-facts by the so-

cial iconoclast,

Perhaps the chief absurdity accepted by the working class of to-day that of "overproduction" as a cause of their suffering. The contrast of the two terms, "overproduction" and "suffering," in the same sentence implies as gross an absurdity as the hun mind can especive. The existence of too much of the good things of life promotes suffering and dispair. Plenty begets want. The more of human omforts man produces, the more mis ry it brings. It is as if one should sa nd, 80 plus 80 is nothing. The me you are able to get, the less you have. A brief glance at past history may nable the reader to see this aboundity in its most glaring light, To the enjoyment of life and happiness was man's lack of power to control n pire's resources so as to minister to his wants. He was thus a slave to naly, you are unpardonably impertinent,

ure and the elements that surro im. The only im lements worthy naking were the rude war-club, the stelle 'ax, a few simple bone fishooks and traps to snare his game. The inention and possession of these crude ools did not add sufficient power to his physical prowess to enable him to successfully cope with or to conquature's barriers. Not being able mfort by the aid of the scanty power these crude instruments bestow eing hunted by beasts of prey and harrassed by storms and earthquakes what more natural than that he should seek to obtain by conquering other men, what he could not otherwise ob tain, because of these obstacles? This recalls the conditions imposed on primitive man as described by John Stuart Mill: "Nature impales men. breaks them as if on a wheel casts them as if to be devoured by wild easts, burns them to death, crushes them with stones like the first Chris zer, freezes them with cold, poisons them by the quick or slow ve her exhalations and has hundreds of other hideous deaths in reserve, such as the ingenious cruelty of a Nabis or Domitian never surpassed. All thi sture does with the most supercilion disregard, both of mercy and of justice emptying her shafts upon the best'au noblest, indifferently with the mednes and worst." Amidst these condition prehistoric man turns from the quest of nature to the conquest of his fellows and either kills or is killed, ensiaves or is' enslayed. In time a few gain the mastery over others and a privileged class lives at the expense of a brutalized and ignorant slave horde. But even here, the slaves always bad a master to employ them, and how-

a master to employ them, and how-ever unjustly they may have been treated, they were never starved be-cause they produced too much. If starvation and misery prevailed, it was generally produced by an-actual lack of the means to sustain, life, caused by drouth, by floud, or by a pestilence that swept over the innd. No absurdity here. If there is not enough food to go around, it is mani-fest that, some must suffer. Yet acfest that some must suffer. Yet ac cording to the modern theory of "over-production." if these primitive men should suddenly discover a land "flowing with milk and honey," that is, producing more than enough to go around, it would be a calamity to

This is the situation: Primitive man This is the situation: Primitive man endured hardships and misery because of lack of power to master the resources of the earth. The twentieth century sees man master of living things and of the material resources of the earth; yet those who by their genius and perseverence have accomplished all this suffer squalor and misery for their reward. They the men and wasner of the working class starve while literally deluged with the necessaries of life. Note the period of mational crises or panies. Stores are national crises or panics. Stores are filled with food and clothing, granarfilled with food and clothing granuries are bursting with grain, factories are guited with products in fact all the necessaries and luxuries for man's enjoyment exist, yet the producers of these things suffer from hinger and cold! Land, machinery, and factories in abundance, workers ready and willing to use them to produce wealth yet both idle as though stricken with palacey? The will, the means, and the desire to produce co-existing, yet each man glating at the other and all powerless to break the deadlock!

The absurdity reaches its climax

"Truth is stranger than fiction" runs, when some politician of a capitalist the old adage, and nothing is more true than that the more absurd an intervention and the very fictims applaus stitution or belief, the greater is the him! Then we swell up and choke with pride when we read of the "ig-norant savage" of ages ago. Honor bright, can there be anything more als surd and topsy-turvy than this crasp-quilt we call "civilization?" Could as limate of an asylum for the feebles minded evolve anything more, gre-tesque than the spectacle of a people surrounded with wealth and means surrounded with wearing and opportunities of producing more in abundance, staring at each while all pround them their fellows are under the deadly shafts of us that we have produced too much, This would sound to our ancestors like saying. "I am healthy because I am sick," or "I am voting because I am old." I venture to say, however, were it possible for one of our average poli-ticians to deliver a speech to the intelligent savage, he would be genffy tapped on the head and be brolling over a cony fire within fifteen minute after opening his address. Who can say that he would not deserve his fate? Man has succeeded in harnessing the

forces of nature. He has drawn power from the clouds above and from the derful machinery that not for if places muscular power, but not to it to a degree impossible to pro-hend. He has evolved methr it transportation and communication almost destroy time and the He has evolved sciences and pais phies that embrace the universitate all that it contains, which enables in imagination to visit subteraction depths and mingle with the us vorld if encloses or in fancy to 1 his way among the stars and plane contemplating the beauty grandeur that surround him. able to determine with remarkable accuracy the orbits in which they, as it were, like huge overgrown boys, play hide-and-seek with the universe for a playground. In fact, hardly a nook or cranny exists into which his inquiring genius has not penetrated. Yet, if ask-ed for an explanation of want, hunger, and dirt he can only reply, "overpro-duction," "too much, "abundance," We produce so much knowledge that we are ignorant, so much clothing that we freeze, so much food that we want for it, so many railways Park we come not ride, and so on in an endiess chain.

One item in this list is always left out, and it is the most important of ail.

There is an overproduction of fools, which accounts for the rest of the ab-surdities. Let the workingman who has never come in contact with the So cialist, movement ask himself this question: Why is it that the increased productivity of my toll must measure the degree of my want for the neces-saries of life? The answer 's that we produce for another class more than they can sell and more than we can buy. Our purchasing power is less than our productive power. The ma we produce belong to the authorise we produce belong to the authorise class. More laborers be crowded in the labor market than the capitalist class can we and this class can ware those "hands" that offer themselves at the lowest price. In this many the lowest price. In this manner wages are driven down and held at a level which makes it impossible to purchase move than a small portion of the products on the market. We the the products on the market. We the constantly "overproduce" for the ca-talist class, not for ourselves. This tailst class, not for ourselves. This the class that has more than it can renot you and I. We, our class, suffer the want of products award by an er class, but produced by its. Our sefering finds its expression in the lack of power to secure the results of our exertions. In a word, this is the al surdity laid bare. It is not only an ab-surdity. It is criminal folly on the part of workingmen to support a huge contradiction like this crinfinal folly against themselves to their loved ones,

workingmen, on the first May Day ciarion call of your comrades and unite in a fraternal movement for class soli-darity at the ballot box! Unite with ment and strike a blow at the most colossal lie of modern times "overpro-duction." You have nothing to lose but your slavery; you have freedom yet to

#### FUNDAMENTALLY IMMORAL.

It is immoral that some men should be placed in a position of favor from other men. There can be fraternity only where they stand together. There is a fundamental immorality in the at-titude of the world. The Socialist seeks the equality of distribution not for the things then selves, but for a bronder purpose and a deeper need. What makes a true man? It is the going out of his own life to help others. We are bound together for good or ill. Whether we like it or no, we are one

In New England girls are working in cotton mills in an atmosphere which breeds consumption and makes them old at twenty-seven. Every smeke stack that goes up in China reduces their wages. It is the divine right of every man to be his brother's keeper. It is the divine right of every one in this half to eat bread without the thought that it is costing the blood of his brothers and sisters. It is a divine

his brothers and sisters. It is a divine right to be a brother's keeper, and other rights must soon get out of the way of that right. George D. Herron.

— Party organizations in the state of New York should use the agitation pamphlet issued by the State Committee. Every party nember should as a few copies in his pocket, ready it, give to inquirers about our movement. Prices: Single roptes, 2 cents, 100 copies, 60 cents; 1,000 copies, 85, Address, with cash, Leonard D. Abbott, State Secretary, 64 E. Fourth street. New York City.

— The deepest dypth of vulgarism is that of setting up money as the ark

is that of setting up money as the of the covenant. Thomas Carlyle.

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re har from the from

Why Socialism Is a Revolutionary Movement - Revolution and Reform-Revolution and

proclaim the fact that Socialism is a evolutionary movement. In this they tre right. But it is necessary that we hould leave no room for misun-erstanding, that we should make it fectly clear what we mean by the volution."

