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#### VOL. XI.-NO. 17.

#### WILSHIRE AT ROCHESTER

Breeted by a Large Audience in Germania Hall.

Partial Report of His Speech Social ism a Simple Proposition, He Says-Trust Ownership Forces It Upon Us

ROCHESTER, N. Y., July 11.-Com aile H. Gaylord Wilshire, editor of the Challenge" of Los Angeles, Cal., adessed twelve hundred men and men gathered in Germania Hall. His topic was "Trusts and Labor," and he spoke in part as follows: "I am afraid that I cannot come up

to your expectations after the very flattering introduction given me by Mr. Brown, and can assure you that I myself have a most modest epinion of a man who has come to the conclusion that a social revolution is inevitable. It seems to me to be one of the simulations of the simulation of the simulation of the simulation of the simulation. plest propositions that can be entered upon by the mind of man, but I will admit that, notwithstanding it seems so extremely simple—something like a 2 and 2 are 4 proposition—as a matter of fact it is very extraordinary how difficult it is for people to understand. "Now I believe-you here in Rochestic have a strike on hand. The striker

haggiles over two cents an hour. If it were \$2 an hour it would be all right. The wages are so infinitesimal compared to what he would get under S cialism. That it does seem strange that a man will give his life for two

get \$2 an hour.
"We are so accustomed to think that wages determine the amount of pro-duction that when a laborer asks for an increase of wages, we are inclined to think that society cannot pay it. I know a great many men to-day think that so-ciety could not afford to pay more than ciety could not afford to pay more that it does at present. They will foint, for instance, to your city treasury and say! How can we pay any more? Taxes are so high, the treasury is bankrupt, and could not pay any more. That is the same story throughout the United States. Let us consider the question: If a laboring man goes to a contractor in the city and wants a lob, the contractor will say, Well, 1s cents an hour is what we are paying. It doesn't make any difference if he is making 30 cents an hour or hot. If you stand for twenty cents, you get it. When the contractor figures out his nts an hour, be increases the amount of his bid; so whatever you stand for in the way of wages, if you keep at it, you get it because it simply means that the contractor raises his bid when

wages? A man receives wages, not ac ording to what he produces, but ac-

"I may be taking \$100 a day out of a gold nine but every man who works for me, on account of there being plenty of men, receives but \$3, a day. Of course I make \$100; I pay the \$3 day and pocket \$97. If I should make a strike in that mine, and take remain the same, \$3 per day. Wages

"The United States may be considered as if it were a great gold it does not make any differ-much we take out in this

ference? We may not think that it will, make an awful difference to us all know that Rockefeller, Morgan, Gould, and the others spend a great deal for diamonds, rachts, etc. But that does not make any economic diffeeence, simply because there are so few people who have these great fort-unes. One per cent of our population own 52 per cent of the wealth of this country, and Bockefeller has an in-come of \$50,000,000 a year, and he can not find an outlet for his income. Most of us could get along on \$1,000 a day. But \$1,000 a day is but a small part of his income. What does he do with the halance? He keeps down his expenses, we to \$1,000 a day and he the doctring hen a man owns all the United he has nothing to do with his He must cave it, because hy not spend it. Its takes too much

"By saving it we mean either build-ing new machinery of production, building new railroads, or fron mills, building it or buying it. New you may out all the try. Why is it that he boys out Car pegie instead of building new mills? He doesn't wish to duplicate capital innecessarily. You remember about twenty years ago the first trust was formed by Rockefeller, he had the same story that he had to-day. He said there were to many oil refineries that there was too much oil being produced and we had to combine our interest to prevent this over-production or we would have

been bankrupted, and then he formed the Standard Oil trust whose stock the Standard Oil trust, whose stock twenty years ago sold at 100, and roday it sells near \$800 a share. That story applied to all the other industries, and if you think for a moment you will see that of course it was true in the trusts recently formed.

"You are paid upon a competitive basis." You get your \$1.39 a day on an average; that represents about the

average: that represents about the necessities of life. All the balance goes

You can only buy with the wages you get, so that if you give him more than he pays you, he must have a sur-plus on hand."

The speaker here outlined the workings of trusts, saying that after they once had all the machinery they need, there will be dearth of employment, as the laborers will not be needed to make new machinery, and he-predicted that

from now. "When all the machines are built, what are the men going to do? They won't need to build others for a long time. The furelamental idea of a labor-saving machine is not to make another. I remember perfectly well when I was a boy that my cousins never had any time for play. They were to get a reaping machine. Now they would have plenty of leisure, but after that they had had no more leisure than before. I suppose a great many n this hall must have thought in their the great labor-saving inventions, that ometime or other they would see the nachinery do the work and they would get some time for leisure and recreation, but the more machines we have had the more we have had to do. I not that a fact? 'The moment the ma-chine is produced it throws out the laborer. The result is that he wil agree to take less wages and will work longer hours. Now capitalists are it ousiness to make money, not for health. They take advantage of the competition among laborers, and labor saving machine has actu made men work harder at-

wages. "Let the economists and politicians explain, if they can, how the men thrown out of employment by labor-saving machines, who are suposed to build other labor-saving machines, are going to be employed when that machinery is finished. How are they going to employ the great army of labor which has been building those machines? With trusts in absolute con-trol of all industry, in connection with such complete cessation of demand for new machinery, it is not a question of ten or twelve years when these men, will be thrown out of work but it ought to come up within the next two or three years. Ten or twelve years ago, when I talked about the trusts, we had people who believed that trusts would not come in control. But there is no theory about it now. We know that in America we are producing much more than we consume. There fore, Morgan and Chauncey Depex say, we must batter in the gates of Pekin in order to get rid of our sur-plus, and in order to get what is left for ourselves. You see the absolute absurdity of the position. Chauncey De-pew is right. Unless the workingman can get employment, he cannot get wages. If the capitalist cannot sell

solution of all this. They say that if you must starve too much by produc-ing too much, you would do better to take what you produce for yourselves.

If you were living on some Pacific island all by yourselves. Robinson Crussellke, and the more you would raise on that island the more you would starve to death you would see the point. You are producing more than you can cousume, and therefore you cannot cousume at all. Robinson, you are pro-ducing so much out there that you are going to starve to death unless you We all know that. But the point is What does Rockefeller do with the difference? We may not think that it

what is his cry: We must have foreign trade. He is right. Under our exist-ing conditions, under our present meth-od of distribution, we must have for-eign trade to get rid of our surplus. "We Americans are a lot of jack-asses. Here we have before no our own country, or rather Rockefeller's coun-try. Please Mr. Rockefeller, give us back our earth. He says: You Ameri-cans do not want the country, because cans do not want the country, because you never ask for it. If I should say, the first gentleman that calls for this \$1,000 certificate of stock in the New York Central Railroad gets it, there would be a great scramble for the stare. I have no doubt of it, or if I would be a great scramble for the stage. I have no doubt of it, or if should say here are \$100,000 worth of

Standard Oil trust certificates, you would all want to come up and take it.

"Now the Socialist says: Here is "Now the Socialist says: Here is the whole country and all you have to do is fo drop a slip of paper in the box and say you want it. You cannot blame Mr. Vanderblit or Mr. Gould. They live over in Europe a great deal of the time. They are not thinking about it. At any rate, we are only going to get what we sak for. That is, if enough of us ask for it, we are going to get it. But the present position is that Mr. Rockefeller says. You have done all I want: You have built all the railroads: you have built all the madone all I want: You have built all the railroads; you have built all the ma-chinery for me; you have finished your job. I don't want you any more. I can't make anything more out of it. I will think over it for a while. And in the meautime he will expect you all to cit down and starre while he thinks about it. Perhans thirty days elapse.

as much sense as you have; he is no foel, and he is not going to keep a thing that he could not keep anyway. He is naturally going to say. Why here is the United States, take it. He wants it though, until you tell him you want it. You have one simple way, go to the party that says: We want the earth-the Social Democratic Party.

industrial factories of the country, the land, the machinery of the country. It means that we will operate it to bene-fit ourselves and distribute to ourselves what we produce. Capitalism is no going to give to the producer what he produces. The capitalist has per-formed a useful function. Rockefeller, Gould, Morgan, have done the saving forus. They have fulfilled their mission just like the shell of the egg to the chick. After the chick gets old enough the shell cracks and is cast off. Rockefeller and Morgan have done their duty, but it is over now and we do not need them any more. I recognize that they were necessary to this industrial evolution just-as I recognize that the shell of thegg was necessary to the chick. But it we do not discard this capitalistic shell just like the click in the egg in the process of hatching, we shall die just as the chick would.

"Socialism is coming, step by step. It took Rockefeller and Morgan ten years to do what they have done in the line of concentration of ownership.
Will it take us one hundred years? No.
It will not take us any longer to say
that we want the United States for the co-operative commonwealth, and we will get it when we want it bad

Comrade Wilshire's words were listen ed to with attention, and often greetes with applause. W. S. M.

### DELEGATES INSTRUCTED.

General Meeting of Local Greater New York Acts on Convention Questions.

A general meeting of Local Greater New York, Social Democratic Party, was held in the Labor Lycoum, 64 East Fourth street, on Sunday, July 21. The purpose of the meeting was to instruct delegates from the local to the Unity Convention to be held at Indiacapolis. A large number of member

were present.

Algernon Lee was elected chairman.
John Franklin Clark, vice-chairman,
and I. Phillips and Gedin, sergeant at-

Upon the subsequent withdrawal of Comrade Clark from the meeting. Courtenay Lemon was elected vice-chairman in his place. The results of the meeting a delibera-tions are summed up in the following motions, which were adopted almost

animously in all cases: 1. That the delegates be instructed to stand for organic unity—that is, one national organization with one national committee, with one state organization in each state, the units of said state or ganization to be the locals in each state affiliated with the national organization. Any plan looking to the perpet nation of factions in any state to be op

posed and discountenanced. 2. That the national organization be um to be elected by the local at th eat of the National Executive Committee: the expenses of delegates from

atates.

2. That it be the sense of this meet a contary of the sense of this meet are the sense of the sense ing that the first national secretary of the party be elected by the convention. and that he be removable at any tin by the party or its duly con

4. That the delegates work in the rention for a provision in the con-tion by which separate charters be granted in the large cities where eccasion may require it. This instruction to be so understood that

5. That the national platform be a concise exposition of the principles of scientific Socialism, together with the principal provisions usually embodic class struggle be brought out so that all

may understand them.

The discussions on the various propoaltions were long and exhaustive, the meeting extending over four hours. There was the utmost harmony and all seemed satisfied with the result.

#### GEIGER IN CONNECTICUT.

ANSONIA, July 17 .-- A rousing ope air meeting was held on Maple Stree-Bridge to-night, Comrade N. P. Gelge being the speaker. The recent events in ronnection with the maximum strike had aroused public interest and although the meeting was but little advertised and a circus in town divided the interest the meeting was a suc-

cess.
Comrade Geiger used the injunction obtained against the local machinists very effectively as an illustration of capitalist control of the government and claus-conscious use of its power.
We sold all our pumplets and got six We sold all our pumplets and got six

We sold all our pamphlets and got six Worker subseribers.

Comrade Geiger held meetings during the week at Waterbury, Bridgeport, New Haven, Branford, New Loudon, Stonington, and Meriden. Where advertising was done the meetings were well attanded. Several meetings were not advertised at all, and the speaker had to call up easual possersby. Locals should answer promptly, telling the place of meeting. If they want advertising. W.

#### GOING IN TO WIN! THE ISSUE

Rochester Social Democrats Nominate Full City and County Ticket.

Gad Martindale for Mayor and Frank A. Sleverman for Alderman in Seven teenth Ward A Strong Campaign Is

The Social Democrats of Rochester held their city and county convention on July 19. There was a large and en thustastic gathering of comrades and sympathizers and much interest was shown in the nomination of candidates for the coming campaign, which the the hottest that their city ever saw. In the city convention Frank A. Sleverman and Joel Moses presided, with Win. T. Brown as secretary. The fol-

#### CITY TICKET CHOSEN. For Mayor-GAD MARTINDALE,

member and now business agent of the Shoe Workers' Union. For Controller-PHILIP JACKSON.
For Treasurer-CHAS. ZERENNER.
For President of the Board of Alder-

en-L. ZACHES. For Assessors—JOEL MOSES and MICHAEL J. CARROLL.

For School Commisisoners - MRS. MABEL KENNAN, WM. HAMMON, MABEL KENNAN, WM. HAMMON, and CHARLES L. SWAIN. For Police Justice—CHAS. BACH. For Senator (Corty-third District, to all out the unexpired term of Senator

fill out the unexpired term of Seliator Parsons)—MARK MICHAELS. Practically the whole ticket is com-

posed of actual wage workers and un-lon members, as is also true of the county fleket, which shows how well the Rechester Socialists have carried on their work of education among the organized workers. Comrades Martin-dale, Zerenner, Carroll, and Swain are ers of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Comrade Jackson of the Pressmen's Union, Comrades Moses and Michaels of the Garment Workers Union, and Comrade Bach of the Buf-ton Workers' Union.

... Thomas Grade acted as chairman and Comende Brown as secretary of the county convention. George South-worth, a shoe worker, was chosen to head the ticket as candidate for county judge. The other candidates are: For Surrogate, Charles Meering; for Dis-trict Attorney, Erastus M. Ely; for coroners, Win. Erbacher and Isaac Prenner; for superintendent of the poor, James O'Connor; for assembly-men-First District, Chas. Volz; Sec-ond, Lawrence Oberlies; Third, Geo. E. Cooley; Fourth, Bernard B. Ward.

#### CENTER OF THE FIGHT.

While no part of the city will be neglected, the center of the fight will be in the Seventeenth Ward, where-Frank A. Sieverman was nominated for alderman. William Lippelt is he candidate for supervisor in this ward, and Micholas Brust for constable.

The comrades say they are either going to elect their ticker or "know the on why"-and they do not propose that the reason shall be found in any apathy on their part. All preparationare being made and the active ca paign will soon begin.

#### RIG ELECTRIC MERGER.

A dispatch from Cleveland an nounces the completion in that city of a corporation which will be the first

and gathered together into this system, no time in attempting to make an It includes the city lines in Port Huron, Mount Clemens and Detroit, Mich., and The company refused to consider the Lake Erie, from Port Huron; Mich., 65 Buffalo, N. Y., with lines reaching, southward from the lake toward Clu-cinnati, Wheeling, W. Va., and Pitts-

burg.
The milesge siready completed and in operation in this system amounts to 1,215, while over 400 miles of additional and the contraction and tional truck are under construction and will be completed within the next year. The total carnings of the separate

and the earnings will come out of the community, while the employes will find it harder to maintain wages or shorten hours, and the men displaced by the consolidation will have time to the men by the consolidation will have time to the atribe show was given

# IS CLEAR

Steel Strike Presents the Class Struggle in the Plainest Terms.

