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PRICE 2 CENTS.

OUR INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM.

Pictures of Actual Life Among the Textile Mill Workers of New England.

Written for The Worker by Gustavus Myers.

SECOND ARTICLE. .

(Continued from last week.) HOLYOKE, Mass., Dec. 3.-Leavthe cotton mills, other large stries are the writing paper and thread mills. Nearly all the writing paper mills are in the combination called the American Writing Paper Company. This combination has 28 mills in all-13 in Holyoke, two at South Hadley Falls and the remainder South Hadley Falls and the ren in various other places in the United States. The three mills owned by the Whiting Paper Company are independ-ent of the combination. The combination was formed on July 25, 1899, with a capital of \$17,000,000 five per cent. bonds and \$25,000,000 of combined pre-ferred and common stock. The probaferred and common stock. The proa-bility is, according to expert authority, that the bonds represent fully the value of the property. The preferred and common stock is largely "water." The interest on the bonds has always been paid but no dividends have ever been paid on the stock. The bonds and stock were largely distributed among former owners of the mills now in the combination. The bonds were put on the market at 95; they have fallen as low as 60; and are now at 80. The stock, as much as practicable, has been unloaded upon the public, care being taken, of course, to retain a ma-jority for voting power. The preferred stock bears a cumulative 5 per cent. interest-35 per cent. is now due. A one time its value fell to 10 or 12 and of a small dividend, the preferred has up to 25 and the common to 6. None of the stock was sold to em-ployees. Although the general offices of the combination are here, the large stockholders live in New York, Bos

ton and other cities.
"When I started in making writing paper," said an old manufacturer "every employee was an American Now not more than one-balf are Amer leans. They are chiefly Irish, French Canadians and a few Poles. The displaced Americans went to store-keep ing, bookkeeping or other occupation more to their taste. Many americans preferred to earn \$500 a year in a mill. The French Cana dians have recently been displacing the Irish, and the Poles are now be-ginning to displace the French Cana-

The Abject Toiler.

The same state of affairs is, in fact, either already in force or it is a rapid tendency in nearly all the large factories here, although in the thread mills mostly French Canadians and few Poles as yet are employed. Beginning with American labor, which represent-ed the highest standard of living and ideals, the factory owners have graded down the quality and nationality of their labor, until, in the Pole, the lowest standard, except the coolie, has been reached. Submissive, pliable, with either no ideals, or the consciousness of none, accustomed to a bare ex istence and accepting it as the regular, ordained method of livelihood, causable with food which most other nationali ties would turn away from in disgust the average Pole is willing enough to work for the very smallest wages and from these he performs the miracle of ous as many of the apologists for the system here represent—if you point to his herding and his coarse, meagre food—they refer you exultingly to the full of "Polander" accounts. mean abjectness of an adult in a sup-posed civilization—a husband and fa-ther—being forced to deny himself, his wife and children many of the com few cents a week to provide for time of stress or other objects-the abject at Chicopee and Chicopee Falls, the spirits will shake the torpor ganize him into a mood for a strike but a few weeks of hunger will drive him back into his old crushed, resigned cessity does not do, the priesthood with its control over the ignorant, will do, by telling him that it is his lot, by the Lord's will, to be content with his condition. He must not arouse the wrath of the Almighty. Even the make shift strike, which sometimes better matters a little, and sometimes make them worse, but at no times aims at a scientific, enduring social reconstruc-tion, is frowned upon by the priest

Personal Element Gone.

While the cost of production with more improved machinery has been lessened and the cheapest labor employed, another change in the indus-trial evolution has come. Each, for example, of the former independen paper factories now in the American Writing Paper Company, had its seponal, direct interest in his or their close, incessant attention, for he was engaged in warrare, the warrare of business, but none the less warrare, and he had to be prepared for battle every working day in the year. His tools were his machinery and his em-ployees; and if he suffered a deprecia-

tion in either, a circle of watchful foes were ready to gain by his loss. The necessities of his position forced him to come in contact with his employees, to know their varying degrees of skill and production and to conciliate them when occasion arose. He could not, as the Trust now does, limit or increase production. If his mills closed because his men demanded the adjustment of certain grievances, other mill-owners were instantly prepared to profit by the cessation of his mills. The number of his employees was comparatively small and if they had grievances they could go direct to him. There was no autocratic intermediary of a syco-phantic agent or clique of subalterns bent upon exercising a petty tyrainy which personally cost them nothing and intent upon pleasing absentee em-ployers by turning in as glowing and as profitable reports as possible.

Absentee Exploiters.

As the system is now in many of the industries here, the great stock holders live elsewhere and depend up on an agent or sub-officials to manage matters for them. Away from the scene, they either do not know or they do not care how their army of employ-ees fare; their only concern is that the yearly balance shall yield the desired per cent. The particular mesh-ods used in extracting the per cent, do not interest them. The agent or others in charge answer for the methods.

The difference between the former and the agent system was well lilustrated in a strike three years ago. Until that time the system was to work the firemen in all the paper mills on two shifts to a day of 24 hours. A fireman would work alternately 13 hours one night and eleven hours the next. The firemen demanded an eight-hour day, and notice was given that if the demand was not granted a sympathetic strike would be declared by all the employees of all the mills, including those of the Whiting Paper

Company.

The Whitings are types of some of the old-time competitive employers, shrewd, kindly in their sense of things, just in their sense of justice. Their business was founded in a small way business was founded in a small way over forty years ago, and it has re-sisted all the efforts of the combina-

sisted all the efforts of the combina-tion to get it.

"I found," said one of them, "that the Trust had made a combination, with all the outside mills except ours not to grant the demand. 'I investigat-ed the conditions under which the fire-men worked and made up my mind that their hours of work work a hot that their hours of work over a hot furnace were too much. I granted them the eight-bour day. The American Writing Paper Company was then notified that if the demand were not granted, all the employees would walk out. The general offices of the Trust assumed a defiant attitude and looked upon this threat as a bluff. All the employees did walk out, however. The great stockholders, evidently, had received misrepresentations. They became plarmed at the insister the strikers, and about a month later the Trust granted the strikers' de-

What the Trust Does.

A second strike was declared in the summer of 1903. This strike substan-tially involved all the mills except those of the Whiting Paper Company and one small one. The demand was for an increase of from 10 to 20 per cent in the wages of the rag room girls. The strike was poorly supported by the Paper Makers' Union and it collapsed. There was considerable talk of the union's lenders, or some of them, selling out.

mills is higher than the average wage in most other kinds of factories, and, in turn, higher wages are paid in the independent paper, than in the Trust's, mills. The tendency of the Trust is to have less skillful help and to pay less wages. This comparison shows the

does not see that it fights upon the archaic lines of a well-nigh bygone era while the Trust or combination has improved its offensive and defensive methods, concurrently with its methods of exploitation. Unionism does not yet see that the Trust that so skillfully and malodroitly limits or increases production, can choose and bide its own time for attack or reprisals; or if unlonism does see this, it still balks at political action. Essential lessons of plus labor; there is plenty of both-and the industrial magnates can well af-ford to smile contemptuously at the mention of a unionism which they no ionger fear and which they have left the ghostly remnant of its former self. For decades unionism has sweat-ed and struck; now it finds an "openset and struck; now it made in open-shop" town, falling wages in many in-dustries, higher prices for necessities, and above, or below it all, its own de-cay. The painfully widening gap be-tween dominant industrialism and the does unionism, or such as survives of it, seem to learn from changed con-One need not look deeply into conditions to note the resemblance existing

of the Thread Trust (The American

Thread Company), the silk and some other mills, would be slurred off and

pigeon-holed. Unionism apparently

between some growths here and some old feudal institutions of France, for instance. The monopoly of water-power is reminiscent of the time when hunting and fishing privileges and the revenue of streams, woods, roads and whole provinces were the morsels of noblemen or particular court favorites. The rows of corporation tenements— do they not carry one's mind back to the thatches of vassals who crowded outside the lordly walls? The absenoutside the lordly walls? The absen-tee industrial magnates—do not they seem a modern type of the feudal lord who left the management of his es-tates to a steward and who luxuriated on the spolls at a distant court all, or most of the year? A portion of the priesthood—some of whom are inter-ested in corporation properties—either militantly declaiming against Socialism or insidiously whispering its evils to their parishioners—are they not fit-ting descendants of those prelates and priests of old who fulminated against those disturbers of a temporal system which was God-created and which in-cidentally yielded the clergy about a third of all the wealth of France? The growing indisposition, from economic pressure, of the women to bear chil-dren—this, too, is strikingly resemplant of the decades before the French Revolution when the poor were re-luctant to bear too many children to live, as they did, upon black, sour

Enforced "Race-Suicide."

From 35,637 in 1891 the population of Holyoke has increased, according to the school census of 1964, to about 50,000. Marriages have inreased, but births have decreased, as

is shown by this	table.	
	Marriages.	Births.
1804	380	1,620
1895	464	1.712
1896	456	1.715
1807	417	1.731
1808	406	1.7(8
1800	428	1,700
1900		1,755
1901	460	1.702
1902	. 532	1.573
1903	504	1.559

The record of the marriages is abso lute, but according to the city clerk, who has charge of the vital statistics, the system of registering briths until 1902 was defective and he states that some of the entries from 1894 to 1902 are duplicated. However this may be, there is no doubt, from what could be gathered from various authentic sources, that while the population and the number of marriages are increasing, the number of births is decreasing. The increasing pauperism, this, too, takes one back to the times when roads of France. Of a population of about 50,000, 2,332 persons, representing about 583 families, were so desti-tute that they were thrown upon the city of Holyoke for partial support in 1903. The overseers of the poor not completed their report for 1904, but the fact that a larger appropria-

Unions Losing Power.

Labor unionism has steadily de clined in power and prestige, competition it had only so many disected cut-throat units bound briefly and insecurely by temporary expediency of self-interest, to fight against. In the Trust or combination it has encountered a foe marshalled ou more compact and unassailable lines. With all unionism's years of effort and its spasmodic throes of self-sacrifice what is the result? Holyoke, on the whole, is an "open-shop" town. La bor, whether union or non-union, is freely employed and no resistance is offered. It is an ideal "open-shop" town and the results are ideal from the capitalist's view. Most of the labor unions, formerly so powerful, have either gone to pieces or have become so skeletonized that they are negligible and excite either pity or derision as the beholder may be disposed. Only in the building trades does unionism really count, and even in them it is really count, and even in them it is disintegrating. Years of agitation, years of organization, years of conten-tion and consider the outcome. A alight victory gained here and there, but, after all, unionism stands almost disrupted and bankrupted. Union-ism's decrees, if handed in now in the cotton mills, the paper mills, the mills

indicates the steady increase of pay perism. The number of the destitute dependent upon relations or friend cannot, of course be ascertained When it is realized that large numbers of men support a wife and many chil-dren on an average of \$6 a week, the character of the destitution which forces appeals to the city can readily

What Are They Doing. Confronted with these social and in dustrial conditions what do the great majority of the voters think and do If to seek and apply a remedy through the power of the ballot signi-fies thinking and doing, then they do nothing of either. Perhaps, however, it is unjust to say this, for the city of Holyoke presents a contradiction of the application of progressive thought. The same city which voted for and which has taken over the municipal ownership and operation of the gas and electric lighting plants, clings to and electric lighting plants, clings to the old political parties. Of a total vote of about 6,000 nearly the whole vote consistently for either Demo-cratic or Republican candidates. In all Holyoke there are about 300 So-cialist voters. The rich or subservient priests of the Roman Catholic Church here as elsewhere have begun a mili-tant campaign against the Socialist

THE SCHOOL OF SOCIALISM.

Through The Worker Sectary Spargo Answers Questions.

Only a Beginning Is Made This Year, and It is Hoped That the Scope of the Work Can Be Much Extended Next Time - The Democratic Spirit In Which the Task Is Undertaken.

Comrade Spargo, Secretary of the Board of Instructors of the School of Socialism which is to be started under the auspices of Local New York next month, writes as follows: To All Interested in the Socialis

School.
"Dear Comrades:—So many have written me concerning the Socialist School that it is impossible for me to reply to them all individually, much as I would like to do so. Will you. therefore, permit me to address them briefly through The Worker? "In the first place, to all who have

asked for details concerning the different courses, as to what subjects will be taken up and the method of treat-ing them, let me say that an elaborate syllabus of the whole course has been prepared for publication. This, I hope, will soon be ready, and each member will be provided with a copy. I believe that the syllabus will have a permanent value as a guide and help to students.

"There will be no separate course in statistics, but in the courses under-taken by Comrade Lee and myself spe-cial efforts will be made to provide the students with the latest and most ac-

students with the latest and most ac-curate and comprehensive statistical data likely to prove of useful import-ance to speakers and others.

"Membership in the School is not confined to those intending to speak in the campaign and our women com-

rades are eligible for membership. "At present the Board of Instructors does not see its way to carry on a cor-respondence school for the benefit of omrades out in the state. We should be glad indeed to do so, but the ex-pense hydred would be very great. We should need to have all the twenty-one lessons printed in pamphlet form, and a paid secretary would be necessary. It is hoped that by another season something may be done in this

"It may be possible to arrange for classes in places contiguous to New York to be taken by individual members of the Board of Instructors, or necessarily be less elaborate. I shall be glad to lay such applications before the committee, but for the present it is of utmost importance that we make this school in New York a

entered as received. Comrades need not expect to receive letters in answer When the syllabus is issued

thereto. When the syllabus is issued they will receive copies by mail.

"A number of comrades have written suggesting something else"—plans other than those which have been formulated by the Board of Instructors in conjunction with the computes a conjunction with the computer and the conjunction with tion with the committee appointed by the City Executive for the purpose. I cannot waste time discussing these, since the whole matter has been thoroughly gone into and the present plan decided upon as the best and most ex-pedient in view of all the circumstances. It is a beginning only, and

we hope it will develop.
"There will be no paid officials or

"The comrades will be best inform-

ed of the progress of the work by read-ing The Worker carefully.

"Finally, may I add that the members of the Board of Instructors have ndertaken this work not as intellecknow all, or that they alone are competent to state the Socialist position accurately, but as comrades willing to serve the movement to the best of their ability, just as other comrades serve it is other ways. In a spirit of comradeship, and not of leadership, they have decided to devote their time and their best thought and energies to the preparation of their respective courses for the mutual good of all in the movement. They themselves will learn much in the research and study to that preparation, and nerely offer to share their gain with whosoever will share with them in the true spirit of comradeship.—Fraternal-

"JOHN SPARGO, Secretary. "23 Belmont Terrace, Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.

propaganda. The principal priest here Father Harkins; his service in Holyoke is about as old as the city itself. He, it is said, is considerable of a capitalist and it is further said that he owns stock in some of the mills and in street ranways and stems railroads. Some of the minor Ameri-can and Irish priests are in sympathy. though they dare not openly avow to.
The opposition of the American and
Irish priests is done in a quiet, effective way; that of the Polish priests
openly and furiously. The American
and Irish priests have a more intellidescribe from the pulpit, as he Polish priests, every drunkard, vice versa. The two different lines of casapaign are effective at present and perceptibly retard the spread of So-

But does not every progressive novement thrive in the long run upon opposition? Better this than slience.