It seems a little strange that Ameris, who, on every Fourth of July, are wont to celebrate a revolution, should have such a dislike for the word. Yet so it is. They are proud of a revolu-ien that took place over a century two, but when it is a question of a evolution to take place in the near fa-are, they have visions of violence and celebrate a revolution, ction and bloodshed, This is due to the false teachings in its their minds by the ruling s and by its agents in press, pulpit and schoolroom. The capitalists profit-ed by the revolution of the eighteenth They have good reason to pevolution of the twentieth

But what is a revolution? Is it a vio it about by the machinations of nd agitators? Nothing may be peacettil. It may be

A apparently sudden or it may alradually that it is not recog-it is completed. But one thing It is not the work of con-and agitators. Revolutions nanufactured; they grow. conditions and social relations mys chasging. There is a natays chasting. There is a mar-nd irresistible evolution in so-just as in the growth of solar-ps or species of plants and ani-Society is truly an organism grows and changes by just as

is the economic force. The outlon affect and really con ot all other social institut ion of the compass, of the steam, the spinning jenny, and the m, and of the cotton gin pro ed in their several ages, far gr ial changes than were ever pro

When, a few hundred years ago, a all of the people lived by agricul-when the tools of production very simple and inexpensive; of transportation and d and the bow-in those day system. The workers were ound to the soil by customary but having an absolute right to

ertain inventions were mad class of masters—the capital In place of small industry, we the factory system; in place of with their rights and duties fiximmutable custom, we have wage workers, competing with other for a chance to work; in "barons bold," we have mor and mill lords, who neither work right, but who get the profit from tage workers' labor and hire wage

t change from the feudal sys one .1t involved changes in about percefully it about percefully it about percefully; in some countries what we call the French Rev-

ome about in the past, so we may of ect them in the future. Society never hands still. It changes constantly. g time the change may go on y and quietly. Then there come is, when it becomes evident that is when it becomes evident that runs of social organization—laws, ons, moral codes, etc.—adapted to mer, method of production and bution, are no longer fitted to the methods of production and distri-tion of the production and distri-penses it adapts itself to changes it has taken centuries to prepare, tury ago, in the era of the French lutton, the nations of Europe. on, the nations of Europe emparatively few years, aban new basis of free competition day the antions of the world are ting ready to abandon that com-litive basis and reorganize them-

ives on a basis of co-operative effort What is essential about a revolution that it is violent, but that it is gh or cudical and that it is a for ard sep. People senetimes talk as revolution were the opposite of evo-tion. That is nouseuse. Revolution a decisive forward step in evalution. old ruling class to turn back the seek of history so as to hold on to power after it has regard to be use to society. Reaction is opposed to ion: it is an attempt to produc wer artificial. All the reveloes is to recognize in which
the path of progress lies and
himself to it, to help in that
A revolution cannot be at does is to recognize in which tion the path of progress lies and last blueself to it, to help in that

nade by conspirators and agitators, any more than a chick can be hatched

by act or congress.

We hear a great deal about reform as being preferable to revolution. The difference between reform and revoluon is that revolution is thorough reform is not. The reform sees that things are not right, but does not understand the reason. H-sees effects, but not causes. So he iries to remedy the evil effects, one by ne, while the great cause keeps on roducing new evils. He tries to patch n old machine that is not adapted t the new work it has to do. The revo-utionist looks for the cause. He sees that evils arise because the whole that evils arise because the whole basis of society is out of date, is not adapted to the needs of the new time. So he uses his efforts to help in the general process of putting society on a new basis. The revolutionist is never discouraged. He knows better than o expect everything to come, right in minute. He also knows better than think everything is going to ruin He sees things moving; slowly, per-haps, but yet moving, and he helps in

Through the nineteenth century the world generally accepted the idea of free competition as being the right basis of society. This was quite-right in its time. It played its historic part n developing modern industry. ts part is nearly over. The competi tive system has very nearly reached its limit. In fact, it could not last very ng, for competition destroys itself Put some pike and a lot of smaller

fish together in a tank; for a while here will be free competition; process of competition itself puts a other fish; then the larger pike eat the smaller ones; finally there is only one big pike left; competition is at an end so in business Mr. Rockefeller Carnegie, and other capitalists thrived on competition. they drove their smaller competitors to the wall, ruined them or let them betition the combines grew which pur an end to competition in one field after another. The freer and keener the competition, the sooner it reached its limit. To day, in the leading lines of industry there is no real competition; and every week brings us news of new

On the other hand, competition mong the workers competition for employment grows keeper all the time. The better the machinery and the organization of industry, the greater is the surplus army of unemployed.

The fewer the employers, the harder unst the workingmen compete.

So our social section is

ent and contradictory. On the side of he capitalist who controls industry. is no longer competitive, but collective On the side of the worker, who pro duces the wealth, it remains competi-tive.. The burden of competition falls ective industry goes to the capitalists

This condition cannot last. We are ready for a new revolution the revo-lution which, recognizing that production is no longer a matter of individual effort, shall declare that it shall no longer be controlled by individuals for individual gain. . That, js what Socialists mean when

they speak of the coming Social Revo-lution. We are not making the revolu-tion. It would be nearer the truth to say that Morgan and Rockefeller are The work of Socialists is to explain it; to prepare the people for it, to help it along, to enable it to come as speedily and as easily as possible.

We hope it will come in peace. . The sooner it comes, the easier will it be. But come it must, because all social forces are working together to make present system impossible. It business of the capitalists to se that they do not, by futile resistance make it more violent and destructive than need be.

#### THE REAL QUESTION.

To begin with, a certain amount of supplying these commodities are or ed or they are disorganized. disorganized, the industry is in the hands of numerous petty, competing, igresponsible individuals, who, forced by the struggle for existence, cheat, adulterate and defrand with practical injunity. They are petty tyrants over letes on the consuming public. If the industry is organized, and note the marvelous rapidity of the movement of consolidation and organization, then it is under the central of a few power-ful and irresponsible combinations. to solve is not whether Socialism is freer than that savage state where each man sits under his own vine and fig tree and is beholden to none for aught that he possesses or needs. Our dilemma is either to choose responsible officials to conduct for the good of all the industries by which we live, or to allow Morgan. Rockefeller & Co. to run these industries in their own behalf. Whether our vital necessities shall be controlled by men who can discharge any of us at pleasure, as at present, or by men we have elected for the service to us, and whom we can remove at pleasure. Which systems The Advance.

this good advice:
"Workingmen, take, part in the un-ion of your trade and be constantly on the alert to guard your own interest,

the latert to guard your own interest, the interest of your class.

"Never admit that the officers of your union are your masters. They are your employees and your equals.

"If you would cease to be indolent and negligent you could castly relieve yourselves from many of the injustices under which you suffer.

"Grundhine he your fereidle will not

#### GROCERS AND THE TRUST PROBLEM.

It all depends upon the point of yiew. Our lesteemed contemporary, the "Storelooper," in an article upon. "Changes in the Grocery Trade," be-walls the formation of trusts in many of the products which the retail grocer handles. It says:

"A striking example is found in the universally despised and hated tobac-co trust. Goods that were formerly staple have been deteriorated in quality to force them off the market, and yet there is a demand for these brands; so that the retailer must sell a piece of goods that yields him little or no profit and be accused by his customers of cheating them because the tobacco The worst feature of the trust's

methods, from the retailer's point of view is the fixing of the selling price and stamping the same upon the pack-age. The trust's policy seems to be to cut down the profit of the retailer until he can barely exist, the ultimate object being evidently to handle the goods direct to the consumer without any middleman. Some pieces of to-bacco, for instance, are so marked that the retailer gets about 14 per cent. profit, which is really no profit at all Many of the National Biscuit Com-pany goods only yield a profit of 17 per This is too small a profit for The same is true in a worse degree of the baking powder trust's

"The retail grocer of the future will simply be the agent of the trusts. He will handle what they direct him to do, at the price they fix, and will pay for the goods whatever they charge him. There is only one escape from this, and that is by organization, under which the trusts may perhaps be compelled to respect the retailer and acknowledge his rights. Yes, the retailer is up against, the

trust problem good and hard, and litthe comfort is in sight for him. In a score or more, probable a hundred arti-cles that must be carried in stock, he is already the mere agent of the trusts, with power to buy or sell only by their sufferance. Whenever they think the time propitious, they will probably place the retailers on salary—just cou-mon wage workers—that is, those of the number they desire to use, while nainder will be turned adrift to ustle as best they can.
The "Storekeeper" urges organiza-

tion of retailers as a remedy. When the little fish assemble in schools, it is all the easier for the sharks to get a full meal. Organization can settle the trust question, but only such organiza-tion on working class lines, with the definite object in view of making the trusts the common property of all the people. To this end Socialists are organtzing the workers everywhere for the conquest of the political powers, by which alone, through their agents and legislative tools, the trusts maintain their power to levy tribute upon the

But collective ownership is not th oal to which the grocers look for-ard. Hear the "Storekeeper" again: "It is likely that happy medium will be struck, when the trusts will give pront on heir goods, and thus con-summate the laudable purpose for which they were formed—to make goods at a profit and aflow the dealer

to make one, too."

Vain hope! The "laudable purpose for which they were formed" was to do away with as much labor as possible, and no one better than the trust understands that a multiplicity of retailers means a greater di-vision of profits that they desire to

The vast majority of retailers, more specially in the grocery trade, are workingmen who have saved a few dred dollars and embarked in busi ness, thinking thus to escape the drudgery and dependence of the wages system. Few escape drudgery and none dependence upon the favor of the trusts for a continuance of even these, while the hundreds of failures reported weekly mark the wrecked hopes of the small business man, whose little

maw of the trusts. only, in turn to see their dollars disap pear. And thus the process of cen-tralizing wealth and power goes on, each year adding to the multitude of ints. The new recruits to the ss from are falling into the ranks of Socialism and if these still in business desire and if those still in business desire a correct solution of the trust problem they will cease looking forward to a time when the trust will "divvy" with them the profits filched from labor; they will join the disinherited in the political fight for supremacy and the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth, in which will be combined both the right and duty of all to labor for existence.—Saginaw Exponlabor for existence.-Saginaw Expon-

#### AN IRRELEVANT QUESTION.

I stood in judgment before some men in New Ydrk city the other day about a book I had written. The men belong to the upper classes (it is rather a shame we have upper classes, but we have) and they asked me if we had a right economic system would not the majority of people waste the opportun-ity given them? The question for civilization to an-

swer is not what men would do if we had equality; all that is irrelevant. That is a question society has no busi-ness to know. Until this collective

ness to know. Until this collective brotherhood of man has been tried, until each man born into the world has equal inherent rights, society has no right asking irrelevant questions. Civilisation has no right asking men if they will be good until civilization itself becomes good; society has no right asking men to be just until society itself is just. Until civilization becomes the lacarnation of that equality in distribution which we advocate civilization betrays colossal impudence in asking what would men do if things were equal.—George D. Herron.