Either Complete Capitalist Control or Else Socialism Must Be the Solution - No Lasting Compromise Necessary.

The past week has been a memorable one in the history of the class struggle in America. New strikes have be gun, new injunctions have been issued. new methods have been devised by the capitalists and the courts for crushing The steel strike has settled down to

what will apparently be a long and bitter struggle, with little chance of It will be a trial of en durance, with all the chances of vic-tory on the side of the Steel Trust, unss the workers inspire their masters with fear by showing a determination to use their political power to settle the question in their own interest.

ists to be a clear one, on which no compromise is possible. That issue is: SHALL THE CAPITALISTS CON-TROL THEIR MILLS IN THEIR OWN WAY OR SHALL THE WORK-INGMEN, THROUGH THEIR OR GANIZATIONS, DICTATE TO THEM?

Since the fight is on, in the form of a strike covering practically the whole steel industry, it is the plain duty of every workingman to lend the strikers, his fullest support in every possible

way. But the workers, and especially the strikers themselves, have another and greater duty. They know that it is they who have created the property of the Steel Trust. They know that they have a moral right to control the industry and to receive and own the product. It is their duty now to take up the challenge of the capitalists, to necept the issue as stated by them, and to answer it with their ballots.

There is really no insting comprom-possible: Either the capitalists are rule and labor organizations must be crushed, or the workers are to rule and the capitalists must be expro-printed. The strike, even if it end in temporary victory, will not settle that question. It can be settled only by the Socialist proposition of collective ownwill have to be settled that way, so

#### LOCKOUT IN TROY.

Five Hundred Collar and Shirt Cutters Thrown Out of Work-Capitalists Exhibit Their Class-Consciousness.

The city of Troy is again threatened with a serious labor conflict. The lead-ing industry of the city, as is well cuffs, shirts, etc., and it is in this in dustry that a lockout has now or

A short time ago the Shirt, Collar, and Waist Cutters' Union submitted a proposition to the United Shirt and Collar Company, to limit the number of apprentices. This company was ala corporation and was seen as parmymen and was seen as parmymen and was seen as parmymen and was seen as world. The Everett-Moore syndicate is engineering the scheme.

Over twenty-five different city and inter-urban lines bare been acquired it were not stopped and therefore lost

In Sandusky: Lurain, Cleveland and proposition and a strike of the cutters Akron, Ohio, and the inter-urban lines followed. Theu came an exhibition of connecting them. The system already class-consciousness on the part of the class consciousness on the part of the capitalisis. The Manufacturers' Asso-ciation decided to help the company by having its cutting done in the various Association above.

Last Saturday morning the men were simultaneously assembled in the various shops and a statement from association read to them. The men informed that the Association was determined to support the United Collar and Shirt Company, and that The total earnings of the separate the men would be required to do the companies that comprise this huge system already amount to over \$10,000,000 a year. It is estimated that these earnings will increase enormously after the roads have been connected and united under one management.

And the earnings will come out of the maintained.

shorten hours, and the men displaced by the consolidation will have time to study Socialism.

—The "dull" season during the bot summer months does not affect the defmand for Socialism are being sold right now by the Socialism street. New York. The comrades know where to flud the flow to obtain a sufficient amount of stock to last through a long period. Thus to most of the manufacturers is a shown by the fact that the usual vacation was omitted and the shops kept busy to canable them to obtain a sufficient amount of stock to last through a long period. Thus to most of the munifacturers is a shown by the fact that the usual vacation was omitted and the shops kept busy to canable them to obtain a sufficient amount of stock to last through a long period. Thus to most of the munifacturers is a shown by the fact that the usual vacation was omitted and the shops kept busy to canable them to obtain a sufficient amount of stock to last through a long period. Thus to most of the munifacturers is a shown to the fact that the usual vacation was omitted and the shops kept busy to canable them to obtain a sufficient amount of stock to last through a long period. Thus to most of the munifacturers is a shown by the fact that the usual vacation was omitted and the shops kept busy to canable them to obtain a sufficient amount of stock to last through a long period. Thus to most of the munifacturers is a shown by the fact that the usual vacation was omitted and the shops kept busy to canable them to them they refused to touch if

### INJUNCTION IN CONNECTICUT.

Most Sweeping Order Against Striking Machinists.

Arrests Made and Vigorous Prosecution Probable Great Indignation Is Arousod.

spread so rapidly over the country during the recent strikes has finally reached Connecticut, F. W. Holden, counse for the Farrell Foundry Company, of Ansonia, has obtained an injunctio restraining the striking machinists from trying to prevent men from go-ing to work in the shops of that com-

The injunction was issued by Judge inger of the Superior Court and prohibits the strikers or their friends from "in any manner interfering with any person who may desire to enter the employ of the Farrell Co by means of threats, PERSUASIONS personal violence, intimidation, OR OTHER MEANS \* / \* from boy-cotting the company or any persons who may desire to do business with their workmen \* \* \* from picketing or patroling the factory or loitering of naking bolsterous noises near it, or ALL CONCERTED ACTION WHICH WILL IN ANY WAY INTERFERE WITH THE COMPANY OR ITS

BUSINESS OR ITS EMPLOYEES." Prominent members of the labor un ions have also been served with at tachments for \$25,000 and ordered to appear in the Superior Court in Sep-tember for trial; some of them are harged with conspiracy.

Or complaint of State Attorney Williams, Judge Shumway of the Superior Court issued a warrant for the arres of six of the Ansonia strikers. These men—Stephen Charters, president of the Board of Aldermen and a member of the Carpenters' Union; Jason Wright, president of the Machinists' Union; and M. P. Driscoll, president of the Painters' Union-were arrested.

The largest demonstration in the his-tory of the machinists' strike in An-sonia occurred when it became known that the labor leaders had been asrested, and would be taken to New Haven on the 11 p. m. train. Long be-fore train time the streets were crowd. ed with strikers and sympathizers and when the officers led the men ou to go to the station a crowd of several thousand thronged about them. At the depot some one called for cheers, and shout after shout went up for the pris-oners, mingled with hisses for the sher-

drew a small flag and waving it above his head cried. "Here's for a shorte The action was received did not subside until the train left the station.

## THE TAILORS' STRIKE.

Large Gains Made by East Side Work ers-"A Strike for Fresh Air."

The strike of some fifty or sixt sand East Side tailors has again cought to mind the horrible condi-tions under which they work. The sub-contracting system is respo for the worst of these evils. The strikmands is that the manufacturers shall assume responsibility for the sanitation of the contractors' shot Another grievance is that the contri tors frequently withhold the wages for work done and the tailors demand that the manufacturers guarantee the payment of wages.

been won. On Wednesday thirtymanufacturing firms acceded to the whole schedule of demands, including recognition of the union. While it is to be expected that much of what is gained now will have to be fought to again pext year, because the employ ers have long ago proved themselve absolutely faithless in their dealing with the garment workers, the present strike is, nevertheless, one of the most successful ever undertaken in this trade. The present developments do credit to the solidarity of the East Side workingmen and workingwomen an-give new hope for the final victory of the class-conscious political labor movement that shall at last render

#### THE LOGICAL CONCLUSION.

The courts have decreed that an o ed worker, who tries to resist the ganized worker, who tries to resist the eneroachments of the exploiter, has no right to address a non-union workman-with view of pointing out to him that to do anything centrary to interests of the organized workers is detrimental to his own interest, is violating the law, Having declared that boycotting is allegal and blacklisting is legal, the picketing and conversing with non-u-ion men is inegal and that to become slave to the employing class is legal the judicial representatives of capital iam should cap the climax by ordering the class-conscious union men to vote the old party tickets or stand in con-tempt of court. To insist that wage workers should exercise their political prerogative and relegate to oblivion the tools of capitalism, is far more danger-ous than to boycott and picket when strikes are on, and must not be soler and—Cheveland Citizen.

## CENTRAL FEDERATED UNION DECLARES FOR SOCIALISM.

In the Central Federated Union of New York City the following excellent itions were adopted last Sunday and referred to the affiliated unions

"Whereas, We the delegates of the Central Federated Union, view with slarm the rapid encroachment of orranized capital and the courts on the edom and liberty of organized labor as snown in the circumstances leading to the steel workers' and other strikes,

ind "Whereas, We learn with the utmost whereas, We learn with the utmost concern and apprehension of the action of the courts in Ohio and Connecticut in depriving the citizens of the right of free speech and levying the court expenses upon the workers' be wrecking the foundations of our institutions; therefore, be it 'Resolved, That the Central Feder

ated Union now and while the struggle of the steel workers lassts pledges its moral and financial assistance to them and urges upon our liberty-loving citns to stand by the steel workers in their struggle for freedom and justice.
"Resolved, That we carnestly recom-

mend that all workers combine at the ballot box to overthrow the system that makes such outrages as the preamble mentions possible. Now we want to ask you-you dele

gates in the Central Federated Union -do you mean what you say in those resolutions? Are they merely so many words to which you said "Aye," with out giving them any thought? Or do they express your real convictions and are you going to act in accordance with them?

If they do not express your real con victions, then you have done an inexcusable wrong in voting for themhave, in fact, publicly and solemnly hed upon a question of the utmost im portance to your class. We should be loath to think that any delegate has been guilty of such falsehood.

We are compelled, then, if we would not insult both your intelligence and your honor, to believe that you really: mean just what you have said in those resolutions. And naturally we are pleased, for this is just what we have been advocating for a long time.

But you have done more than express an opinion. You have made a binding pledge. When you "recommend that all workers combine at the ballot box to overthrow the system that makes such outrages possible." YOU PERSONALLY PLEDGE YOUR BELVES TO SUCH CLASS-CON-SCIOUS POLITICAL ACTION OF

THE WORKING CLASS. There is not one of you that has not some political connections. There is not one of you that has not some political influence. There is not one of you that does not take some part in political action; you cannot keep out of politics if you would. And now at last you have defined the only sort of political action that any of you can

bonorably participate in: Some of you have been more or less afraid of the word, Socialism, You have associated at with certain, doe trines which the capitalist press false ly assured you were held by Socialists or with certain wrongful acts com mitted by men claiming to be Socialists, but really disavowed and con demned by the mass of Socialist themselves. You have had some rea son and much excuse for your opposition or indifference to the Socialist

But let us tell you that YOU HAVE PUT THE VERY ESSENTIALS OF SOCIALISM INTO THOSE RESOLU-TIONS OF YOURS. Political action of the working class to overthrow the capitalist system-that can only be Socialist action. 'If you" believe what you have said, you belong inside the ocialist movement.

What is "the system that makes possible" the outrages you condemn? It is the system of PRIVATE OWNER SHIP of the means of production created and operated by social labor.

The steel strike has come down to a plain issue; SHALL THE STEEL MILLS, WHICH THE WORKING Interests and why.

#### UNIONS vs. MILITIA

Much apprehension is being caus ing the employing classes through se trade unions which have prohibited their members from attaching themselves to the military. If this thing is kept up the employers will have to do all the shooting them some daf, and the workers will w why they allowed themselves to be used against their fellow workers for such a long time.—The Unionist.

#### A USEFUL PAMPHLET.

Every Social Democratic organiza-ion in the city and state of New York

Spread Socialist papers. They

#### OPERATES, BE-CONTROLLED BY CAPITALISTS, IN ORDER TO MAKE PROFITS FOR THEM-SELVES, OR SHALL THEY BE CONTROLLED BY THE WORKERS, IN ORDER TO SERVE THE COM-

MON NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE? The capitalist system, the system of private ownership, makes profit the sole object, and in order to protect profit it dooms the workers to overwork and to poverty, robs them of their civil rights, makes their very existence insecure, and stands ready to use mills tary force to repress their just revolt,

The Socialist system would asthre o all the right and impose upon all the duty of useful labor. It would assure all of a free and full participation in all the advantages of civilization. It would bring lightening of labor Lid an improvement of material condition with every advance in methods of production. Best of all, since no man would then depend upon another for the opportunity to work and live, it would bring to all of us real liberty and real fraternity.

It all turns, you see, on the ownership of the means of production, which the social labor of the working class creates and operates. WHATEVER PARTY SUPPORTS PRIVATE OWN-ERSHIP NECESSARILY SANC-TIONS THE OUTRAGES THAT GROW OUT OF PRIVATE OWNER-SHIP. THE ONLY PARTY WHICH CAN HONESTLY CONDEMN AND TRY TO PREVENT SUCH OUT-RAGES IS THE PARTY WHICH SEEKSTOREMOVE THEIR CAUSE BY RESTORING TO THE WORK-ING PEOPLE THE OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION.

You will have a chance, during the next three months, to show that you onestly meant what you said last Sunday. There will be several tickets in the field in this city. Two or more of them will be put up by parties which do not wish to abolish the capitallst system with its outrages upon workingmen: THOSE PARTIES WILL HAVE PLENTY OF MONEY TO SPEND, AND WILL EXPECT TO GET IT ALL BACK WITH INTEREST IN THE GOOD USE THEY WILL MAKE OF THE POWER OF THE CITY AGAINST THE WORK-

ERS FOR THE CAPITALISTS. The other party will have very little money to spend, because it is made up of workingmen. It will depend upon argument, not upon "beer and boodle." Its candidates are men whom you know. You know BENJAMIN HAN-FORD as your faithful fellow workingman. You know MORRIS BROWN as your faithful fellow workingman. You know HENRY STAHL as your faithful fellow workingman. You know what these men mean when they accept nominations on a platform which declares against capitalism and for Socialism, and turn to the working class for support.

These resolutions were referred to the affiliated unions. We appeal to the members of those unions to consider them carefully. Do not vote for or against them without full discussi De not vote for them without thinking when you vote for them you are declaring your intention to vote for Sc cialism. DO NOT VOTE FOR THEM IF YOU DO NOT BELIEVE IN THEM.

But if you do vote for them, do not forget it next day, DO NOT FORGET IT ON NOVEMBER 5, when you see on the ballet an Arm and Torch as the Socialist emblem over the name of BENJAMIN HANFORD as candidate for mayor.

And do not forget it in the meantime, when you have an opportunity to explain to a fellow workman that you have resolved to vote for your class

New York will meet at the Labor Lycenm, Saturday evening, July 27. Efection of officers will the first order of business and delegates should be on hand promptly at 8 p. m. Other important business will come up

'The General Committee of Local

blem should be widely advertised, and the most effective means to do this is to wear the Red Satton with the Arn and Torch. See that your organization orders a supply of the cubbem bettom. Every comrade will buy one, and thus help to increase the finances of year-

... The rich men are making a great fuse about the small per cent they are obliged to give up in taxes, but how will they feel when they have to good up all they do not para themselvest-The Workers' Call.

