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The Worker

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CAPITALISTS ORGANIZING.

Remarkable Marshalling of Forces Within the Last Two Years.

Organizations to "Harmonize" Capital and Labor, to Miseducate the Workers, to Defeat Labor Legislation, to Blacklist Workmen, All Run in Unison for a Single End.

The past two years, and more especially within the last six months, have seen a most remarkable movement of organization on the part of the capitalist class.

First we had the Civic Federation, which was to settle the labor question forever by the method of conciliation. From the beginning it was a shallow enough force, and it did not take long to see that its real purpose was to patronize and support the most conservative labor leaders, to throw discredit upon aggressive organizations, to alienate public sympathy from workmen forced to strike.

Next came the National Association of Manufacturers attracted general attention. This body, which is now rapidly increasing its membership, has for its main object the winning of Congress and the legislatures to defeat any labor laws that might otherwise chance to slip through.

Close on the heels of the Manufacturers' Association followed the National Economic League, describing itself as an "impartial educational movement to oppose Socialism and class-hatred."

Then came the National Metal Trades Association, which is carrying on its work, actually one of prejudice and miseducation, on a grand scale, circulating enormous quantities of literature designed for working-class readers.

Finally, as a fitting climax to this series, came a startling exposure of the activities and the methods and purposes of the National Metal Trades Association—the raising of funds to assist affiliated employers in fighting the unions, the blacklisting of obnoxious thoughtful and self-respecting workmen, the systematic supply of scabs to break strikes, and the putting of spies into the ranks of the labor organizations to betray their plans to the bosses.

Two considerations throw a clear light upon all these organizations and show them all as parts of one great movement of reaction.

First, in the National Economic League we find men who are also prominent in the Civic Federation; in the National Association of Manufacturers we find men who are also members of the Economic League; in the National Metal Trades Association we find men who belong to both of the preceding; and the great capitalist newspaper organs which hailed the "conciliation" methods of the Civic Federation as the sure solution of the labor question also hail the formation of the "non-union unions" as a means of breaking the power of the bona fide labor organizations.

Second, these organizations aim their attacks against Socialism and trade unionism at once. They see that these two are not separate and independent movements, but merely two phases of the same tendency, a tendency inevitably arising out of capitalist conditions. They are right in this. Every argument which capitalist advocates can bring against Socialism is an embodiment of class feeling and a menace to business interests tells with equal force against any form of trade unionism that deserves the name.

Every argument which can be brought to the support of the trade unions tells with tenfold force in favor of Socialism. The trade union can be justified only—and it is a complete justification—on the ground of the inherent opposition of interests between capitalists and wage-workers; and that is the basis of the Socialist movement in politics.

This wonderful awakening activity of the capitalists in opposition to both phases of the labor movement is not without meaning. Coming as a response to the challenge thrown down by the workers in the form of a rapidly increasing Socialist vote and a growth of the trade unions both in numerical strength and aggressive spirit, it means that now the capitalists realize that the conflict is approaching a crisis, that they are threatened now, not merely with petty loss and annoyance, as in the past, but with the complete overthrow of their system of exploitation.

We welcome the organization of the enemies of Socialism. We welcome everything that draws the lines clearer. We know that the marshalling of the capitalist powers against us will do more than our appeals could do to educate the workers and rouse them to action. The closer the lines, the sharper the fight, the sooner will it be over. And we have no doubt with which side victory will rest.

SOCIALISTS ARRESTED.

Omaha Politicians Trying to Suppress Outdoor Agitation—Salvation Army Not Interfered With.

OMAHA, Neb., April 25.—The Socialists have been having a hot time in Omaha this past week. Eleven of them have enjoyed the exhilarating experience of being arrested for daring to speak upon certain street corners and for four nights the police have been kept busy calling the patrol wagon to take "desperadoes" to the local bastille.

The exact reason for this display of energy on the part of the city authorities is not quite clear, although the Socialists are reliably informed that it arises from a desire on the part of the present Mayor to fix the resulting blame upon the Board of Police Commissioners, which is under the control of an opposition candidate for Mayor.

A sham fight is going on among three capitalist minority candidates, as an approaching strike of the building trades on May 1, and the activity of the Socialists made it necessary to divert the working class voters by false issues.

The first Socialists arrested on Tuesday, April 21, were discharged with a warning next morning, but those taken up on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday nights were bound over until next Monday morning.

In the meantime the Socialists have planned a big indignation meeting for Sunday night at which Comrade W. H. Moore, candidate for Mayor; J. Ed. Morgan, State Secretary; Bernard McCaffery, William Malloy, and W. E. Clark will be the speakers. The comrades arrested are P. J. Hyland, James W. Hawkins, Bernard McCaffery, E. Werner, J. A. Labille, John Pahoralek, F. S. Wilbur, G. W. Ray, E. D. Whalen, G. Mark-stall, and J. Ed. Morgan.

The last named was arrested on Friday morning, Comrades McCaffery and Labille have been arrested twice and Hyland leads with three times to his credit.

A peculiar phase of the matter is the fact that the Salvation Army and "Holiness" agitators are permitted to hold meetings and collect crowds on the same corners which the Socialists are forbidden to use.

From interviews given out by the chief of police, it would seem that the authorities are attempting to avert disorder and perhaps a riot in order to throw discredit upon the Socialist Party, but this attempt will be unsuccessful, as the Socialists are determined to fight the matter through to a finish along peaceable lines.

Is the labor question discussed from the workers' point of view at a great public meeting? Ninety-nine chances to one, though reporters have been present, not a line appears in the press; the worse if a report is given, for the speakers' words will then be garbled out of all sense or into a sense opposite to the true one.

Ye have tried, and failed to rule us; in vain to direct have tried. Not wholly the fault of the ruler; not utterly blind the guide.

What matter if king or consul or president holds the rein, If crime and poverty ever be links in the bondman's chain?

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FOR THE DAILY.

The Need of a Socialist and Trade Union Newspaper.

The Ormer of the Capitalist Press and the Necessity of a Labor Press to Meet It—The Project of the "Daily Globe."

Regular readers of The Worker know, but it may interest those who see it for the first time this week, to be informed that the movement has been inaugurated and carried far toward success for the establishment in New York City of a daily newspaper to be owned and controlled by an association of Socialist workmen and devoted to the interests of the labor movement on both its political and its industrial side.