The best agest of Socialist propa-gands is the party press. You can do more to help the cause by pushing the circulation of party papers than in any

## THE SOCIALISM THAT PROPAGATES ITSELF.

A Plea for the New Century.

BY PETER E. BURROWES

The Socialism that propagates itself | but through this narrow door. To will alohe survive the many wrecks destined to mark the span between this and the year that shall be written 2000. That Socialism will not brought about by the mere orderly dis-solution of capitalism on behalf of an mert mass of proletarians who wait unpassionately for the law of economic ccessions, but by a multitude of orkingmen with the passion of contemporary evolution in their hearts and brains.

I deliberately choose this word "passion" as the watchword of the new, more vigorous, devoted, and necessary propaganda of the next ten years, for I am persuaded that upon the men-who live and work for the cause during that time, and upon their intensity in the cause, depends whether Social-ism shall be the triumphant fact of the coming century or only one of the de-parted hopes of the race.

The Socialism that shall propagate

itself into achieved history most be all that it is now, a science; plus a social passion not a passion of class anger and revenge, not the passion of mere individualistic "kicker," who, having kicked his way around all the circle of reform finally kicks his way into Socialism and then, proceeding kick every other type of man out it. concludes by kicking himself out of it-but a passion born of a sense of a manhood outraged, robbed, and degraded, a passion that resents the in-terception of history's natural progverting all her blessings from com

nonwealth to private property.

The Socialist agitator of the next ter years should not be a man to wh cialism is a subject external to hin self, to be spoken of in a public utte ance consisting of a laborious effort of an hour's duration, called, a lecture delivered from notes or memorized No. no! He must be in it, wholly in it; he must not only be a scholastic believer in the necessary analysis and array of facts which constitute Socialas a subject, but he should be in new intellectual and will-passion of the thing a Socialist who talks, as the phrase has it, not only from the

The disaster of poverty, the horrible untimely fraud of poverty-what a theme for the social passion is here thems for the social passion is here. Whether you regard yourself as wronged and outraged in society, or society as wronged and outraged in that unsatisfied and pitiful epitome of ir you find in yourself, what matters? The material for the social passion is here, if you look well at the facts and let them blush themselves upon your cheeks, and break and bruise and thrust themselves into your whole

Think again of this disaster of poverty! Look at the tragedy of unre-quired toil written on the haggard laces of the laborers, and of those who cannot get work and may not live haps stupid) and pathetic groping them through the world for the right to live! See the forbearance, patience, and innocency of the toiling centuries, carrying their burdens and their wrongs and, as the sheep before the shearers are dumb, opening not th ouths-very sheepish if you like, but part of their social calamity and of the burning food of your indignant social passion—your passion for justice, for the restoration of bread and leisure and all the preliminaries of the lectual life, your passion for civiliza

The disaster of poverty. The criof chance, the social menagery of com-petition, the brazen lie of the individmi life which says it has grown char acter and righteousness by outwitting and subjugating others; the cynical satisfaction with which the successful man feels the body of the fallen be-tween himself and the cold earth, the interminable can't of rightequaness and religion on the commercial life with only the morals of the Jungle at the heart. Oh, the disaster of poverty, the horrible untimely fraud of poverty!

machines of the modern world began to palpitate and revolve their mighty force for the redemption of all labor-ers from the battle for bread. Why is ers from the battle for read. Way is
it that we are still battling and still
without bread? A whole century ago,
during which hundreds of millions of
iron laborers, with pulse of steam and
nerves of steel, have wrought to redeem mistaken man from the childish
bondage of individual conflict with nature for bread; hundreds of millions of laborers' working force have toiled these past hundred years to save us these past hundred years to save us from the waste of life involved in soli-tary effort, to give us back the time which eld slave owners and ar\_stocra-cies of the past stole from us; and here we are still outside the granaries of the world, still outside its realized cultures and lelsures, still strangers to the refinement and dignity which of right belongs to a nineteenth century manhood, carrying a new and greater burden than ever of unnecessary, vicmanhood, carrying a new and greater burden than ever of unnecessary, vic-lous, and misdirected labor, imposed upon us by the insane greed of the profit mongers, who, under the flag of a false freedom, have bound Labor with chains that seem too subtle to be broken. Who that believes in any manhood can deny that here is material for the new passion that will make a terrible propagated against capitalism in the century that is now pened?

Not a jot or tittle of the profoundly wise analysis of Marx need to be los wise analysis of Marx need to be lost out of our equipment for this new evangel. The class struggle, the class struggle! Emerging from the wilderness, ye Baptists of the new century, with strident voices deciare it! Marc no compromise upon this. This struggle must take place at the threshold of the new age, and where it is not fearlessly avowed and fought out; there can be no new age. No capitalist sympathizer, no Fabian, can come with us,

them, one and all, we have no other

word but this: "Repent," and to the proletarians, "Resist." Karl Marx was a Socialist because he was so much more than a political economist. It was his social insight, sympathies, and passion that chose for him the path of the economist-philoso-pher of our cause; and Iouly wish that those who intellectually accept his aualysis had added to their acceptance his passion. It was this his social in-stinct that gave fibre to his finer mental work in the cause. By a few well established and splendidly expressed generalizations this man of social ger us saves men of action and coarse to liberty. That the commerce of ex changing, for profits, can never, how eyer wealthy it may make the opera-tor, make any wealth at all, but that labor alone erentes all wealth, is the

preliminary propaganda.

So far as the work of excavation is laborers strike for the foundation liof empitalism—that profit is wealth. By that other masterly abstraction embedied in the term "labor force and by his pursuit of it to its crystal-ized forms of commodities equivalent and the connecting link of gold, itself an equivalent of social labor and the substance in which all other commo dities reduce themselves as in a com mon denominator into exchangable terms with all other labor equivalents and, added to this, his third great law of social labor-and the Socialist of passion has all the balance he requires for his work. -

In the doctrine of social labor we have the germ of all that is truly revolutionary in Socialism. Follow it to its legitiraate conclusion and seek find what room remains in the world for the individualist. There remains no private work, no solltary mechanic no separate achievement, no single This doctrine should have pinds the individual millionaire an in possibility, for in blotting out the incli vidual industrian it dethroned his ex ploiter. It was the keynote of the odern collective life and social ecoiomics. The mind at once recognize that it stands before the century law and the century thought in this term. "social labor," and out of it grows all that shall be embodied in that social passion which must prevail in our pro

paganda. Let us remember what manner of days of Marx. To whom or to what force do the young Russians and Germans, the present day students of the novement, owe their bent? To the ecial passion that was created in hon erable men when they saw the mean-ing of wages, when they perceived what it was that was bought and sold in the factories—the life force, all that was left to the new class of the disinherited, the proletariat. When the perceived that this denuded outens first gave the wealth out of which the eapftalist found wages, and then out of his own loins supplied co uld be kept down to the bread-line they drank in that passion of resent ment which opened the lips of Las salle and the brain of Mark and rang from East to West, from Siberia to

The men of the International ere stunned at first with the magniof the crime against m which the new machines stood for. 'f they fell short of their historic missio of reducing the labors of the world and setting us free from the bondage and sacrifice of toil and time herets fore required in getting brend. And then they were inspired with a ravish-ing hope of what might be, if these es were socially owned (as they ly ought to be) and socially operated. Here the poetry of a bright and glowing youth came to the aid of, social resentment, and the men of those days spoke Socialism as we do not hear men speak it now. The professors had not yet dominated the movement and orthodoxy had not yet supplanted the passion of the Socialist propaganda. We need not lose our or-thodoxy; but we must return to Marx and get some of the man into us as well as the book, and then we shall have that Socialism which shall pro-pagate itself into the achieved triumph of the Twentieth Century.

#### A REFORMER.

Dick von Grouch was a Slaver, Brutal and coarse and cold. Cramming his shackled algoral process of the color of the color

Richard Grouch is a Deacon-Pions (and rich) and prim: Pitch may defile the robble— Never a stain on him: Reiling his eyes in horror. Reiling his eyes in horror. Oh, how he thrills with ferror bamming the "Devil's Trade!" 'Can there be souls so fallen-Taugled in Manmon's mesh-Marketing God's own image, Bartering human flesh? How may our Nation prosper Stained with the horrid deed? Out on the helious traffie! Down with the Men of Greed!"

Which is the sweeter picture? Choose ye the better fit; Frankly outrageous robber-Liar and hypocrite.