READ THIS AND PASS IT ON.

a Capitalist Mind."

Driven as Hard as Any Laborer and Pald as Paorty, He Calls Himself a . Gentleman," Hopes to Be a Boss, and Looks Down on "Common Working men"-Yet Even He May Awake.

In the New York "Times" last week

OVERWORKED BANK CLERKS. To the Editor of the New York Times.

for Bank Clerks. for Hank Clerks."

As a member I ain glad when Sunday comes around to have my son at dinner with me. He comes home nightly exhausted with work at a bank between the hours of 9 a. m. and midnight. When a brus adding machine gives out they send and get a new wheel. No bonus can ever repair the worn-out eyes, straighten the stooping shoulders, or relieve the aching chest. Why don't the clerks band themselves into a union and demand the sam rights legislated to animals? Surely the intelligence and honesty required from bank clerks demand decent treatment.

The Worker appealed to an office worker who is Interested in the Socialist movement for an opinion on the question raised in this letter and got the following response:

"The clerk is on a level with the day laborer, with the unskilled laborer, He is a wage slave of the lowest order. He does not realize this. He looks with haughty mein upon the "ordin-ary" workingman. He feels himself on a level with his employer. He im-agines he enjoys all the rights under the sun. Dear Mother, do not expect HIM to organize into a union with his station, cleaks. He is too much of a fellow clerks. He is too much of a sycophant—too much of a 'gentleman,' whatever he means by that appelation. He works without grumbling till midnight, and even Sundays, feeling-certain that he will sometime become the boss of the concern in which he is employed.

"In many a bank he scribbles and adds accounts all day in the sub-cellar, ruining his eyes by artificial light, while his head hums, so that his employed may sit au-hour or two daily in the well ventilated and cheerful sun-lit office above ground. In other places he plies the pen in a gallery near the ceiling, in a dry, stifling atmosphere. He does not mind this, because he is not one of those ordinary workmen who are always kicking and never satisfied.

The Manhattan Life Insurance Company of this city has followed the example of some Western concerns and posted a notice that no clerk shall marry unless his salary be one thou-sand dollars—and they see to it that a good part of the clerks never get that princely sum. So the clerk is doomed to 'race suicide,' although he voted for his gentleman friend, Teddy.

"The young ladies employed in that tit. They are not allowed to step into the elevator in groups of three or

more, as that 'looks too much like a factory.' So said the boss. "No, dear 'Mother,' there is no need of organization for the clerk, because his destiny is to be a millionaire or a tramp or a seab, with the chances largely in favor of the millionaire, and when all clerks have become million aires it is plain that unions will have ecome superfluous.
"But joking aside, dear 'Mother,

your son voted for the conditions both he and you are suffering under. The Socialists have told him that he is a slave, that he is owned body and sou by the employing class, by those who own the means by which he gets a liv-ling. He would not listen. He called us crazy. His insanity makes him un-conscious of his miserable condition Tell your son, your brother, your husband, your father, to read Th er. Tell them to subscribe for it and you will soon find them agitating for a state of society in which there shall be no overworked clerks, no overwork ed men and women in any occupation no masters and no slaves. This sounds ntopian; but read Socialist literature systematically, persistently, and be

BETTER NOT TAKE THE BAIT.

A dispatch from St. Johns, N. B. dated Dec. 9, says:

The Canadian government has appointed Thomas Hetherington, formerly a membe of the New Brunswick Legislature, immi-gration agent, and has authorized him to open an office in Boston. It is proposed to carry on a campaign in New England agricultural districts to induce farmers to cente in the Canadian Northwest. A st to get former Canadians residing in Ne England to settle in the new region or els eturn to the Eastern Provin

If we may trust reports in the labo papers of Manitoba and British cambia, as well as private correspo ence from those regions, New England ers who folow the advice of this Can adian agent will greatly regret it, find ing that they have spent their little savings and not bettered their chances of earning a living. In the Canadian Northwest, as well as all over the United States, we are credibly informed, there are now large numbers of unemployed men, living from hand to mouth and often suffering great hard

Essex Evans' "Rag" says it has mo policy but progress." Might as well say it has no aim but goal. What is the goal, and how does it propose to reach it? Progress is not a policy, but the object of a policy.—Brisbane

Worker.

— Just think of the miserable dens called homes, waiting to be broken up by Socialism.—Chicago Socialist.

Type of "the Worker with Socialism Nearly Trebles Strength in Four Years.

Social Democratic Party Registers Gain of 10 per Cent Over the Somewhat Abnormally High Vote of Last

Year-S. L. P. Loses Official Standing. The official canvass of the vote of the state of New York is at last com pleted. The subjoined table shows the result for the Social Democratic Party, by counties, in comparison with its vote in 1900, in 1902, and in 1903. The vote given for 1900 and 1904 is that cast for the national ticket; that of 1902 is for Governor and that of 1903 the head of the ticket in each case.

Countes. 1900, 1902, 1903, 1904.

Albany ... 64 123 609 330

Allegany ... 12 15 60 86

Allegany	12	15	60	80
Broome		21	104	108
Cattaraugus ·	22	17	126	206
Cayuga	56	30	106	171
Chautauqua .	42	39	539	691
Chemung		26	304	378
Chenango	18	41	87	68
Clinton		5	18	23
Columbia		19	66	45
Cortland		5		20
Delaware	7	2	23	25
Dutchess	20	14	118	102
		506	1,112	1,334
Erie	44	68	47	70
Essex	12	8	40	61
Franklin				463
Fulton	98	465	403	
Genesee		33	125	109
Greene	27	74	180	87
Hamilton	1	1	6	
Herkimer		234	280	189
Jefferson	174	368	521	410
Kings	2,331	4,381	5,217	
Lewis	8	7	.28	34
Livingstone .		6	38	- 40
Madison	68	56	103	159
Mouroe1		2,198	4,104	2,203
Montgomery	24	28	57	88
Nassau	23	24	69	39
New York			12.339	16.475
Niagara	26	51	251	. 163
Oneida		147	586	391
Onondaga	336	367	475	700
Ontario		16	57	34
		142	250	344
Orange	20	11	77	53
Orleans	23	17	95	114
Oswego				
Otsego	11	10	91	50
Putnam		14	12	
Queens		1,037		1,2%
Rensselaer	88		1,035	322
Richmond	109	120	145	134
Rockland		40	88	G
St. Lawrence		13	54	7.
Saratoga	*	43	85	155
Schenectady		136	432	434
Schoharle,	4	5	13	. 1
Schuyler	2	2	9	13
Seneca	4	10	63	37
Steuben	47	185	226	210
Suffolk	35	45	150	143
Sullivan	4	5	22	20
Tioga		4	19	14
Tompkins		34	105	88
Ulster	5	39		92
Warren	11	59	47	101
Washington .	24	117	109	112
Warna	11	20	60	74
Wayne Westchester	005	700	701	
Westchester				
Wyoming Yates	6	6	26	31
		4	15	11

Totals ...12,869 23,400 33,390 36,893 Gains . . . 10.531 9.909 3.481 Gains, per cent. 81% 43% 10% Our gain in four years is 187 pe

Our candidate for Governor, Pendergast, runs slightly behind the national

ticket, receiving 36,250 votes.

The S. L. P. national ticket received 9.127 votes, and De Leon, cambidate for Governor, received 8,976. In 1900 the S. L. P. had 12,662; in 1902 it had 15,886; in 1903 it had 10,677. It loses official recognition by falling below ten

The Populists polled only 7,459 votes for their national ticket and 6,015 for their gubernatorial candidate.

IN OTHER STATES.

he Socialist Vbtg in a Few More States is Now Officially Reported.

The following table shows the vote Socialist Party as officially ported in the states named in 1900, in

1902, and in 1904			
States.	1900.	1902.	1904
Alabama	928	2,312	853
Kentucky	790	1,886	3.450
Maryland	908		2,247
New York1	2.869	23,400	36,883
*The star indic	ates th	at in th	is state

here was no state election in 1902 o that the Socialist Party did not have a state ticket nor candidates in all the congressional districts, so that no full count of our vote was made. The states thus far officially reported

gave our party 89,169 votes in 1900 and give it 377,896 this year. Leaving out of account those states or territories in which no Socialist votes or fewer than 500 were cast in 1000 the leavest 1900, the largest proportionate gains in four years have been made by Kansas,

Ohio, 678; Colorado, 526; Oklahoma 445; Iowa, 441; Indiana, 406; Pennsyl vania, 352; Kentucky, 337; New Yor 186; Maryland, 147. Kentucky NEWPORT, Ky., Dec. 16.—This state casts 3,450 votes for Debs and Hanford, according to the official can-rass. We had 2,040 a year ago, 1,886 in 1902, and 790 in 1900. Thus we make a record of steady gain amount-

ing in four years to 337 per cent. The S. L. P. has 596, as against 535 in 1902

Alabama.

The Secretary of State of Alabama informs The Worker that the Socialist vote in that state, according to the official canvass, was 858—not 583, as here-tofore reported. Even at this, we are convinced that wholesale fraud has

THE CLERK'S LIFE. NEW YORK'S VOTE. "PEACE ON EARTH AND TOWARD MEN GOOD WILL."

romance, in our own memories of childish days before we came face to face with the realities of life, how much of joy and mutual love those two words embody. "Peace on earth and toward men good will." That is the historic motto of Christmas Day.

But if we turn for a moment away from the pretty books and the sweet comfortable sermons, if we will look for a moment at; the world as it isnot as dreaming sentimentalists or flattering parasites picture it-where is the longed-for peace, where is the evidence of good-will?

Some hundreds of thousands of poo people will be fed by charity this Christmas Day? Is that a thing to be proud of? Is it a thing that would please that poor Carpenter of Judea were he back on earth? Hundreds of thousands fed by charity on Christmas Day-which "comes but once a year" -means hundreds of thousands inneed of charity, hundreds of thousands who would go hungry without it, hundreds of thousands who did go hungry last week, who must go hungry again the week after? Is it a thing to be

And these hundreds of thousands, remember, belong to the Carpenter's class. not to the class of Herod and Pilate. They are workingmen and workingwomen and working people's children Part of them are men and women who have toiled hard at productive labor all their lives for a bare living wage and who now are too weak and worn for any loss to make a profit out of them. Others are men and women willing and still able to work, whom capitalism itself has thrown into idle ness and want. And then there are the children of these workers, forced by poverty out of the home and the school, into the shop or upon the street, to try to eke out the family's Hving by the labor of their little hands, doomed to ignorance, probably to vice and crime, almost surely to disease and premature death-you can see their wenzened old-young faces and their stunted forms by hundreds on the streets of all our great cities and in the mills and factories and department stores where the philanthropists' profits are piled up through all the weary round of the year.

Yes, "Christmas comes but once year," and by feeding a part of the victims of capitalism on that day, and hiring priests and parsons to tell them of "peace on earth and good will toward men," our modern Herods and Pilates think to atone for the year-long profitable Slaughter of the Innocents, the year-long business-like Crucifixion

Here is a true Christmas story of this year of grace 1904:

Last Sunday morning an old couple -the wife sixty, the husband sixty-eight-were found lying unconscious in the snow on East Seventieth street. They were taken to the station-house and there the pitiful story was told. The husband had worked hard when ever he could find work. The couple had lived quietly in a single little room, not complaining, facing the world bravely, suffering often but proud with the flerce pride of the totl-ing poor. But the man was old; his strength was failing; he could not the best; prices went ever up and up. Winter came and with it unwilling idleness. The few dollars saved by bitterest self-denial soon went. rent was overdue. The husband tramped the streets, begging only for a chance to work. Saturday night he came home to find that a disnotice had been served, and the wife was guarding the little shabby furniture on the sidewalk. Strength and courage were gone, and they lay down together in the dark and the growing storm, to die as quietly as they had

What did capitalist society do for them? It arraigned them for vagrancy, sent the wife to that moral hell called the poorhouse, gave the husband a meal and sent him out again on the vain search for work.

And while Michael and Bridget Mc Guire were being arraigned in the

quarters of our vote in Alabama. The

comrades in that state will have to

"Christmas Day." In tradition, in | Yorkville Court, in two palatial churches two well-groomed clergymen, each with a salary equal to the wages of twenty-five common workingmen, were praying "Give us this day our daily bread" or droning out, "We thank Thee, Lord, for the mercies which Thou hast so bountifully manifested toward us. " And Morgan and Rockefeller interjected a hearty "Amen" and went on dreaming of schemes to lower steel-workers' wages and weed out the old men and to raise

the price of oil and steal some new

Do you say that the McGuires' case is an exceptional one? You KNOW that it is not. President Roosevelt, telling of "our noteworthy prosperity," knows that such cases happen by thousands every year. August Belmont, assuming the presidency of the Civic Federation, knows that the prosperity of his class depends upon an ever increasing pressure on the workers which makes industrial peace an idle dream. Bishop Botter and Archbishop Ireland, who will preach next Sunday about the birth of that workingman's child nineteen centuries ago and will prate about the dignity of labor-they know that the army of the unemployed is greater to-day than ever before, that more child-lives are being ground into dividends now than ever before, that more old men and old women are being turned off heipless after a useful and frugal life now than ever before.

Merry Christmas!-The number of families in the United States who own their own homes is less to-day, proportionately to the whole population, than it was ten years ago. "Peace on earth" -and a notice of foreclosure; "good will toward men"-and a writ of evic-

Merry Christmas!-Three out of every four men who die in New York City leave no property but their clothes and household furniture.

Merry Christmas!-One-tenth of the poeple of New York, spite of every endeavor, and laid at last in the Potter's Field.

Merry Christmas!-There are four million actual paupers in the United States, out of eighty million people.

Merry Christmas!-The number of applicants to the charitable institutions of New York City is greater this winter than ever before in the city's history; and the same news comes from Boston, from Philadelphia, from Chicago, from St. Louis, from Scattle, from San Francisco-and across the sea from Russia, from Japan, and from "Merrie England."

Merry Christmas? What right have you rich men to be merry? What reason have we workingmen to be merry? Peace on earth? What have you capitalists and your hirelings and sycophants left undone that you could do to make peace impossible? Good will toward men? What good will have you shown us in your trusts, your employers' associations, your citizens' alliances, and your political councils? And what good will do we owe you?

sweet phrases. We, for our part, will not cry "Peace! Peace!" when there can be no peace. In the name of the peace that capitalism denies, in the name of the good will that capitalism mocks at, in the name of the right to be merry in the enjoyment of the fruits of our toll, in the name of all the sufferings that the workers of the world have endured through all the ages, we observe Christmas by declaring war, relentless war, war to the bitter end, against the whole social system of wage-slave profit-mastery, of class rule in all its forms

Forward, comrades. Merry Christmas is not yet ours. We have yet to win it for ourselves and for our chil-

dren and for all the world been committed by the local election I THE OLD REVOLUTION AND THE NEW

The developments we are now noting, in this country are not the manifestations of any new principle. It is no new thing in

history to see on the one hand a class livrecurrence of such political highway ing in debasing luxury, and on the other hand a class crawling on its belly in sub jection, with only here and there one or We are informed that we were in two with intelligence enough to rebel. The

is a tollsome ascent, and one sn't put on the brake up hill.—Bris bane Worker.

seems much the more preferable.