## The Worker. Organ of the Sould Democra PUBLISHED WEEKLY 184 William Street, New York By the Scriblistic Co-operative Publishing Association P. O. BOX 1512. TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS. pies or more, per hundred Weekly Bundles: 5 per week, one year 20 per week, one year 25 per week, one year 50 per week, one year . As far as possible, rejected communica-tions will, be returned if so desired and Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post Office on April 6,

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NEW YORK CITY TICKET. For Mayor-BENJAMIN HANFORD. For Controller-MORRIS BROWN, For President of the Board of Aide non-HENRY STAHL.

S. L. P. . . . . . 33,450



int of space is this week etven to long and more or less theoretical articles and many matters of inter over or treated but fightly. This is due to the fact that this is the last issue before the Convention. We ask those internal party affairs to nerdon this, which will be in their even a defect, and to await our coming issues. carry on a more lively, a more aggreof Socialism than ever before

Capitalist judges cannot enjoin Socialist votes.

Seventh National Bank wreckers are not yet arrested. Perhaps the law dis-

For some reason, the American conthe biame of the very bad condition of trade in that country upon Socialism, This betrays a lack of political enterprise that should subject him to im-

Chauncey Depew is "having a bully is good, coming from Chauncey. The New York Central employes learned what that word meant long ago. They've been having a "bully" time under Chauncey's direction for many years. That's why be's able to have a buily time in Europe now.

During the inquest over the disaster which sunk the States Island forryboat Northfield and cost five lives, it devoleged that the ewners of the two bears that collided had been quarreling over signals and the collision was primarily due to that fact. And the owners of two boats are still at large and do-

ing finely, thank you. Dear old private

ownership, what could we do without

Out of the many labor bills introture during the past session, one of the very few that became a law was one increasing the unmber of anthracite their election by the people. The bill was closely watched by the miners' was closely watched by the minors' ameliorative measures; they differ conscienceless commercials only in that some think that this will have to take what their act tompted dickering, so when the bill passed, there was exceeding great joy let the victory. Now it turns out that that when we agree think that our will buy, and as they are out with whom we agree; think that our confliction to the victory. Now it turns out that the will be victory the merchants count with whom we agree; think that our confliction to the victory of the merchants count will be victory to take what they are out the victory will be a necessarily the victory will be a necessarily the victory will be the will be victory will be a necessarily the victory will be the will be victory will be the will be victory will be victory will be the will be victory will be vic

entire purpose may be destroyed and all the expense and energy used in it passage has probably gone for naught. The miners should be used to this sort of thing by this time, but they never slators to perform the trick with on failing regularity. The working people oridently like to play the lending role in a green goods performance, only the worthless labor laws will continue so be imposed upon them while they evince a partiality for bunco games.

THE TASK OF THE CONVENTION. Next Monday the delegates of So;

disting organizations from all over the land will meet in Indianapolis and begin their work for the organization of a united Socialist movement. In another week we shall know the result of their deliberations, shall know whether they have deserved the con fidence reposed in them and have been able to rise above factionalism, above personal and sectional feeling, above petiey prejudice, vanity, and pride of ion and the no less essential power of orbenrances required of the success ful revolutionist.

We believe that the Conventisucceed in the performance of its task. We believe the delegates realize the sacredness of their duty and their obligation to the great mass, the rank and file of the party, the ones who work and sacrifice without reward or praise and the result of whose labors lies so largely in the pow er of these, their chosen represen atives, by their wisdom to-be turned most efficiently to the service of the social Revolution or by their folly to he wasted in discord and strife.

We believe we speak for the rank and file when we say that we want complete organic unity, from bottom to top, through all the land. We want no trace of past divisions to be visible

There is little doubt that this domand will now be fully recognized. But care must be taken lest its fulfille be endangered by stubborn disput upon the details of organization. This is no light matter, no question to be settled with a phrase or put aside with a wave of the hand. There is an attention to detail which is frivolens and contemptible-a factious love of techpicality which is most fatal to great movements. But there is also an attention to detail which is most neces sary, which finds nothing too small for thoughtful consideration, and yet maintains-its sense of proportion and knows how to subordinate small matters to great. To create a party ma chinery that will work, to strike the happy medium between desnotic centralization and anarchic local auton my, to secure control over party offi cials without hampering them in the performance of their duties this will require more than generous enthustasm and good will; it will require calm

And on this point especially it is impo tent that our delegates show the full est confidence in the collective honests and intelligence of the party, that the be not frightened by bogies of the past or phantoms of the future. Let them seek to frame an organization tha CAN DO GOOD, rather than one that CANNOT DO HARM. We have less cause to fear an executive that may occasionally overstep its powers than an executive whose hands are tied with excessive restrictions. The former can at least be overthrown if it abuses its powers; the latter is sure to degenerate into a red-tape machin or into an intriguing clique and lucky

There is but one matter which might give the Convention legitimate cause of failure to effect unity. If there be a real difference of principle, unity would become a disaster as well as a farce. If there he any present who do not accept the class struggle as the basis of our movement, if there be any who do not accept independen political action as its inflexible rule, then we do not see how these can conscientiously seek unity with those was accept both, or how the latter can con scientiously accede to such union.

But we see no reason for believing that there is any such real difference of principle. Every day brings us new evidence that the rank and file of our party, in all its factions, fully accept these fundamental ideas. Indeed, the working class outside the movement is learning these lessons in the factory even better than we can teach ther through our propagands. If there be any individuals who reject them, we are sure that they are out of touch with the real living movement, and that they represent no considerable

force. The question of "immediate de ands" is a matter of detail. It is not a trivial detail-we unbesitatingly say that we favor the retention of such a program, consistently arranged, as an integral part of our platform—but yet it is a question of method sother than of principle. For all seem to agree that we should welcome and arge on

inderstood if we give a recognis of these ameliorative measures

For the main portion of our plat we see to reason why it should be niuch changed. Our party is more than a propaganda organization, but it is also more than an ordinary political party. Its platform must be more than a declaration of our purpose; it must be an exposition of our prin the nation own the trusts, is an admirable agitation phrase, but it would be a poor platform. A mere declaration, in two or time sentences, for collective ownership of the means of production, would state our purpose, but it would not explain our principles and

it would carry conviction. In its deliberations on all these qu tions, the Convention must be guided by the commensense rule of seeking to keep all that is good of the past, while rejecting what has been found bail, and of adapting existing forms, whi the least possible waste of energy, to the new conditions of our larger

That the Convention will be enthus astle we know. That it may also b thoughtful we desire. And that it may succeed in its work we hope, in the interest, not of any faction, not of our party alone, but of the toiling and suf fering millious for whose emancipation it exists.

MR. TOWNE'S FRANK AVOWAL

Charles A. Towne of Minnesota, who nce had visions of political greatness as the champion of free silver, admits that the silver issue is dead and explains the situation in the following words:

"Free silver as an issue is absolutely dead in the West. I do not believe i platform or campaign of 1904. feeling among Democrats in the Wesis that they want to win, and they do not care a rap what kind of a platfori they have so long as it brings victory

For once Mr. Towns has stated th facts exactly as they are, without at tempting to disguise them in "Jeffer sonian" cant and gorgeous rhetoric The Democratic party, just like the Republican party, wants to win, and t foes not care a rap about principles. Of course, if this were applied to the great mass of the men who have votes the Democratic ticket, who have sup opried Mr. Towns and Mr. Bryan brough two disastrbus campaigns, F would be a base libel. The rank and file of the voters have honestly be have had no interest in political victory except as it would mean the establish ment of what they considered true

But the Democratic party is something quite different from the mass of Demo eratic voters, just as the Republican party is something quite different from he mass of Republican voters. The platforms and policies of these parties are made by the machine, by the prosional politicians who have just two ends in view: First, to serve the later ests of their capital backers; second to feather their own nests with the per quisites of office. And they make and hange platforms and policies with the ole consideration of "catching votes.

The workingmen of the west who ave honestly supported Mr. Towne will be sorry to hear of his desertion. But let them lose no time in grieving or in recrimination. Let them, instead, re-solve that henceforth they will depend on their own class, and on it alone, for the political advangement of their class interests. Let them decide that they will no longer look for leaders or mes sints, but that they will hand them selves' together as workingmen, con scious of their wrongs and determined to right them. Let them study for them selves the conditions under which they live and work out by frank mutual disconditions. And then, having thought together, let them act together for their

Mr. Towne has done a real service to the Socialist movement by his frank avowsi of the insincerity and the mercenary metives of the so-called "re

The charge is made that Chloago merchants are making use of a dangerous poison to keep fruit and vegetables from rotting on their hands Chemists testify that a very mild dilution of the poison sprayed upon pots toes or fruit is enough to bring great suffering to the people enting the food so treated. This is nothing short of marder on a diabolical and long drawn out scale, but modern business methods tolerate and demand murder of this kind. For how are the merchants to compete and make profits if they do not use such methods? It is all in "business," and the man who is too crupatons to shot his eyes and smoth er his conscience at the dictates of business," will go to the wall. His who are the people that are personed? The wealthy class? Oh, no! They can afford good food, and their purveyors see that they get it. It is the workers, who work so bard and get so little who are the victims of vike foot and conscienceless commercialism. They have to take what their some wages will buy, and as they are only working people, the merchants continue their soulless traffic without mercy, and

good society by reason of it. Little need ing people continue to vote for the system of private ownership and profit that not only impoverishes them but murders them slowly and surely into the burgain.

More than ordinary interest attaches to the news that there has been a strike on Sir Thomas Lipton's Shamrock II. with scabs in order to sail the yacht in American waters. Not that it is anything unusual for the titled grocery-men to handle labor troubles in this way. Not at all. Long ago his treatment of his employees in his stores throughout Great Britain has been known as harsh and outrageous in the extreme, That is one of the ways he got rich, just like our own Carnegie and others did' Labor unions in England distrust Lipton with much the same viger that the trade unions in America distrust Carnegie. But what makes the yacht incident most interesting at this time to the probable at titude the trade unions will assume tocompete for the cup. Will they again end themselves to the landatory so-called hospitality they have been led to be lieve necessary? Or will they consist-Elpton and the yacht race, and show clearly that they place the cause of labor above a millionaire's race for a

Our > Exteemed Contemporaries BBB (and OTHERS) BBB

Terre Haute Toller. Secretary Gage estimates that the urplus of the fiscal year will be nearly \$80,000,000. If he will give us an est mate of the surplus wealth absorbed by the employing class from the unpaid labor of the workers for the current pear we will acknowledge our grati-tude to him. This is a form of "sur-plus revenue" that is conspicuous by its absence in the reports from Wash-

spects.

How can such a party be created, is the question of paramount importance facing the convention. The question has been vigorously agitated in our party press for the last few weeks, and Chicago Workers' Call.

Speaking of the recent-hot spell, the
"Tribune" gives the following sage advice: "The facts justify the conclusion I will now contribute a few sugges-tions to the discussion.

The ideal Socialist party is one which has: First, a clear and definite which may be seen and definite understanding of scientific Socialism as applied to the special conditions of the country in which it is organized, and knows how to express its views tersely and lucidly—4. e., a GOOD PLATFORM: 2. An intelligent, active and enthusiastic nembership, working.

vice: "The facts justify the conclusion that it is advisable to slacken the work-ing pace in extremely hot weather." But there are also several other facts that not only don't justify the cou-clusion, but on the contrary render it-'inadvisable' besides. One is that slackering the working pace' tends to reduce the profits of the employer, while on the other hand the wage slav who attempted to slack up would speedily discover that his job was im-perilled by the practise. Had the 'Tribune inserted a provise in its advice to the effect that wages should be reduced in proportion to the slackening, ther might be less danger in accepting out under present conditions it is ev dently impracticable. Capitalism sup plies too much 'incentive' to permit it

Philiadelphia New Bles.

Philadelphia New Era,
Great alarm was felt in some quarters while our industrial musters were
crossing the ocean. Some timid souls
were afraid the world would go to
smush it the Deutschland annk. There
was no occasion for alarm, for Morgan
cha't run a locomotive, Griscom can't
sail a slip. Widener can't put up trolley poles and string wires on them ley poles and string wires on them, and Elkins can't build cars. If these gentlemen had gone to Davy Juse's locker there would be some seventeen millions of people, who know how to. could not take the mines, the forests and farms with them, and with these left to us we could manage to get

The students of wealth and want, of progress and poverty of providence and piracy, etc., have object lessons challenging their powers of investigation in the mysterious processes of evolution in three notable estates created during the mineteenth century—the salient concomitant features, such as Astor, the Vanderbilt, and the Gould the class struggle, concentration of estates. The Astor estate evolved from a coon skift the Vanderbilt estate from a mud scow, and the Gould astate from a mud scow, and the Gould astate from a mouse trap. These estates have all grown to colossal proportions within a century. The Astor estate, the least spectacular of the three because confined to real estate, lands, and buildings about which the great public know absolutely nothing, except that it is moastronsily large. The Vanderhilt and the Gould estates attract more attention because they involve in a large measure public interests in the way of transportation. In the aggregate these estates are estimated at \$250,000,000. Their owners never performed a day's work in all of their formed a day's work in all; of their formed a day's work in ail of their lives. The Asters collect rents and the Goulds collect toll and extend the lines of their rullroads ever the continual and are, therefore, constantly in the public eye. Labor, and only labor, has

BOTTLE TRUST LAUNCHED.

BOTTLE TRUST LAUNCHED.

It has just been made public that a trust in the fiint bottle industry has been formed. Everyone of the fifty manufacturers of glass bottles in the United States is included.

The empitalization of the new trust is manufacturers and it will control the flint glass industry of the control the flint glass industry of the country. The manufacturers declare that competition became as been that positis were all but wiped out, and it was finally suggested that they get together for self-pusion valids. The immediate effect of the consolubition was a raise in prices, and the other industries at of the consolidation was a raise in prices, and the other industries affected are getting raising to take it out of the communest.

It is seen consolidation to know that the convention is not called upon to franks are especially for the gaseign good, else we might be tempted to assess that the convention is not called upon to franks have for all times, but more early good, else we might be tempted to assess that the convention.

THE TASK OF THE CONVENTION.

In Unparalleled Opportunity to Organ

The approaching Indianapolis

of a complete revolution in the minds of these workingmen; they are begin-ning to lose faith in their old political

views and parties; hundreds of them are joining the Socialist camp every month, and thousands of others are tipe for Socialism. The only thing re-

quired to shape these popular currents and to organize these elements in a well directed battle against the forces

of capital is—a Socialist party abreast of the times.