#### SOCIALISM AND THE "HAPPY HOME."

To one ignorant of an architect's plan the unsightly excavations for a foun-dation and the building material lying about convey no idea of the finished edifice. But the architect knows what the finished structure will be and the intelligent worker placing stone upon stone or sawing, hammering and fit-ting timbers may see with his mind's eye order coming out of the chac about him. So the Socialist, desiring a better o

der of things and realizing that th logic of events must bring that better order about, can see in present events the rapid rising of a structure of the rative Commonwealth. "He wh may read" at this time the me ing of the great industrial events, bu how infinitely wonderful was the mind which fifty or sixty years ago could figure out as the fathers of Socialism aid the order in which events would come! A scientist understanding the laws governing the structure of animal bodies can take a single bone of a prohistoric monster and construct the en-tire skeleton. Wonderful, you say, but it is easy when you know how afte rears of patient study. So it is easy understanding the laws of industria development, to build a social system from an event, a tendency, a conditio A case somewhat to the point is provided by an article in Monday's "Cot rier Journal." Here are a couple of

paragraphs which tell of a sign of the coming of Socialism: "Probably no city in the country is in greater need of flats than Louisville and real estate agents are besieged with applications for them. Flats are becoming more generally used every year, and there are hundreds of fami-lies in Louisville who prefer them to a esidence.

"The numerous conveniences boroughly modern flat building are in numerable and do away completely with the cares and worries of house keeping. Some flats in the larger ciies are not only provided with gas and electric lights, hot and cold water, and a heating system, but have a telepho system, a restaurant and a laundry. All monthly rent. In this way one ca keep house and yet be relieved of the annoyance of marketing and cooking, and looking after the payment of coal and gas bills, keeping up fires and the hundreds, of other details which fall upon the housekeeper." Every now and then some wild as ars up on his hind legs and brays that

Socialism will break up the home So it will, in a sense, and everybody will be better off. And it will be observed that common sense is every dr breaking up more homes. "There is no place like home" the ordinary home and hence the reason "flats are becoming more generally used every year." The lot of the workingman's wife and even of the middle class housekeeper is, like that of the "Pirate of Pengance" policeman, not a happy one and under a sane system of living it would not be necessary. Housekeep it would not be necessary. House ing is the most odions drudgery and the modern apartment house is pop cause it does away with this dr As it is now, however, only the paratively well-to-do can enjoy their advantages, but under Socialism al could enjoy the pleasure of an exist nce free from hand "washing and lroning," cooking on a little stove and the multitude of little details which nake the wives of workingmen old b fore their time, broken in health and spirit by a multitude of petty and un-

essary cares. The class of people who can afford a seful of servants to do all the work may view with dismay the "oblitera tion of the home," but the individua ousehold nevertheless means usel dirty work which servants must de to live under decent conditions as th

for whom they slave. Breaking up of the home, does not mean breaking up the family Socialism would improve family rela-tions by eliminating the petty carewhich make the average man long t "wander from his own fireside." Most divorces are probably traceable to soggy biscuit or overdone steak. Co nal households would eliminate th give a wife and mother a chankeep tidy and get acquainted with the bairns. He may be a happy working-man who owns his own home, but his for her and begin hustling for Social-ism and decent home surroundings-Southern Socialist, Louisville, Ky.

#### WHAT WE CLAIM.

I have have looked at this clair the light of history and my own con-science, and it seems to me, so looked at, to be a most just claim, and that resistance to it means nothing short of a denial of the hope of civilization. This, then, is the claim:

It is right and necessary that all men It is right and necessary that an men should have work to do which shall be worth doing, and of itself pleasant to do; and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over wearlsome nor over anx-

Turn that claim about as I may think of it as long as I can; I can find that it is an exorbitant claim. Yet, if society would or could admit it, the face of the world would be changed: discontent and strife and dishonesty would be ended. To feel that we were doing work useful to others and pleasant to ourselves, and that such work and its due reward could not fail us! What serious harm could happen to us then? And the price to be paid for so making the world happy is Revolution

--- If we want men free, if we wan men self-sustaining, self-respecting wo must have a just civilization. We should have learned that a land tree should have learned that a laid tree cannot bear good fruit. If we have a civilization based on equality, frater-nity, liberty, then common life will supply its wants, it will build its own ihearies and museums, it will do away with that moistrous habit of endow-ing institutions with the stolen fruits of a fellow man's labor.—Geo. D. Her-ces.

## COMATOSE RESPECTABILITY.

The Kind of Virtue That Is Good and the Kind of Virtue That Does Good.

BY W. A. COREY.

tive and positive. Negative virtue 18

good, while positive virtue DOES

good. The negatively virtuous man is

and always has been the greatest men-

ace to all progress. Why? Because

he is invariably the weak tool of de

signing knaves. The rascal has al-

ways used the "good" man to carry

out his plans. The scoundrel always

makes use of the "respectable" man's

reputation. Society knows the scamp

and frowns on him. It also knows the

"good" man and beams on him. Hence

Mr. Respectability becomes the agent

of Mr. Scamp and leads the sheep to

Besides this your naradvely "good"

man-this type of inafic perfection-tion or no tool, is, on general princi-ples, a dead weight on progress. He

has no convictions and therefore need

no courage, even if he had any, which

worships anything it is the past, like the Orientals. He is as stupid as the

meek eyed, ox. He always votes with

the confident majority and is never

accused of heresy.
You do not have to go far to find a

fairly good example of the species. He

infests every community. He invariably belongs to the leading church and occupies a front pew, He belongs to the dominant political party, and

rotes the ticket straight. Quite usual

votes the ticket straight. Quite is analy he is a business man, although often practises at one of the so-called "learned" professions. (Why they are called "learned" I can't imaging, for they are generally the last refuge of ignorance.)

He is known as a "conservative," which is true, for to save his life he

ferred to as a "representative citizen. In New England he is "Squire" Some

body. In Kentucky he becomes "Colonel." while in Kansas and elsewhere, if mentioned for the legislature, as he frequently is, he is called "the Honorable Mr. So and So." The editor of the local paper speaks of him

as "our fellow townsman," and his

ciating clergyman always calls him "Brother" Blank.

Brother" Blank. Personally he is a charming man.

He uses no profans language and is either an abstalner or moderate drink-er and smoker, as the prevailing popu-lar sentiment in the locality dictates.

You might spend a week chumerating

the bad things he does not do. He is a suave, genial, pleasant man, and the warm chak of indiscriminating popu-

lar admiration wraps him in its all-embracing folds. He is a perfect type

But intellectually his brain is petrified

into the thought forms of a past gen-eration, and if he should ever emerge,

even for a moment, from his comatose state of intellectual and moral dry rot.

and give utterance to a brah ne thought, he would burst a blood vess

fect example of immaculately spotless respectability. He is a Methodist. But

smokes many costly eigars each day

and serves wine at receptions, but I will wager that no man between the two oceans can smoothly deliver, in an

equal time, more musty platitudes about the "blessings of sobriety," ad

ipline hlm, because, as they said, "h

love him because they know he will

Puerto Rico has a soothing sound but if you would know what the

ohrase really means you must ask th

Many of the rulers of old Rome have

simply a name and a date. Or, possi-

biy, he may gain some reflected im-portance from his accidental connec-tion with great events. He will in all probability be the last of the capitalis-

tle presidents and this may give him

some prominence, in much the same way that Robert Y, Haynes is remem-

bered simply as the man whom Web-ster squelched in debate.

Whatever Grover Cleveland lacked he possessed enough backbone to defy

the anger of a whole people. But Mc

Kinley's spinal column never develop-ed out of the original cartilage. He trims his sails to catch' the popular

breeze and at the same time adoity courts the favor of the great commer-cial lords. Like providence, you may safely look for him on the side of the

McKinley is the historical repetition

of James Buchanan. (I do not mean to slander the dead.) Buchanan was a

very respectable and virtuous man, who was too weak to cope with the

mighty conflicting interests that wer

soon to engage in a death strog, is.
The dominant slave power used bin while they needed him, and, going out

of office, he slipped gently down into oblivion. His term of office marked the close of the chattel slave epoch. Mc-Kinley is a very nice man of many

Kinley is a very nice man of many and varied private virtues, but who is too essentially weak to take an independent position on any question, who is the willing tool of the powerful-commercial interests and whose term of office will mark the fall of those interests and the capitalistic system.

'Queen Victoria was, personally, a model woman. Of course. She was a "grand and mible" woman. Certainly, Nobedy ever questioned it except the irrespressible Irishman and he is not exposed to count. She was a "motherly" woman, and the whole world called her "maw" Yes. She "gave largely to charity. To be sure. She was "kind to servants." No doubt.

gave largely to charity." To be sure. She was "kind to servants." No doubt. She "read the Bible and encouraged religioh." Certainly, certainly. She "lavished good advice upon her sub-

heariest artillery.

no place in history except in chi logical tables. It will be so with

the most eminent Christian layman

no barrd "Our plaln duty" in

commercial interests. They

To the far future be will b

nauseam, than the president. Methodist conference refuses to

n the world." And the liquor int

President McKinley is an almo

or die of apoplexy.

of lnane, virtue and mediocre go

"practical," etc. He is re

couldn't be anything else.

ply to him such adjectives as

is rarely the case. If he cons

the slaughter.

There art low kinds of virtue-nega | jects and all mankind." Yes, it can be and positive. Negative virtue 18 | not be denied.