-A fool in revolt is infinitely wise than a philosopher forging a less apology for his chains.-Kossuth.

error, two weeks ago, in crediting the S. L. P. with 4.708 votes and that the same careless waste that characterized society in France under Louis XV; the same true figure is 1,600. We had reason fool-feeling of "after-us-the-deluge" which precipitated the great revolution of '89, sits firting with destiny above the social beliers to believe the other report which we used, but the smaller figure certainly te-day. But unlike the masses in France, there is in America to-day a leaven of in-"The Tory is useful as the brake on the wheel," says an apologist for conservatism. But the path of proghand of the class-conscious worker is reaching up to grasp the lever; his fingers are clasping themselves about the throttle valve; he is learning the secret of forced draught, and the great social engines are

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

In the state of New York, on account of certain provisions of the election laws, the ocialist larty is officially recognized under he name of Social Democratic Party, and a emblem is the Arm and Torch, as shown

The Socialist Perty (or Social Democratic Party in New York) should not be confused with the so-called Socialist Labor Party. The latter is a small, ring ruled, mortbund organization which bitterly opposes the trade unions and carries on an abusive cam-paign of ajander against the real Socialist morement, which supports the trade unions.



AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG.

The Socialist movement appeal with especial force to the young people who have to face industrial conditions different from those the older genera tion grew up under and whose minds are open to new ideas.

Under present conditions it is almost impossible for the young man of a working class family to rise out of his class, and it is almost sure that the young man of the middle class will be forced into the ranks of the working class to struggle for a job. Matexial "success" can now be attained by sery, very few and the few who do achieve this "success" can do so only by ignoble and degrading methods, by mean and brutal selfishness and by disregard of all finer feelings and higher interests. Most of the people must continue to be ware workers as long as the present industrial system lasts, and the young man who would like to devote his best energies and most carnest endeavors to one of the professions, or to business, must face overwhelming chances of failure unless he is willing to degrade his mind and character by the use of unscrupulous means of climbing to the top over the prostrate bodies of his fellow men, unless he is willing to "succeed" at the expense of others by meanness, swindling and corruption.

Instead of this sordid idea of sudollar chasing in which even the most crafty have so little chance of winning-the Socialist movement gives a much greater hope and a far noble ideal to the young people of the working class. The purpose of the Socialist movement is to establish a condition under which all will have the oppertunity to work and to enjoy the full product of their toil, so that poverty, misery and crime will disappear and there will be happiness and plenty for all. The Socialist movement is against the capitalist class and the capitalist industrial system which enslaves and robs them. It stands for the emancipation of the working class, for industrial freedom and social jus-

The young man or young woman seriously facing life for the first time, must form some idea of what will be the most important thing in life to them, what will give them inspiration and hope and be the source of their deepest feelings and the object of their highest endeavors and most earnest thoughts. Socialism is the only thing worthy of such devotion. If the young people will study the principles of S cialism they will soon see the truth and, having once absorbed the Socialist truths, their minds will be uplifted, their intellects will be illuminated and their hearts will expand wit ennobling devotion to the great cause that stands for the interests of the working class and for the emancipation of humanity from the tyranny and sufferings of capitalism.

NICHOLAS AND THEODORE.

President Roosevelt, it appears, when ever he goes, is surrounded with a treble cordon of secret service men, de tectives, spies, ex-Pinkertons, and other choice companions, to protect his precious life.

Can anyone imagine a Washington, a Jefferson, a Jackson, or a Lincoln thus watched and warded? No. nor any other self-respecting chief magistrate of a republic. The greatest of our Presidents would have preferrednay, did prefer-not the chance, but the certainty, of assassination to such monarchical bulwarking against fate-as would any really brave and not merely blustering man.

But another consideration suggests itself. If this army of guards are needed, why are they needed? Is it not a most sure sign that "something is rotten in the state of Denmark"or of America, rather? With the exception of Tsar Nicholas and the Turkish Sultan, it is safe to say that no monarchs in the world are treated in quite this hot-house fashion. Those two have reason, for they are tyrants. And Theodore the Great has reason. for he is the chief representative agent of capitalist tyranny in the greatest of enpitalist despotisms.

And yet he has not the moral courage to remove the danger, as he could, by putting himself heartily on the side of the oppressed. "Oh, the pity of it!"

UP THE STATE. Frankly, the Social Democratic vote in the state of New York is a disaupointment to us. We ought to have had at least 40,000, instead of 36,883. Comparing this year's vote with that cast a year ago for Charles H. Matchett for Judge of the Court of Appeals, we have gained only 3.484 votes in the state-barely over 10 per cent. A fairer comparison-considering the fusion of the old parties last year in support of Denis O'Brien-would be with our vote in regular state election of 1902. But even so, the result is unatisfactory; our increase in two years is 13.483-a little less than 57 per cent. That is too little. The country as a whole, spite of the losses in Massachusetts and Colorado and the frauds in the South, has gained about 90 per cent, in the same time. The Empire State is not keeping step as it should in the march toward Socialism.

It may be worth while to separat the vote of New York City from that of the up-state counties. For that purpose we give the following table:

City. Up-state. Total Year. 1900 9,521 3,348 6,968 12,830 1902 16,432 1903 18,833 23.400 1904 24,536 12,347 36,983

During the three periods covered-1900 to 1902, 1902 to 1903, and 1903 to 1904-the city gained 73 per cent., 15 per cent., and 30 per cent., respectively, or 158 per cent, in four years. The rest of the state gained 108 per cent. in the first of these periods and 100 per cent. in the second and lost 15 per cent. in the third, making a net gain of 200 per cent. in the four years.

The Worker has said in another con nection that, when an abnormally large gain is made in any region at one election and a part of it is lost at the succeeding election, the loss is not a due occasion for surprise or alarm; that it is to be regarded as a warning of the necessity for earnest work on the lines of education and organization; but that, if the loss is repeated it is a sign that something is seriously wrong. O'r up-state vote of last year was some shat abnormal, a considera ble part of it being, not a class-conscious vote for Socialism, but a vote of protest against the capitalist fusion for O'Brien. It is not surprising that we have lost this year, in the up-state counties, over a quarter of what we part and with the most favorable connined last year. There is no g for alarm in the fact. But there is cause for serious consideration. The necessity for vigorous work in those countles should be obvious to anyon

who will scan the figures. This work cannot be done from state headquarters alone. The locals in New York City- have contributed liberally to the funds for agitation and organization in other parts of the state, and will continue to do so. The State Comnittee will do all in its power to carry on that work. But it must have hearty and steady support and co-operation in its efforts from the comrades outside of New York City, or its efforts and the funds that are contributed will be practically thrown away

It is a pity that, when the State Committee makes a serious effort, imnediately after election, to arrange fo sending good speakers through the state at frequent intervals, as it is now doing, it should meet with a halfhearted response. Up to a week ago only ten locals up the state had sig nified their willingness to arrange meetings once or twice a month for such speakers. With so few active centers in so large a state, it is evident that the touring of a speaker must be a very costly affair. It costs as much in railway fares-the largest item of expense-for a speaker to go the length of the state to reach a sin gle local as it would for him to travel the same distance and address a hun dred meetings on the way. It is neces sary that at least twenty locals should take up the work in order that a sin-

locals active in such circuit work three speakers could be kept in th field and, by a judicious arrangeme of tours, the expense to each loca could be made still lower than with twenty locals and one speaker.

We would earnestly advise the com rades throughout the state to conside these facts and to communicate with the State Secretary at once, so that before another month has passed, we may have an active campaign going o all the way from New York City to Buffalo. Every day that we wait w lose somethings of the golden oppor tunity that our successes in November and the popular interest aroused there by offers to us. Now, not next sum mer, is the time to act, in order to make sure that, at the next state ele tion, a good gain shall be registere for our party up the state, as it assuedly will be in New York City.

NOTE, COMMENT AND ANSWER.

The New York "Times" devoted nearly a column of its editorial space last Sunday to the task of proving, to its own satisfaction, that the Socialis Party is going to be swallowed up by the two old parties, because Bryan i going to reorganize the Democracy on "radical" lines and Roosevelt has com-mitted the Republican party to the "socialistic principle" of government control of railway freight rates. what is there left for the Socialists preach and do?" asks the "Times and predicts that we will go the wa of the Populists. We would remind the "Times" that Socialism has been in the field through nine successive Presidential and Congressional elections, beginning in 1883; that in eac election it has increased its strength spite of the competition of Populist Union Labor, and other radical pa ties; that its voting power has grown not suddenly but steadily, from 2,00 to nearly 500,000; that the average rate of increase has been 95 per cent for each two years; and that the last two biennial periods give no indication of a decrease in this ratio of growth. We would refer the "Times" to the experience of Germany, where a much more serious attempt has been mad by the conservative parties to take the wind out of the Socialist sails by the doption of some planks from the So tialist platform, and where, neverthe less, the Socialist vote has gone of steadily increasing, with the exception of the two elections of 1878 and 1881 and has grown from 125,000 thirty So we cheerfully invite the old par ties to steal as many of our planks a they dare. If they carry them into we shall accept the concessions an demand more; and if they fail to do so, their fallure will be so much grist

It is the arm opinion of The Work er that comrades make a great mis take when, before election, they in dulge in extravagant predictions abou the increase of our vote, and when, in mediately after election and before the lish and gloat over the highest mates that can possibly be made. Dur-ing the late campaign many of our en-thusiasts talked confidently of a million, fifteen hundred thousand, or eve two million votes. For a fortnight after election some of them veciferous ly claimed from seven hundred and fifty thousand to a million. Even our cautious National Secretary was liter ally compelled, by the injudicious rep itations of those who reported t him from the various states, to give out an estiamte of 600,000. Nay, ever The Worker, while refusing to publish that report, was deluded into claiming half a million. Now, having official re-ports from all but a few of the states we know that our vote will not ex

That in itself is a very satisfactor; figure —an increase of 90 per cent. in two years and of over 300 per cent. in four years. But on those who had ac-cepted in good faith the higher estimates before and immediately after election, the news has a disapp and depressing effect. It is better-not for the old parties, per haps, but certainly for us—to "say nothing and saw wood," to claim little and to surprise the public by more

than realizing our own predictions Let us have no two-million talk for more than 800,000 votes two yer hence. Much more probable will 700,000. Seven hundred thousand votes would probably mean one or two Con f the Legislatures. But even this w cannot count upon, for it will deper upon the distribution of our gains and on possible coalitions or divisions of on possible coalitions or divisions the old parties. Let us, at the mo not predict more than seven or eight dred thousand votes in the ele our claims if possible.

A reader of The Worker in Wal tham, Mass., writes us that, in his opinion, the reason for the falling-off ear was the interference of the State Committee. He says:

When they suspended our local for clacing a comrade on our ballot who was nember of the militia, they presumed to such on their authority. We returned our harter as requested, but never gave up our rights-first, to be Socialists, first, last and all the time; second, to name our can didates, provided they were Socialists.

We have only to say, in response to this, that we do not see how the State Committee could have done otherwise than it did, when a local so flagrantly violated party discipline, and that we do not know how anyone can be *Socialist, first, last, and all the time when he defies party discipline in a important a matter as that of the at titude of the party toward the militia titude of the party toward the militia. This attitude may be wrong. If so, let it be discussed and changed in an orderly way. But while party laws stand, they must be obeyed. And if we lose a few votes in some locality by insisting on such obedience, that is evidence that those voters were not well educated Socialists, and the enforcement of discipline, if vigorously followed up, will soon recount the loss gle speaker may be put in the field of numbers, with an improvement

AN ELEMENTARY COURSE IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

IV.—The Capitalist System — A Chapter Which Should Have Preceded That On Value, But Now Comes in as a Parenthesis.

[This is one of a series of articles, begun in The Worker of Dec. 4, as an attempt toward a systematic and correct and yet popular statement of the fundamental principles of scientific Socialism for the assistance of those who really wish study (not merely to read something es study (not merely to read something easy) and who have too little time to undertake Those arger and more complete treatises. Thos have pertinent questions suggested by these articles are invited to write to the Editor of The Worker, and are assured that an earnest attempt will be made to answer

IV .- The Capitalist System.

From some comments and questions elicited by the preceding article I see that I have not begun this series in just the right way. Let me attempt to right the mistake now, postponing for a week the chapter on "The Value of Labor-Power." I should have said, before taking up

the definition and law of value, that the economic laws which we should set forth are distinctly the economic laws of capitalism, of the modern system of production; that many, perhap most, of these laws would not be ap-plicable to the facts of production an listribution in a primitive communist society, nor in a fendal society, nor la a slaveholding society, nor even fully in a society of independent small producers such as existed (approximate ly) in the northern part of the United States a century ago. It is the domi-nant capitalist system that we study —its essential nature (involving, of course, some account of its origin and some comparison with preceding sys-tems) and the tendencies of its devel-Now just as the physicist, in for-

nulating the law for the motion of a falling body, assumes it to be falling through a vacuum, without friction ite problems, makes allowance for the resistance of the air and for deflection by the wind, according to the special conditions actually existing at the time; just as the chemist, in working out the formula for a certain com-pound, assumes his materials to be ab olutely pure, and then, in applying ula in practise makes allow ance for the presence of certain impairities, in small quantities, which will slightly affect the working of the fornula-so we, in studying the economic laws of capitalist society, assume a typical state of capitalism, which nev er exists in absolute perfection, any nore than an absolute for the practical physicist or also ly pure materials for the practical chemist. We formulate our laws for this typical society; then, in applying them, we make allowance for certain modifying circumstances which exist, nctual society. The law first, formulated from the generalization of observed facts; then the application of the law to special cases, subject to special qualifications; this is the sci-entiale method, in economics as well as

in other branches of study. What, then, is the essential nature of the capitalist system which we study? What is it that distinguishes it from other economic systems that have preceded it or that may follow it? We lay down our general definiomic systems that tion now and shall elaborate and jus tify it as we go on. By the word 'capitalism" we mean

A system of competitive production of commodities by wage-labor operat-ing privately owned means of produc-

The word "competitive" does no need explanation here. Everyone knows what competition is. Likewise everyone will readily understand what its meant by "wage-labor" and the fol-lowing words. We must explain the phrase "production of commodities."