No one who reads thoughtfully and observes the world in which he lives can have failed to be impressed both by the immense power of the daily press and by the shameful way in which that power, in the hands of individual capitalists or corporations, is used to serve the interests of the capitalist class at the expense of the workers.

Not only are unsound theories of economics and of public and private morality taught through the editorial departments and special articles, but the news columns, ostensibly presenting an impartial record of events, are actually used with ingenuity and persistence worthy of a better cause to misinform the people on matters of the most vital importance to them.

Are workmen on strike or locked out? It is impossible for them to get a brief and plain statement of their position and the shallowest references to the daily papers, whether republican, democratic or "independent," whether "yellow" or respectable; but whole columns will be given to interviews with the employers and their over-acted representatives put forth as being the whole of the story.

The strikers may conduct themselves with every excessive regard for law and order and consideration of the public comfort; yet when they read the papers they are hardly surprised any longer—so long have they been accustomed to it—to find themselves pictured and described as dangerous rioters and incendiaries.

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MAY DAY IN NEW YORK.

Great Mass Meeting to Be Held in Madison Square.

Brooklyn Holds Meeting on Friday and Festival on Saturday—Yorkville Celebration at Old Homestead Garden.

International Labor Day will be observed by Local New York of the Social Democratic Party and the labor organizations in sympathy with the movement by a demonstration taking the form of a mass meeting in Madison Square between Twenty-third and Twenty-fifth streets, on Friday evening, May 1. There will be three platforms, one of them for German speakers. Benjamin Hanford will be one of the principal speakers of the evening.

Every workingman who is in accord with the international movement for the emancipation of the working class from wage-slavery is urged to be present and take his part in the demonstration.

In Brooklyn. On Friday evening a mass meeting will be held in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 849 Wiloughby avenue, with Old Homestead Garden, on Saturday evening there will be a festival and ball at the same place, one feature of which will be the production of Frederick Krafft's play, "Now and Then."

In Yorkville. The May Day demonstration of the districts represented in the Yorkville Agitation Committee, will be held in Old Homestead Garden, on Third Avenue, between Ninety-fifth and Ninety-sixth streets, on Friday evening, beginning at eight o'clock.

Party Organization. The Socialist Party is now organized with state committees in thirty-one states and territories. In fourteen of these—Alabama and Arkansas—are, as these words are written, engaged in forming their state organizations.

There's a serf whose chains are of paper; there's a king with a parchment crown; there are robber knights and brigands in factory, field, and town.

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COMPETITION AND MONOPOLY.

A year or two ago the Democratic politicians were noisily declaiming against the trusts and demanding that they be "smashed."

Today the Republicans are singing a different song. Yes, there are trusts, they say; the trusts are a good thing; a great blessing to our country; the chief bulwark of our prosperity; they must be "curbed"—and we, the great Republican politicians (who are inside the trusts and therefore know all about them) are just the fellows to do it.

Equally has the Democratic cry been changed. Under the tutelage of Millionaire Hearst the Democratic oracles are all proclaiming as with one voice: We must distinguish between the criminal trusts and those which are simply legitimate business combinations.

Malleous critics might suppose the Democratic rule for drawing this distinction to be: All trusts whose directors are prominent Democratic politicians and which contribute equally to both old-party campaign funds are legitimate business combinations; trusts which discriminate in favor of the G. O. P. in the distribution of boodle are criminal trusts and must be extirpated—or made to "dig up."

But what is a criminal trust? What is a good trust or legitimate business combination? Can anyone tell? The answer is plain enough: From the point of view of those who are inside or on top, all trusts are good; from the point of view of those who are outside or underneath, all trusts are bad. That is the only distinction that is worth making.

What is a trust? What is monopoly? How does it arise? Do you think it is something unnatural, foreign to the spirit of the competitive system, produced by the conspiracy of certain men to get special privileges? It is nothing of the sort. The trust is the normal outgrowth of the capitalist system. Monopoly is the natural and legitimate result of competition.

Many of the trusts have been fostered, stimulated, hastened in their development by special privileges—protective tariffs, land-grants, bounties, subsidies, and the like. But without such aid trusts develop in free-trade England as well as in protectionist America.

Special privilege is an accessory to, but not the cause of, the development of monopoly. Many of the tariff-protected trusts have now reached the point where the repeal of all tariffs and other favorable legislation not only would not destroy them, but would not injure them in the least.

Put a lot of pike, big and little, in a tank together. Leave them alone and watch them. The big and middle-sized ones will eat the little ones and wax fat and prosperous. When the little ones are gone the big ones will eat the middle-sized, and the biggest will eat those not quite so big, and so on till there is only one eminently respectable pike left.

That is free competition, brought down to its simplest terms. Competition, in the very nature of things, destroys itself; running its normal course it produces monopoly. The freer and more vigorous the competition, the sooner does monopoly ensue.

Look at the world of business. Each competitor is trying to reduce his expenses, to get trade away from the others, in every way to extend his business. They cannot all succeed. The very word "competition" indicates that they are striving with each other, fighting each other. The success of some means the failure of others.

In this strife the competitor with the largest capital will have the advantage. He can introduce the best machinery; he can buy his materials in larger quantities, thus getting them cheaper; he can employ more workers and so get a larger product from each through division of labor and systematization of work; he can fill orders more promptly; he can take better advantage of fluctuations in the market; he can advertise more widely and so secure more trade.

The advantage so gained is cumulative. Larger capital gives larger profits; larger profits, in time, make possible a further increase of capital. As one by one the weakest competitors go down, the stronger ones snatch up their trade and so grow stronger still.

All this, be it observed, is "legitimate." It is all according to the rules of the game. It is of the very essence of the profit system.

For further advantage some of the larger competitors may agree to cease competing, to unite their capital in a partnership, then in a stock company, then in larger and larger companies. Nor is it only the stronger competitors who do this; for self-protection the weaker ones are forced to do the same thing. The man who obstinately holds out against the tendency, who insists on running his business independently on the small scale which alone he can afford, is doomed to fail. A conservative economist has formulated the rule: "Where combination is possible, competition becomes impossible."

Surviving businesses, which, when carried to its logical conclusion—and it proceeds with ever accelerating speed—must end in virtually complete consolidation or monopoly, under one form or another.