And yet she drew an immense salary and lived in regal and wasteful spi every year of want in street and hovel, while gaunt starvation stalked un nillions of her India subjects. She dramatically held up to the whole world's gaze the Christian Bible, while her government forced oplum upon China at the cannon's mouth. She talked of the Prince of Peace, while all the time her armories and fleet all over the world were either slaughtering weaker people or overawing by force the spirit of liberty for material gain. And there is the long tragic story of poor Ireland!

But, it is said, "under the English constitution, the queen was powerrless. She was not powerless to pro-lest. Did she ever protest in vigorous terms against morumental wrongs? Queen Victoria was simply a

nan of the weakly negative typethe type that quotes proverbs and looks wise, but enjoys a healthy diges. tion and takes the world easy. Elizabeth was not a model of private virtue, but she had the nerve to shake her fist in the face of the most powerful potentate this earth has ever seen the Pope of Rome and her loyal people called her "Good Queen Bess the two great English queens, Victoria and Elizabeth, I confess my admiration goes to Elizabeth.

Jesus Christ was a man of positive character. He preached a positive philosophy. He defied the "respectability" of his class, and that class kill-ed him. He has not many followers day comparatively speaking though there are many pretenders who speak

We are in a history making epoch, A great social struggle is going on and is pearing its crists. Men and women positive convictions and the courage back them have never been needed as they are needed to-day.
W. A. COREY

Los Angeles, Cal.

#### A PHANTOM UMPIRE.

In presenting the merits of "compul-sory arbitration" as practised in New Zealand, its advocate, Mr. Lusk, was careful to say at the recent conference a Steinway Hall, that "the condiions" existing in New Zealand were avorable to the operation of this law. In discussing this question with ome of the converts to the theory of compulsory arbitration," It was asked whether similar conditions exist in the United States which would make the application of the "New Zealand plan" possible. .To this inquiry we have ever yet received an answer; the adgument upon the assertion that this law should be put in operation because the "public" is inconvenienced by the constant disagreements between capitalists and laborers, and that their inerests are more worthy of considera-ion than those of the two parties di-ectly engaged in the dispute, Let us see now who this "public" is,

nd whether it can be considered au

mpartial judge.

Is it not true that as a whole the public must and do take one side or the other? Do not the great and small business men, of all kinds and as a rule their direct employees who imagine their interests are the same as their bosses, take the side of the capitalist in these cases? And do not the laborers, especially those organized in unions and those whose employment is precarious, generally advocate the cause of the strikers, even when they

are inconvenienced by the strike?

It is not difficult to see that in reality this "public" must take one side or the ther in such concreversy.

Let us take, for histance, any partic ular group of laborers who have a grievance which the employer refuses redress. They go on strike and defy the man who gives them permission . live. They have wives and familie who look to them for breat. clothing, etc. Is it reasonable to suppose that they will resign themselves to inaction because they are told that there is a "public" who must not be inconvenienced, and that they should therefore starve quietly.

This 'public' is in reality a bogle-man created by the capitalist press, a mere subterfuge doed to excite enthu-siasm for any measure which the capitailst class desire, or to destroy it, as, the case may be.

The striking inborers correctly cor sider their wants of more importance than the alleged inconvenience which their action is said to impose upon this fictitious public. Their instincts are as true as those of Vanderbilt, who con-signed this phantom to dansiation when asked to consider its interests.

No third party inheled "public" ex-ists which stands in an impartial atti-tude towards the conflicts between la-borers and capitalists. The class struggle leaves no residue outside its influ-ence. It involves all society. There is no room for arbitration, compulsory or otherwise, while it rages, as the m ion men will ultimately discover. If their present declands were consided it would only stimulate further de-mands, and just because the capital of mands, and Just because the capital of pecognizes this, he stubboraly oppose any concession. The militant Socialist knows that there is not and cannot be any permanent juiddle ground upon which exploiter and exploited can meet in harmony, and never censes is point out the folly of arbitration in conse-quence. The Workers Call.

-There is no need of making prog-ress through these and dipaster, as we are making progress; there is no need of the economic waste which we make, which shows a diseased state of society. If I should study human life in a typhoid fever hospital you would not oull that a true study or not picture. a true picture of human life. Praf.

tion, who were slaves. Egypt, Persia, and India, with their hereditary rulers

all unerringly testify to the truth of

the idea that government has changed and must change to suit the interest

force to acquire the means of suster

chieftains and political rulers, and

made laws and enforced them for their

wn benefit.

The long period of apparent stagna-

tion that characterized mediaval times is a puzzle to many who are not con-

versant with the great principles un-

derlying human society and govern-ment. It would seem that society had crystallized, and that change could not

take place. But a change did come, and, though the many contributory

have not been able to deduce the con

power and in its nature unchangeable

it was an easy matter for those con-trolling the laws and morals of society to give all institutions a like stability.

with the result that individuals and

the awnership of land determined the

ruling class, no great change in the laws or forms of government could take place; but with the advent of eco-

nomic changes mediaval institutions

The discovery of America, the

growth of commerce, navigation, and the development of manufacture made

irresistible assaults on the prestige of

the land-owning titled ruling class; and during the eighteenth century

was fought the long-drawn out con

flict that resulted in the overthrow of that class, both politically and eco-

nomically. The decline of land as a

land-owning class and the mercantile

and manufacturing class for the pow-res of government. It became a ques-tion whether government should con-

economically subordinate class or the interests of the ever ascending mer-

and economists of the eighteenth cen-

tury assailed the prerogatives and pre-tenses of the landed aristocracy, and

voiced the demands of the embryonic

bourgeoisie, who aspired to the right of political as well as economic domin-

ion. At this period of industrial, so-

forded ample opportunity to study the process of transformation and observe

the connection between economic cor

the connection between economic con-ditions and governmental functions. It was themently contended that a gov-erate at that served no other purpose than to defend the arrogant privileges of those whose superiority was based on land and bereditary dominion

should be altered or abolished, and 'q its stead should be established on that would represent all the peo-

ple. As a result of this

rve the interests of an

rect principles involved.

causes may be apparent to some, they

of those who rule.

#### MAY DAY AND ITS MEANING.

The Growing Thought of Human Brotherhood Finds Here Its Full Expression.

BY THOMAS J. MORGAN.

May Day is a thought. Its origin is of in the resolutions which called sought for in the beginning of things.
"Thoughts are things," the only
things that live. May Day is a living
thing. It has lodgement in the minds
of men. It is formulated in the
words: "The world is my country; all
mankind are countrymen."

mankind are countrymen."

This is a shiboleth which, when once learned, admits man to the highest plane of human conception. It is a thought which spans the centuries; limits of future hu it extends to the limits of future hu man progress; it indicates the purpose an existence, of life fiself

In seeking the origin of this thought we find it thus expressed: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. . . . And God cre Behold. I give to thee every green thing, the fruits, the beasts of the neid. fight the seas, fowls of the air, and

Here briefly described is the creation and limitiess gift of the earth and all therein to man, the boundless source yielding to man's labor as he picked the herb, root, or flower from the ground, plucked the fruit from the catight the beast of the field, fish sea and fawl of the air.

In this creative thought out of which came the earth and man we find the thought of May Day. Out of this came the reflective thought. "I am a man. The world is my country and all man-

kind are my countrymen." Bome readers may smile with annument or contempt at our use of this ac-cient story of the creation. We do not care for that, if the thought embedied In it is made plain; the thought of man's common origin; the oneness of the human race; the common source of all man's needs; the common right to universal obligation of labor as a conition of existence.

The 'full comprehension of this

The full comprehension of this thought sight the purpose of life. Every progressive step which man has taken from the Garden of Eden or protoplasmic cell has been towards this end and

That the original Adam or the first primitive savage animal man could primitive savage maintait man count comprehend this thought is inconvelyable. Human isolation limits consciously for a failure of the constraint of the constraint is a failure of the country of the cou unde Abel a brother's victim. It was expressed in the exclamation, "Am I my brother's keeper" an individual defense made to excuse and justify the limitation of individual

care and responsibility.

From this individualized range thought in the beginning there has been progressive enlargement in the expanding experiences of life. It bewith the relations of parent and gan with the relations of parent and child, tribal, national, and racial-rela-tions, and will inevitably grow into the final recognition of the relationship and only of the whole human family,

the thought expressed in May Pay.
The development of this thought ha slow and the mental processes been slow and the hard been wrought through much human suffering. Conscious brute force and criminal cunning promptan to enslave members 'of his own family, tribe, untion, and race as well as the stranger be could seize. It neged him to claim as his own as much of the earth as he had power to hold, and to deay the right of others. sted the creation of gods of all es as a means of frightening simpler mimied men like a recognition of his claims and of their

world grew old in this individuand runned temples, the pyramids and the sphrakes are

We find the thought of May Day expressed again in these words: "And which has only once appeared in the privilege of a small body of select ar-

you can have but a poor idea of May without being at the same time poison.