When we speak of commodities we mean things which are commonly pro duced, not directly for use, but for

are no commodities. Various article are produced, but they are not com-modly bought and sold. The savage cutches fish or kills game, directly for the sake of the fish or game-for consumption by himself or by the mem-bers of a communistic family group. Such products cannot be said to have value in the strict economic sense, becertainable purchasing power. In the nomic development, h ever, with the specialization of different productive industries, barter be comes common and later money-ex-change arises. It comes about that the producer, but with the purpose o exchanging them for other things which he wants and which other peo ple are producing. This change for production for use to production for exconsiderable progress in the ancie Greek and Roman civilization; wi : with the barbarian conquest of Europe there came a reaction and ther through the Middle Ages the system of ion for exchange gradually production for exchange gradually gained ground again; the geographica discoveries and the mechanical inven-tions of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and especially the eighteenth century has especially the eighteenth century has-tened its growth and it is now the dominant form of production all over the civilized world. The capitalist system is es

a system of commodity-production, production for sale. This marks fundamental difference between mo rem society and all earlier forms.
varying extent to which production
sale has displaced production for
marks the fundamental difference action for u tween the more advanced and the more backward nations and between the industrial and the agricultural por-tions of the same nation—differences which are rapidly growing less wide

and even of religion-just as certainly as, among animals, the difference be tween wings and legs involves corre sponding differences in the stomachs, the lungs, the circulatory, nervous, and reproductive systems of the flying and the walking unimals.

The fact that the great bulk of production in the present day is production for sale and not for use is so obvious and familiar that its meaning and its importance are likely to be overlooked unless we dwell upon it somewhat in detail. Let us consider the production of some special artic say shoes.

We all know by tradition and son

of the older among us can remember the days of the village cobbler. He represented a transition stage—a stage between the very old days when everybetween the very old days when every-body was his own shoemaker and the present day, when the shoemaker has almost disappeared. The village cob-bler of fifty or a hundred years ago did not make shoes primarily for his own use. He made his own shoes and those of his wife and children, it is true; but this was only incidental. On the whole, he made shoes for othe people, made shoes in order to ex-change them, directly or oftener through the medium of money, for food, clothing, fuel, and other things for his own and his family's use. Yet, in general, he made the shoes for certain known customers, made them "to order" and knew who was to wea each pair be made; vice versa, each person in the village knew who made the shoes he was wearing. There was still a personal relation between mak-er and wearer, between the producer and the consumer of this special pro duct, although they were now differ-ent persons; there was a direct rela-tion between use or need and production, inasmuch as each . 'r of shoes was made purposely for a use of a certain person, to satisfy a special need. Shoes, then, had already become a commodity—a thing produced for sale; but it was an early and unde-veloped form of commodity-production; the exchange motive had comin, but the personal use motive had not altogether disappeared.

Consider now the modern shoe factory in contrast with that old-fashion ed cobbier shop. I do not at this mo-ment speak especially of the fact that no one in the factory makes a whole pair of shoes, that some spend their whole time cutting soles, others cutting heels, others cutting different upper pieces, and so forth, so that each worker takes part in the making more shoes in a day, perhaps, than the cobbier could make in a year, and each pair of shoes is the product, not of on-man's labor, but of the specialized and combined labor of a large number of workers. This is a very importan fact, and it is closely connected with the fact which I wish specially to em plasize-is, indeed, an almost univer sal characteristic of fully developed commodity-production. But what I wish just now to emphasize is this other phase of the subject: That no one of the workers, as he takes part in the making of a certain pair of shoes, has the slighest idea by whom they will be worn; no wearer of shoes has the slightest idea what workmen made them—in general he does not even know in what factory they were made the manager or proprietor of the short factors himself, at whose command so and so many pieces are made daily. has not the remotest notion who is go-ing to wear them—he cannot know and the possibilities that the shoes the proprietor wears were not made in biown factory and even that none of the workers wears shoes which he has helped to make. Even leaving out of account, for the present, the relation between proprietor and worker in the factory, considering the employer and employees together as producers, the whole relation between makers and wearers, between producers and con-sumers, has become cutirely impersonal.

The whole of this sort of production which, we repeat, is the great bulk fall production in civilized countries to-day-is carried on for that vast am vague something called "the market." For the men who control production-the owners of factories, miles, mines, and so forth and employers of labor not only the chief motive to produ tion, but the sole motive is the sale of

The owner of the shee factory is not er such and such people need shoes, or whether anybody useds shoes; all that interests him is to know whether peo-ple—not some particular persons, but "the public"—can and will buy shoes at a price so-and-so much above the cost of materials, labor-power, and other things used up in the making of the shoes. In a general way, he can estimate about what "the market" will stand-about how many pairs peo-ple can and will buy, during the next week or month or year, at a given price. It is by this estimate of the purchasing power of the impersonal public that he regulates the amount ind character of production in his fa tory. It may easily happen-it doe happen periodically-that multitude uppers," that the factory store-room is full of leather, and that thousands shoes, and yet that the bo wheels stand mo ready, there is machinery ready, there is urgent and wide-spread need for the product, but production is at a standstill, because the people who need shoes are not able to pay for them at a price that will yield the manufactur-

ord—things produced for sale in a meral market. The production of mmodities is the production of commodities is the production ones, not of utilities; true, there

production in the world to-day; it is this that rules the world and use-pro-duction (as, for instance, with the small farmer who produces a large part of his family's food directly by his own labor and sells only the sur plus) is rapidly disappearing and, so far as it still exists, is subjugated by the greater power of commodity production and forced to obey its laws.

Now to return to our definition of capitalis We know, of course, that there do. ...ot and never did exist a production was production of commo-dities; there is always some production for use—as in the case of the farmer already mentioned, or of the housewife who bakes the family's bread and makes her children's clothes. Again, we know that not all production is carried on by wage-labor; there is still considerable number of small pro ducers owning their own means of pro-duction and producing partly for their own use and partly for the market. Finally, we know that absolutely fre competition does not exist and tariffs, by immigration laws, by pat ents, by legal monopolies; it is ham-pered by habit and custom and by the impossibility of any buyer or seller knowing at any moment all the conditions of the market; it is restricted by rusts and by trade unio These represent the qualifications we

have to make, these are some of the modifying circumstances we have to for, in applying our economi The most important of thes modifying circumstances is the trus or capitalist combination. Of this we hall speak later. But, subject to these qualifications,

capitalism as it exists and is developing to-day is fundamentally what we have defined it to be. We must formulate our laws for a typical capital ist society and then apply them to the society which actually exists, which is essentially but not absolutely in conormity with that definition. So far as the law of value is concern

d, that qualification is already made in distinguishing between value and price. If competition were absolutely free and fluid, we should not have t ways sold at the highest price he could get and bought at the lowest price ob tainable, regardless of the habit of trading in a certain place or any other consideration of habit or sentiment; it very buyer and seller had always only an approximate estimate, of the mount and quality of all the commo could always be reproduced or dup'i chted, as most of them can be; if, final ly, there were no combinations of buy ers or of sellers—then every commo dity would always sell at its true value, and price and value would be identical. As a matter of fact, none of these four conditions exists absolutely, though all of them prevall to a great extent. It follows that price tends always to approximate to value, but constantly fluctuates, sometime below value, oftener above value, be cause the most important of these qualifications are the relatively imper-fect knowledge of buyers and the relalively stronger combinations of sell

We shall now proceed to a consider ation of "The Value of Labor-Power." which will involve, of course A. I.

NOTES FROM GERMANY.

The "Volksstimme" of Magdeburg tells of a recent Agrarian congres the question of forming a landown ers' chamber as a part of the legisla tive machinery of Saxony. In the midst of their discussion some on raised the question about the number of Social Democrats who might be land owners. One member declared that every land-owner who had less than one acre was also an industrial worker and was sure to be a Socialist. Another speaker declared that all those who owned less than eight acrewere exclusively Social Democrats and unless the line was drawn above this point there would surely be Socialists in their new legislative cham ber. Finally one member suggested that ten neres be made the limit, as that would exclude most of the Social Democrats. To their horror, however they found this would also exclude two members of the Agrarian party for whose benefit this legislative chamber was largely to be crected. Under these conditions it was finally decided to set the limit at one acre and the delegates consoled themselves with the hope that they might be abl

The question of the relation of the trade unions to the Socialist Party in certain that all official connection be tween the two will be dissolved. Bebe has been advocating this for many years. It is worthy of note in this connection that a similar movement i starting even in Belgium, a country of est identity to the trade un

"THE DIGNITY OF LABOR."

The pmans that are perpetually sung t ticians are natural, and in a way, sincer nough; for it is recognized that if there But for all the honesty, dignity, and worth of his toll, the manual laborer is con W. J. Ghent in "Mass and Class."

WE WANT ALL TO BE FREE.

another man must be starred to that ex-tent. When one man is surfeiled with op-portunities there is somewhere another man whose life is incomplete. I protest against a society which is so hideously out of socra. I protest against the starred lives of the world, the lives without rest, without sun-ahine, without art, without music, without travel, without any opportunity to rise above the level of vulgar mediocrity. I want all men end women to be free, free to develop the whole herode stature of man-hood and womanhood. I want a complete life for every human being lived in an at-

IN THE BUSINESS DEPARTMENT.

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

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

names we went. We want 80,000 or them.

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

CIRCULATION MANAGER,

184 William St., New York City.

men which, taken at its flood, leads our compaign as effective as possible, on to fortune," as the late lamented the other literature should be mailed William Shakespeare says. We are giad to report that the names request-ed are coming in like a flood tide just at present, which is in the highest degree encouraging to the Circulation Manager and ought to be equally so to all the comrades who have the interests of The Worker at heart, and entertain an adequate appreciation of its importance to our movement. its importance to our movement. Every mail brings in further lists, You cannot, however, send us more names of possible subscribers than we can use, so keep up the good work. Let the flood tide continue to roll in.

A number of the comrades have sent with their lists a request for sample copies. We wish to explain that we have adopted a definite plan for soliciting subscriptions from the names sent us, and that part of this plan is sent us, and that part of this plan is as so many already have. Lend a to mall sample copies; but letters, cirhand! Help.swell the tide! Boom The culars, and other printed matter are Worker! And let us all help.

"There is a tide in the affairs of also to be sent, and in order to make at the same time the sample copies are dispatched. Accordingly, comrades, don't get impatient if your friends do not receive the sample ter. They will all get samples several copies, in fact-but there has been a little unavoidable delay in getting some of the "follow-up" literature some of the "follow-up" literature ready for the printer, and it may be the middle of next week before we can actually turn on the current and start the wheels moving. Keep your eye on the report of the circulation then, and watch it grow. Your satis faction with the growth er if you have had a hand in bringing it about-if you have sent in a list. It is so little that we ask that all th comrades ought to respond generously.

THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

By Peter E. Burrowes.

products of human labor are confiscated and appropriated by an armed ciass. By the word system I mean a methodical order of operations, self-arranged, self-controlled and self-supplied, just as we speak of the human system not as a chart of the human body but as an economy of action, an arrangement, a control and a supply of active self by active self. There are other institutions in society of a systematic or semi-systematic kind such as the legislatures, the armies and the system deals with a thing fundamental and necessary to them all and controls it, that is labor, this system encloses them all in its grind, so that they and everything else in civilization are not only included in capitalism, but as a matter of fact every one of them, and every man, woman and child in every one of them, cannot do anything which does not contribute to and nourish the capitalistic system. All are subordinate to its purposes, all save the mind and will of the man whom It aronses into resentment and re-sistance. He alone is free who is demanding the overthrow of the sys-tem itself. Others it may burt, and others besides labor it may provoke into protest, but the half measures they take and the failures they invite only nourish and cherist, the system; all things go to the help of capitalism save only the class-conscious opposition which comes from the ranks of organized labor marshalled under the mener of militant international Socirlism. And this is so because cap-italism's whole blood and marrow is derived from its vampire use of the laborer's life force. From that source it draws all its ability to include and centrol all the other elements of society by allowing them to become sharers in the shorn life of the proletariat. Therefore in all classes of the world capitalism has but one natural enemy, and it is itself the natural emy of but one class; and that is the class of men who have nothing to sell

It is a system which will endure just so long as it can arrange, control and supply its own life's activities, and tivities so long as the world gives it free labor and open markets; it can can control its own activities so long as it can use the law courts and ar-mies of the nations; and it can supply its own activities so long as the workers themselves supply it with a class own lives for pieces of money and who have no institution to sell those lives to, or from which to receive those very polite he may say nothing now. to, or from which to receive those pieces of money, but the capitalist

but their labor.

So long as this supply does not fail, so long as the self-selling laborers come up every day to the capitalist guillotine machinery to have their labor force chopped up into a few use values for themselves and a large proportion of exchange commodity valu for the system, the system can go on supplying itself from the outset with not open all around the world, or keep the means of subsidizing courts, par- open enough, why then the laboring iaments, armies, churches, schools, printing presses and all the other cogs which must keep moving to make the year's revolution of almighty capital-

So long as labor, the source and spring of all commodity value, con-sents to let itself remain shorn of the things necessary to its own function: so long as it consents to advance three-fourths of its own created vaines for the mere permission to ap-proach these appliances from day to day; so long as it consents to have no right to come for work or bread even on these terms, but to do without both take this extraordinary advantage of labor; so long as labor thus consents to supply out of its own life the whole essential capital of capitalism, making an advance of the greater part of itself enemy to degrade, starve and disor-gamps itself, by the assistance of and at the sole cost of itself; so long shall the laboring class remain where it is,

Capitalism is a system by which the 1 the basis of capitalism, and capitalism will that long remain a system capable

of supplying its own activities.

This wonderful system of capitalism which seems to rest with so much security on the still more wonderful consent, if not admiration, of its pri-mary victim and natural enemy, the implementless laboring class, rests on that very same class for the other two world as a self-arranging, self-controlling, self-supplying system

For capitalism to stop in any one of the three angles of its automatic life grind of the world, would be for capitalism as a system to fall out of re-pairs, then out of action and then into the dishonored past. Upon such a miracle of stupidity, voluntary blindness and slavery does capitalism rest, as to the matter of being able to base the supply of its own activities on the consent of its own victims, that a man from Mars would have thought the age of miracles was still here. Not so, my Marsian friend, the laborers are miraculously stupid, more studid than to you, or to anything else within the rational universe, is conceivable The workers not only supply their own bodies as the first fuel of the capital fire, but they supply out of their own brains the opinions, and from their own fingers the votes, which keep them "free," that is, rightless, laborers and which keep for their masters well opened, the free markets of th world. To set itself capitalistically free, labor must set the capitalistic system free of responsibility and obli-gation towards labor. It must teach its own offspring, the victims which it is suckling for the capitalistic shambles next year, that freedom of contract is a sacred thing meaning freedom is a sacred thing meaning freedom from contract on the part of capitalism and the state towards labor when con tract ineans any obligation to protect labor-life or contract the volume of profits arising, out of its own defenceless freedom. Labor must teach its own offspring that for labor to be free it must be uterly defenceless, but for capitalism to be free it must not be interfered with by any person or any combination of persons outside. It combination of persons outside. It must run its own business in its own

Will our friend from Mars believe that labor will take that view of lib erty at the bidding of its master? Will be believe that with such an opinion he will go to the ballot box and vote for Republican protection for the master with the man left out; or tha labor will vote for free trade in itself without restraint or obligation, and but I would like you to hear the loud. long laugh that spreads over him down to his boots when he gets home and is telling his wife of that noble creature that free sovereign citizen, the work ing man of America.