This is not to say that "illegitimate" methods—adulteration, discrimination, outright fraud, special legislation, and the rest—are not used. They are used on all sides. The small competitor must use them when he can, in the hope of saving himself—a vain hope, because the large competitor can use them more effectively and so preserve or even increase his "legitimate" advantage. The use of "illegitimate" methods, then, may somewhat intensify the struggle and hasten its end.

But the end of the struggle, sooner or later, must be the same, whether "illegitimate" methods are used, by none or by some or by all.

Concentration of the ownership of capital and the control of industry, then, is the goal toward which the laws of capitalism inevitably lead. The trust is not an accident. It is not a blunder. It is not a crime. It is the final term of capitalist progress. It is the sure conclusion of capitalist logic.

To try to curb or to destroy the trust while yet maintaining the capitalist system is to attempt to stop or to turn back the hands of the clock of history. It is to attempt what is probably impossible and what is surely undesirable. The eyes of wisdom and courage are turned ever forward, in the direction of our present progress and beyond its present stage, never longingly back upon the path we have traversed. We cannot go back; and could we do so it would only be to lose time, to begin again, and retrace the doubly weary road.

The great leaders of the old parties know this. They have no intention of smashing the trusts. They have no intention of curbing them. They know that seriously to attempt either course on capitalist lines would be to add the evils of panic and depression to the normal evils of capitalism.

They know, too, that there are no "good" trusts and "bad" trusts, but that all are good for those who own them and bad for those who do not.

They know as well as well as anyone that under capitalism there is no way out of trust-rule, which is simply capitalist class rule in its most perfect form.

But they dare not face those truths which they know. Their guiding maxim is that of old Louis XV—"After me the deluge." They will equivoicate and temporize, make a faint bowing to the popular will when the popular will is wrong and raise false distinctions to obscure the real issue when popular opinion begins to be right—all this they will do as long as they can, in the hope that, as that same foolish Bourbon said, "The rickety old machine will last out our time."

As long as they can—but that will not now be long. The deeds of the trusts give clearer and more convincing reasons in truth than the words of their political agents can give in error. And the workers are learning.

They are learning that it is not the concentration of private ownership that is bad, but private ownership itself; not the trust alone, but capitalism that must be repudiated.

More than a quarter of a million have already declared at the ballot-box that the trusts are not to be curbed, not to be smashed, but are to be made into a public utility, that they who now serve the trusts and pile up profits for them shall become the collective owners and masters of the things where-with they work and of the wealth that they create.

More than quarter of a million so many more are already wishing they had joined in that declaration. Everyone who reads or thinks at all has by this time at least begun to grasp the idea. The trust is working and neither Republican, evasion nor Democratic sophistry can prevent it from going on.

The time is here to choose between the Trustified Empire and the Socialist Commonwealth. There is no other choice.

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John E. Eilam, the English Socialist, in a personal letter tells the following story: "The other day I was in a farm yard where three men were trying to persuade a pig to leave a filthy, miserable sty, with no food in the trough, and go into another containing nice clean straw, dry and warm, with a little food in the trough. After a long period of unsuccessful pushing and hauling, and after it had broken away and headed back into its dirty old quarters, they had to seize it bodily and it was carried struggling, shrieking and protesting, from misery to luxury. It had to be forced into better circumstances. I thought there was a lot of human nature in that swine—a lot of working-class human nature at any rate."

How like that blind pig is the workman with the capitalistic mind who prefers the poverty and misery of present conditions to the peace and plenty that lies ahead under Socialism, as soon as the workers will it!

If you have an extra copy of The Worker please pass it on to a neighbor or shopmate with the request that he give it a candid reading.

One flag that will not float under Socialism—the red flag of the auctioneer.—Coming Nation.

You have a Catholic friend who thinks that to become a Socialist would imperil his soul's salvation? Give him a copy of McGraw's "Clerical Capitalist" or "The City of Angels." You can get either from the Socialist Literature Company, 154 William Street, New York, for 10 cents.

SOCIALIST PROGRESS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Fifteen Years of Hard Work and the Good Fruit that It Has Borne. Growth of the Vote from Two Thousand in 1888 to Over Two Hundred and Eighty Thousand in 1902—Socialist Victories in Recent Local Elections, East and West, Forecast Still More Rapid Growth and Speedy Triumph.

The Socialist movement on the democratic political field in the United States may be counted as beginning in 1888, when the Socialist Labor Party, after a hard but instructive experience of coalition with other more or less sympathetic political elements, put a straight ticket in the field in the New York municipal election of 1888 and decided henceforth to conduct its campaigns independently of all "reform" or "labor parties," at whatever cost or risk. The vote cast was but 2,068. Few of the supporters of capitalism saw any significance in the event. Those who noticed it at all, assuming that independent political action would provide a harmless outlet for the energies of the few "cranks" and "visionaries" who dreamed of a new society in which there should be neither economic masters nor industrial slaves, and that it would never grow to proportions that could cause any alarm. The most of the capitalist politicians were, in fact, far more seriously troubled about the agrarian and "reform" tendencies in the political field which were then taking shape and which, in the few years following crystallized into the Populist movement. Because this movement was less radical, more "practical," capable of appealing more directly to the minds trained under the influences of capitalism, both its friends and its enemies predicted that it would have a vastly greater power of growth than would uncompromising Socialism. It took the experience of several years to disabuse the minds both of the supporters of capitalism and of its hasty and superficial critics of this mistaken idea.

Years of Patient Work. The Socialists, however, remembering that all great things have small beginnings, that it is the quality and not the size of the seed that counts for future growth, understanding the economic principles underlying political institutions and tendencies, confident that the development of capitalism itself, the conduct of capitalist politicians in office, and the dis-reform parties would unite in supplying every new argument for Socialism, went on calmly and enthusiastically with their work of education and organization.

For several years, however, it was only with the greatest difficulty that the advocates of thorough-going Socialism were able to gain a hearing from the victims of capitalism. Discontent was growing rapidly and men everywhere were beginning to think for themselves on economic and political questions. But at first, as was to be expected, their thinking was neither deep nor accurate and the very magnitude of the movement of discontent raised false hopes of easy victory, or, at least, of some immediate relief. They had to make their own experience of the inefficiency of superficial reform measures, of the inherent weakness of a negative and destructive movement such as Populism. As that movement reached the climax of its growth, in the years 1892-94, its lack of sound and positive principle began to have their effect in producing compromise and faction. The hope of victory through the Bryanite fusion kept up something of its enthusiasm through 1896, only to lead it to utter ruin as an independent movement in the field relatively clear for those who were prepared not only to criticize existing conditions but also, through an understanding of the principles of capitalism, to do solid constructive work, to build deep and strong the foundations of a new order.