The Indianapolis convention will

eather create such a party, and thus become one of the greatest landmarks in the history of our movement, or it will miss the spiendid opportunity and thus become a lamentable failure. Whether it will do the one or the other

the future will show. The one asser

tion we can make at the present stage is, that the convention will certainly

contain all the necessary material and elements to make it an unqualified suc-cess. If present indications do not de-ceive the representation will be larger

than at any preceding Socialist conve

tion; the delegates will be composed of some of the most active and intelligent workers in the movement, and they

will have more freedom of action than

ver before.

of the Socialist parties have served to

weaken the authority of former forms of party organization and administra-

tion; the delegates will be apparagree

by party ties and juditions, and free to evente a practically new party adapted to the needs of the times in all re-

and enthusiastic membership working in unison for the propaganda of Social-ism on a well planned system of divis-ion of labor and in complete harmony

with each other, I. e., AN EFFICIENT

THE PLATFORM.

fication for membership and a guide for the actions of any representatives it may elect inside or outside of the

form should contain a full and lucid

capital grawth of the proletariaus, etc.

the tendencies of that system and the final stage of its development-Social

ismi, and also the ways and means by

ism, and also the ways and means by which we expect to reach that stage—our plan of action.

The first portions of that decisration are contained in the body of the platform and the last portion in the "immediate demands." One is just as nauch an organic part of the platform at the either in the name way as fixed.

as the other in the same why as Social-ist views are just as much part of So-cialism as Socialist activity and vice

From this point of view I am unable

to agree with those who would like to see the plutform bolish down to such a size that it could be printed on an

cavelope or postni card, as well as with those who advocate the striking of all immediate demands from our pintform.

immediate demands from our pintform.

The fear that middle class reform parties may steal our thunder by purloining some of our immediate demands is no reason why we should drop them, or, to be consistent, we would have to give up our agitation and activity in the three indicated by the immediate demands because other parties may also take up those issues, and we may resent in incitively walking for the social revolution in company with our anarchistic friends.

Our platform should be just as brief as consistent with clearness and so briefer. It should be neither a tedious philosophical dis-

with our anarchistic friends.

party.

ler these propositions separately

FORM OF ORGANIZATION.

Progress.

and scattered in small organizations all over the country, a central administrative body with large powers is the only thing that will unite these scattered bodies into one compact party, and extend and strengthen the organization. A very strong national committee is the mark of a very weak party. The more the organizations grow in any one state the less in the ing the Socialist Forces for Future The approaching indianapolis con-vention will certainly eclipse all pro-ceding Socialist conventions in this country in the magnitude and import-ance of the task before it. grow in any one state the less is the intervention of the national committee ance of the task before it.

For the first time in the history of
this country Socialism bids rair to assume the dimensions of a real national
movement. The closing years of the
hist century were replete with many
glaring manifestations of, the class
struggle on the political and economic
halds which did not reas submedial by intervention of the national committee in its internal affairs necessary or even useful, and whenever all states of the union will be well and fully organized, so that each state will be capable to to take care of its own affairs, the func-tions of the national committee will of necessity be limited to the manage-ment of national campaigns, represent-ing the party in external matters, and fields which did not pass unheeded by a large number of intelligent working-men. In almost every state and terri-tory of the union there are indications

> But have we already reached that point? The most sanguine of optimists will not say that we have. As yet there are many states totally unorganised and many others too weak to take car of themselves. To spread our move ment to the unorganized states, and to assist the weaker states is a task which only a national committee, a committee with funds and an income and meeting at frequent intervals can perform. The cry of "state autonomy" has its justification in a very limited sense so far. The result of leaving present stage of the movement would be the retarding of the movement in

considerable part of the country.

If is true, however, that the state organizations have gained much strength of late, and the convention should recognize that fact by increasing the powers and revenues of the state committees. For instance, the state committee should retain a larger portion of the membership dues than heretofore. It should issue its own charters to locals withing its territory, etc. Should it appear within a few years than the metal during of the years that the useful duties of the national executive committee have be-come neerly nominal, why we may trust the next convention to further limit its powers and extend those of the state committees.

As long, however, as the national

executive committee has necessary work to perform, organize it on a working plan and provide it with the necessary means. And in connection with this I believe the plan advanced by Comrade Harriman is in so far the est as it provides for a working body subject at all times to the control of

M. HILLOUIT.

#### SOCIALIST ECONOMICS.

Being an Attempt to Present the Main Principles of Scientific Socialism in Popular Language.

V.-LABOR POWER AS A COM-

Much has been said and written of late under that head which betraps a somewhat superficial conception of the subject: A Socialist party is more I have sought to show, in the last two articles, that under the capitalist sys-tem. labor-power is a commodity, a thing to be bought and sold in the murthan an ordinary political party. It is also a party of propaganda and edu-cation, and its platform is more than the platform of an ordinary political ket and that its price, like that of every other commodity, is fixed by the cost of production- in this case, by the cost of living. I shall now try to make clear party. It is also a declaration of fundamental principles and a program of action. While the platforms of how it follows that Socialism is the only means by which the condition of the working class can be materially or perpurely political parties are merely called upon to comment upon pass-ing conditions and outline a line of action and demands suitable to those conditions as a kind of prospec nently improved.

In society as it exists to day—a so

ciety of buyers and sellers—the work-ingman has but one commodity to offer for sale his labor-power. This labor power may be mere physical strength, with the smallest amount of skill or intelligence. If may be skill or manual texterity, natural to the individual or nequired by long experience and training. It may be knowledge, gained by careful education. It may be and generally is, two or all of these combined in varying degrees. In any case this labor-power, of hand or brain, or both, is the sole stock in trade of the proetarian. And the proletarian gets his living by periodically selling this la power at such terms as he can get.

In several particulars labor-pow always the difference is to the disadrantage of the workingman. It is necessary here to discuss only two of the points of difference—the fact that, unlike other commodities, labor-power is always owned in small quantities and the fact that, again unlike other comodities, labor-power cannot saved or withheld from the market. From the first of these facts it fol-

lows that the workingmen, the seller of labor-power, has always to labor under the disadvantage of being a "small dealer." It is the universal tendency, in every other sort of traffic, for small trade to give place to great commerce, for competition to result in combinatrade to give place to give to emister. for competition to result in cambination. Wheat, potatoes, cotton, iron, sugar, petroleum—ell can be cornered. That is, the whole or the greater part of the stisck in the market can be brought into the hands of a single owbrought into the hands of a single owmer or of a few owners who will act inunison. This may be done indirectly,
m-when a Leiter leave up nearly all of
the whent offered by small producers,
or directly, as where a Hocker-leiler gets
hold of the sources of nearly all the
petroleum. In either case, the owner
of the great stock has a great advantage and is able to sell at much better
tubus than do, the small helders. But
the workingman has control only of his
own individual inber-power. The only
way in which this commodity can be
cornered is by a combination of its owmers, the wage-workers, as in a trademion! It will soon be nees why such a
combination can never be so encessful

unjon. It will soon be seen why such a combination can never be so ancesseful as the combinations effected by the owners of iron, petroleum and sugar. The second point of difference noted between labor-power and other commodities is that the former cannot be withheld from the market. Here, again, it will be seen that the seller of labor-power is at a disadvantage. Let me commare him, for instance, with the

and pork. But he has some choice in the time of selling. If he goes to the market and linds prices very low, he can go home and keep his produce till terms will till next apping without much danger of losing it. The small farmer can al-ways do this to some extent. The large farmer can do it better. And in pro-portion as agriculture passes into the hands of very large capitalist concerns, the owners of farm produce are better able to hold it back from the market. able to hold it back from the market, and so to command better pieces for it. Not so the workingman. His only commodity is his own labor-power. He must sell it daily in order to get its value. If he loses work for a week that week's labor-power is irretrievable lose.

ably lost.
This fact becomes more evident when ever the workingmen and the capital-ists are brought face to face in a strike —especially if the strike be a large one. especially if the strike in the both sides be well organized, and if both sides be well organized, and if the matter in dispute be one of such importance as to make it worth while on both sides to fight it out to the end. The struggle then settles down to a trial of endurance.

The capitalist, at the worst, does not uffer an absolute loss. He is not compelied to burn fuel, consume raw material, and meet the other expenses of production without a return. He merely fails, for so many weeks or months ly falls, for so many weeks or menths, to get the profits that he expected to get. And sometimes even this negative loss is partly or wholly counterbalanced. The price of the product rises and he is able to dispose of his stock at an unusual rate of profit; and this unusually high price may continue for some time after the strike is settled. Strikes are, indeed; sometimes welcomed by the employer as giving him an opportunity to "relieve the market." opportunity to "relieve the market without incurring the odium of a shut down or a cut of wages.

With the workingman it is quite different. His expenses go on the same, whether he is working or not He must live, and in order to live he must have food, clothing, fuel. While the strike temporarily interrupts both the ex-penditures and the income of the capi-talist, it interrupts only the income of the workingman. And the workingman has no "stock on hand" to dispose of. His one commodity, labor-power is of such a nature that he cannot storit up and hold it until prices rise. If wages do rise, if the strike is won, the increase applies only to the future, not at all to the past. Exactly the same contrast appears

when, on account of the lowness of prices, however caused, the employer decides to shut down his factory. By so doing he raises the prices of goods already produced as well as of goods to be produced in the future. But the workingmen suffer an actual loss, be cause their labor-power must be main-tained and reproduced by food, etc., whether they work or not, but does not, deltig the time of the shut-down, bring them any return whatever.

We have, then, this fact: That the workingman lives by the sale of his labor-power and that the price of this commodity—that is, the wages of labor— —is determined pretty closely by the cost of the workingman's living. We have this further fact: That labor-nower is a necelling commodity in that power is a peculiar commodity in that, while it must be reproduced from day to day, it cannot be witheld from th better prices, but must be sold from day to day, or not at all. There is an other peculiar quality about this, the only commodity of the working class: That it is the only commodity which in being used up, gives rise to a valunext article, under the head, "What Is

### Current # # # Literature

All books and pamphlets mentioned in this column may be obtained through the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York.

THE CHILDREN OF THE NATION A STUIM OF COLONIZATION AND ITS PROBLEMS By Foulting Rigitor, M. A. F. R. G. S. Swo., pp. 345, 365, Me. Cluze, Phillips & Co., 1897. Frice, 52 act. Mr. Bigelow has travelled extensive ly, visiting the nations of the earth and their children; he kept his eyes open in his travels and reflected on what he may his observations and conclusions on the relations between these children and their mothers, together with a broad historical sketch of the colonizing unvenuents of over four con-suries, he presents in this book, which is prettily dedicated to Mark Twain, "the most philosophic of travellers, the most travelled of philosophers." It must be said that Mr. Bigelow himself is rather better as a traveller and nar

In general, the failures in the world's colonizing are attributed to corruption and greed, and the successes to liberal administration and free opportunity Spain and Portugal were the most elaborate expansionists, but they sought only to fill the home coffers, and cared for neither the natives whom they conquered nor the colonists whom they cuted, they exploited both "for all they were worth." France, however, while also a "Latiu" nation. powerer, while also a Latin nation, gives her dependencies excellent administration, but because of the Frenchman's rejuctance to emigrate and his distrust of colonial self-government, his colonies are simply good homes for alleus, principally Italians and Scanfords Prance & define and Spaniards. France is doingreat work as a civilizer; ber flag blessing to a country blessing to a country "so far as it means good roads, efficient police courts of justice, harbor works, and

couris of justice, harbor works, and other necessary, expenditure." But France gets no benefit from it all.

Germany's official colonizing is a faffure, because it is a mass of red tape which upholds the flag, indeed, but which hinders trade. But the Germans, like the Scandinavians, the Italians, the Chinese are successful colonizers unofficially; these people migrate to forceign lands, taking their industry and thrift and other virtues with them, becoming good citizens and prosperous, to their own advancement and the credit of their respective father lands—for which they always retains affectionate regard. Bussian offi

can coordinate on it the more complete on record. "The Car has moved his people eastward for political and strategic reasons, because he required an army effectmention, and the chem-est army, was the one which handled the hoe as well as the ride." Kussa's creatures on the social and intellectual fivel of domestic cattle. The Russian alone has sought to fuse with the Chi-ness, but China sets the limit to Rus-

sia's expansion.

The Anglo-Saxon has been prominent as a colouizer, because of his ca-pacity for self-government. Wherever any reason, colonies of other nations came under the power of England they revived and prospered; when they returned to their original owners, they languished and decayed except where the English influence had be manent.

From his survey of the world's ex-perience in this field, Mr. Bigelow concities that America, which has so re-cently become interested in these problems, must take warning and profit from the examples of other nations. and develop a school for trained ad-ministrators, to give our outlying territories "a government based on business principles." History is more than a jumble of great men and striking events. The author tells us that "the moving forces of this world cannot be put into the scales and weighed... \* \* \* Loyalty, respect, for parents, patriotism, religion-these are the forces that move the world, not factory-whe and banking concerns." Yes, indeed, loyalty, and patriotism, and religion, humane sentiments, enthusiasm right and justice, love of liberty, alry, anything you please but facto-ries, banks, greed, trade balances, in-

terests? Goodness me, by no means. We learn from Mr. Bigelow's study of colonization and its problems that the church has always found it easy to justify institutions that were worth while in a worldly way; that private interests have always succeeded in educating public "sentiment" in the prop-er channels; that merchants never al-lowed patriotism to interfere with trade-which "follows the flag" only when the flag leads along the line of greatest profit; that after the Jewa the Jesuits who tried to civilize the heathen and to protect him against his Christian exploiters received the greatest attention in the way of persecution. "Columbus knew that anything would be forgiven provided gold was

procured; but that nothing could atone for an empty chest." Just so; and Columbus tracke. the way of empire; thus, wags the world. We need not sneer at the priests and friars, or at the planters and merchants who professed to believe that Providence intended the "gentle Carib" and the miserable negro to carry the white man's burden for him. The best of us to-day believe humanitarian at the other end of the century. There were abolitionists in 1510—yes, and what did they get for their pains? There are abolitionists to-day—always have been; but there be also freebooters, and "pioneers" and "undertakers"—and business methods. Let us do our own philosophizing, In gathering the material presented in this book, Mr. Bigelow builded better than he knew, but the philosophy of colonization and the problems

must be left to others. Oppression has meant the government of one class according to the interests of another—as the governing of coloulsts, planters, "natives," in the interests of merchants, officials, soldier Colonies so government have failed. Lib-erty and opportunity have meant self-government—the government by a class of its own affairs in its own intercests. Colonies so governed have suc-ceeded. The same principles apply to all government; when there are none to exploit, none will suffer from ex-

In general, the Latin races have been more short-sighted than the Anglo-Saxons; but their motives were not one whit worse. Books like the present teach as that the children of the na-tions are at least constas, while the efficiency of the negro, in spite of the erusity of the Mainy, in spite of many shortcomings in many lands—are all all brothers; that the "maying forces" are about the same for all of us, be cause we are all made of the same stuf

The book makes very ple ing, some parts especially being de-lightful. The historical data are for the most part accurate, and the numer-ous biographical and personal notes are always very interesting, though not always as relevant. The type and paper are agreeable to the eyes and the binding is unusually good; the typography, too, is excellent, but also for the dream of human perfection half the pages in the minth signature are transposed, while the decorative covering design is just disheartening, and that's no loke.