Day, if this conception of brotherhood, ed by the cvil effects which chattel Day, if this conception of brotherhood, and common obligation of human rela slavery exercised upon the Athenian

on the Mount millions have gladly call- those of thousands of years ago, jused themselves Christians, followers of him who, born in a cowshed and having no place to lay his head, was coucified as a felon; and yet these Chrise ist society, the Co-operative Common put forth their big toes to be kissed by | he whose lot it is to contribute his of monarchs of lesser degree than them-nolves. With the sign of the cross on ideal.—Karl Kautsky. breast and shield, and the name of Christ as their war cry, men continued to kill and enslave their brothers and claim rulership over the earth, the mean season where the continued of the

EQUILE

a change in the means of production and distribution of the necessaries of life. The "labor saving" machine was evolved at last, and with it a new species of man and new confusion of nght. The new man was called

thought. The new man was canced a "self-made man," and as his claims we're admitted by mankind, all the aucient claims of divine right of birth and the more ancient right of brute force were repudiated. In their place was set up the sacred right of brains, and "business ability," with which was set up the sacred right of orans-and "business ability." with which "God had endowed" some men that they should own the new machines and buy other to operate them. In the place of the old slave market where men bought other men, these "self-made men" established a "labor

market." In which the labor power of men, women, and children could be men, women, and children could be bought. This change was declared to be an advance of civilization. The old worship of the ancient gods and popes and kings gave way to the worship of "self-made men." their interests and their country, and to the cities, towns, and villages they owned. A new work and villages they owned. A new word, "Patriotism," was coined and set to music, and "Rule Britannia," "Yankee Doodle," and "My Country, 'tis of Thee" served to keep men separate as townsmen and MY countrymen, and to exclude all other men.

But the mission of the new machine was to destroy all this, and as it grew in power. It forced the "self-made men" into partnerships, then into firms, then into corporations, and at last into trusts-thus merging all of the individualism into, an impersonal system of mechanics and mathemat-ics. In this evolution process the "la-bor market" spread beyond the village. town, city, and country, and became a world-market. The laborers were forced to leave their birthplace, town. city, and country, and meet in the world's labor market and the world's workshop-men of all nations and all

The machine overran all geographical boundaries, leveled the mountains bridged the seas, annihilated time and space, placed the history and the works of all mankind before all men's eves' removed all the varied forms of human isolation, and brought all man-kind into fellowship. And with this came the comprehension of the thought expressed in the beginning: "God made the earth and the heavens, and man, and said, Behold, all this I give to thee." "And ye are all breth-

to them; for this is the law." In this comprehension is included-the thought of the common brotherhood, the common need, the common right, and common obligation of labor earth and all the things therein, including the machines and the brains and the business slidity and the physi-cal power of all men for all men.

This is the thought of May Day, This try and all mankind are countrymen, This is the thought in the shibboicth of the Socialists, "All the means of production and distribution shall be the common property of all the peo-

think this thought, so the thought will nsformed into the institutions ciety which is to be.

#### THE SCOPE OF SOCIALISM.

We conceive Socialism to be not only economic doctrine, but a philoso-tonching every phase of our social ife. It brings us a nearer and a clearlar interpretation of what science and ethics, art and literature mean. It is pres us that a more universal culture and inevitable result of their economic freedom. It promises a sane and colife: the establishment of those condi tions of economic justice and equality in which alone true life can develop, and the elimination of the existing conditions that thwart and precludthis development. Socialism, in its economics, touches the means to life. and in its ethics and religion, it otion, concerns life itself,-

ever ye would that men should do unto you do ye even so to them; for this is the law."

Again some reader may smile with source property of all civilized nations. What shaves were to the ancient Athenians, machinery will be to civilized man in a Socialist society. Man will then feel and respond to all the elevating influences that interests us most. For To understand the thought and to apply it is not easy, since the Sermon 10 science and art are far superior to tory of ancient Greece; so will Social wealth, excel all others in moral great-ness and material well-being. Happy

just as the pagan sayage or barbarban had done in the long ago; and to the burged cities, ruined temples, pra-mids, and sphyraxes those later Christian days added their ruined castless as evidence of the continuance of the happerfect individualistic thought of work. Socialist books and paupillets unperfect individualistic thought of isolated man.

The measters and kings and stares and serfs are only Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, thermans, Prench, English, etc.—separated from each other by ignorance, prejudice, and hate; each individual, class, nation, and race at war with each other; each limited in thought by the separate environment of each.

These ages of man's gathering ext.

These ages of man's gathering ext. e ages of man's gathering ex-es slowly prepared the way for party's literature agency.

#### THE FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT.

Briefly Outlining the Origin, Nature, and Province of Government.

BY WILLIAM MAHONEY...

It is a disputed question what got comment should or should not do.

Many contend that the province of were chattel slaves who had no voice that the great mass of Roman subjects were chattel slaves who had no voice the support of the comment and who were held. Many contend that the province of government is, by its very nature, confined within certain well prescribed imits, to go beyond which would be an encroachment on the intural rights of the individual; that the functions of government are inflexible and should not evolve and expand with the development of society, and that all government, And so with Greece. He so-called, democracies that made no present of the body of her popular tion, who were slaves. Egypt, Persia, not evolve and expand with the devel-opment of society, and that all govern-ment is a necessary cvil. On the other side are those who maintain that gov-ernment is that instrument or institu-tion through which the dominant class no through which the dominant cases in society expresses and enforces its rights or privileges; that government is not arbitrarily confined within a definite sphere of activity, but must constant; transform and adapt that constantly transform and adapt itself to the needs of those whose interests

it may represent from time to time.

At this time a discussion of the nature and functions of government is as important as it is interesting, as the solution of vital questions depends upon the adaption of one or the other side of the contention and the enforce

Many who see great industrial and social problems confronting the pub-lic realize that these problems cannot be effectively dealt with except by the extension of governmental functions yet they have fears that such a cours would react disastrously by establishing a species of tyranny more uner durable than the evils that now afflic us. The most ardent individualist is beginning to realize that his cherished position is becoming more untenable each day, and the irresistible dogic of events is compelling him to reline the traditions of a by-gone period

As long as the discussion of the was confined to abstract proposition it could interest only students and doctrinaries; but now it has been brought into the realm of practical politics and it becomes necessary for every citizen to entertain convictions on the question.

ference of opinion could arise at this late day on the nature of government having had centuries of history from which to draw conclusions. Yet, it is the fact that the most erroneous idea and conceptions, prevail, and upon no other theory can these false notions be explained than that if served the terests of the dominant class sedulous ly to propagate these ideas.

If one will carefully apply himself t a sindy of human history, I ily be discovered what the true principles of government are. It may be in accord with ethical ideals that the just powers of government are acquijust powers of government are acquir-ed by consent of the governed; but his-tory gives incontestable evidence that such view has no foundation in fact, but, on the contrary, the powers of government are derived from a gov-erning class which exercises dominion over a subject class, and which uses the instrumentality of government to protect its rights and enforce its priva-tions.

A review of history from the earlies times gives ample proof of the conten-tion that the province of government is changeable and that it must alter and expand to conform to the requiren of those who support it. While a discussion or an analysis of primitive government is more or ease successive, we may duily perceive in the germinal state the prototype of the different forms of government that have succeeded the original one. Whether there ever was a period of human existence without some form of governmental authority is doubtful. onceivable. By its very nature the human species, must pass through a long period of dependence through a long period of dependence and necessary subordination to those who provide sustenance, and it is rea-sonable to suppose that there always have been individuals or classes who exercised governing powers over a

From the family authority to the tribal government we may discern the elemental principle that has been extended and adapted to the needs of the different forms of human society down to the present time. The patricular cantile or capitalist class. repleal government of the tribe was an extension of the same principle that operated in the family circle—the pross of aggregation and segregation thereby the father and his sons and dependents built up a tribe which by custom dissolved and each head of the family began anew the work of tribe building. This form was suit-able to these existing industrial and social conditions. With a large area over which to wonder the race subsisted on the spontaneous products of nature and upon their flocks and herds. But with the multiplication of the race there arose an inevitable struggle for covernment had to yield to one adapt-

In the change from the tribal form latent principles then became man latest principles then became man-fest. The struggle for subsistence in-fluenced and moulded the form and de-termined the function of government. Government was made a tool or instru-ment to protect the economic privileges of the ruling class. The idea that govthe interests of all the members of soto within a century ago. In fact, the llyes and interests of the lower wints of society was not esteemed of suffi-cient consequence to merit the notice of the governing power, except to compel submission to the dictates of the retiru class.

It may be malatained that the de nor conflictbetween plebelan and patricism, from state authority.

At the beginning of the present ors for, Sedalia, Ma.

of industrial and social organization this conception of government was well adapted to the needs of the mass-es of the people. The abolition of spe-cial privileges and restraints, together with the almost complete freedom of opportunity, greatly diminished the aphere of governmental operations. Abundance of free land and the cheapness and simplicity of the tools of wealth production needed only the removal of governmental restraints to emancipate the race from class tyran ny. After centuries of spollation and oppression it would seem that the race had at last emerged from its servitude and attained to a state of servitude and attained to a sta liberty, fraternity, and equality.