The working class not only supplied capitalism with the ballots that kills itself, but also with the bullets that kill itself. If the world purket does open enough, why then the laboring class puts itself into uniform and gors more markets for as own expropriated open the markets that are already open a little more, and shooting its remove any obstructions that might appear or threaten to appear in the way of a perfectly free circulation of the free, that is, defeaceless, commodity known as free labor.

It seems that labor has gone as far in the way of self-immolation to the cause of capitalism as ever the wildest savage fanatics are imagined to have for their gods. It has supplied the fundamental commodity of cap Italism in advance, that is, labor itself: it has suplied the necessary defence-lessness, that is, freedom of contract or from contract as it may suit the master. It has enforced with its own its own ballets it has made the cap-italist laws against itself at home and by its own hands it enforces them.

CORRESPONDENCE STUDY.

jects by correspondence:

AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL HISTORY. By A. M. Simons.

SOCIALISM, By May Wood Simons, POLITICAL ECONOMY, By May Wood Lamons.

correction of papers, answering or questions, and of work. The cost of each such course is five dollars.

The Institute of Social Studies now offers courses in the following su

Each course consists of twenty lectures, which become the property of the stindent and constitute a large book on the subject. The most important part of the work, however, consists of the instructions for systematic reading, the correction of papers, answering of questions, and suggestions as to methods

CLASSES.

Many classes are being organised in which one person is chosen to lead in discussion and read the lecture to the other members of the class, while the reading and preparation of papers is assigned to different members of the class. Special topics with lists of reading are prepared for different members of the class. These topics are first reported on to the class, then after discussion by the class, are sent to the instructor for criticism and suggestions. For such classes five dollars are charged for each set of lectures furnished and fifty cents for each nember. All correspondence for such

d, and fifty cents for each member. All correspondence for

classes must be conducted through one person and all postage paid by the class, as these terms are at the point of absolute cost. For further informa

class, as these terms are at the point of absolute cost. For tion address A. M. SIMONS, 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, Ili.

sumed on Jan. 1. John C. Chase Is

New York City.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting General Committee, Dec. 10. Wolf, chairman; Lewis, vice-

Eighty-five new applications for

membership received, including eight from 35th ... D., Branch 3 (new branch). All applications approved.

except those whose application blanks

Louis Jaeger; motion carried that ap-

plicant be admitted to membership

Delegate from 21st A. D. raised que

ion of status of Chas. W. Reed; me

tion carried that applicant be admitted

Comrade Fraser granted floor on be-alf of daily "Call." Stated that

Board of Managers desire as many

members of party as possible to take shares in organization; that members of assembly districts who have not al-

ready made piedges be requested to do

so; that all assembly districts be rep-resented at "Call" Conferences. Fur-

ther said that speakers would appear

before labor organizations to appeal for support. Motion passed instructing delegates to bring matter before their

Organization of Branch 3, 35th A.

Report of Executive Committee:

Plans consummated for school. Rec-

ommend that each assembly district have meeting once a month for gen-eral discussion. Matter of demonstra-

tion in near future referred back, with

to May 1 will be successful. Plan of

Worker Club in each assembly district

recommended. Resolution passed to effect that only such clubs should be

organized as come within complete

control of agitation or assembly dis

trict organizations. School Commit-tee recommend that lectures on trade

unionism and Socialist Party organiza

tion be dispensed with, owing to lack of time and that a separate course of

such lectures be made a separate or

ty-seventh street and Second avenue for school lectures. John Spargo se

pointed to buy safe for local. Finan-cial statement for three weeks ending Dec. 4. Action in regard to demonstra-

in, and matter of hiring Logelinge'

Delegate from 22d A D stated that

district had requested that Organizer be sent into district to organize Ital-

ians therein, and request was granted. Roll Call: Forty-eight present. Ab-sent, excused: Miellenhausen, Skriva-nek, Volkmar, McPartland. Absent.

unexcused: Searing, Gilles, Harris, Edelstein, Babitz, Barondess, Slobo

n, Mey

din, Korn, Lubowski, Josephson, Mey-er, Goepfert, Wencke, Harth, Dress-ler, Paulitsch, Schaefer, Peter, Kuss-row, Mayes, Harter, Knoll, Haupt, Burgwald, Fischer. Motion carried that no arrangements

CITY EXECUTIVE.

Regular meeting, City Executive, Dec. 12. Chairman, Lichtschein.
Present: Edwards, Ehret, Flick, Flshman, Lichtschein, Nathan, Ort-land, Obrist, Solomon, Staring. Ab-seni, excused: Egerton, Miellenhau-sen, Absent, unexcused: Kelly, Lanc, Spindler, Van Ness.

Letter received from E. P. Clark

stating that he is a member in good standing of the 21st A. D. and that he is no longer a member of Local Mys-

First Agitation District: No report.

Murray Hill Agitation District: Re-

port of Comrade Flick; 18th and 20th to hold entertainment on New Year's Eve; 22d A. D. report progress, Good results obtained from speakers' cir-cie; sixteen or seventeen members.

West Side Agitation District: No

Harlem Agitation District: Delegate not present. Reported that Harlem Socialist Club has been organized

Bronx Agitation District: Report of Comrade Staring. New branch organ-

ized, covering High Bridge territory, Branch 3, 35th A. D. Lecture course in Metropolis Theater Hall to com-mence Jan. 8.

elegate present; no report.
Yorkville Agitation District;
neeting since last report.

lem Socialist Club has been orga by four Harlem districts, and co-tees appointed to draft consti-and by-laws and secure club root

be made for demonstration

Hall was referred back. Otherwi

der for all party members,

ing in Januar

respective assembly districts.

to membership in 21st A. D.

not properly filled out. Letter

expected to speak.

The following is the complete list of nominations unde by the National Committee, received at the national of-fice up to noon Saturday, Dec. 17: FOR NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COM-MITTEE.

By Andrus, Alabama: John W. Slay-ton, New Castle, Pa.; John M. Ray, Murfreesboro, Tenn.; A. W. Ricker, Girard, Kanas, May Wood Simons, Chi-cago, Ill.; Max S. Hayes, Cleveland, O.; Geo. E. Bigelow, Lincoln, Neb.; Guy H. Lockwood, Kalamazoo, Mich.

By Lowry, Arkansas: H. L. Slobe din, New York, N. Y.; William Mailly Chicago, III.: Charles G. Towner rt, Ky.; B. Berlyn, Chicago, Ill.; John M. Work, Des Moines, Ia.; S. M. Reynolds, Terre Haute, Ind.; John Kerrigan, Dallas, Tex.

By Floaten, Colorado: Reynolds;

Ernest Untermann, Chicago, Ill.; A. M Simons, Chicago, Ill.; John Collins Chicago, Ill.; Caleb Lipscomb, Laberal, Mo.; E. Seidel, Milwaukee, Wis.; Frederick Heath, Milwaukee, Wis.

By White, Connecticut: Slobodin; Berlyn; Reynolds; Robert Bandlow, Cleveland, O.; Victor L. Berger, Milwaukee, Wis.; Work; Mailly. By Carter, Idaho: Berger; George

Goebel, Newark, N. J.; Berlyn; Sey our Stedman, Chicago, Ht.; Collins By Berlyn, Illinois: Bandlow; Work:

odin; Reynolds; Towner. By Towner, Kentucky: Mailly; Ber s; Work; John C. Chase, Haver hill, Mass.

By Chase, Massachusetts: Slobodin Berlyn; Reynolds; Bandlow; Towner

By Lamb, Michigan: Hayes; Chas. Erb, Detroit, Mich.; Ira Cross, Madi-son, Wis.; A. M. Simons; Berger; Wm. 1. Benessi, Kalamazoo, Mich.; Joseph LaBarge, Pine River, Mich.

Holman, Minnesota: Berger olds; Work; Eugene V. Debs, In diana: Stedman: Collins: Untermann. By Ufert, New Jersey: Work; Debs las. S. Smith, Chicago, Ill.; Berlyn tedman; Berger; Towner. By Hillquit, New York: Slobodin

hase, Berlyn, Reynolds, Bandlow. By Caldwell of Ohio: Alfred Swing Cincinnati, O.; Frederick G. Strick land, Indiana; Berlyn; Berger; A. M s; Untermann; Work. Floyd of Rhode Island: Berger

Berlyn; Reynolds; Work. By Levett of South Dakota: A. M. Work, Reynolds, Slobodin Simons, Work, Reynolds, Slobodin Gaylord, Towner. By Kerrigan of Texas: H. W. Baird

Cleveland, O.: Geo. H. Strobell, New Philadelphia, Pa.; Stedman; Heath. By Boomer of Washington: H. F. Pitus, Scattle, Wash.

By Berger of Wisconsin: Stedman

Work; Carl D. Thompson, Minnesota; A. M. Simons, Thomas J. Morgan, Illinois; S. M. Holman, Minnesota; Heath.

Heath.

The following have accepted the nomination for National Executive Committee: Robert Bandlow, B Berlyn, George E. Bigelow, Frederick Heath, John Kerrigan, Guy E. Lockwood, William Mailly, John M. Ray, S. M. Reynolds, A. M. Simons, May Wood Simons, John W. Slayton, Henry L. Slobodin, Frederick G. Strickland, Alfred Swing, C. G. Towner, Ernest Untermann, John M. Work.

The following have decitaed the

following have declined the ation for National Executive littee: W. L. Benessi. John C. ntion for Nations Sinse, John Collins, Ira Cross, Fugent V. Debs. Max S. Hayes, Caleb Lips

FOR NATIONAL SECRETARY. Robert, Bandlow, Clevland, O., by Lowry of Arkansas.

J. Mahlon Barnes, Philadelphia, Pa.,

by Berger of Wisconsin. William Butscher, Brooklyn, N. Y., by Work of Iowa and Holman of Min

W. E. Clark, Chicago, Ill., by Ufert of New Jergey.
Winfield R. Gaylord, Milwaukee,
Wis., by Caldwell of Ohio and Floaten

Max S. Hayes, Cleveland, O., by

Kerrigan of Texas.

Frank A. Kulp, Battle Creek, Mich.,
by Lamb of Michigan.

Jack London, Oakland, Cal., by An-

drus of Alabama.
William Mailly, Chicago, Ill., by Ber-1vn of Illinois: Reynolds of Indiana; Work of lows: O'Nell of New Hamp shire: Hillquit of New York; Boomer of Washington; Floyd of Rhode Isl-

and: Ufert of New Jersey; and Lovett James Oneal, Terre Haute, Ind., by Towner of Kentucky, and Betlyn of

M. W. Wilkins, Oakland, Cal., by Carter of Idaho.

James, Oneni has accepted the nomi-

nation. Robert Bandlow, William Butscher, Max S. Hayes, Frank A. Kulp and William Mailly have declined the nomination. This leaves the present nominees for National Secre-tary: Barnes, Clark, Gaylord, London, Oneal, and Wilkins. Dec. 22 is the last day upon which

nominations for National Execu-Committee and National Secretary can be received at the national of fice. The time between Dec. 22 and Jan. 1 is allowed for final-acceptances

New York State.

About fifteen locals have decided to adopt the plan of winter lectures as proposed by State Secretary Chase and the State Committee at its last meeting decided that State Secretary Chase should be the first Chase should be the first speaker to go out. This was decided upon, first, to give him the opportunity to size up the situation in the state at large, for his guidance in arranging tours for other speakers; second, to enable him to inform the locals he will visit about arranging and conducting propaganda and business meetings. In order to make the first tour as successful as the least expensive, the State Secre-tary has mapped out a route beginning Jan. 1 and continuing until Jan. 25. Dates have been assigned to those lo-cals that have decided to have a regu-lar course of lectures and also to some that have not entered into the lecture circuit. It is hoped that each local

that has been assigned a date will de its atmost to arrange a meeting, as it will enable the speaker to get through the state and to those locals that are badly in need of a speaker. The proposed tour of Secretary Chase, which will be followed if the locals will ar-range meetings, is as follows: Jan. 1. Youkers; Jan. 2, Port Chester; Jan. 3, Sparrowiush; Jan. 4, Middletown Jan. 5, Albany; Jan. 6, Glens Falls, Jan. 7, Schenectady; Jan. 8, Glovers ville; Jan. 10, Utica, Jan. 11, Rome Jan. 12, Watertown; Jan. 12, Oneida, Jan. 14, Symposius, Jan. 13, Oneida, Jan. 14, Symposius, Jan. 18, Oneida, Jan. 14, Syracuse; Jan. 16, Rochester Jan. 17, Buffalo; Jan. 18, East Aurora

Jan. 19. Springville: Jan. 20. Salar dan. 19, Springville; Jan. 20, Salaman-ca; Jan. 21, Jamestown; Jan. 23, Hor-nellsville; Jan. 24, Corning; Jan. 25, Peekskill. This route may be changed somewhat, as some of the locats may not be able to get meeting places on the dates named. A goodly number of locals desire speakers or Sunday. of locals desire speakers on Sundays quartette. but there are not Sundays enough go around and locals should do th est to arrange meetings for dates as

Now that the official vote has been given out, locals will up new their inquiries about a change in our party name. The State Secretary will issue a statement regarding this matter in a few days, and until that time it would be well to withhold reso-lutions or petitions for a referendum

Application for a charter has been received from Geneva.

upon the matter.

STATE COMMITTEE

Regular meeting of the State Com nittee was held on Tuesday, Dec. 13. Present: Solomon, Bartholomew, Phil-lips, Chase, and Slobodin of New York County: Koenig, Marr, and Atkinson of Kings; Goeller of Queens County. Chairman, Phillips.

Communications were received as

Patchogue, Suffolk County, applien tion for charter signed by sixteen ap plicants and enclosing \$1.00 initiation

East Aurora, Eric County, with a application for a charter. Among the applicants being one who is president of the village, State Secretary was in structed to communicate with the com rade organizing this branch and as certain the nature of the applicant' office; if same is an appointive or elective office, and if the latter, whether elected as a candidate of one of the capitalist parties. Pending this infor mation, the matter was referred to th next meeting. Among the applicants is the name of Elbert Hubbard.

Schenectady, asking for a full report of the proceedings of the International Congress. The local will gladly cooperate in touring a few lecturers through the state and has decided to hold at least one lecture a month. The local is in very good condition and has taken in over forty new members in the last three months, the majority of them active trade unionists.