Through these years the Socialist movement resisted every temptation to fess or trade for temporary political advantage. Its adherents braved the accusation that they were dividing the forces opposed to capitalism and steadily though slowly advanced on the straight and narrow path indicated by Socialist principles. In the state and congressional elections of 1890 the party's vote rose to 13,331. In the national election of 1892 it had electoral tickets in six Eastern states and polled 22,157 votes. In 1894, in national elections the political field of the Middle West and counted 33,133 adherents at the ballot-box. In 1896, in spite of the clamor of Bryanite enthusiasm that almost drowned the voice of calm argument, this figure was raised to 36,564, with twenty states represented.

Turning of the Tide. Then, with the disappointment and disillusionment of those who had hoped for a short cut to economic freedom or who had been carried away by hero-worship, came a great opportunity for the advocates of Socialism to point out to willing listeners the false starts that had been made and to rally the best elements of the broken cohorts for a renewed battle on better lines. The opportunity was not lost and the state and congressional elections of 1898 showed that the party had gained a foothold in several new states and that its voting strength was increased to 82,204.

Meanwhile, partly as an independent and parallel movement arising out of similar causes, partly as a result of mistakes of policy that the S. L. P. had made, a new Socialist party had come into existence. The Social Democratic Party was organized at Chicago in 1897 by the more progressive and aggressive wing of the co-operative movement that had grown up since the great railway strike of 1894. This party, in addition to many new recruits, chiefly in the West, attracted many in the East who, for one reason or another, were dissatisfied with the S. L. P., and in 1900 it

polled 9,245 votes, a large proportion of which were in Massachusetts. Not Checked by Discard. The next three years, 1899-1901, saw a great split in the S. L. P. and the union of the larger wing with the S. D. P. under the name (except in New York and Wisconsin) of the Socialist Party. The opponents of Socialism greatly rejoiced over the dissensions of 1899 and predicted that the Socialist movement had come to the beginning of the end. Time proved that they laughed too soon. In spite of the most strenuous internal controversies, the work of Socialist propaganda was not neglected nor did the capitalist system and the capitalist class cease to furnish arguments for our cause. When the presidential contest of 1900 came to an end the count showed that the united Socialist Party had recorded 97,730 votes, while 38,450 had been cast for the S. L. P., which, since the split and reorganization referred to, had taken a secondary place. Two more years passed by, years not devoid of difficulties, internal and external, for the movement, and again came a chance to test our strength on a national scale. Taking the most conservative of official figures, counting only the lower figure where a part of our candidates ran much ahead of or behind the ticket in any state or district, the election of 1902 gave the Socialist Party 229,762 votes, while the S. L. P. claims 53,763.

Our Latest Record. The increase of the vote of the Socialist Party in the two years ending with November, 1902, is shown in the following table:

Table with 3 columns: State, 1900, 1902. Rows include Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

Totals 1900 97,730 229,762

In Arizona, Idaho, and Wyoming we entered the political field for the first time in 1902. In the eight states marked with a star we had no chance to test our strength in 1902, and the vote cast for our national ticket in 1900 is therefore carried forward for the latter year.

At local elections held since last November our progress has continued at an even greater rate. In Massachusetts city elections are held in December. In 1901 the Socialist Party had tickets in fifteen cities and polled 7,381 for them. In December, 1901, these cities gave our municipal candidates 11,720 votes and we had tickets in four more cities, with 1,283 votes.

March brought the town election in the same state. In ten of the principal towns where the Socialist Party had candidates, towns which had given us 1,822 votes in November, we had 21,132 in March. The Pennsylvania town elections in the same month brought us almost equally inspiring results.

During the month of April city and other local elections have been held in many states from Connecticut to Montana and Colorado. In almost every case the vote of the Socialist Party has increased well in some cases enormously, over that of November, and a large addition has been made to the list of Socialist victories at the polls.

Victories at the Polls. Following is a list, probably not quite complete, of the public offices now filled by representatives of the Socialist Party, mostly within the last year:

In Massachusetts we have three members of the Legislature—James F. Carey of Haverhill, Frederick O. Macarty of Rockland, and Wallace C. Randson of Brockton; the third seat was first captured last fall. In Haverhill, Mass., we have the Mayor, two Councilmen, a School Committee-man, and an Assistant Assessor. In Brockton, Mass., we have the Mayor, three Aldermen, eight Councilmen, and two School Committee-men. In Chicopee, Mass., we have an Alderman. In Amesbury, Stoughton, and other Massachusetts towns we have some 30 active town officers, where before this year we had but one. In New Jersey we have a number of town and village officers. In Pennsylvania we have a Councilman at New Castle and a large num-

ber of town officers, mostly in the field of last summer's coal strike. In Indiana we have one Councilman at Marion and one at Linton. In Illinois we have within the last month begun what promises to be a brilliant record of victories, electing our candidates for Aldermen from the Pullman ward of Chicago. In Michigan we made our first victories in the spring of 1902, electing two Aldermen in Battle Creek. In the fall we elected one in Saginaw, and this spring we have brought the number of Socialist Aldermen at Battle Creek up to four, and, according to latest reports elected also the Mayor and some Aldermen at Escanaba. Wisconsin also recorded one victory a year ago, the election of an Alderman at Sheboygan. At this spring's election the Socialist Party swept the city, electing Mayor, Treasurer, City Attorney, and Assessor, four Aldermen, and several other city officers. In Austin, Minn., we have an Alderman, elected in March. In Boone, Ia., we have a Councilman, elected within the last month. In Liberal, Mo., we have a Councilman. Colorado shares in the progress, electing a Socialist Alderman at Telluride last month. Montana, finally, has contributed to the list of victories of the present spring. The Socialist Party has there carried the city of Anaconda, electing the Mayor, Treasurer, Police Magistrate, and three Aldermen out of the six chosen. In Butte we missed carrying the city by only 400 votes out of 9,500 and succeeded in electing one Alderman. In Red Lodge, three out of the five Aldermen chosen are Socialists.