R. E. B.

#### MALLEABLE IRON TRUST.

It is reported that J. Pierpout Morgan is behind a movement to consoligan is behind a movement to consoli-date thirty of the largest mallenble loon factories. It is said to be the plan to control eventually the mallenble from industry of the country. Some of the plants have not began making a profit, and they will be closed-should the transt be formed. By contribute the different should be and controlled. plants and controlling the industry larger profit is promised.

#### DRESSMAKERS' TRUST.

A dressmakers' trust has been formed under the name of the Dressmakers' Importing Association, with a capital of £200,000. The headquarters are in New York. The trust will control the importation of models of styles abroad, thus doing away with the accessity of individual dressmaking firms throughout the country sanding representatives to Paris every year.

-Judging by the orders coming in the Sociafiet Literature Company, 184 William street, New York, for the book "Before an Audience," by Nathan Shepperd, several hundred courades have tased up their mind to become Socialist act.

## SOCIALISM AND IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

#### A Discussion of an Important Question of Socialist Principles and Policy.

BY HENRY SLOBODIN.

Public Ownership.—No measure con-nined among the "immediate de-mands" commends itself more to the good will of the Socialists than the demand of public ownership of public franchises. If cannot be expected that all public franchises should be muni-cipalized at once, hence stress is made on the municipalization of some, as railways. Now it is contended by these who desire that the Social Democratic Party make a special issue and campaign for the municipalization of railways that the realization of this measure would—L. Through the uld-1. Through the in provement of the condition of the rail way workers ameliorate the condition of the working class generally. 2. B a concrete example of public owner-ship and nake Socialism popular. All or which will, no doubt, be brought about by the manicipalization of rail-ways provided the revolutionary arti-tude of the working class as represent. tude of the working class as represen-ed in a revolutionary Socialist party forces into the realization of this meas-ure a truly progressive spirit. We have reason as well as precedent to prove that otherwise the municipalization of

unreserved approval to the numicipall zation of tailways, without making distinction or reserve, it will lose the right to protest against the corruption and peculation which must necessarily cashe upon the realization of any Soindistic measure within the present system. For our opponents will con-tend, as they do now, that official cortend, as they do now ruption is the inherent characteristic and unavoidable concomitant of all So-cialistic measures, and that Socialism way be judged accordingly. "If you may be judged accordingly. "I did not know" they will tell us,

corruption must ensue upon the realization of your measure, then the events prove that you were ignorant; if you did not know then they prove that you are bad public advisers." But a far more formidable danger than official corruption lies in the en ising field for Socialist propaganda. Should the chief aim and object of the and the establishing of a Socialist commonwealth- be relegated to the rear, or be used as rhetorical phrases on solemn occusions only; should the prepaganda of the Socialist party re-solve itself chiefly to dubbling in muni-cipal ownership; should the sharacter of our propaganda become "practical," "evolutionary, "constructive," and u velutionary." "constructive, and a hole lot of other abused words of apposedly smooth and peaceful im-pert; then the state of mind of those whom such propagands will convert to Sociation will also be of the of the working class, its the graces, whate of mind of the workingmen that is meant. It needs no further proof that such propagands of the "spastructive," the cult of the "practical," is not calculated to awaken in the working he should continue to stand valiantly by the interests of his class, though his individual or trade interests are no estructive type of undying be confounded with the world sery wherein the working class. Under such circumstances, they workers will be eliminated actor on the side of the working have a striking example to the earlier earriers. The example to the earlier earriers. The example to the working hours is instensity noticed and reprehended by the bossess, who make every effort to prevent the shortening of the say from increasing the expenses of production. As a consequence we have a working hours of leisure are pulses in order to combut the age class and Sociatism. For exercise, the sections of sectory that have, or they have, an interest in the contained of the standing regime will ally not lend themselves to its the railway workers will be eliminated as a ractor on the side of the working class in its struggles with the capitallst class in its struggles with the capitallist class. We have a striking example in the letter carriers. The example in proves that the workers of the municipal railways will be used by the capitalist class in seder to combat the working class and Socialism. For experience has taught the Socialists that those sections of society that have, or think they have, an interest in the conservation of the standing regime will not only not lend themselves to its overthrow, art will oppose such over

and will in other ways lend themselves as instruments of oppression. Hence a mere propaganda of "practical" Social-ism, a campaign of "immediate de-mands" will not only retard the resil-zation of these demands, but upon resilization will produce such a specimen of hastard Socialism, which even the putative parent will only be too glad to disown. On the other hand-the propagands of revolutionary and class-conscious Socialism that lays to class-conscions Socialism ensures, but stress on ameliorative measures, but debands the unconditional sucrender of the capitalist class, will not only of the capitalist class, will not only working class, that will preclude the possibility of any of its advanced sec-tions lending itself as an instrument of oppression, and in the beligerest attitude of the Socialist party that will not permit the capitalist class to tam-per with the realization of the amelior

ance to the working class, so is then none which affords so many loop-hole through which the capitalists can de-feat, at least in a large part, the object his laborer, but in securing from him the largest amount of labor power. Should it be proven to him that he will be in a position to compensate himself for the shortening of the labor time by increasing the intensity of labor, he increasing the intensity of labor, as will be willing to join a philaintropic shorter hours league, and to vote for a platform containing such immediate demand. It may be that the motor-man on the Broadway car works fewer hours than the driver of former Broadway horse line, but if th ing a day could be compared, it would be proven that the motorman requires an appallingly greater amount of ener-gy for his day's work than the former driver required for his. It would be mer drivers. 'It may not be well known that the motorman does not en-joy a long life, though it is well known that he does not enjoy his short one.

It just happened that in the course of my perusal of the daily paper, after

the New York "Times" of July 11. English trade papers to a new and operatives in Langashire, a result of the shorter working day which the la-bor unions of the district have sue ceeded in establishing. A system of overdriving is said to be growing up. overdriving is said to be growing up, and according to the reports of the la-bor leaders it is fast becoming latelerof the weavers under their control, and it is asserted that these overlook-ers go around the mills with a slate to day, the amount each operative has a ring around the amount earned is placed, this being a warning that un-less the average is kept up the weaver that this driving system has involved such a strain as to make the lives of many factory workers miserable, and various meetings have been held, at assert that the complaints are exag-gerated. They say that the 'speeding' of matchinery has been the inevitable outcome of the reduction of the hours outcome of the reduction of the hours of labor, and that competition compels them to secure weight of production in

CHANGS DOUBT IF THE CHANGE POR WHICH THEY HAVE FOUGHT SO HARD AND LONG IS YET A REAL ADVANTAGE TO THEM." not only not lend themselves to its overthrow, at will oppose such overthrow. Certainly in this case the overthrow of the regime of capitalism would not beopardise the condition of the tallway workers. But the example of the letter carriers proves amply that to understand this plain proposition requires a higher conception of class interests than a propagation of "practical" Socialism is likely to lend to the workingmen. These same letter carriers tremble in sheer terror at the thought that the powers that be may suspect them of sympathy with the working class. Not only have they declined to join the workingmen of New REAL ADVANTAGE TO THEM."

It speaks volumes for the progressive spirit of our "practicals" that it devolves on the New York "Times" to point out to them that one of their most important measures of amelioration secures no practical relief to the workingmen, except so much of it as they succeed in obtaining through their powers of realistance and spirit of aggressiveness.

carriers remaide in sheer terror at the thought that the powers that he may suspect them of sympathy with the working class. Not only have they decreased intensity of labor is not the only way in which new burdens are imposed on the working class. Not only have they decreased intensity of labor is not the only way in which new burdens are imposed on the working class that to be looked to bein the working men of New York. The postoffice is used by many Socialist speakers as an at the only way in which new burdens are imposed on the working class for the loos which it would have otherwise sustained through the shortening of the labor day, and which nullify the object of the absorber day—the conservation of the energy of the working has be institution has deprived the working man. The growth of population and the introduction of newer machinary make the conditions of modern produce of the support of the explaination of newer machinary make the conditions of modern produce ever new burdens on production. There are more than one way in which the more complex and impose ever new burdens on production. There are more than one way in which the more complex and impose ever new burdens on production. There are more than one way in which the more complex and impose ever new burdens on production. There are more than one way in which the more complex and impose ever new burdens on production. There are more than one way in which the more complex and impose ever new burdens on production. There are more than one way in which the more complex and impose ever new burdens on production. There are more than one way in which the more complex and impose ever new burdens on production. There are more than one way in which the more complex and impose ever new burdens on production. There is not the internal department of the lefter of the subject on the working man. We have the production of the working man is forced to the internal department of the lefter of the internal department of the internal department of the internal depar

that time which may remain to the workingman from his work and sleep. inform you that this isso to this is a problem of me small moment to him. It would be worse than moekery to consider such time as his own and de-voted to rest, as he has to travel is over-crowded cares that are suffocating in the summer any calculated to give rheumatian in the winter. Such are the hardships of reaching work and home for a worker residing in the suburbs that great numbers of workingmen prefer residence in overcro of lack of air and light No modern economist will confeed that the mod-ern workingman who works shorter hours parts, therefore, with less en-ergy in order to secure his subsistence and it is this energy which is labor not merely labor time.

Hence the propaganda of "practical"

Socialism as expressed in a shorter hours "immediate demand" will not only retard the realization of such shorter hours, but, by relaxing the fensive and aggressive powers of the workingman, will make him more tractable for a screwing up of the in tensity of his labor and also open many leaks in the hours presumably devoted to rest through which the capitalist may suck up additional labor power out of such hours. On the other han lutionary propaganda that demands not an amelioration of the condition of exploitation, but the abelition of such conditions will not only has realization of shorter hours. the capitalist to compensate himself in any other way on account of the work-

parks, Playgrounds, Etc.—To no measure of amelioration are the old maids of both sexes as ready

to give their support as to the exten-sion of the area of parks and play grounds. It tickles the vanity of the reforming fraternity to have their "goodness" perpetuated in such con-crete evidence as parks and playgrounds. There is no doubt that it is a biessing, but being a capitalistic blessing it bears on its brow the curs blessing it bears on its brow the curse of Cain. The extension of park and playground area, though not the soic cause, nevertheless greatly contributes to intensity one of the numitigated curses that beset the workingman-the overcrowding of the dwelling area. During the last ten years I was a dweller of the tenements of the most unspeakable tenement district in the world. I saw old, rickety but roomy, ranshackles, give place to as rickety tenements with "modern improvements," the improvement consisting in that the funder was all walled up. ments." the improvement consisting in that the fuside space was all walled up into closets. I saw these tenements teeming with families of—laborers teening with talmine or only. I saw parks introduced, and saw the size of the closet rooms palpably dwinding in area. As the park area increases the dwelling area for lationer decreases. For the introduction of the control of the c laborer decreases. For the introduc-tion of parks means increase in value of adjoining real estate. Had the landor acjoining real estate. Had the infollords collected the additional intrament of value by charging a higher rental only it would have constituted a smaller-calamity. But aware of the rent-paying limitations of the work. ingmen, they continued subdividing the rooms into closets, closets into cells workingmen, whose misery during the not spell may boldly be asserted not of have been paralleled anywhere in the world. "An," exclaims the "practical" Socialist, "there is where building laws are necessarily. Let us put them into our "immediate demands." Not necessary, my opportunistic triends some such building laws were passed years ago, but the Tenement House Commission reported recently that a ridiculously instantiant per cent of the Socialist, "there is where building law tenements built under the formed to them. I think it was less than 10 per cent. What argument re than 10 per cent. "practical" Socialist built under these laws con mains for the "practical" Socialisi
Will be demand Socialists be entrust
ed with the execution of these laws
which means with the powers of government? Now should all the measure ernment? Now should all the measure which he so ardently advocates as bear not socialism meeting his socialism will have fallenting laws, his Socialism will have fallenting such discredit and he will have lost so much of the confidence of also constituency, that he will find the meeting of the constituency. ment hardly opportune for asking, them to make a revolution in order to see how he would enferce the building laws. For entrusting the Socialists with the powers of government means the greatest revolution in the history of mankend. Now people are not likely to make this revolution for clesser streets or better building laws merely. My "practical" friend will notice that during revolutions "practical" measures and "practical" men are relegated. My "practical" friend will notice that during revolutions "practical" measures and "practical" measures relegated to the rear and principles and persons whom he would denominate as vision-aries and utopians, but who runliy are the most practical men of their age, who see only so much further ahead than the rest of the race step to the front. They pariley not with the evil front. They parley not with the evil that is rotten with time nor try they to ameliorate it; but they cut out its very heart, so that its friends in the

to ameliorate it; but they cut out its very heart, so that its friends in the after generations may weep over the rottening ourpee, but the evil is dead. To the further embarrassment of the "practical" Socialist will be added the reproaches of the reformers, who will very logically argue that since he declared the "immediate demands" to be his chief object in Socialism, his standing alsoft from them only aids the enemies of Socialism, and retards its specifier realization.

We again come to the conclusion that the "practical" Socialist who regards the part of the platform declaring for the overthrow of the capitalist eystem and the establishing of the Socialist society as utopian phrase—mongering and the "immediate demands" as constaining the only Socialism worth talking about, may call himself a Socialist if he prefers sow we would not favor a law prohibiting him to be see-but his piace is not fit the ranks of the Socialist party. The reform parties will amply meet his aspirations.

A revolutionary Socialist who declars as the outset that the only way of mending the constalist system is

nding it, who /aclases that the Socialnot the working class, this socialist will not find himself the victim of his own arguments, the prey to contradictions and embarrasement. Besides that the very militant attitude of the Socialist party will be conductre towards secur-ing greater benefits to the working class from the restitation of measures of amelioration and giving it the ground for claiming the credit for such benefit; it will be in position, in case of the future of these measures, as they used in a relief wind to continu pose too sanguine hopes in any measure of amelioration of their conditions I know that Comrade Slobodin and loration of their conditions can come only with abolition of wage slavery. The length to which this article has

grown compels me to put a period to further discussion of the problem. At some future time I will endeavor 10

prove the following two propositions:

1. That the tactics as advocated by revolutionary Socialists are not only based on sound scientific Socialism. stitute the best method for securing the largest Socialist vote and, what is of vastly greater importance, such rote once obtained will stay with the Socialist party; whereas the meth-od pursued by our "practicals" is not only uncound in science, but such vote will be subject to be subtracted and

dissipated by every reform side show.

2. That present society is honey-combed with socialistic tendencies is true. But if historical precedents go for anything at all, the final overthrow of the capitalist state and the estab-lishing of the Socialist society will be not an Svolutionary-fatalistic process as the "practicals" olutionary conscious act or series of acts, and to be an instrument of this revolution constitutes the chief histo-ric function of a Socialist party.