Howard H. Caldwell, giving information about meetings be addressed while passing through the state. He had very good meetings in Buffalo, Rochester, Utica, Cohoes, Schenectary, Rensselaer, and Albany; organized a branch in Rensselaer.

Buffalo-Local has taken up the mat ter of organization very seriously and hopes to build up in the near future; has taken in about fifteen new mem-bers; decided to hold lectures and discussions and will soon rent more suit able headquarters; asks information about the lecture, tour arranged by "Wilshire's Magnzine" and whether State Committee has any objection

Albany, about local conditions: wil hold lectures during the winter and decided to take one of the lecturers toured by the State Committee every month; has taken in twelve new mem-bers and will undoubtedly do better work and obtain better results in the future; requests the State Committee to pay bill of expenses amounting to \$12 incurred during state convention. The hill was ordered naid. The bill was ordered paid.

Fred. M. Dennis, reporting the meeting addressed by Caidwell, also that C. H. Pierce of Albany is working hard to increase the circultation of The Worker, and is selling literature in the

New Rochelle, asking that Comrade Chase be sent there to address a meeting arranged by the local to build up the organization.

Jamestown, sending a resolution de manding a referendum vote to change the party name. It was decided to place the resolution on file until such time as the litigation that is now g ing on is settled. Also a resolution e dorsing E. J. Squires as state lecturer and asking the State Committee to Portchester, asking the State Com

Committee has any objections to it. Rome, held two good meetings. Will arrange for two lectures every month. Have elected new officers for the ensuing term. One of the members of the local having been found guilty of connection with the capitalist partie was suspended. The State Secretary was instructed to write for more in-

formation in this matter. Kings County Committee, stating that they persist in their former de-cision and refuse to furnish the State Committee with the tabulated vote on election of the three members to the State Quorum and the delegate to the State Committee from Kings County. This matter was held over until the committee from the State

until the committee from the State Committee appointed to visit the Kings County Committee reports.

The State Secretary was instructed to prepare a booklet containing the new state and national constitutions, the vote by counties, and other matters, and report at next meeting.

Letters received from several comrades up state endorsing E. J. Squires as state headure.

as state lecturer.

Rome, additional report that they intend to hold four lectures monthly beginning with Jan. 1. The local is very active and the comrades have decided to supplement their vote by systematic educational work.

. Peekskiii, will hold two lectures monthly on the second and fourth Wednesdays and will try to scenre a suitable hall as the Labor Hall is too high. Will make the necessary ar-rangements for spring village elec-tions. Troy, caunot arrange any lectures

as the local is in a precarious financial condition; will devote all energies to building up the circulation of The Worker and other Socialist papers.

Ft. Edwards-Local is in poor finar to arrange any lectures as yet, as they have not met with encouraging results: nave not mer with encouraging results; Comrade Caspar, secretary, has done his utmost in this respect, spending for one meeting over \$15, and did not succeed in getting more than a few people to the meeting.

Tel. 2380-38th St.

Watertown, about local conditions Are endeavoring to strengthen the organization and hope to get good re-sults, as the comrades have taken up the work in earnest. No action was taken as yet with reference to Comrade Pendergast, who has ceased to come to the meetings. Have arranged for weekly lectures and a series of discussions. Have organized a Socialist

Wm. Arland of Corning, giving information as to the prospects in Sten ben County and asking that an organ

Ithaca, giving the names of newly lected officers of the local. The con rades have resumed their activity; are members lately; more enthusiastic than ever before. Cornell University has a class on Socialism, attended by twenty-four pupils.

Giens Falls, will make arrangement for holding public lectures once a month and in the meantime supplement lack of meetings by distributi

A. L. Purdy of Wellsville, describing local conditions and reasons why they did not get a larger vote. A great many of the "Appeal to Reason" readers and other sympathizers were at the last moment induced to vote the old-party tickets, only to be again disappointed; many of them have since openly manifested their regret for do

ments made to have a systematic led ture tour all over the state during the winter; he has written to that locals, has received some fav orable replies, and is endeavoring to secure some of the best speakers; did not succeed in getting John W. Brown to start the course as intended. Un der these circumstances Comrade Chase himself will make the first tour In the meantime he will get familiar with the conditions in each local and make arrangements for further speak-ers. Efforts will be made to keep down expenses for locals and probably the everage cost per lecture will not ex-

The State Committee being in need of funds the State Secretary has un-dertaken to arrange a reading in Coop-er Union on Thursday, Jan. 12, 8 p. m. when Marion Craig Wentworth of Massachusetts, who is known as one of the best public readers, will read Hauptmann's "Sunken Bell." The State Committee concurred in this rec-ommendation and it is to be hoped that all comrades in the vicinity of New York will do their utmost to make this affair a great success.

The state and financial secretarie were instructed to prepare the finan cial report in detail by locals as soon The State Secretary was empo-

to issue a call for the election of an Auditing Committee for the State Committee, the election to take place The State Secretary was instructed

recent events, as the declaring of the Eight-Hour Law unconstitutional, the Gas Trust, etc., the quantity of the leaflets necessary to be left to his dis-The plan of "Wilshire's Magazine

to send Joseph Wanhope and other well known Socialist lecturers through the state to speak on Socialism, and ncidentally to work for the magazine work of the State Committee, but or the contrary may result in some ad-vantage to the party, as they will speak in organized as well as unorgan-ized places. The State Secretary was pointed by the State Committee to visit the Kings County Committee and explain to them that they should furrish the State Committee with the tabtion of the members to the State Quo-rum and delegate to the State Committee from Kings County, reported that they did their best to explain the position taken by the State Commit-tee. They falled in their mission, however, as the County Committee decid ed again not to comply with the re-quest. The entire matter was referred o the next meeting and in the mean time both the Kings County Commit-tee and the State Committee should prepare a statement of their positions.

The Rochester comrades have organ ized a class to develop speakers. The women comrades have also organized a class which meets every Thursday nfternoon to discuss economics. The headquarters will be made more at-tractive by installing a pool table, which will also bring in a financial return. Literaure Agent Moses has put in a good steek of books and pamph-lets and will put in more, as there is lets and will put in more, as there is more demand than ever before for good Socialist literature. Local Rochester meets every Tuesday at 40 State street, and the headquarters are said to be the best in the country. At the Labor Lyceum lectures will be held on Sunday afternoons at 3 o'clock as follows: Jan. 1. Frank A. Sieverman, "The Hope of Our Movement," Jan. lows: Jan. 1, Frank A. Sieverman,
"The Hope of Our Movement;" Jan.
8, G. Herbert Smith, "A Plea for the
Conservative:" Jan. 15, Richard Kitchelt, "Teleology;" Jan. 12, Raymond
H. Arnot, subject to be amnounced;
Jan. 29, Philip Jackson, "The Economles of the Republican Party."

les of the Republican Party."

The People's Forum which has been established in Yonkers, with meetings every Sunday afternoon at the Turn Hall, has started out very auspiciously. Last Sunday's meeting, at which John Spargo presided and Rev. J. C. Hogan spoke, was well aftended and an interesting discussion followed the lecture. No meeting will be held on Christmas, but the work will be re-

School for essay on Socialism be approved.

EXPERT OFFICIAN.

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Motion carried that May Day cele bration be held on Su of April 30, 1905. Organizer instructed to investigate

matter of hall for May Day celebration and report at next meeting.

Question of demonstration for un-employed in New York laid over to next meeting. The General Committee will meet

on Saturday, Dec. 24, promptly at 8 p. m. at 206 E. Eighty-sixth This will be the last meeting of the present General Committee and it is honed that those delegates who have failed to attend the other meetings will at least do their utmost to attend this

At the last meeting of the 16th A. D. seven applications for membership were received. It was decided to have a concert, lecture and package party on Friday, Jan. 6, for the purpose of raising money to establish personnent headquarters. The following officers and committees were elected for the ensuing term: Organizer and Litera ture Agent, Samuel Scheer, 359 E. Tenth street; Recording Secretary, Alex. G. Scheer, 350 E. Tenth street; Financial Secretary and Treasure Wm. Saphier, 11-13 Avenue D; Ser gates to General Committee; L. B Panosky, M. Typermas, I. Sackin, B Fieldman, M. Scheer, B. Tsraelson, Wm. Saphler, N. Stupnicker, and P. Feigenbahm; Delegates to First Agita tion District Committee, M. Adler, S scheer and L. B. Panosky.

At the meeting of the 21st A. D. Dec. 16 election of officers resulted a follows: Organizer, Edward Cassidy Recording Secretary, H. A. Boyd; Fi oorary); Treasurer, G. Van Name Delegates to General Committee, E. S. Egerton, A. Abrahams, E. P. Clark, and H. A. Boyd; Delegates to Daily 'Call" Conference, H. Harris and A Abrahams. The election of delegates to the Harlem Agitation Committee, the Lecture Committee and the Club Committee was postponed until next neeting. The district shows a stead fact that some members show an in-clination to neglect their duty in regard to their dues. The district in-tends to take drastic action with those members soon as per editorial in The Worker of Dec. 11. All members and in the rooms of the Harlem Socialist Club, 250 W. One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street, Friday, Jan. 6. Al comrades and friends in the 21st A. D who can assist the Harlem Socialis Club should communicate with H. A. Boyd, 145 W. One Hundred and Eighth street, as money is needed, and

(Continued on page 4.)

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Motion carried that the committee on hall for school be instructed to engage no hall against which any union has objections.

Motion carried that giving of \$5 prine to pupils of Harlem Evening

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PARTY NEWS.

(Continued from page 3.)

at once, so he that gives quickly gives At a meeting held on Dec. 16 in Realty Hall, High Bridge, a permanent or-ganization was formed to be known as Branch 3, 35th A. D. One week be-fore a few members met and, with the assistance of Comrade Staring, formed a temporary organization with Emil Neppel as chairman. Owing to the energetic action of these two co rades a permanent organization was formed, which elected all its officers

and started with considerable vim. Judging by the earnestness of the members present, good results can be At the last meeting of the Social Democratic Educational Club of the 32d A. D., on Dec. 18, the committee spointed to visit the 32d and 33d A., branches of the S. D. P., to explain the principles and purposes of thi club, viz., to work in co-operation with the district in order to gain a larger membership for the party and to agitate in the 32d A. D. among the citi-zens, reported that the district branch refused to recognize any such club in recognize any such club in t. The committee also reported that after officially inviting the State Organizer, Comrade Chase, to atnd the meeting of the club and after his accepting the invitation, he failed to be present. The following resolution was moved by Comrade Stelzer "Whereas, The City Executive Committee of the S. D. P., before investigating an organization such as ours has decided (on certain misleading in-formation regarding our club) not to authorize any such organization in any of the districts; and Whereas, The General Committee also indorses the view of the City Executive Committee; Resolved, That we should give up our club, join the district organization and hand over to it our finances, books, etc." The members of the club are asked to attend the next meeting which will be held on Sunday, Dec. 25, at Comrade Stelzer's, 57 E. Ninety-hinth street, at 2:30 p. m., in order to fill out application blanks for party

embership.
Party members and Socialist sympathizers able to play first and second violin, viola, cello, bass, cornet, trom bone, etc., and willing to assist in the formation of a party orchestra, are asked to kindly communicate with Chas. E. Hohmann, Taylor street, Van Nest. The orchestra is to render musi-cal service free of charge at smaller party festivities.

On New Year's evening, in place of the regular lecture given at the West Side headquarters, 533 Eighth avenue, comrades will take part. The subject "Resolved. That taxes come out of profits." It will be opened by Comrade James, who will take the affirmative and speak for ten minutes; after that the next ten comrades will be allowed the floor for ten minutes each, afte ich a discussion will be participated in by those desiring to do so, each be ing allowed five minutes. Comrade Meade will be chairman. On Christ-mas night a gathering of the comrades and their families will be had, with music and games All week a man moth stocking will be hanging in the headquarters in which donations can be thrown to be disposed of on that evening. The West Side lectures are proving a great success this winter. New faces are soon at almost every lecture, and those who have attende seldon miss a-lecture, all of which goes to show that permanent headquarters and systematic work is the thing needed to build up the move-ment. Many new English-speaking members have been taken in by all the time before the West Side will have comrades who will be not only workers of the "Jimmy Higgins" type, but speakers and lecturers beside.

BROOKLYN.

Because most of the delegates will not attend a meeting on Christmas Eve, a special meeting of the Kings County Committee is called for Saturday. Dec. 31. by order of the Execu-

There will be no meeting at Buffalo Hall on Dec. 25 or Jan. 1, but on Jan. 8 the regular Sunday evening lectures will be renewed, with Morris Hillouit s the speaker.
At the speakers' class in the Brook

lyn Labor Lyceum last Friday the question was: "Will municipal owner-ship benefit the working class under capitalist system?" Dec. 23, the exercises will take the form of a legislative assembly, eight-hour bill will be introduced everyone will be given an opportunity to take part in the discussi

The following account is rendered for the campaign of 1904 in Kings

Receipts-Loan from Kings County \$394; do., district organizations, S. D. P. \$87: do. trade unions. \$80: do. singing societies, \$30; do., other or-ganizations or individuals, \$216.30; col-lected on lists, \$571.81; collection at Hanford meeting, \$47.05; sale of tick tures-Postage, telegrams, express, and erv. \$56.66; printing leaflets, etc. \$286.54: literature bought, \$98.30; "Appeal to Reason," \$20; The Worker, \$5; speakers, \$142.15; banners and exvated stations and otherwise, trans-parencies and pill posting, \$280; Na-tional Committee, \$17.50; Majestic ater meeting, \$229; district organions, 40 per cent. on collections,

\$39.28; distribution of leaflets, \$64.88 State Committee, \$181; salary of Can total, \$1,941.71. Two hundred and six ty-eight open-air meetings were held; 315,562 pieces of literature were given out to the districts and 120,700 distributed free-in all, 446,262 pieces,

Massachusetts.