But when all seemed promising, the ceaseless and remorseless forces of

economic development created a con

dition of economic inequality which resulted in the formation of a new rul-

ing class. Again history began to re

peat itself. The class that dominated the sphere of commerce and manufac-turing began to use the powers of gov-

erument to further their, interest ance, the problem of how to get, a liv With the competition principle in oper ation and a free field to all producers and without the expenditure of labor was solved by some in the subjuga-tion of others. Laws or customs arose to make and sell goods, a keen strife was engendered. Improved methods and machines were introduced, which sanctioning and enforcing the right of one to compel another or others to toll gave to those employing such an adand relinquish to a master the fruits vantage over those who did not. As a result, those who were unable to avail of such effort. No one is so foolish as to contend that such a government served themselves of the advantages of the the well-being of the enslaved, or to inventions and improved processes of wealfa production were driven out of deny that it was used as an instrathe markets and compelled to seek em ployment from those who controlled the improved instruments of produc-tion. With this began the state of ex-It is conceded that conflicts between the rulers themselves have occurred, but the result in nowise changed the nomic inequality we now behold. The constant introduction of expensive essential nature of government. The history of the Middle Ages shows how machines and processes has nee tated the concentration of capital to material interests of some to the detricarry on production, until a stage has ment of others and how readily it been reached wherein an overwhel social conditions. During this strange ing majority of the people in all civil ized nations are dependent upon a few and interesting period of human his for the opportunity to secure a living tory the ownership of the land was the basis of economic power and with This dependence and subservience the many has enabled a few to attain it went the right to rule. It was not political dominion, and the powers of government are made to protect and defend the rights and interests of those ecessary to own men; chattel slavery a-lts cruder form was not necessary to extract from the laborer the fruits who control production. It may be seen that while the present form of of his toil, as land was the prime facoduction of the means of Men became attached to government was well adapted to serve the interests of the masses when the the soil with certain meagre rights, which served as a mask to conceal the hideousness of their serfdom. That ple, and all were economic paers, it does not serve their interests now be the owners of the land might be enacause of the changed condition in the production of wealth which enables bled to get wealth without effort, the powers of government were invoked a few to take and compels the many to to give effectiveness to their wishes elinquish all but enough to barely and the economic rulers, or those who Of course, the present idea of gov.

erument is well suited to represent the interests of those who are enabled to take advantage of the helplessness of the many; but it becomes a question tion of government is in accord with the interest of the overwhelming mass of the people and whether it is proper and necessary so to proper and necessary so to alter and extend it as to restore eco-nomic independence to all. The history of society shows that government has always - necorded with the interests of those who control the sources of wealth; that, as one class gains the ascendency, and dominates in the economic sphere, it acquires politi-cal control and uses the powers of the state to protect and preserve whatever advantages its members may enjoy and that the present form of govern ment does not serve the interest of the wage-earning class who are dependent upon the capitalist for the opportunity to make a livelihood, but is unmistak

capitalist class are intrenched. Now the pertinent question is: What must be done to give all equality of opportunity? The tendency that has n going on in the sphere of indu ciety into two classes, whose interests are diametrically opposite—the or class consisting of an ever diminish ing number, with enormous riches de rived from the toll of the other class composed of an ever increasing pun ber who have only their labor power factor in the production of wealth and

ably the bulwark behind which the

In order to re-establish the equality of opportunity destroyed by changes in the methods of wealth-pro duction, the machinery of govern-ment must be seized and employed to make the instruments of wealth production the common property of all. The interests of the great mass of the people demand that the powers of govent be so extended and adapted tunity to secure a livelihood. This may and can be done in accordance with precedent and expediency. When the wage-earners become conscious of "their interests, rights, and powers, they should and must assert their right to make government subservient to their interest; and in order to do this the functions of government must be extended so that it will become an industrial instead of a political democracy, and will thereby cease to be an instrument of class rule, and a weapon of oppression. The propertile's should not heistate nor accupie to combine politically and get possession of the the means of production and distribution. It is the only escape from the horrors of the existing order of society.

sistent assault the capitalist or manufacturing class supplianted the landed aristocracy and government began to reflect the interests of the. are not faddists, porsping an idle study or fancy. They are men and women, as good and as bad as you and But they are perceiving the fruth, and are boking at it; are facing it squarely, and are proposing to follow it the best they can. And that way the government should confine its oper-ations to the enforcement of a few general laws, and should not interfere the interests of all the members of so-ciety is erraneous. It was not even protended that such was the cose, up-to within a century ago. In fact, the lives and interests of the lower strata than that you understand Socialism. stage of capitalist development. It

may easily be understood why government was contemplated with such athorrence. It was evident to the new rulers that government had always been used as an instrument of oppression and it was looked upon as the synonym of tyranny and extortion. The new rulers demanded only a free field in which to carry on their activities, and would brook an interference from state authority.

#### COMFORT FOR THE HOMELESS

If you have no home of your own, and are compelled to pay a landlord for living on earth, remember that you are not of the chosen few, and that others have many homes.

Mr. William C. Whitney has more omes than any man in New and probably his possessions in that line could not be duplicated in the country. His mansion on Fifth aveme, with its contents, is worth \$2,-900,000, and is in many restinest home in the big city. leaves town he has the choice of these places, all kept in order for the occu-pany of twenty persons without a monent's advance notice:

Venetian palace in the Wheatley hills, near Jamaica, including an estate of 5,000 acres.

ate of 3,000 acres.

Sheepshead Bay home, with 300 acres of land and private race track.

Travers villa, in Newport, which he has leased for many sensons.

The Berkshire Hills mansion, with 700 acres of land surrounding it. House on October Mountain, which surrounded by several hundred

Stony Ford farm, New York, which is used as an auxiliary of his Kentacks stock farm.

Game preserve in the Adfrondacks, including 18,000 acres of forest range,

tocked with game,.
Three entire townships of land in ne body in New York State, making

him the largest owner of land in the State next to the commonwealth. Lodge at Blue Mountain Lake, with a fine golf course that/cost \$50,000.

A blue grass farm in Kentucky, with

3,000 acres. The estate in Aiken, S. C., comprising a fine mansion, a splendld race course and 2,000 acres of hunting land. If you are willing that a few families should own all the homes, vote the same old Republican and Democratic tickets. But if you want all men to have homes, join the Social Demo-cratic Party.-Cleveland Citizen.

#### THE FARMERS' DOOM.

Chief Statistician Powers of the agri cultural division of the United States Census Bureau, has made public the first figures that are of interest to the er shows, in an article in the Chicago "Record," that in 1890 there were 'l. 564,601, farms in this country, and of that number 26.1 per cent, were operated by tenants. In 1900 there were 5,700,000 farms in the United States, of which number 30.4 per cent, were operated by tenants. The increase in farm tenantry, therefore, was 4.3 pc; cent, during the past decade, against an increase of but 1.6 per cent. In the previous ten years. This condition is truly alarming, but, of course, Mr. Powers declares that it is an "evidence of presperity," and so it is for the er parasites. The increase in tenantry was general, and no local causes can explain away the palpable fact that the soil is slipping from beneath the feet of those who till it. Just what derstand. Their hope to become capltalists is slipping further away from em each year, and there s Socialism.-Cleveland Citizen.

#### LABOR AND CAPITAL ARE ONE. "Times hre hard," said the Picked

"Why," said the Rat, "this is an era of prosperity; see how I have feather ed my nest,"
"But," said the Picked Chicken, "you

have gotten my feathers."
"You must not think," said the Rat. that because I get more comfort you

"But." said the chicken, "you produce no feathers, and I keep none-"
"If you would use your teeth-," interrupted the Rat.

" said the Picked Chicken. "Without consumers like me," said the Ray, "there would be no demand for the feathers which you would pro-

"Only those who have feathers should have the suffrage," remarked the Ray.

-Life.

day than ever before: Mark Hanna has truly said that the question of the future is between Republicanism and Socialism. Socialism is as truly the living question of the day as was the question of slavery in 1856 and 1860. It is a question that touches the interests of all-but especially the interests of the working class. Every voter, and especially every workingman, therefore, ought carefully to consider it. In order to understand it, you must read the Socialist side. Don't put this off. Begin now, so that you may have time o think over the Socialist arguments before next fall's elections. Try this plan. Send one dollar to the office of The People, 184 William street, New York City, to pay for one year's sub-scription to this paper (50 cents) and an assortment of 5 and 10 cent pamphlets. The pamphlets will give you a good idea of general Socialist netherinks. The pamer will furnish you you a good mea or general Socialist principles. The paper will furnish you with the news of the movement, with contained on current events from the Socialist standpoint, and with numer-ons valuable articles on social quetions. Try it.