#### THE OTHER SIDE.

Brief Reply to Comrade Slobodin's Argument Against Immediate Demands.

BY M. I. STONE.

(Extremetes of space and of time-this being the last issue before the Conventon—have made it impossible for this reply to extend to such length as Courade Slobodie's attack upon the imprediste demands.)

If those Socialists whose views Com If those Socialists whose views Com-rade Slobedin is voicing in his articles in The Worker wished to be consistent they ought to join the Anarchistic ranks. Much as we disagree with the Anarchists, we must give them credit for being at least consistent. To them revolution means a forcible act of re-voit which can be brought about by change of society by one mighty effort seems possible and feasible, any atten-tion paid to ameliocative measures auturally seems a mere waste of energy and time. In fact, the worse the present condition of the working class is the better for the cause of that revolution which is so dear to the Anarch perfectly consistent from their point of view, but which the Socialist

emposed to have given up and con-temped a long while ago.

But how a negative stilling on the who style themselves "scientific Social lets," I fall to see. Unless I am great not made to order, that whenever they occur they do so as a result of a long preceding development of economic and social forces, implying a series of changes in the economic structure of society which is accompanied by cor-responding social changes in the Adatire strength of various classes of so-ciety, in political reforms resulting from the adjustment of those forces.

struggle of the working class for its own emancipation; that the only way in which that can happen is through the political and economic struggle of that class for the betterment of its that class for the betterment of the conditions. As students of economies we have all learned, or ought to have learned, that the Co-operative Commonwealth cannot be ushered in in a day, nor in a year, by a simple decree of a Socialist government. Those in the Socialist government, asserting to the context are invocant of the im-

the Socialist ranks who are asserting to the contrary are ignorant of the immense complexity of the modern economic world, and have no right to drag in science as a witness to all their vapid utopian utterances.

Right here I wish to enter a protest in the name of all the thoughtful members of the party with whom I have had occasion to discuss the point against the growing tendency in our ranks—which was so strongly developed in the old S. L. P. and led to its degeneracy—towards a narrow, bigoted

er existence and political inserves e Socialist, I say, who can come to priest who lifts his eyes to heaven at the mention of worldly struggles and tells the workmen to be content with his present tot for the sake of happi-ness in the world beyond.

diate improvements in the condition of the working class that can be achieved. "revolutionary propaganda that de-mands, not an amelioration of the con-ditions of exploitation, but the aboliditions of exploitation, but the aboli-tion of such conditions." Why not be plain? Does Comrade Slobodin imagof inserting the "immediate domands, in the pintform, do not want the shot! tion of the capitalist system? Surely not. Why then does he put that actu-ally in the mouths of his opponents, and, DeLeon like, proceed to knock the two wings of Socialists does not lie where Slobodin wrongly tries to the where Stobodia wrongly tries to place it. Its roots are much deeper. It is the difference between one set of people who, once they get hold of a formula, think that they have a key. to the universe and become dogmatic, formalistic, and lose all contact with the living real world, and on the other hand, a set of people who know that the world is too complex to lend itself to the grasp of a simple formula: who, careless of the fate of this or hat particular maxim which they ma believe or have believed in at this o that time, try to conceive the spirit o what there is really great in the scien-tic heritage left to us by the great Marx. I suppose that Marx is still in good standing with our ultra-revolutionary comrades. Yet it was he who decried sectarian devotion to any maxim or set of maxims, and believed in a policy on the part of the Socialists of making the daily struggle of the working class for its small immediate ma terial interests (small as compared with the Co-operative Commonwealth) -making it their own struggle; for it is that struggle and that alone that enlarged in scope and imbued with the Socialist spirit, will lead to a realiza-tion of the Socialist ideal, if it is ever to be realized.

We are told that if we adopt a series of immediate demands the Democratic and reform parties will proceed to steal them from our platforms as they are already doing. But is it not strange are already doing, list is it not strainte that the very compades who are trying to outstrip the working class in class-consciousness should throw overboard that, most important party of their philosophy, the very moment they see the bugabos of reform before their eyes. Either the theory of the class struggle is an important truth or it is a declasion and a snare; it cannot be both at the same time. If it is a fiving fact, as all Socialists believe it is, then the Democratic party; which is, then the Democratic party; which represents a certain part of the capital-ist class, cannot in the nature of things sdopt our demands, except in a mod adopt our demands, except in a modi-icel or mullated form, which it should be our duty to point out to the work-ing people. Otherwise you practically adont that a party representing the capitalist class can adopt Socialist

struggle; confine yourself to the pro-paganda of Socialism in the abstract as a panacea for all social ills; say as a paracea for an social me, say simply that, you are in favor of any old thing that is good for the working-men (and, by the way, do not the Re-publican and Democratic parties say the same thing, and don't we denounce make your platform read like a dry theoretical dissertation on the good-ness of the world beyond instead of a reflection of the throbbing, fiving queschanges, each dependent upon the other and in the aggregate penetrating the satire social organism. These changes to the through a satire social organism. These changes to the through a satire social of the through an intense social out of the suffocating. Killing suits and forces, but through an intense social struggle waged between opposing classes of society whose material intenses and tenencets to which they classes are antagonistic to each other. In our day the two classes inost prominent in society are those of the capitalists and the workingmen.

We have been taught to understand as one of the fundamental principles of scientific Sociation that the Co-operative Commonwealth can be realised in no other way than through the struggle of the working class for its

#### AGITATORS ARE MEGESSARY.

We are often told that the poor are we are often told that the poor are grateful for charity. Some of them are, no doubt; but the best among the poor are never grateful. They are imprateful, discontented, disobedient and rebellious. They are quite right to be so. Charity they feel to be a ridiculously inndequate mode of partial restitution, or a sentimental dole, usually accessed by the properties of the poor are sentimental dole, usually accessed by the properties of the poor are sentimental dole, usually accessed. to the contrary are ignorant of the immense comparity of the modern economic world, and have no right to drag in science as a witness to all their vapid utopian utterances.

Right here I wish to enter a protest in the name of all the thoughtful members of the party with whom I have had occusion to discuss the point against the growing tesidency in our ranks—which was so strongly developed in the old S. L. P. and led to its degeneracy—towards a narrow, bigoted conception of the spirit and nature of the Socialist movement and a frightful abuse of the words "clean-conscious, scendiffer, revolutionary Socialism," which threatens to become a no less meaningless and diagusting cant than that of any franctical church expansion ity which sticks to the letter of the Christian religion without concepting its spirit.

To my mind those in our ranks who have the hardihood to come before the spirit, and the hardihood to come before the spirit and the hardihood to come before the spirit in these days of intense to ward advance toward sivilination.—Occar mything the hardihood to come before the spirit intense the hardihood to come before the spirit in the reason why agitators are so shoolary to come down to some perfectly content to the hardihood to come before the spiritingness in those days of intense.

#### THE GOLDEN MEAN

ndividual Freedom and Effec tive Organization Alike to Be Guarded.

The initiators and chief pro Socialist unity in this country, the so-called "Kangarooa," have by this not turned a new leaf in their Socialist caturned a new leaf in their socialist ca-reer. On the contrary, this endeavor of theirs was but the consistency of their constant attitude in the questions of organization and individuality, of mitted action and freedom, of discipline and liberty of thought.

Our attitude in these vital question

Our attitude in these vital questions of the realization of the fundamental imperative of our teachings, "Workers, unite!" was always the golden mean between the two extremes—between the discipline of militarism and the ism; between the feeding on ready di-gested mental food, with a taboo or the least independent motion of one's own brains, and the everlasting discussing and questioning one's conviction without ever making one's mind as to the proper step to faken; between that narrowness platform that leaves no place even plantorm that is average to those differing in opinion on the least important secondary matters of method and the senseless broadness of platform that wants those who go to Paris and those who go from Paris to

wander arm in arm.

When we first were opposed to a few Socialists forming a party of their own, while, as subsequent events actually showed, there was every possibility of improving the rank and file of the one and original union of Socialists, it was in accordance with that attitude; when while the majority of the old party came to the point of changing its meth-ods for the better, the handful of followers of the "ancient regime" stub-bornly rejected our persistent offer to remain united in spite of the diffe nces and insisted on their extremmilitary discipline requiring the sur render of our convictions on pain o excommunication, and we chose the latter—it was also in consistency with that attitude of ours. And when, finally, after the original

organization was, on the one hand, lisintegrated and the new, on the other hand, grown to some importance a owards the right understanding of the olicy and principles of revolutionary ocialism, we raised the cry for redisciplinization of all Sociálists, it was igain in full accordance with the same

attitude of ours.

And unless the Indianapolis conve tion will adopt this same attitude and elevate it to the generally recognized policy of the new party, there is not such hope for a lasting result of its

endeayors in the direction of union.

I therefore offer to that convention
the following translation of a few line rom the pen of the most eminent con emporary thinker of the Socialist novement of the world, Karl Kautsky. These Bues, in fact, contain the wh rogram of the above mentioned gold-n road of the middle:

"That in our party there are differ ntiating trends on questions of the party, as in every other, differences an individual, local, trade, and theoretical sature. The young and not blooded thinks differently from the old and discreet; the Bavarian from the Saxon, and the latter from the Hamburger the miner has another trend of mine from the female garment worker; he who devotes himself chiefly to the trade union or the co-operative move ments, from him who is with life and soul the parliamentarian and cau-paigner; he thinks differently, who come to the camp of Socialism by the way of Marax and Engels, from him who reached us by the way of Rod sertus, and so on.

Differences of this kind are not only unavoidable, but necessary, should the spiritual life inside the party not beome stagnant. The party, however, a militant body, and not a discussion is a militant body, and not a discussion chab. The differences in its interior must not go so far as to make all fruit coming of which shall require a loss of

sists in the nulformity, in the concentration of different forces to one com mon planful action. In the uniformity lies the great superfority of an army over a mob, even when the latter exinferior in equipment.

"One ought not to confound tactics

with mode of agitation. The latter past adapt itself to individual and lical circumstances. In the agitation it must be left to the agitator to work with the mediums that are at his command; the one is especially effective by his enthusiasm, while the other, im-presses through his clever with its m; presses through his clever withchem, the third through an abundance of facts, etc. And just as the agitation differs according to the agitation, so it must conform itself to the public it addresses. One must speak so as to be understood, must illustrate with things known to his heavers. That is self-evident and applicable not only to rural agitation. To coachmen one would also speak differently than to compositors.

"Fires in the agitation the method must be individualized. But our policy, our political action must be uniform. We ought not, in action comprising the whole nation, as for instance, a national election, to have different tactics for the North and for the South, one for the rural population and another for the inhabitants of the cities. On the

the inhabitants of the cities. On the uniformity of tactios rests the unity of the party and where the one is lost the other is destroyed instantly, "Uniformity in tactics is uniformity of action. It does not exclude variety of thought and of theoretical conception." (Alse not, I may add, the right, may, the duty to express such rariety in the proper time and place, and to try to convert other comrades to one's varying views.]

"Absolute uniformity of thought is, at the most, sittainable only in a religious sect and is lifecompatible with independent thinking. But the is by no means to say that the theoretical chroception of the individual party mem-

ber is an indifferent matter, somewhat

ber is an indifferent matter, somewhas a private affair.

The party activity, like every social activity, is conditioned upon a certain sacrifice of individual, indpendence. The anarchist and the literary hermit may fook down with contempt upon the party man on account of this sacrifice, but they cannot do away with the fact that without social co-operationano great things can be accomplishtions no great things can be accompl ed in the practical world.
"It is surely evident that the resigna

tion of independence required of the individual party member ought not to be too great lest the party should be degraded to a borde of will-less slaves or a herd of sheep. But—this does not mean that the party platform ought to the most widely divergent opinions On the contrary, whereas there can be no united party action without sacrifice of individual opinion to party uni formity, the fact that latitude must be left for intellectual independence means sothing else than that the wider the theoretical differences, of opinion the theoretical differences. or opinion inside the party, the greater the sacri-fice of independence the individual has to bring to the interest of uniform action; the smaller then the enthusiasm for the activity of the party and the greater, the danger threatening its

"Thus, in order that a union may be

"Thus, in order that a union may be lasting and fertile it nust be based on uniform opinions in regard to cardin-questions both of theory and policy.
"But, on the other hand again, care must of course be taken not to draw a too parrow line beyond which th variance of the individual with the theoretical standpoint of the majority becomes incompatible with effective activity as a party member—beyond which reconciliation of the uniform character of the party with the simultaneous independence of the party members proves to be impossible. "To fix this border line clearly is one

of the most important tasks of each party; for this purpose the party formulates its aims into a program, which serves the organization even more than it serves the propaganda. Our program not only formulates our immediate demands, but also th principles the recognition of which as-sures the uniformity of the party and the cheerfulness in the struggle."

May our representatives in Indian-apolis take these golden words to heart! True, they contain no definite advice; but they show the necessity of balancing the inclination to escape the absurdities and injuries of on with the attention paid to the no les absurd and injurious character of this latter.

Beware of both extremes!

I am not so sanguine as to expecthis convention to shape party matter in their proper final form. In my opinion this convention will prove only a formality to realize unification. For putting things in the actual shape neither will there be time nor the required imprejudiced fudgment. We shall be there too much under the im-pression of recent occurrences and too much governed by the desire of escaping their repetition so that we may throw out many a healthy, baby to gether with the dirty bathing water. But much will be gained if the con

vention at least sets the right switch for the train of party events to make it move in the DIRECTION toward

proper organization.

As the setting of such a switch, I respectfully submit to the convention for adoption the following resolution:

Whereas, Political unity is impos le without conformity of political perative duty of the Socialists, in or der to realize its prime commandm "Workers, unite" to establish poli-uniformity of action of the wor

Whereas, If the individual Socialist or any group of Socialists are, in their political role, of any significance, it is only by virtue of their being backed by the great body of Socialists, of which they are part and parcel, and that body consequently has the right and the duty to demand of them responsiand to prevent its name and its coils tive strength from being used in way it could in its majority not could cienciously be responsible for; Whereas, Our comrades in France

experience a lesson of so drastic a na-ture in the detrimental character of irresponsible political activity of indi-vidual Socialists, that even those comover a mob, even when the latter ex-ceeds greatly in numbers and is not inferior in equipment. The conviction of the "One ought not to confound tacties" extreme necessity of united and uniform party action and party control over the political activity of Socialist individuals and groups; therefore, and in order to save American Socialism from having to be taught the same lesson by bitter and detrimental expect

ence be it Resolved, That this con urges the comrades to beware of being so entirely governed by their just hatred of the unintelligent and anlim-ited discipline we have formerly exper-ienced, as to transfer that hatred to the absolutely inevitable intelligent and voluntary discipline within proper limits; To intelligently submit to such dis-

To intelligently submit to such dis-cipline and voluntarily subordinate in-dividual inclination to majority rule; To realize the necessity of a system of party organisation and party man-agement, by which its members and agement, by which its members and subdivisions shall, to a proper limit, be controlled as to their political and pub-lic action, local or national, and made responsible for it to the expressed will and convictions of the party's major-ity—a system which shall just as well prevent, the one detrimental extreme of arrogant autocracy as the other and no less detrimental extreme of anarchic "go as you please" practice.