Greater Triumphs to Come. This list of something like a hundred candidates of the Socialist Party elected to office within the last year, where before that time we had not more than about a dozen in all, is significant, not so much for what these officials can themselves accomplish as for the augury of far more important successes to be expected in the very near future.

As will be observed, the strength of the Socialist Party is becoming more evenly distributed over the country—while it is advancing in the old strongholds, the movement in the newer fields is rapidly catching up. In none of the cities named has the Socialist Party complete control, as yet, of the local administration; in most cases our representatives are in a small minority. Moreover, the power of local officials is so strictly limited by general laws that even a completely Socialist city administration would be greatly hampered in the carrying out of its program so long as the national and state governments remain in capitalist hands. In city governments, the most that can be expected of Socialists, when in minority, is that they will act as fearless spokesmen for the working class against the corrupt political plutocrats and tools of capitalism that now hold sway; and that they will fight for and, when in majority, carry into effect such partial measures to ameliorate the lot of the workers as the limited powers of local administrations will permit. This they have done and are doing in a way that assures us that our party can command the confidence of the working-class voters and need have little fear henceforth of any positions it has once captured.

The real significance of these local victories, however, is in the promise they give of greater victories to come. Where we are electing Mayors and Aldermen to-day we shall be invading Legislatures to-morrow and Congress the day after. The time is past when the Socialist movement could be sneered down because of its weakness. The movement has made deeply and disquiet the capitalists, give it proportionately greater prestige among the workers, increase their confidence in its representatives and their willingness to consider its principles and declare for them at the polls.

TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW. High hopes that burned like stars sublime Go down 'F the Heaven of Freedom And true hearts perish in the time We blitherless rest them; But never sit we down and say There's nothing left to borrow; We walk the Wilderness to-day, The Promised Land to-morrow. Our birds of song are silent now; Few are the flowers blooming; Yet life is in the frozen bough, And Freedom's Spring is coming; And Freedom's tide creeps up alway, Though we may strand in sorrow; And our good land aground to-day, Shall float again to-morrow. 'Tis weary watching woe by woe, And yet the tide heaves onward; We climb like corals, grave by grave, And hence break in the onward way; We are driven back, for our next fray A newer strength to borrow, And where the vanguard camps to-day The rear shall rest to-morrow. Through all the long dark night of years The People's cry ascendeth, And earth is wet with blood and tears But our meek suffering endeth, The few shall not forever sway, The many meek in sorrow; The Powers of Hell are strong to-day, Our Kingdom comes to-morrow. Though hearts brood o'er the Past, our eyes With smiling Futures glisten; For lo! our day bursts up the skies, Lean out your souls and listen. The world is rolling Freedom's way And rippling with her sorrow; Take heart; who bear the Cross to-day Shall wear the Crown to-morrow. O Youth, fame-earnest, still aspire With energies immortal; To many a heaven of desire Our wrestling opens the portal; And though Age warbles by the way And hence break in the narrow Youth seas the golden grain to-day, The harvest comes to-morrow. Build up heroic lives, and all like a sheafen gather Ready to snath out at God's call, O Chivalry of Labor, Triumph and Toll are twins, though they be stung by Sorrow; And 'tis the martyrdom to-day Brings victory to-morrow. —Gerrit Massey.

NO MORE KINGS. By the blood of Father Adam, first of men to toil and perish. By the sword and scales of Justice where the hope of nations clings, By the memory of the Christ-man, that all human souls still cherish, We have sworn it, we will have it, that there shall be no more Kings. In the vast and splendid dawning of the world's assured to-morrow, If the people be not sovereign, if the nations are not free, Let the sands blot out the cities, as did Sodom and Gomorrah, Cut the dykes and raise the sea-walls and o'er all let flood the sea. Aye! we mean it, we, your Masters; have you then so soon forgotten. How the condor, Revolution, spread abroad his mighty wings? By the dripping head of Louis, the reviled and misbegotten, We assert it—who denies it?—that there shall be no more Kings. God of hosts and God of helpless, you shall yet be God of battle, In the future do we seek you, in the distances do you come. Not for ages will the people wait the axe-like sullen cattle, Not forever will the visage of the mystic Sphinx be dumb. Not by torch and sword and rapine, by our heart-strings, wives and daughters, By the whistling winds of prescience that the gathering tempest brings, We have gnawed our last of black-bread, drunk our fill of bitter waters; Hear it, heed it as we say it, that there shall be no more Kings! —Ernest McGaffey.

The immediate demand of the Socialists is the Co-operative Commonwealth.—Coming Nation.

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THE SPIRIT OF MAY. By Eugene V. Debs. Many millions of people in every part of the earth celebrate May Day. It is nature's awakening after slumber—it has the breath of spring, the voice of resurrection. The trees and fields are arrayed in emerald beauty; the wild flowers are blooming, the brooks are laughing and the birds are singing. The fee King has retreated to his arctic domains. The skies, in cerulean glory, are beaming above us; the fleecy clouds are sailing like white swans in azure seas; hill and vale, field and forest, all invite us to enjoy their wealth of charm and fragrance. The morning is blooming, the air is laden with delicious odors and the dew is bespangling herb and flower and tree. With deft and fairy fingers May decorates all the landscapes, the waxy, blue nooks, the secluded dells and the babbling brooks as they laugh and sing and dance their way to the sea. But there are millions, alas, who will not go to Maying. They will not gather wild flowers, nor hear one note of all the ravishing melodies of nature. The flowers bloom and the birds sing for them, but they will not enjoy them because poverty hedges them in and their taskmasters hold them fast in bondage. Between the shop and the tenement house is a continuous funeral march and the hearts of the weary workers beat like muffled drums. The spirit of May Day is radical and refreshing. It is the day of proletarian aspiration and inspiration. It breathes of revolution, the passing away of old things and the ushering in of the new, the beautiful and true. For this day we are indebted to no patronizing master, no drag of legislative charity. This is OUR DAY—the day of the working class, and we drink deeply at the sparkling fountain and girl ourselves fresh for the coming climax of the great struggle. Be this my May Day sentiment: Onward, comrades, East and West and North and South, until the goal is reached and triumphant Socialism proclaims freedom to all mankind!