--- The capitalist class is only doing what we have voted them the right to do-ignorantly and unwittingly. It as true, but actually, none the less. So let us gradually vote capitalism out and Socialism lu-that's the sensible and socialism in-time the semante and lawful way. But first let us un-derstanding it may we deserve it, only by understanding it can we get it, only by understanding it can we sequire that power, that dignity, that moral

-Anything for human rights is

#### THE MATERIALISM OF SOCIALISM.

Economic Conditions Overrule Moral Ideas-Sentiment Alone an Unsafe Guide-Some of the Inconsistencies in Which It Involves Well-Meaning Men.

ent of the Socialist movement in this country, perhaps more so than at any previous period, there are thousands of people who are just awakening to the fact that Socialism is becoming a power in the land. Most of these peo-ple have been brought up under some sort or other of sentimental influences and they still continue to think that external divine power, or the superior humaneness of American citizens will suffice to solve all questions of an eco-nomic or political character. Hence, on first acquaintance with Socialism these good people hold up their hands in holy borror and exclaim: "It is all material, it has no soul, it does not deal with anything higher than the stomach of man, it ignores all feelings of brotherly love and fails to reck with the higher intelligence and with the spiritual qualities of the race. Therefore, it, is sordid, and narrow and can never amount to anything but an irrational flicker among the great meyements of the world. Those who fellow this doctrine are malcontents. they are atheists and, in their own parrow materialism, they are dogmatical and are doomed to be as much disappointed in the realization of the cooperative commonwealth as were the early Christians in the realization of

timental expressions are found in all ranks of life and are usually very anxious to give gratuitous advice. Here in Rochester, one learned professor of the Theological Seminary said he had been whiting for over a year for an op-portunity to tell the Socialists their faults in this direction. Then, he went on to advise them to abandon their po-lifical party, to join with good people of his calibre and demand from the old parties the passage of a graduated inheritance tax law as a first step to So-cialism. This good gentleman may have been in earliest, but it seems like insulting his intelligence to suppose that he was. Any man who has the mental power to solve a simultaneous quadratic equation must surely also have the mental capacity to know that taxation of any kind, in any degree, can have no influence in lessening the proportion of surplus value created by labor, and it is in the direction of the complete abolition of the taking of suroffus value from laborers that Socialknow that the breaking up of large fortunes by this means could, at best which, logically followed up, means going backward towards the days small industries whence we h ome, and the throwing away of what it has taken us years to accomplish. The fact is that all such people are either knavishly dishonest or they are not mentally developed up to the standard of comprehending a subject as a science. They do not realize the fact that Socialism is strictly the scienes of social economy; that its func-tion begins and ends with discovering

the immediate establishment of the

kingdom of God on earth."

and puttting into practical operation the most expeditions methods of pro ing and distributing all the m They seem to think, rather, that Se cialism is only an ethereal fad, a sentimental emotion, or a vain covetonsness of those who have not for the wealth of those who have,

Buf every Socialist who studies nomics as he studies arithmetic, chem ism, but that it is with the illogical brains of the sentimentalists. At the present time it is very essen

tial that Socialists should exercise great deal of forhearance with all such people. If they are honest in their exessions, all that they need is a care ful education in the basic principles of Socialist economics in order to enable them to comprehend the whole So cialist philosophy; just as a boy has to be educated in the principles of al-gebra before he can solve an equation. If they are dishonest, patience is still needed to trap them in their own in-consistent arguments and thus show them up to others as knaves and so-

a person may display, it is absolutely npossible, under existing economic onditions; for him to practise what he preaches or to do anything that is in any way better, higher or nobler than what is thoroughly comprehended in-Socialist philosophy. Socialism, be-cause it is a science, has no prerogative to concern itself with anything outside of material substances which are ca-pable of being weighed, measured, analyzed and exchanged on an equality of value with other material things. To try to get away from the material mings of life is, in itself, an act of igporing the most glorious, beneficial, de lightful and beautiful things that any supernatural creative power could bring into existence. As an illustration of what I mean I may refer to a really good (I mean honest in his be-liefs) viergyman, with whom I am acqualitied. He preaches that to conqualities. He preaches that to con-cern onesself, with material things, in any way, is merely to forget God to serve the deril and to miss all that is-spiritual and worth living for in order to grab what is, at best, only sensual and perishable. This same good man had one of his natishipmore killed by

had one of his parishioners killed by a nolley car and his relatives got \$5,000 dainages from the company. The smell of that cold, hard material \$5,000 attracted the good clergyman around to visit the relatives of the deceased for the first time in his life and he wanted a slice of it for the dear Lord thim self), and on being refused, he has failed to again visit the same people ever

I have also known dear, good Christians, who do not like material Social-ism, who have started the building of new churches for the purpose of giv-

Just at the present stage of develop- | ing them an opening to invest so savings and collect 6 per cent, on the mortgage. The learned professor of whom I previously spoke has also had a strong antipathy for materialistic. Socialism ever since some fellow that runs a big oil trust and several other things, came around and disgorged things, came around and disg \$250,000 of those materialistic killing pieces of metal called dollars for the benefit of theology. We Socialists cannot afford for one moment to be entired or driven away from our and of constantly aiming to secure a thorough knowledge of all the mate rialistic conditions in which, whether we like it or not, we are compelled to live and move and have our being.

#### WHY STUDY SOCIALISM?

We perceive that the hour has struck; that the immutable law of progression inherent in nature and man has pronounced the doom of the exist-ing capitalist and competitive order. and now demands the inauguration of the Socialist order; that it has become imperative that we promptly act in and with nature in the elimination of the one and the upbuilding of the other, to the end that the transition shall be lawful, tranquil, and happy-without harmful friction and shock. For if the people be not alive and obedient to this imminent demand of natural progression; if they continue to permit it through the apathy or ignorance of the many, or the equal ignorance and mis-taken' self-interest of the capitalist class—the transition will be both pala ful and violent, destructive and degrading-for that is nature's penalty! The law of progression cannot be himdered save at our cost.

If a violent disturbance should come have mentioned it and warned against it. It will result because of those who imagine that if you "keep your mouth shut" it will not happen-as if the wheels of progress will stop for them! graded and despoiled by their eco-nomi masters. It will be those disin-herited ones, on the one hand, and the "hired men" of the capitalist class on sist the unbearable oppression, 137,01her hired to resist the oppressed, both lacking the intelligent and truthful perception of what oppresses them and what the remedy is

Therefore should we study Socialism which is but studying our social duty and doing it.-Robert Swift.

#### ARISTOCRATS AND TRAMPS.

What is the difference between the aristocratic pauper and the tramp, be-tween the few who are the real para-sites, who have begged the labor products and stolen millions, and the man who begs enough to eat? Why are we so anxious to bring the tramp to, jus-tice and leave the other who can count his millions and has produced nothing except misery and poverty in others? Civilization is parasitic. Even our most extolled philanthropists who en dow universities, libraries and church-es, are destroying the moral life of the world, because such endowments are

parasitical in their nature.

If we want men free, if we want men eelf-sustaining, self-respecting, we must have a just civilization. We should have learned that a bad tree annot bear good fruit. If we have a civilization based on equality, fra-ternity, liberty, then common life will supply its wants, it will build its own libraries and museums, it will do away literaries and muscums. A wind with that monstrous habit of endowing institutions with the stolen fruits of a fellow-man's labor.—George D.

The world has made marvelous strides in the last few hundred years but in nothing is the march of progress so clearly perceptible as in the robber baron business. The robber barons of olden days destroyed in their gr older days destroyed in their greed the producing capacity of the goose that hild the golden erg—the people—but the modern robber baron keeps the bird fat by giving back a small portion of its product. This feeding of the bird is called philanthropy. Of course, the bird could keep fat and contented by holding on to the full amount of her product for herself and goslings, but the fowl is a foolish goose and cannot be expected to have anymore sense.— Southern Socialist. Louisville, Ky.

which man will, for the first time, be placed under free and natural conditions, he will consciously direct his en man has acted unconsciously , without knowledge of law in everyth concerned production and distribution and the increase in population; in the new community, after he has acquired knowledge of law, he will act con-sciously and methodically. Socialism is science, applied with knowledge and understanding of all branches of man activity. August Bebel.

-The proprietor of a butcher shop in New York was recently imprisoned for selling horseflesh as first-class sir-loin steak. This is what results from a lack of "business" ability. He should first have secured a government con-tract and then "embalmed" his pro-duct if he wished to avoid unpleasant consequences. Saginaw Exponent.

Extension of franchise for the corporations and curtailment of fran-chise for the working class are equally articles of faith in the creed of capital

--- Charity creates much of the mis-

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manufacturing concerns in the coun-try have reached a final agreement to form the proposed stationery engine

A Boston cominde says: your paper is increasing its reading matter; I think there is not a dry May it- continue as good. We'll try.

-The, independence which, the — The independence which the United States will give Culia is benu-tifully done up in red tape with the long end in Washington—Saturday Evening Post.

reing Post

H D. Call of Syracuse, secretarysurer of the Amalgamated Meat
ters and Butcher Workmen, asks is to announce, that the trouble with Swift & Co., packers, has been adjust-ed and the firm taken from the unfair

distuilly organized, have reached their happiness when the producing, all his energies and aptitude he he obtains the means of satisf-all his desires. Herbert Spencer.

State officials is Russia are sale mtion. If the "blowhole" epi lustry here which should not be ed. Workers' Call.

ns a big job to build the Co-operative-Commonwealth. It will take long, rears, but the work is under way. We need willing workers. What are you

-Daily we read of men killing themsely's because they cannot get work, of women and children starving in the midst of plenty. If you are not trying to change a system which causes such crimes, you are partly guilty—an accessory before and after

-You may have observed that those who do real useful work are almost in-rariably poor, while those who are rich seldom contribute anything by own efforts to the common we fare. Do you think that is just? So-cialists do not. The Social Democratic Party is in the field to change such

---The next move in railroad com-bination is expected to be consolida-tion of Southwestern roads, including the St. Louis and Southwestern and Missouri, Kansas and Texas.

Exgincies of time and space have compelled the postponement of so articles intended for the May Day nu of The Worker." Among these is sketch, entitled "Not for Him," by mende Richard Kitcheit. It-will appear in the next issue and will be w

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