There were eighty delegates assem-bled in Boston on Sunday, represent-ing the different clubs throughout the state, gathered together for the pur-pose of devising ways and means of wiping out the state debt and to push the work of organization in the state of Massachusetts. On every side ther and to do it now. From all apparen indications the comrades in the state are going to wipe out the debt in short order and at the same time endenvol to perfect the organization. Comrade Wilkins and Wentworth made a fev emarks while the credential tee was doing its work. G. H. Wren of Springfield acted as chairman and M. R. Stewart of Fitchburg acted as secretary. After a short statement by the State Secretary of the condition of the state organization, it was moved that an assessment of fifty cents per member be levied and after several amendments the following was car ried: That the State Secretary obtain from the different club secretaries the list of members in good standing, and to assess the clubs pro rata, and if he receives no answer, to apportion then according to stamps bought in the las six months. This assessment for the purpose of liquidating the state debt A motion was next offered that the Executive Committee engage a permanent secretary, who shall give his full time to the works amended that the word secretary be eliminated and the word organizer be inserted. The carried that no secretary or organize be engaged until the state finance warrant it. Delegate Claus then offered the following resolution in substance special rate of ten cents for three nonth subscriptions for Massachu setts, therefore, be it resolved, that we call upon all the members of branches throughout this state to adopt the fol lowing plan of propaganda to push the circulation of The Worker. Elect a committee of two or three to select a list of names of non-Socialists, but first find out if the person will be will-ing to have a Socialist paper come to the house. Appropriate a certain sum from the treasury to send the paper to them. Afterwards visit them nd ask the readers to join the party.' The house to house canvass was carried. It was then moved that the ecretary write to all the clubs to see y for the purpose of keeping an organ zer in the field; amended, to procure donations and pledges in the confer ence for this purpose. Amendment ost and motion carried. The following resolution, introduced by Secre tary Putney, was carried by a vote of That this conference pro ests against Comrade Wilshire or any other person arranging lecture tours for speakers in this state, such persona

M. W. Wilking of San Prancisco of the National Organizers, will lec-ture on Socialism, Sunday, Jan. 1, 8 p. m., at 724 Washington street. Be

efforts preventing in a large measure

at this time, the efficiency of National Organizer Wilkins' work. A motion endorsing the action of the Executive

Committee in securing Comrade Wil-

kins and any deficiency arising there-from to be met by the Executive Com-

littee, was carried. A motion that

the organization in Massachusetts pro

ceed along county lines, was referred to a committee consisting of Comrades

Thorne, Cutting, and Curtis for the

purpose of formulating an amendment of the constitution to allow this

The Boston Socialist Sunday School with music and recitations, on Satur day, Dec. 31, 3 p. m., 30 Huntington avenue, Studio 410. All comrades, young or old, are welcome. No tickets are required. The school will not meet on Dec. 25.

A Socialist club of sixteen member is been reorganized in Randolph. Local Lawrence will hold monthly public lectures throughout the winter and at the same time have weekly debates at their local headquarters for the benefit of the club members.

The club at Newton has instituted . house to house canvass for the purpose of distributing leaflets, procuring sub scriptions for the party press, and to get new members. They have a system that will result in getting in touc with every voter in the town, who will have to decide whether they want cap italism or Socialism.

Local Brockton will hold a series of educational lectures every Sunday evening throughout the winter at So-cialist Hall. The comrades are also arranging a mammoth fair for this

The Essex County conference will hold its meeting on New Year's Day in the Socialist beadquarters, Haver-hill. Important work will be taken up in the line of building up an organiza-tion throughout the Merrimac Valley. The Haverhill annual fair will take place from Jan. 16 to 23 inclusive.

The comrades of Boston regret to record the death of one of the most active workers, James Talte of South Boston. He was of the true "Jimmy Higgins" type, ever ready to carry the platform or soap box, ever ready to

NEW VERSION OF "AMERICA" BY JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER.

By William J. Carroll.

[This was conrtibuted to the Lowcarton. The author, Comrade Carrell, was the candidate of the Socialist Parts of the Socialist Parts for Allegan Carrell, was the candidate of the Socialist Parts for Allegan Carrell, was the candidate of the Socialist Parts for Allegan Carrell, was the candidate of the Socialist Parts for Allegan Carrell, was the candidate of the Socialist Parts for Allegan Carrell, was the candidate of the Socialist Parts for Allegan Carrell, was the candidate of the Socialist Parts for Allegan Carrell, was the candidate of the Socialist Parts for Carrell Carrell, was the candidate of the Socialist Parts for Carrell Carre Party for Attorney General last year. "My country, 'tis of thee!" Yes, that's a nice hymn-nice words and a lovely tune-the same tune that our English friends used to prolong the

life of their king.

But the hymn is not true. This is not our country. Of course we may have been born here, but we don't own the country. Now it would be truly unfortunate if this beautiful hymn were untrue, no matter who sang it, but such luckily does not happen to be

the case.

There is one who can sing "My Country, "Tis of Thee" with the utmost propriety and without becoming guilty of the heinous crime of fibbing. The fortunate individual who can do this answers to the name of John D. Rocke-feller. Some of you may have heard

For the benefit of those who have not, I will say that John D. Rockefel ler is the father of John D. Rockefel ler, Jr. John D., Jr., is the most skilful interpreter of certain passages of the bible that has ever been discov ered, and I will say, in passing, that it was he who first pointed out the ludic rous error of former translators who rendered the injunction of Jesus, to the rich young man who desired to become a disciple, as follows: Sell what you

nave and give to the poor.

Is it not strange that men who were considered scholars could have fallen into such an error. Why no rich man ever would do such a thing! Not could be be expected to do it. It is even more wonderful that the people could accept such a translation, as the true one; but "truth is strange one day Johnnie was turning over the pages of a Greek testament, which he had purchased from a second-hand dealer. Suddenly, his eye chanced to rest upon the passage in question and he was selved with a fit of laughter from which he recovered only after the most skilful physicians of his native town had worked over him for an hour. As soon as he could get to a telegraph office, he made known, to the whole world, the true command given in the verse which he and all other multi-millionaires religiously obey to this very day, and which reads thusly: Keep what you have and live on the

Yes, in addition to all his other dis tinctions, John D. has the unparalleled honor of being the father of John D.

A friend of mine, whose name I have forgotten, in an unguarded moment said: "Let me write the songs of a nation and I care not who makes its laws." But John D. says to him: "Let me own the nation and I'll bet the people won't feel much like sing-ing. I'll make them dance."

John D. has a lovely voice, and every night, when his day's labor is over, and he has partaken of his frugal repast spread upon the table by the loving hands of the hired girl, and after the barrels have been rolled into the safe, and all has been made secure for the night, he loves to repair to the front room where the windows are left open, that the neighbors may enjoy the music, and accompanied by Johnnie upon the old-fashioned cottage organ sing "My Country, Tis of Thee." Of course he doesn't sing it exactly as Dr. Smith wrote it, because Smith didn't know John and was more intent upon producing a poetical classic than a true song. For this reason John, in the interest of truth, requested me to remedy the defect, and the following is the result:

JOHN D'S NATIONAL HYMN. My country, 'tis of Thee,

My private property, Of Thee, I sing. Land where the millions toil In serfdom on my soll, That out of Standard oll.

My native villainy Is what enables me
To make my pile.
I have the rocks and rills
Of oil, my barrel fills
With gold and bonds and bills,
That's why I smile.

I love to feel the breeze And rest beneath the trees, The whole day long. Let other hands produce Wealth, for my private use, Lay golden eggs, Thou Goose Thou toiling throng.

Then there's my son, John D., A pious youth is he; Takes after ma. And through the needle's eye, With outstretched wings he'll fly Up to a home on high,

Our father's God to me, Omnipotent John D., Looks pretty small.
I'll keep this old land bright With oil, both day and night, While slaves, both black and white

distribute literature, unassuming, but

Pennsylvania. At a regular meeting of Local Alle gheny, English-speaking branch, held Dec. 9, a committee of three, consisting of John C. Sunday, Geo. McGee ing of John C. Sunday, Geo. McGee and Fred L. Schwartz, were elected to draft resolutions calling for the remov al of the State Committee from the city of Erie, on the grounds of petency. The committee was instruct ed to send copies of said resolution to all locals in Pennsylvania of which it has addresses and to the party press. The committee submits the following resolutions: "Whereas, The delegate in state convention assembled in Pitts burg, May 29 and 30, 1904, did in ac cordance with the provisions of the state constitution select the seat of the State Committee of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania; and whereas, the removal of the State Committee from Philadelphia to Erie by said delegates was done because of delinquency and neglect of the committee in the former city; and whereas, the State Commit tee now located in Eric has neglected to even make an attempt to organiz the Socialist movement in this state; has made no reports of its work- failed to grant charters applied for by the Allegheny County Committee, and in a word has failed to perform its duties, therefore, be it Resolved, That this committee elected by the English Local Allegheny, and on whose behalf it acting, call upon four other locals counties of the state as prescribed by the provisions of the state constitution. that the State Secretary at Erie, in-itiate a referendum for the removal of the State Committee from said city and at the same time request locals of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania to make nominations for the seat of the State Committee, which nominations he shall place before said locals in cas the majority of the members shall deem the removal necessary." Locals endorsing this resolution are requested by Local Allegheny to notify State Secretary F. L. Montgomery, Eric, Pa., and John C. Sunday, 1300 Madison avenue, Allegheny.

Connecticut.

The comrades of Hartford have long felt the want of a permanent home and stronger organization, for the purand stronger organization, for the pur-pose of which a conference was held recently to consider the matter. The American and Jewish branches of the represented. The conference adopted the name of the Hartford Labor Lyceum Association, and several plans were spoken of and considered which the committee will report to their respective branches. The next conference meets Friday evening, Dec. 23, at the Foster building, 284 Asylum street. All comrades are invited to attend.

A general meeting of the Connecticu State Committee was held at state headquarters, New Haven, Sunday Dec. 18. The delegates present were D. F. Kelly, Waterbury; A. Newmar-D. F. Kelly, Waterbury; A. Newmarker, Rockville; J. S. Cooper, Hartford; Franz Mueller, New Haven; P. J. Cooney, Bridgeport; C. Sedlmayer, Stamford; R. E. Richardson, New Britain; A. B. Cornelius, Recording Secretary; C. Mahoney, Treasurer, and W. E. White, Corresponding Secretary, J. S. Cooper was elected chairman. Communications from the various branches and reports of delegates showed steady progress. The general opinion was that agitation by public meetings at present would be unwise owing to the financial condition of many locals, and that a systematic distribution of literature would be nore effective." Franz Mueller, acting treasurer, and

W. E. White, secretary, tendered their resignations, which were accepted their terms to expire when their pooks are audited and their successor The State Secretary read a financia

report for the previous quarter showing receipts \$297.71; sums owing to ing receipts \$297.71; sums owing to committee by locals, \$95.49; good standing members, 607; stamps issued, 1,482; balance of cash, \$19.06. The treasurer reported expenditures for the quarter, \$367.44; balance on hand, \$17.82. A. B. Cornellus and Albert Smith of New Haven were elected auditors and the books of secretary and treasurer turned over to them. treasurer turned over to them

A communication from Sol Fieldman asking the endorsement of the commit-tee as candidate for the reserve list of national organizers was read and, after discussion, laid on the table un-til Fieldman could be interviewed. Cornelius T. Wood of Hartford was

unanimously elected State Secretary.

Joseph Haaser and Albert Tivy of Hartford were nominated for State Treasurer and Comrade Haaser elected. It was voted that in case Comrade Haaser is unable to serve that Com ade Tivry be the choice of the com

ake an inventory of all the property of the committee and see it all turned over to the newly elected officers; and also notify all locals of the change of

It was voted that the term of the

The secretary reported variou ments to the state constitution proposed but not yet endorsed by enough locals; also that the constitution is in type ready to print. It was voted that all amendments having re ceived sufficient endorsement by Dec 22 shall be submitted to referendum a once, also that the question of remov-ing the sent of the State Committee o Hartford be submitted at the same

call for nominations for the office of National Committeeman.

Here and There.

Branch 1, Local Detroit, Mich., will nave free educational lectures every Friday evening at headquarters, Room 6, Hilsendegen block, Monroe and Farrar streets. All workers are invited to come and bring their friends.

A letter from Comrade Stephen Reynolds, says the "Social Democratic Herald," informs us that Comrade Debs is still under doctor's orders at his home at Terre Haute, and that it will be some days before he can resume his lecture work. The campaign was a severe strain on our presidential candidate and resulted in a collapse just at its close. In fact, it is believed that he would have broken down under the strain in the midst of the campaigness of the particular of the part not been thoughtful enough to send Comrade Reynolds along to protect him from the many inconveniences and exhaustions of such an extended and exhaustions of such an extenseries of ovations as he received.

—Popular magazines have developed far enough to tell their readers how the capitalists rob each other, but they have not yet reached the point-of describing how the capitalists rob the working class.

EKATERINA" BRESHKOVSKAIA AND-THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

By Simon O. Pollock:

The revolutionary movement in Russia has once more attracted the atten-tion of the civilized world. Compris ing, as it does to day, various classes of the Russian people, including the enthusiastic youth, it wages a war in enthusiastic youth, it wages a war in which the government cannot hope to be victorious. In this onshught upon the infamous system in Russia, many have taken pert whose age and past experiences entitled them to pest long ago. Most conspicuous among these vectrans of revolution is Ekaterina with twenty-one years of prison, hard labor, and exile behind her—a grandmother of the revolution. Having returned from exile in 1896, she continued her work in Russia.

When it finally became impossible for Western Europe, wherefrom by word and letter she continued her agitation zeaching out from the distance to be eager pupils and enthusiastic follow ers. She has now come to the United States in the endeavor to arouse an in terest in the Russian revolutionary movement among the Russians here as well as the Americans.

The book of her life cannot be fully opened at this time. Many of her com ades are still alive and the mere men tion of their names would result in great harm. But a short sketch of her life and activity will be both instructive and interesting to the student of the history of the Russian revolu ies in itself the leading features of that movement. To the young Ameri can comrades it should be a source of inspiration and will offer a noble ex-Born sixty-one years ago in South

Russia, she say while a little girl the horrors of serfdom, then witnessed the "emancipation" of the serfs (Feb. 19, 1861), an emancipation, which instead of being a great reform, turned out to be a measure of deceit and a means of enrichment of the nobility and government. Together with many other young Russians, Ekaterina Breshkovs kala then realized that if the Russian peasants had been enlightened upor their rights and instructed upon the form would have benefited them, in stead of enslaving them to the government by the heavy payments they had to make for the freedom and land they had been given. The restrictions placed upon the civic life of the pensantry, for the purpose of securing the payments, firmly fastened upon them the new system of dependence on the nt. The uprisings of the immediately following the peasantry immediately following the deferm proved its character beyond a doubt. Within two years, in twenty-nine provinces only, according to the report of the Minister of the Interior, there were 1,100 peasants' uprisings The peasants opposed this "liberty."
They could not get along under the new conditions. The land they were alloted was not sufficient to maintain them and could not bear the burden of the new payments. The risings were suppressed by force of arms. The serfs were massacred for their "in gratitude" to the Tsar, who "gave them freedom." It was these events that inaugur

ated the revolutionary movement of those days-at first a movement of education. The motto was: "Let. us take a lesson from these occurrences. let us first educate the masses and then with their own aid give them true freedom and happiness." Then followed the Paris Commune of 1871. with its tragic downfall. It affected the front the problem of a better and more extensive revolutionary propa ganda. We see in the beginning of the seventies an influx of Russian young men and women to Switzer land, where they went to learn so-cial science and whence they intended to return to Russia well equipped with knowledge and experience for the im-pending revolutionary propaganda. The lectures of the Russian fugitive ournalists, Peter Lavroff, Bakunin, Tkacheff, and others, as well as con tact with many Communards, prepared the youth for the struggle of the future days. The Russian government was alarmed. In 1873 it issued the famous ukase "To the Russian men and women in Switzerland," commanding them to leave the revelutionary studies and return to Russia im-mediately. It threatened to deprive them of the privilege of practising remained in Switzerland and returned only when ready for the work of proaganda, which was carried on in a nanner unique in the history of revolutionary movements.