B. FEIGENBAUM.



# The Economic Struggle.

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The Glass Blowers' Association elect-id the following officers at the recent Milwaukee convention: President, D. A. Hayes, Philadelphia; vice-president, Doughterty, O'Nillville secretary, William Launer, Philadelphia; treasurer, Conrad Auth, Pitts-burg. Executive committee, William Sinclair, Alton, Ill.; E. A. Agard, Fairbury, Ill.; B. F. Balzar, Newark, O.; James J. Dunn, Brooklyn, N. Y.; B. Bell, Massillon, O.; Charles McNicol, Toronto, Ont. The next meeting was voted to Atlantic City. Twelve hun-dred prescription bottle blowers were accepted as members by the glass blowers' convention, after announcing their withdrawal from the Flint Glass

The following officers have been elected by the local Blacksmith's Helpers Union: Wm. Hennessy, president Ed. Flanagan, vice-president; John Glaque and John Skinner, secretaries; John Kildes, treasurer; Thomas Jeffries, sees-

The Chicago Federation of Labor has issued an appeal for contributions to a fund to assist in the prosecution of two important cases now before the courts of Chicago, viz.: The case of M. J. Driscoll vs. the rallroad companies for blacklisting since the A. R. U. strike, and the appeal of the striking girls of the stock markets who were fined for picketing. F. G. Hopp, 1008 North Al-bany, Chicago, receives contributions.

A proposition to request the clergynen of the city to preach a labor se non once a month was voted down by incil of Montreal. Adve ection on the question was due to the fact that the council believed cause of labor would be injured by the preachers because of their lack of in-formation on the problems of the day.

Detroit boasts of a union of marine divers. An effort will be made to organize all the divers of the United

Birmingham, Ala., trade unionists are preparing to build a \$25,000 labor

Form hands in the West are reported Farm hands in the West are reported to be organizing into the Thrashers National Protective Association, which threatens to revolutionize conditions on the farm and make two shifts a necessity. Over 3,000 members are already enlisted.

Striking laundry workers of Los Angeles, Cal., have organized a co-operative company, and opened a laundry

Trade union conventions in August are as follows: Fifth, at Pittsburg, Chainmakers' National Union; 7th, at Louisville, Journeymen Taffors Union; 12th, at Birmingham, Ala., International Typographical Union; 19th, at Buffalo, United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters and Steamfitters Helpers.

#### PARTY NOTES.

Squire E. Putney has been elected delegate to the Indianapolis conven-tion by Locals Boston and Cambridge. S. Origo is elected from Springfield.

Representative James F. Carey has nished a successful agitation

Comrade E. Val Putnam has been reelected editor of the "Missouri Socialt."

The West Side Agitation Committee and the West Side districts are doing good work. Meetings are being held n the various districts and literature is being sold in a way that bids fair

and active Social Democrat, has been chosen business agent for the Central Labor Union of Lawrence, Mass.

"The People's Press" of Albany, Orea edited by A. D. Hale, is advocating Se-

Social Democrats of Sau Francise-care working hard circulating petitions to have their proposition for a \$3,500,000 "Palace of the People" submitted te a referendum vote of the city. Much interest is said to be manifested in the

Comrade George E. Bigelow recently spoke seven times at Sioux City, Iows, and reports that the Socialists there have a very promising movement. Last fall they polled only 50 votes, now they have a membership of nearly 100 in their local, and are carrying on an earnest and active propagalda. They will welcome any speakers for Social-ism who are properly endorsed, and who may be passing their way.

Comrade M. Winchersky has been elected delegate to the Indianapolic convention by the East Side Branch of this city, which is affiliated with the Chicago S. D. P.

Comrade F. X. Waldhorst, formerif

of Nashville, Tenn., has been speaking of Nasnvine, rein. has been speaking for the comrades, in Bessemer Ala. A Bessemer cumrade writes that his visit, did the movement much good. On July 22 a primary election was held in which some of the politicians advanced a "municipal ownership" proposition. Comrade Waldhorst took the opportunity to creating describ the differences. tunity to explain clearly the difference between Socialism and capitalist pub-lic ownership. He also addressed a general meeting of the trade unions of the city, held for the purpose of con-adering action to be taken in city post-tics, and explained to them the position of the S. D. P. The movement in AspeThe Problem Is to Adapt Our Methods to New Conditions Without Losing the Fruit of Past Labors.

BY A. M. SIMONS.

on the present condition and needs of the movement before the con-rention assembles, and we gladly give space to the article for that reason.

ARE WE READY?

That the present moment is a critical That the present moment is a critical one, in the history of the Socialist movement in America is, a common-place. Every observer has noticed, both within and without the Socialist or ganizations, the influences that affect the Socialist movement appear to be approaching a climax. Whether this would be well continue to grow more approaching a climax. Whether this condition will continue to grow more acute for some time to form no one can say. But it would seem probable that the Indianapolis Convention would mark the turning point. Coming as it does at such a crucial time. that convention will perhaps mark the beginning of the greatest setback mic development to receive or. I hope, the date from which rotten ripeness has prepared the way for a new social organization.

#### A CRITICAL MOMENT.

ter of intelligent evolution is to be found in the developing Socialist thought. Every field of art, literature. ee, music education, or industry ling the influence of that thought.

manding educational advance and growth, and the capitalist environment that cramped and deadened all things. The Populist party is to day but a memory, so far as a political organiza-tion is concerned. But the impulse which once led to the casting of a million votes in blind protest against a gailing capitalism is becoming more in-telligently evolutionary. The suffering of the American farmer during the past ten years, together with the les-sons of general economic development, have made the farmers of America have made the farmers of America ready for Socialism. But the Socialists are not yet ready for the farmers. The majority of Socialist writers and apeakers are so hopelessly ignorant of the problems of agriculture that they cannot possibly have an intelligent distance them. Yet they are any opinion upon them. Yet they are anx-ions to write farmers programs and to give voice to farmers, demands. Many a Socialist talks learnedly of the probind that he is simply making, in a long demand of the slave, that he re-ceive what he produces and that he s in common with his fellows the with which that product is cre-

The great hody of trade unionists, too, through the formation of trusts, is snance of jujunctions, and use of miljita, are being forced to recognize the necessity of independent political action to secure common possession of the essentials of life. When they have recognized this fact they are Socialists. The latter fakir is losing his grip all along Capitalist politicians are be-

the political parties all is nothe height of its power the Repúblican party is panic stricken lest its old dummy adversary disintegrate tand give way to a real antagonist ciples, but more courage of their con-Hamm stricks out that the next struccan party is panic stricken lest gie will be between Republicans and Socialists. Wayne McVengh repeats the same statement in more guarded language. The leading spokessme and the Republican party hore: writers of the Republican party hover round the fading form of their dearest elemy and urge the "reorganization" of the Democratic party, and hall with foy all signs of reviving strength. But the case is hopeless. The economic class whose interests were represented by the Democratic party has ceased to be be of smill-bent importance to be because for represented in the political world. Therefore that party has ceased to exist save as a disgusting memory that one would "it is a confilition, not a theory; that confronts us." The Social ist may end already outgrown the reach of party discipline. With the hundred independent Socialist papers of to-day grown into a thousand in a year hence, any press ceasorship because we will it, but because we are allowed to be a sum of the political world. Therefore that party has ceased to exist save as a disgusting memory that one a live and obey the laws of growth. to exist save as a disgusting memory that one would fair put aside and out of mind. From the party organizations of Ohio, New York, and illinois, as well, as from countless individuals, comes the proof that since the class of little exploiters has disappeared, there is nothing left for the professional politican save to choose between the professional pr

We are allowed to print the following chinery to accommodate the new cle ments that are ready for Socialism those elements will form a political content will doubties be glad of the opportunity to receive Comrade Simons forced to accept their work. This will be content to the content of the owing chinery to accommodate the new case of the ments that are ready for Socialism, Our those elements will form a political machinery of their own and we will be mone forced to accept their work. This will mean perhaps years of costly blunder.

One thing is certain. This flercely fomenting new wine demands new bot-tles. A nighty social upheaval, a great political party, an economic revolution cannot be confined within the bounds of a fraternal society for propaganda purposes. The greatest need of the hour is not, as in the past, a training dues, officers, constitutions, and mem-bership, must give way to the larger facts of economic exigency and social evolution. The current of revolution has grown too broad in America to be confined within the limits of any lodgelike organization, and any attempt to so confine it will fall with disaster to those who make the effort, as well as to the Socialist cause. This does not mean that officers, dues, and constitu-tions are not necessary, for they are of great importance. Those who would seek to dispense with such essentials are emptying out the baby with the bath. But from now on these things must be looked upon as merely means portant means. This is not a question of choice. It will not be by vote, but by social development that this condi-tion will come to pass. When Social-ism shall have begun to spread into every nook and corner of the courts, when nominations are made in legal primaries by voters whose qualifications are determined by capitalist law. when success shall have given us the responsibility for official, actions as well as the work of propaganda, when in short, we shall have become a politi-cal and social force instead of a mes-educational cult, then the fundamental change will have to come, no mat-ter whether we have had sense enough to realize it and accommodate the forms of our organization to it or not.

#### DISCIPLINE AND DISCUSSION.

Parity of economic doctrine can to longer be secured through party dis tonger be secured through party as-cipline. The films is even now here when the attempt to uproot economic fieresty by personal expulsions becomes the broadest of burlesques. The purity of Socialist principles must hence-forth be maintained by the burning away of all dross in the heat of free away of all dross in the heat of free discussion. The right and true must be made to triumph because of their logical power to conquer and not be-cause of the support of party discip-line. This demands the greatest free-dom of personal discussion and action within the party. At a time when the Socialists were but few in a hostile land, when the corrupting influence of capitalism beat ceaselessly upon each. capitalism beat ceasslessly upon each individual from every side, then it was parhaps necessary that those principles be intrusted to the few who would protect them from contamination and preserve their purity. So long, too, as there were confusing, but still powerful, economic classes with conflicting interests, there was pressing danger from these who would steal from the Socialist armory a portion of its weapons only to bend them into forms that could be used against their rightful owners. But to-day, when So-cialists have left their sectarian sectusion to take the offensive upon the field of buttle, and when development has progressed to the point that there is no class or party that can afford to accept years to the progress of revolutionar Socialism, it will be because the organ

social movements have dared to act,

traint and the capitalist class. But the valuers flock only where carrion calls, and proietarian bones have already been picked too clean by the hyenas of capitalism to invite the visits of the foul birds of politics. So all these, whether formerly Democratic or Republican, try to cling to plutocracy. Neither one sees anything to be gained by supersting the cause of the workers. And they are right, for he who comes to the proletariat of today can robbins of norbing but his fetters.

Millons in America today have been prepared by evanound development for acceptance and understanding of the principles of Socialism. But the Socialist that who should be spending every enterprepared by the caping their time in child-like wrangling. The lime is now here for action. If we was are in passession of the machinery of facinitist political parties have not installigance enough to adjust that manifest and intelligence of the machinery of facinitist political parties have not installing and the results of Europe than to day have been proposed by the cause of the workers.

And they are right, for he workers.

Millons in America today have been prepared by evanound development for acceptance and understanding of the principles of Socialism. But the Socialism that have ever arisen any questions that have per within national bundaries. It is even more difficu

ricidal struggle is for the Socialists merics to decide. of America to decide.

But if there is antional unity, local diversity is no less a fact. There is as great variation in oconomic conditions between Maine, South Carolina; New York, Mississippi, Illinois, Florida, Dabetween Maine, South Carolina: New York, Mississippl, Illinois, Florida, Da-kota, and California, as between, Ger-many, Belgium, France, Norway, Italy, and Spain. Yet, as was said before, there must be an organic unity and nor a federation of independent, isolated groups extending over the cutire United States. To talk of anything else betrays an ignorance of American po-litical, social, and governmental insti-tutions too dense for argument to penelitical, social, and governmental insti-tutions too dense for argument to peac-trate. The ideal must be complete state autonomy in local affairs with closest national co-operation in all affairs, and national control of national affairs. This ideal can be realized through the establishment of a central control that shall be almost entirely advisory and educational in its character and that shall secure obedience to its decrees only because of the possession of wider knowledge of the things on which it speaks.

Under the conditions of the future the maintenance of a membership in a

the maintenance of a membership in a dues-paying organization will be rather a mark of greater activity for Social-ism than a test of Socialist orthodoxy. The party machinery will be an instru-ment of co-ordination and communica-tion, not of discipline and regulation.

The whole attitude of the Socialist movement from pow on must be one of attack upon the entire capitalist organization at every point of opening. We must "bore from within" and strike from without. Let us become conscious from without. Let us become conscious of our strength. Let us hay aside utopianism in all its forms. Let us maintain the purity of our doctrines by striking them continually against the weapons of our adversaries that all uncessential matter may be jarred away.

Let us not fear contamination by contact with containing. tact with capitalism. Let us rathe draw close to every old and decayle social institution, that, while preser ing our identity, we may strike the harder blow. This does not mean the slightest concession to Fabianism, compromise or fusion. We must alprinciples. The evolution of the ages has justified the truth of those princi-ples and every passing day emphasizes their truth. To-day no man dare open their truth. To-day no man dare open-ity challenge the fundamental princi-ples of scientific Socialism. No man has challenged them for many years. Why, then, should we fear injury to them in closest comparison with the ex-ploded positions of the defenders of capitalism.

We have nothing to gala from halfvictory. Economic evolution in Amer-ica has wiped out all stepping stones between capitalism and Socialism and he who fears to take the whole leap will but fall into the abyss that separ-

Two contending forces are struggling for the mastery in the Socialist movement of America at this moment. One sees only this new phase of economic development and that the old institutions of Socialism do not correspond to the new demands. They would wipe HOLD FAST THE OLD: the new demands. They would wipe out all the work of years and surrender all to the exigencies of the moment. These men would abolish national or-ganizations, and, indeed, all organiza-tion, and enter the field of capitalist politics to scramble for votes through the competitive offers of immediate amelioration. The other force remem-bers only the good work of the pashere only the good work of the past and fails to recognize that new forces are here. They would seek to main-tain a secular church, a doctrinaire se-ciusion, and a personal disciptine. Let us apply the Hegelian dislectics that in a modified form lie back of the earliest Socialist classics, and seek the solution in a higher synthesis, that shell conin a higher synthesis, that shall con-erve the old and include the new-that shall give the greatest flexibility of form. If we can do this we shall have solved the problem that lay before us and acquitted ourselves like men and

THE FAILURE OF JONESISM.