THE MOVEMENT IN NEW JERSEY. By State Secretary H. R. Kearns. It is delightfully easy to say, "Give us an article, both retrospective and prospective, on the Socialist movement in your state," but hard of accomplishment if the task is required of one whose mind runneth not back beyond the Unity Convention. I have been in some degree cognizant of Socialist affairs and was interested in the work prior to that time, and was industrious in a small way locally in doing good work, but did not get deeply into those who were shaping affairs in the state until after my introduction to the revolutionists who gathered monthly in county committee meetings at 321 Central avenue, Jersey City, some few months subsequent to the convention heretofore mentioned. To set at rest the mind of the reader who may judge from the foregoing that I am of recent acquisition and that honors are unthinkingly bestowed in New Jersey I will say that though identified with the Socialist Party but a few years, I have been a social rebel from childhood. I cannot recall the time when I did not unhesitatingly stand beside and in defence of the despised, and having served a long novitiate of privation and imprisonment for the principles which finally led me into the organization, I feel that I have fairly earned my spurs, am entitled to the proud distinction of Socialist and a place in the ranks of the advance guard, now that in so many parts of the country victory is becoming a standard and the proletarian and the abolition of wage-slavery and the complete economic freedom of the race is all but won. During the transition period, that sturdy, big-hearted, self-sacrificing German, Comrade J. P. Wielg, held the State Secretaryship and under the direction of State Chairman G. H. Strobel most effectively served the party, not only as Secretary, but as agitator, speaker, and on occasions as organizer. While Comrades Strobel, Wielg, Gilliar, Rubnow, Margolis, Goebel (who succeeded Wielg as State Secretary), Geo. H. Goebel, and others of the little band of workers—whose names were then unknown to me—who frequented the meeting place of the Progress Club on Market street in Newark, planted much of the seed which has since ripened and been harvested by the organization, a vast amount of seed was sown which grew for a while and gave promise of vigorous life and abundant fruitage, but which eventually withered and died for lack of proper care and nourishment. Branches of the party, like children, require care, training and supervision until they have attained the age and healthfulness which enables them to walk alone. A new recruit in the army of Socialism is not unlike the regular army recruit. He must be well ground-

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SOCIALISM IN THE ROCKIES.

By P. J. Cooney

The rapid rise of the Socialist movement in the West has led to considerable speculation among the Eastern comrades as to the nature of the movement and the conditions it has to contend with.

Much as we realize that any movement co-operative in its nature is futile and ridiculous under capitalist conditions, it is yet a fact that the origin of the Socialist movement in the West dates back to the co-operative movement of 1800-07—the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The efforts of the B. C. C., however, were not confined to the colonization plan alone. They distributed Socialist papers and literature; held meetings; and sent out their agents to find out what in all their efforts at colonization they were pursuing a will-of-the-wisp.

When the so-called "Debs Social Democratic Party" was formed at the convention in Chicago and the colonization scheme thrown overboard, the rank and file of the B. C. C. hailed the result with gladness, and the ranks of the old organization were broken up into the new political party.

It was then occurred the labor troubles in Colorado and the atrocities of the Coeur d'Alene, and these did much to make the Western Socialists realize not only the existence but the intensity of the class struggle.

And so in 1898 in spite of the internal dissensions in the party, and though they themselves were more utopian than the revolutionary Socialists of the Rocky Mountain states fought their first political battle, taking and keeping an absolutely uncompromising ground.

Meanwhile the progress of Socialist sentiment in the trade unions had been steady and rapid. Thanks to the efforts of the Socialists in the unions, the organizations that have sprung from the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, forming the Western Federation of Miners and the Western Labor Union, cut out the clauses from their constitutions forbidding political discussion in the unions. From then on the growth of the movement was magnificent.

Towns were distributed by the Socialists. Comrades living in each district covered the district, distributing thousands of Socialist papers at the doors and in the mail-boxes. They were found at the door in the morning with the daily paper. Unions were induced to subscribe for large bundles of Socialist papers, which every week were distributed by the comrades in the unions. Socialist addresses were made under the head of "good and welfare." When the Miners State Trades and Labor Council, at the suggestion of the Socialists in that body, declared in vague terms for "independent working-class political action" and appointed a committee to purchase literature for distribution, it was felt that another step forward had been taken.

The final result of these years of hard, continuous, persistent work from within the district, when in May, 1902, the Western Labor Union (now the American Labor Union) and the Western Federation of Miners declared in most unequivocal terms for International Revolutionary Socialism and the Socialist Party of America. More than that, realizing that there were many in the ranks of both organizations that did not as yet see the need for a new party, the W. L. U. of M. established the "Miners Magazine," and the A. L. U. the "American Labor Union Journal," both of them official papers, sent to the home address of every member of the organization, and both absolutely and unqualifiedly Socialist in their policy.

Another important step was taken—namely, to set aside a certain portion of the revenue for the purpose of purchasing and distributing Socialist literature. And yet there is another reason, perhaps just as important, for the growth of the Socialist movement in the West, and that is in the very character of the Western worker. The old pioneer spirit that drove the first settlers across the Alleghenies, down the Ohio, across the prairies of Kansas and Nebraska—the hardy, adventurous, fearless spirit of Daniel Boone and his compeers—that spirit has for the last fifty years been driven west by the oncoming tide of capitalist conditions. Everywhere it has been pursued by the spectres of the factory and the slum, and to-day that same old pioneer spirit is standing at bay in the mining cities of the West, ready to do battle with its old enemy.

As John C. Chase very well said, the people of the West were "social rebels at heart." During all the years of our western expansion, it was not the weakling nor the contented who went west; but the young men, ambitious, restless, and discontented, who refused to submit to bad conditions; and this same process of natural selection has given to the Western worker a temperament and disposition entirely unlike that of the Eastern worker. The Western stranger in New York or any large Eastern city is at once impressed by what seems to him the downhearted, dispirited, hopeless, almost heartbroken look of the average Eastern wage earner.

To resume, the action of the A. L. U. and W. F. of M. was followed last year by unparalleled activity in Socialist circles. Chase, Mills, the Wilson brothers, Debs, and Father McGrady, toured the West, speaking to thousands and arousing the most intense enthusiasm.