Realizing the existing social iniquities, the youth considered it a crime to enjoy the pleasures of life, while wealth and education they and their fathers possessed were the property of the people, of which they were depriv-ed by the strong and the unjust. And the cry was: "Go among the people and give back to them what has wrongfully been taken from them." wrongfully been taken from them!" Thousands of young men and young women gave up their homes, their friends, their comforts and pleasures, and went among the people. In the disguise of laborers, apprentices, travsling men, teachers, they went all ove Russia, covered every accessible vil-lage and hamlet, teaching, educating, preaching. No one can realize the bardships and persecution they were subjected to. It is a "Book of Mar-tyrs" yet to be written. It was the Russian woman of these days who in-Russian woman of these days who inspired Ivan Turgenleff to write his prose poem, "At the Threshold," where the defiant and devoted girl crosses the threhold of revolution, all warning notwithstanding, under the ridicule of the cowardly and under the blessing of the divine. It is the Russian women of these days that inspired for painter. of these days that inspired the painte of these days that inspired the painter-Malchevsky in his famous picture, "The Dying Girl Revolutionist," who dies in exile in Siberia in poverty, cold and lonely, forgotten and forsaken by all but her comrades in exile.

This great movement, as reported by

Count Palen, then Minister of the Interior, affected thirty-seven provinces. Ekaterina Breshkovskaia was one of the first and ablest women agitators in t. Having established a "headquarters of conspiracy" in Kieff, known as the "Commune," Breshkovskaia together with others organized the crusade of agitation. Clad in peasant costum he crossed several provinces, always ounded by the police. It was the cruel execution of this peaceful propagan-

da that subsequently forced the revelutionists to take up the method of te rorism against the government or its most servile hirelings. But long prior to the formal acceptance of terrorism at secret conventions in 1877 and 1878 (at Lipetzk and Woronesh) and even iong prior to her arrest, Breshkovskaia had advocated rebellion, and belonged to the faction of "rebels" (buntari). The government soon anticipated the

Thus we see that in 1874 more than a thousand men and women are placed under arrest—Breshkovskala among them. For months her identity was not discovered; "Phekla Kosaya" was her name among the peasants. Four years of "preliminary" imprisonment followed. Out of the thousand arrested revolutionists, only 193 were tried. This was the greatest political trial in the history of Russia. Ekaterina Breshkovskaia and Ippolite Mishkin denied the right of the Imperial Court to try them. "You are the enemies of the people! You are our enemies Your verdicts have been prepared and dictated to you by the powers at and you cannot be our judges! sold your conscience!"-such were the bold speeches of Mishkin and Breshkovskaia. These two were most severely dealt with, Mishkin being sentenced to ten years of hard labor, Breshkovskain to six years. When she reached Siberia there was as yet no special prison for females.

As a result of the experience during this trial, the "Party of the People's Will" (Narodnaia Volya), with terrorism as its weapon, was organized in 1878. It was responsible for the kill-ing of Alexander II in 1881, and it is known for many other daring enterprises in this field.

After the term of hard labor had ex-pired, Breshkovskain began her term of exile. But her active nature could not be reconciled to the life of Siberia With a few men she organized an escape. For weeks she hid in the deserts in North Siberia, until hunted down by a posse. For this escape she was sentenced to four additional years at hard labor and forty blows with the knout. She defied the authorities to inflict corporal punishment on her-and they never did. After the second term of hard labor had expired, a life of exile followed again. It was dur-ing these years that Ekaterina Breshkovskala was visited in the village of Selenginsk by George Kennan, wheaves that for a hundred miles aroun t was impossible to meet another educated woman. Kennan devotes to be most brilliant page in his book. He lid not hope that Breshkovskaia would ever see life again. But she survived all these horrors and is active again in the foremost ranks of a move-ment which is bound to conquer all

obstacles on its way to victory. In 1803 Ekaterina Breshkovskaja re-ceived permission to leave her place of exile and to travel in Siberia up to 1806. "These three years I used to advantage," says she. "I stirred up the vantage," says she. "I stirred up the sleepy Siberian towns of Irkutsk, Tomsk, and Krasnojarsk, and on my

way back to Russia I roused son In 1806 we find her in Russia. Th novement there at the time of her arrival was in a state of disorganization them. It must be said, however, that by this time there was in Russia an lects of political science and Socialism Particularly influential in this respecwas the Social Democratic literature "legal" and forbidden. But, strang as it may seem, the so-called polic dism, which advocated th conomic struggle preferably to pe cal struggle, prevailed, and not til some years thereafter was the Social Democratic platform of to-day, prepar-ed years ago by the group, "Emancingvarious organizations and the party founded. The leading features of thi the temporary demand comprising a republic on principles of eracy, factory, legislation, and s

This movement however at first ut terly neglected propaganda among the peasantry or village proletariat, claim ing that the peasantry was unready for revolution and unable to accept the revolutionary propaganda. In this respect the Social Democrats had for rotten that, although Russia is mov ing towards an extensive capitalistic development, it still is an agricultura country first of all and that it was unwise to allow the greatest portion of the population to remain untouched by our propagands, such a policy tending nore to the perpetuation of the pre vailing system in Russia than to its abolition. It is true that the Social Deomeratic movement, especially after it became organized into the Social organization of the workingmen in Russia and has taken part in many to realize the peculiarities of Russia industrial conditions. It also denied Such was the state of affairs in Rus

sia when Breshkovskaia arrived in 1896. True to her views and experi-ences of younger days, realizing that Russia was on the eve of radical changes in industrial and political life she plunged with new vigor into

The movement of the Revolutionary Socialists was then in its infancy: Th Socialists was then in its intancy. The "Party of the People's Will" existed no longer. Years of persecution had done their work. Most of the active members of the Narodnaia Volga had perished or were languishing in prison

given by the Russian Social Democratic Society, SATURDAY, DEC. 31. At MURRAY HILL LYCEUM, 34th Street, cor. 3d Ave.

BALL AND CONCERT

NEW YEAR'S EVE.

TICKETS, 35 CENTS.

The proceeds to go for the Russian Revolutionary Literature. *****************

or in exile. The enforced idleness of twenty-two years had not killed in Ekaterina Breshkovsknia the consciousness of duy. Not a minute of STAGE SOCIETY. her time passed in idleness. Every important center was visited, old con-nections revived, new ones establish-ed. The grander is the control of the contro ibsen's "Enemy of the People" to be Produced on New Year's Day at Berkeley Lycoum. ed. The grandmother of revolution (Babushka) was surrounded by hun The second production of the Prodreds and thousands of young me ressive Stage Society will take place and women, all eager to listen and n Sunday, Jan. 1, at three o'clock

ready to follow. Officially permitted to settle in her native town only, Breshkovskaia made all Russia her home. North, South, Middle Russia,

Western Russia, the Jewish Pale-all

They also predicted that, as soon as

the revolutionary propaganda should be extended, a new era of persecution

would follow. These predictions were

reglized. The number of Social Demo

crats and Revolutionary Socialists ar rested grew in an unheard-of propor

tion. Labor and peasants' uprisings

strikes and demonstrations were sur

pressed by wholesale flogging and

and women, were whipped, kicked, as

sublted. Massacres of Jews were or ganized, and the smaller subject na

ionalities-Poles and Finns-deprived

the cry all over Russia. Terrorism

forced on by the government, had ful

way again. The party of the Revolutionary Sc

cialists once organized, its popularity

grew and soon attracted the attention of the world. And, as if to prove the

correctness of the conention that the

peasantry is fit for revolution, open

bellions the influence of the Revolu

Actual work in this direction was don by the so-called South Russian (Ukraina) revolutionary party, connect

ed with the Social Democratic Labor

Then the "Fighting League," that Then the Fighting League, that organized threat to the government established by the party of the Revolutionary Socialists, became indispensable in the political life of Russia. It

punished the tormentors and flogger

of the peasantry and laborers in

and avenged the massacres of Jews in Kishineff and Gomel by acts of terror

sm which have been justified by the

The agitation among the peasants

brought into existence the Society for

the Defense of the Rights of the Peo-ple, the organization of village teach-

ary Socialist Party. The party also established a revolutionary press. It publishes booklets, pamphlets, appeals,

in Russia as well as in Europe

whence the literature through secre

ular literature for workingmen and

peasants is mainly due to the efforts

he appeals or leaflets being her own

The establishment of this young

ed that she "learned Russian geog-raphy, not from books, but from trav-

When in 1900 the police headquar

ters in St. Petersburg issued a general

farm for her all over Russia, she as

sumed another name, and continued her pilgrimage in the disguise of a

harmless old woman, a nun, or other-

wise, and thus became an "liegal"

person, until finally forced to leave the country after a revolutionary struggle which lasted almost thirty

Her last aim was to see unity of all

day is surely not far off when such

In August, 1904, Ekaterina Bresh-

kovskala went as a delegate of her party to the International Socialist Congress at Asmterdam, "to bring her

party into contact with the Socialist

movement of the world," as she puts it. And now she is in the United States, with the object of arousing in-

terest in the cause of the Russian rev

olution and invoking the aid and sym-pathy of all those who believe that the Russian people no longer deserve

We know that the "grandmother of

the revolution" will not fail in her ef-forts and we trust that events in Rus-

try for whose freedom she gave a life

of service and martyrdom. Long live

be as much theft to steal with the head as with the hands.—Eugene V.

-George Meredith well says that

George Mercellin well says that prosperity nobrishes us and adversity tries us, proving our capacity but not creating it. The strength to be rested in the cold shadow must be acquired in the warm sunshine.—G. W. Foote,

-There is plenty of room at the

top-if you mean at the top of the head.-Chicago Socialist

The time will come when it will

the government they have.

Debs.

unity will be accomplished.

eling in the service of the cause

of Ekstering Breshkovskais

nection with the Revolution

Kharkoff, Ufa, Vilna, and other

lionary Socialists was manifest. The Social Democractic Party begar to advocate agitation in the villages

laughter. Defenseless priso

of their elementary rights.

Admission to the theatre can be obained only by membership cards. This Conceding the necessity of organiznethod is necessary on account of the ing the proletariat of industrial centers Sunday law. The monthly dues are into a political movement, as advocated by the Russian Social Democ equired only during the senson of perormances, and entitle the member to a racy, but still entertaining the hopes and views of the "rebels" and "peas-antists," of the seventies and eighties, seat in the theatre at each month's pro-Any person may become a member she maintained that a revolution in of the Society by paying twenty-five cents initiation fee and fifty cents dues Russia cannot be successful unless the masses, the peasants as well as the for December, which should be sent industrial workmen, act in unison not later than Dec. 29, in order that the with the revolutionary parties. To new member may receive his card fe-fore the Sunday of the play. Members gether with many of that "old guard" and some of the younger revolution-ists, she held that the Russian peasare requested to observe this rule, as the money is needed for the produc-tion. Postoffice order, check or money antry had proved itself capable of rebellion and pointed to numerous upris-ings in various parts of the country. should be sent to the president, Julius Hopp, 215 E. One Hundred and Thir-The existing rural communes were pointed to as a nucleus of a better sys teenth street. For convenience two months dues may be paid at one time em and as a basis for propagand

> order to use paper money.
>
> It is the practice of the society to have a lecture on the dramatist the Sunday before the regular monthly production, and a dicussion of the play n the Sunday following. Last Sunday Amelia von Ende gave the lecture on Henrik Ibsen, and on Sunday afteron, Jan. 8, 3 p. m. there will be a general discussion, which will be held at the hall of the Professional Woman's League, 108 W. Forty-fifth

sharp, at Berkeley Lyceum Theatre, Forty-fourth street, near Fifth avenue. Henrik Ibsen's "An Enemy of the People" will be produced.

PARTY CONGRESS IN SWITZERLAND.

The Swiss party congress was held last week in Zurich. The party is an amalgam of the old Swiss Social-Democratic Party and the Grütli Verein, an old democratic organization which a few years ago accepted a Socialist program, though even yet it is very doubtful how far a large propor-tion of its members could be with jus-tice described as Socialists. Switzerrebellions took place in Kharkow, Pol-tava, and other provinces. In these reland is, in fact, the land where the small bourgeoisie has obtained the most undisputed control, where it still, perhaps, is strongest and where bourgeois democracy has been carried farther than anywhere, Australia alone accepted. Under these circumstances accepted. Under these circumstances the dividing lines of parties tend to get obscured. This was brought out very clearly by one or two of the speeches at the Grütli Society Conference, held immediately preceding the main congress, and it appears in the editorial articles of the "Grütlianor," whose editor's views are a very hazy. sentimental Socialism, extreme Revis-ionism in fact, the co-operation of classes. This attitude of their organ was strongly condemned by the large Socialist element in the Grütli Society Conference, but the majority, from the smaller centers, consisting largely of small craftsmen and peasant proprie-tors, declared a vote of confidence in the editor. The chief topics of interest at the main congress itself were the quent comrade, gave a brilliant account of the history of Socialism in Switzerland and the principles of the party generally, with an exposition of the particular Swiss program, which differs from the German in that many of the demands of the latter—such as direct election of public officials and proportional representation—have here been long in practise. The program, which is otherwise that of Marxian movement and the organization of the party required her constant traveling all over Russia, and she justly remark-Socialism, was unanimously accepted. I am glad to say that sharp resolutions were passed with large majorities against the use of the military in strikes, and calling on comrades not to allow themselves to be their fellow workers. It is to be noted that there was a distinctly more revolutionary note, especially from the inadherents did not dare to express their opinions at the main congress. For instance, the Basel Minister, Wull-schleger, had nothing to say in defense of his attitude towards the use of military in strikes, although he has exsedly defended that policy in the ler Vorwaerts." That is satisfactory, but it remains none the less true that much remains to be done till th party itself is thoroughly educated. The fact is, industrial development, which with the increasing employment

> creating a powerful proletariat, to cre-ate a really strong Social Democratic The Socialist vote at Geneva in the municipal elections rose from 1.100 at the last election to 2.200 votes per canlidate this time, thus doubling their vote.-J. B. Askew, in Justice, Dec. 3.

of electrical power ought to give a

will do more than anything else, by

advantage to Swiss industry,

WHERE ARE YOUR SPOKESMEN?

How is it possible that in Congress to-day there is never an elected representa-tive of the class which holds nine-tenths. of the voting strength of this country? Where is the spokesman of the werking class? What have they been doing with their ballots? Where is the spokesman of the farmer? There are a hundred to spring to their feet if capital is endangered. Why are they so slient in regard to labor's wrongs? They are elected by the ballot of inbor. Why then do they not see the baby fingers plying the needle in the sweatshop; thy do they not hear the ery of the miner in the dark; why do they not hear the patons in the South's-Franklin II. Went-

READ THIS AND PASS IT ON.