The fallacy of Mayor Jones' policy of no party receives a striking exemplification in his own particular case Here we have a man whose platforn approaches very close to that of Social ism; who is known to be honest, who is admittedly striving to benefit humanity, with no suspicion of his being down in history as either a here, a martyr or a "leader." I say here are all the conditions but one at hand to-place a man in position to get his views place a man in position to get his views considered by the public, yet they are not considered, simply owing to the lack of that single condition. Tiz., a party of adherents to propagate his ideas. To the extent that Mayor Jones' ideas are in line with scientific Socialism, he owes it largely to the organised 'Socialists that such ideas are spread among the people. Therefore, I cannot understand how a man as sensible as Mayor Jones certainly is in many ways, does not come in hand and hand with the organized Socialist

As for myself, while the "Challenge" is admittedly not a party organ, yet to-day it is owing almost entirely to the efforts of organized Socialists that the efforts of organized Socialists that it is making such a howling success. My aim is life is to spread Socialism. I make no fetish of the Socialist party, but I would like Mayor Jones to tell me how I could have been preaching Socialism in halls and from the street corners of Chicago for the past several nights if there were no Socialist organizations to arrange such meetings? For the effective appeading of Socialist thought the individual can do nothing, standing alone, compared with what he can do when backed by an organization.

date of the party. I myself feel that defeat with the party is better than-victory without it. Eleven years ago, when I was nominated by the Socialist Party for congress in Los Angeles, I had it conveyed to me that I might be endorsed by one of the old parties if I would stand as an "independent" in emorreed by one of the old parties it is would stand as an "independent" in-stead of a party nominee. It was said that I could get a personal endorse-ment, but that it was nojeless to ex-pect the Socialist Party to be endorsed. sidered. I would have hid no personal satisfaction in going to congress in this semi-underhand manner, nor do I think it would have been any great benefit to Socialism. To-day in Los Angeles I think it would be generally admitted that if I simply wished to go to congress without reference to Socialism that I would stand infanitely a better chance of running as an "independent" than as a Socialist Party regular candidate. In other words, many people didate. In other words, many people would vote for me as a "person" who refuse to vote for me as a "Socialist."

However, it seems to me that being

elected to congress, even if one is a well-known Socialist, simply as an "in-dependent," is of comparatively little importance with standing with the or-

ganized movement in defeat.

Socialism is not an individual move ment. It is a movement of the whole people. The man who can push the So-cialist Party alone an inch is doing more for Socialism than the man who pushes himself a mile.—H. G. Wilshire, in The Challenge.

#### HAT TRUST

That Will Control the Hat Industry Is the Latest on the Cards-Trouble Ahead for the Workers.

Plans are being devised by the ha manufacturers of New Jersey and Coning hat factories of the country. The trust will prohably be called the United Hat Manufacturers of the United

All the firms doing a successful busi ness will turn over their plant and good will to the combination, the dif-ferent owners acting as managers of ferent owners acting is managery of their respective factories. Most inter-esting is the announcement that the combination will have one large sales-room in New York to display goods and each firm will have one of its own men in-charge of its display. This plan is to do away with the large corps of salesmen now necessary and to save the rent on the many separate sales-rooms about 10 areas.

when the trust has entire-control of the hat industry, the question of con-tinuing the use of the union label will undoutedly arise. Then the manufac-turers may decide to do away with "union interference" and "coercion" and "to run their own business as they see fit." It will then be "up to" the hat workers to establish their right to organize, just as the steel workers are doing now."

faster must the workers awake to tha



minutacturers over the damage accruing to their business through American competition. Deputy Baumann has been commissioned by the representatives of the boot and shoe trade to tives of the boot and shoe trade to question the Lower Austrian Diet as to what that body intends to do with re-gard to the threatened invasion of the Vienna market by an American syndi-cate. The local boot and shoe men con-sider that American competition men-nces the very existence of the whole local industry.

The municipal elections in Holland and Belgium have resulted favorably to the Socialists. In a few places Socialist candidates were directly returned; in many other places they came in for the second ballot with fairly good chances. It is reported that the followers of Jennels Nieuwenhuis rendered the bourgeds party good ser-vice in fighting the Socialists. The latter have challenged the gover-grant universal suffrage, with by to use their votes to counteract So-cialism. Socialists are not afraid how-ever, believing that the women, like the men will more resultly accept Social-ism when experience with the ballot has taught them who are their real

A bill introduced in the French Chamber of Deputies recently which proposed voting 80,000,000 frames for the Chinese expedition was opposed by the Socialists, Sembat, a Socialist depthe socialities of the property delivered an important speech, which showed the inconsistency of the government in attempting to suppress religious associations in France, while protecting and encouraging them in China.

The town of Lyons has now abolished octrol duties and has raised the money required by direct taxation, and Roubaix proposes to do the same thing. Both these towns have Socialist

#### THE SOCIALIST IDEAL

lands: Let truth be honored, honest work have

When each and all are workers, hand and brain
Divorced no more; no toll to bear the brand
Of degradation; when the common gain is each one's good-fast then our state shall organic.

shall stand.

—Watter Crame.

—By a recent decision the Supreme
Court of Ohio practically killed the law
compelling convict-made goods to be
marked as such. It cost Ohio unions
a good sized hunch of money to get
the law through. The capitalist contractors did a song and dance when
they heard the news. There are now
few "laber laws" left on Ohio's statutebooks.—Cleveland Citiess.

ORRE-

SPONDENCE Don't send anonymous letters.

The Conquest of Detroit.

fall reference to the achievements of the allute who participated is it.

In the account is interesting hot so much the information it contains as for t e ty playfall side threats it deals out to New York comendes who refued to the the the conference.

To the contained with the conference of the refused to the from solicitous comrades concerning the danger of being captured by the huges boos, rails at the lack of courser and en-terprise of the enfortunate New Yorkers, and then lapses into, this bit of melanchoir

dauger of being captured by the hugaboos, "rails at the lack of course and enterprise of the unfortunate New Yorkers,
and then Japes into, this bit of melanchicy
meditation: "There, was never perhaps a
more indicrous example of the extent to
which people are willing to talk about
stage exception of Professor Herron, net
one of all those who rushed into print or
sent private warning letters to the conrades who went to Detroit knew as much
of the things of which they were talking
as the average Stoux Indian known of the
Chinese question. The distinguished, indian
trike mentioned, I feel it my oney to defessi the attitude of that tribe on the Detroit Conference, and I do it gradly because
that subject involves questions of Left's
and policy which our party will beyond shy
deauth have to face in one guise or another
the thore than one occasion in the future.

In the first place, I desire to correct an

and noticy which our parts will beyond any doubt have to face in one guiss or another on more than one occasion in the future. In the first place, I desire to correct an arreseous impression which the readers of Coursele Minons' repert are likely to get and that is that Coursele Minons was insolicited warrings. If the solicited warrings, I will resulted Coursele Minons of the facts.

When the palefaced Chicago warriors desired the Sistons of the facts.

When the palefaced Chicago warriors desired the Sistons of the facts.

When the palefaced Chicago warriors desired the Sistons of the facts.

That the Detroit Conference would be compared of all sorts of "social reformare," political mountplanks, aonest cranks, mad men of special hobbies' who have been political terra firms, and are destined to wander around all their tives from pillar to sand for the property of the property of the configuration of the compared of all sorts of "social reformare," political terra firms, and are destined to wander around all their tives from pillar to lost ground—the very langer of the property of the pr

post is the value endervor to consider the post is the value endervor to constitute the lost ground—the very image of the "class they represent the struggling but de-oned middle class.

2. That between those elements and Socialism there is nothing in common, and in co-one certain possible.

3. That between those elements and socialism there is nothing in common, and in co-one certain possible.

4. That between the could not be conveyed to Socialism, and that it is a debutable question whether we would not fare wome in converting them as our mayerment at its present formative stage could har ity stand the influx of a summer of continued minute, each considering himself an eps. If of a seminate social phanners and tring to dear seminate social phanners and tring to dear seminate social phanners and tring to dear the conference we make ourselves part of it just as much as the Sincle-Taxeta, Mismark and Socialists, Golden Righra, etc. and that the workingment, who know hat liftle about Scillism will be up to throw us into occupind, under the common appointion of events of the last of the conference, which will not be the pensated by the /gain of perhaps had a x-n honest rf range.

5. That if the formation of a "third party" he attempted and accomplished at the conference, that party would appear to the unwary to have the sanction of the No. In the conference, that party would appear to the unwary to have the sanction of the No. In the only way in which can party.

6. That the only way in which can party

ion with the new party than converting the reformers only way in whichever party may benefit from the decomposition softing in among the middle class and its political representatives the bemocratic and Pipulat parties, be by drawing pur lines destry and definitely as the party of the projectorial, And finity-

the stand of the New York comrades was justified.

"The result," says Comrade Simons, "irsulted the actions of Three Who were acting to an intelligence the Chicago of mades and the continuous tenter of the Chicago of these who states than the creakings of these in the continuous tenters of their implements of their implements the Sound Inflaton to the state of their implements the Sound Inflaton in the content of their implements in the content of the conference speam. Jesus drove the library changes out of the conference speam, Jesus drove the library changes out of the conject of the conference speam, Jesus drove the library changes out of the conject of t

lows:
First. Resolved, That the producer should have his product.
Second, That the only gularinge of the second is the ownership by the producer himself of the land and machinery neers sarr to production.

These resolutions had "rather be in large fate. After they had been adopted in rotes ranging from 5 to 45 against 1 to 5, the men who heard and learned inhied the resolution in the entirely by a voir of 55 to 30. Now there are necessitistically the control of t

against 1 to 9. The uses who hearterly by a rote of 35 to 30. Now there are servered in this entirety by a rote of 35 to 30. Now there are servered things that deserve some reflection. In other paper, who was the vote on the first place, why was the vote on the first place, why was the vote on the control of the control

demand for a return to medice at seen microsofticism.

The rest of the resolution is in conflict with the first two clauses and is purely studied. It attracts to found the principal of Scientism for hopon historic necessatty. But super severe destribility and construction of the second state of the second state of the second state of the working class in the transformation of the present system of industry, nothing to glow that the political party of workingment it is an appeal to the whole people, there is no passition of, the chief element which distinguishes scientific from utuping Scalaism. the chief soon in force of contemporary Socialism—the class struggle.

force of contemporary Socialism—the cines struggie.

New I do not ascribe the defects of the resolution to any depths of ignorance. It know that the commoles who attended the lectroit conference are perfectly able to draft a clear cut Socialist resolution. But they did not and they did not because they would brighten the reformers. Commolessmoon, you commonlessed with your principles, uncunclosisty perhaps, of, the wey first contact with your reference in the endeavor to find common ground with thou, and that is exactly what the Story Loddan warned you against shorten triumps and compromises, what are the urt gains of our friends at Detroit did they curvey the reformers to Socialism. Commod Simons gives us some information on the subject when he very innocently, remarks at the confusion of his report. Thous

Trades' and Societies' Calendar

Organizations should not lose such an op-portunity for advertising their places of misetings

BRANCH 2, 8, D. P., 34th and 35th A. D. second and fourth Thursday evenings of each month at the Workingmen's E.u at tional Club, 5300 Third avenue.

BRANCH 2 (English), 20th A. D. (Brook-lyn), S. D. P.—Meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening at 700 Evergreen avenne. All Socialists of the district are invited to join. E. Bloom, 602 Evergreen avenne, will receive subscriptions for The Worker.

n their opinion may read to higher the And in this case they did. As it he conference was every insignificant, to farce, and you had your fun, play upins with the ref ruers. No "third was organized, and you did, there-tor assist in in-

Strikes and Socialism

Editor of The Worker.

Not a day passers by without increasing the number of strikes in this country and

ganize.

The greatest number of strikes for gn in-crease of wages or reduction of hours have

vague expression of the demand for no cialism.

But there is rapidly coming the time when workingmen wit make a final strik at the ballot box as well as in the factories. That strike will usher in the Cooperative Commonwealth, which will solve the strike problem. Then every worker wil get the full value of his labor, and only the ratiue of labor will determine the value of things.

Only then strikes will cease and become thing of the past along with capitalism.

The Convention's Work. ditor of The Worker. As the time approaches when on all parts of our country will avention at Indianapolis, as an imay not be out of place for me ty carnest desire that they will bringing about that which is the life of Socialism, namely

to the life own that which is case organization and usity in the party gether with a piatform, short, compressive, and to the point.

As a party we shall have arrayed again two other parties, both of them well organized ones; we cannot hope prevail against them unless we too, it is not to be a superficient of the control of the contro

principles and we cannot do otherwise thin win.

As to our platform, we are Socialists first, hast and all the time; we want and will have ownership by the people through our government of all means of productions of production of the state of the stat

Yours truly.
HOBART C. FASH:
New York, July 22, 1901.

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Not a day passes by without increasing the number of strikes in this country and the worket at large. Not a day passes ity chework and the worker and the worker and the workers and the strikes with the strike and their fellow workers not to take away their jobs. We even hear of poor girls being imprisoner for months only because they demanded an increas. In wrgo or the right of organizing themselves for mottan protection.

The definition of the strike and the strike the strike the strike of the strike and the strike we strike the strike we shall see that most of the recent strikes, we shall see that most of strikes for an in-III. meets at the Clubbones, 20d East Stitt Street, every Saturday at 7:30 p. m.— District IV. meets at 324 West 42d Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District VI. meets at 44 East 5th Street, every Satur-day at 8 p. m.—District V. meets at 547 East 157th Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District VII. meets every Saturday evening at 1422 Second Avenue, The Board of Supervisors meets every Tura-day at Faulhabers Hall, 1551 Second Avenue, at 8 p. m.

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The greatest number of strikes for an increase of wages or reduction of house have been somehow settled. Take is not because capitalists think it just and right; but the cause they find it very profitalist. The refocult development of trusts has put nearly all the industries of the country under an management. So, while increasing our wages or reducing the flours of niher, they also raise the prices of our commodities. As a superstant of the country and the superstant of the resulting and the superstant of the resulting the superstant of the superstant of the resulting the superstant of the greatest strikes which have recently taken place. And this is the only issue of the greatest strikes which have recently taken place. And this is the only issue of the greatest strikes which have recently taken place. And this is the only issue of the greatest strikes which have recently taken place. And this is the only issue of the greatest strikes which have recently taken place. And this is the only issue of the greatest strikes which have recently taken place. And this is the only issue of the greatest strikes which have recently taken place. And this is the only issue of the greatest strikes which have recently taken to be tween capital and labor? Don't we hear them telled the superstant of t

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