The Socialist Party nearly everywhere held its conventions early in the summer, and long before the old parties had made any moves whatever, had opened their campaigns with "No fusion, no compromise," as their battle cry. The "No fusion" policy aroused the mirth of the capitalist politicians, but they are certainly through laughing by this time. There

was a little hesitation at first among the various local unions composing the A. F. of M. and the A. L. U. here and there. In 1898 and in 1900 they had gone off at a tangent and directly or indirectly supported various false labor parties or capitalist candidates; but in 1902 they supported, officially at least, the Socialist tickets, and in the spring elections of this year the same unions that in 1900 were voting money into the campaign funds of the old parties opened their strong boxes and gave thousands of dollars to swell the campaign fund of the Socialist Party.

The result is seen in the city elections in Montana and Colorado to-day, where the Democrats and Republicans are combining against us and getting whipped for their pains.

In the Rockies the Socialist Party is an American political party. It is an American movement without losing any of its international character. It accommodates its tactics to the political methods of American parties, in so far as it can and demands, and there are many ways in which it can. It has passed the stage (if it ever had that stage) where it is a mutual admiration society giving erudite, philosophic, long-winded discourses in scantily filled halls. It adopts American tactics, bonfires, bands, placards on the walls; candidates issue personal cards, appeal to their personal friends for support, they fight to win if they can; if they cannot win this time, they fight so as to win next time. "The best argument for the Socialist Party is the record of Socialists in office," was heard from the platforms last fall and the names of Carey and McCartney were received with rounds of cheers. Campaigns are fought not only on the national platform of the party, but the immediate demands of the various state and county organizations receive their due share of attention. Above all, it is a working-class party, deriving its funds from the workmen, and appealing to them directly from the class standpoint.

"Some of you fellows don't know much about Socialism," remarked an Eastern Socialist to a Colorado miner. "Don't we? Praps not, but we can learn; and we know a dence of a lot about capitalists and capitalism. We know how these fellows got their mines and their money. We see them doing it." And this just about sums up the mental attitude of the Western workers who are now coming in overwhelming numbers into the movement.

Not much stock is taken in the West in the "catastrophic" theory of the coming of Socialism. "We'll get Socialism when we get sense enough to take it," said a Montana smelterman. "We know how these fellows got their mines and their money. We see them doing it." And this just about sums up the mental attitude of the Western workers who are now coming in overwhelming numbers into the movement.

What it needs, and what the future will bring to it, is clearer economic knowledge, more thorough and widespread, and a greater development of the social and fraternal spirit, the spirit of comradeship, that should make the Socialist Party different from any other political movement. Much has been done in these lines during the past year, but much yet remains to be done—and it will be done.

There need be no fear of the retrogression of the movement in the West. It may make mistakes. It has done so, in some cases. But those mistakes have not been wounds, but lessons. If they meet with defeat, as the Haverhill movement did, but only to rise again with renewed courage. The logic of events that makes of the worker who is the sentimental Socialist of to-day the revolutionary Socialist of to-morrow—the immense amount of educational work that is being done through the A. L. U. and W. F. of M. and the State trade unions, and above all, the independent spirit of the mountaineer will beyond a doubt in the next election carry some of its nominees into the state legislatures and probably into the halls of Congress.

CAPITALIST "ABILITY." President Parry of the Manufacturers' Association has discovered a new factor in production that will be a surprise to the economists. It used to be Land, Labor and Capital; now it is Labor, Capital and Ability that must share the results of production. Capital, of course, is the machinery of production; but everybody knows that it is the product of Labor, and the Socialists know that it belongs to Labor. But the new idea is that labor is not ability; that skill in production, either in operation or management, is not connected with ability.

Labor is labor, and ability is well, ability to skill the workers as long as the workers have not the ability to resist being skinned; and as long as the skinned are so patriotically defended in their "constitutional rights" to stand separately, it is safe to say that the ability to lock stocks and bonds in the safe and go fishing will continue to take its three-fourths of Labor's hard-earned product.—Edwar B. Heffens in Los Angeles Socialist.

TWO NEW PAMPHLETS. The latest number of the Socialist Library is a little pamphlet of pocket size, containing three articles reprinted from The Worker—"The Socialist View of the Waterbury Strike," by Algernon Lee; "Real Race Suicide," by Courtenay Lemon; and "The Incentive," by J. W. Brown. Price, postpaid, 2 cents a copy; one hundred copies for 75 cents.

"Wie wird man ein Bürger" is a German pamphlet, giving instructions for gaining citizenship in the United States. Price, postpaid, 5 cents a copy; fifty copies for \$1.50; one hundred copies for \$2.50.

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THE RIGHT OF REVOLUTION.

By Peter E. Burrows.

The human race has become too respectable to do very much longer without the decent government of Socialism. To be ruled by commercial blacklegs or any less odious gamblers is no longer good enough for mankind, which, like the automobile itself, desires to move socially on something more manageable than the commercial politician's crime of chance which now controls the affairs of our country.

The sources of this human respectability which now calls aloud for Socialism are: First, a social law that has grown from human individual experience, which grows with the growth and strengthening with the strength of human intercourse—the law of social gravitation, a law which, in spite of all the fiends of history (heroes, mostly), has patiently followed the sword of the aristocrat anarchist, and built and rebuilt and restored faster than he could ever pull down, until at last in America it gives us the present attempt of poor suffering humanity to found a democracy, which here, as in all the past, the individualist, armed with stolen property, are seeking to destroy, because, they say, it is unconstitutional.

Second, the conscience that has, in spite of the general blackslinding of theology, grown up, half blind truly, in the churches; but still with eyes to see sociality. For in all the creeds of the churches the proto-cells of Socialism were ever present. The doctrine of personal depravity, if the saints had only accepted it, would long ago have led to collectivism. But though it has failed to prepare the wealthy sinners for the new humanity, it has, conjointly with the oppressions of capitalism, prepared some of the middle class and the working class for the Exodus to Socialism.

Third, the law of death alternating with life. The death by atrophy, by which unutilized waste and isolate parts of an organism perish, has seized upon capitalism. The private owner can no longer rule the labor of the world. Half of the race's energies are misdirected from the common life. Individualism ruling over the vast developments of the twentieth century is another word for atrophy. Either capitalism or the race must die; and it will not be the race.

Fourth, the universal spirit is more interested in the salvation of humanity as a race than in the salvation of him here and there, a private character or a property aristocrat—therefore, Socialism must come.

Fifth, every evil carries within it that measure of protest and strong requirement which amounts to exactly what the evil amounts to and a little more. Thus it is that moral progress has as big a share in evolution as the wings of birds or the trunks of elephants in evolution.

The law by which mankind adjusts himself to the eternal decree that humanity shall live together is called ethics, consisting of Ego's daily attempts at accommodating himself to his social environments—that is, to the needs and wishes of the men around him. "Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you" is the Darwinism of this evolution of Ego out of himself to human Immanentalism.

Sixth, education. I do not, of course, mean that process of injection, called education, practised in the public schools, in spite of which (thank God) the people of America have still some intelligence and sense of manly democracy, though not much. I mean the induction by experience, chiefly by failure; the inductive education received in the halls of the trade unions, in the strikes, and from the manifest will and power of the press to deliver the poor people and to frown on them in all their life, but their slavery.

Seventh, the appalling discovery made by Karl Marx that wagers implies slavery, that the surplus product which is expressed in the wealth of the world arises from the ability given to the capitalist by the toolless condition of the users of the age's economic tools to compel all labor to remain producing so many hours every day beyond the moment when labor has given its equivalent of value for its wages. The discovery that by improving machinery the quantity of this surplus must be vastly increased for production, though yet the hours of toil are not reduced. Nay, more: The machine has become more specialized as well as more prolific and also more intense in its demands upon the poor human animal—the laborer. Nay, more: With this growing intensity the number of laborers required is also diminished, thus making the home distress outside the factory greater up to the degree of a national tragedy. Nay, more: The very price of the day's labor is also diminished, in spite of increased productivity and diminished producers. Nay, more: The children and women are set to undersell the fathers and are crucified. Nay, more: The cheapest of the worst, the saddest of the poorest of the race are by economic law the makers of the standard of wages. Nay, more: Our government forbids us to organize.

Eighth, capitalism, therefore, supplies its own destroyer in this wage-slave class, which it has so deeply hurt. The social conscience of the race supplies the slave also with allies who will help him because he is right, even to their own hurt.

It is the working class, and no other, that must supply the motive and the men for initiating revolution. And if, in the course of ages, the physical workers when in possession of state powers, should produce some other class, standing to them as they now stand to capitalism—the deficient to the surplus—it will be the new class, lackers which shall supply the next revolutionary energy required to overthrow the industrial state. It is not the happiness, it is not the content, but it is the misery of the world that revolts.

It is the right and mission of the surplus to get right. It is from the morally empty that the first movement towards moral conditions must come, and woe to that age, and woe to that nation, which depends for moral initiation upon those that are conscious only

of righteousness and success. Rather let us look for leading to that man who has made, and secretly shuddered over, the discovery that he is without moral principles, and that he is a man whom, as far as he himself knows and believes, no other man in a real emergency should trust. When a thinker so deems himself, he will not stand in the way of social evolution, he will not obstruct the community conscience for the social will, he will gladly seek something bigger and better than himself; especially when he finds out, as find out he surely will, that taken separately every man on earth is just of the same moral weight as himself—that is, no weight at all, only in his temporary relation to his moral center of human social gravity. It is to the poor, the disinherited, the empty-handed, the moribundly altogether empty, that we must look for revolutionary and moral energy. It is simply out of emptiness and wrong, and not into any specific degree of fullness or right, that man, the unit, the knower of evil only, socially moves. MAN, the greatest social organism, knows nothing of evil or right, but only of the net product of our struggle—its net in trend, its habit, in flavor, in atar—and gives it back to each of us in proportion to our daily openness and ability in social contact. To such the organism gives community-thinking, community conscience and community habitarianism. And the greatest of these three is habit.

Wrongful or questionable actions are more likely to be promptly corrected, and the door called down, than wrongful thoughts. Let us, therefore, promote activity. The natural cowardice of the single life will always guard against serious social energy in action. The natural desire to please will always induce us to do better than we think, because our doing at once comes in sight. Let us do well and so cultivate the habit of thinking well. Let us learn to please by doing, and then we will begin to chafe because of the limitations set upon our ability to do well by the inequities of society. Let us draw up the sap to this waiting bud of active humane sociology, waiting to break through out of mere impressionism and passive evolution into the power of giving out our long gettings to all around, into the liberty of the broad, vast range of democratic doing.

The doors of the world, the class that never acquired the habit of laying back, the class whose characteristic necessity was the industrial habit, and whose characteristic fitness for the new revolution is, therefore, its habitual activity, the class whose present need and enforced training on the fields and in the workshops of the world has assigned to the historic mission of being the world's positive by long and sad negation, and, therefore, its active energy, the world's perpetually necessary class, and, therefore, its true representative class, the class which alone has acquired the habit of doing the world's necessary deeds, and which alone has acquired the habit of doing the world's necessary deeds, and which no new society can dispense with, the class upon whose destiny the well of all men hangs, the class whose eternal right is Revolution.

A PROLETARIAN HYMN. By Theo. Saenger. The hour has come, Ho, comrades rally! The hour of Freedom's day is nigh, Let vile plottings with tyrants daily, And hireling priests our cause decay! Long have we crouched before oppression, And kissed the hand that forged our chains, While treason vaunts and plunders reigns, And liberty from earth is banished.

Chorus: Arise, arise ye braves! Unite, unite ye slaves! March on, march on, All hearts resolved, On liberty or death!

Behold the vulture's broad embattled, Upon the field of patriots slain; Where martial drums of freedom rattled, Men sell their nation's blood for gain! Men sell their nation's blood for gain! And shall the sons of martyrs bear it, To see the prize so dearly bought, By coward vendors put to naught, And liberty to knaves surrender?

Throng forth, ye toilers, day is breaking! Shall idle lordlings you enthral? The throne of tyranny is quaking, At Freedom's glorious bugle-call! At Freedom's glorious bugle-call! Before its blast flies the usurper, Of powers built by Labor's might, When man demands his native right, And toil and joy once more are wedded.

Come, beat the drums once more, ye brothers, Nor heed foul treach'ry's shrewd decoy, And bid your children, wives, and mothers All huff the reign of Thrift and Jeop! All hail the reign of Thrift and Jeop! The powers of nature by your conquest Subdued, must serve at your capricious command, And Freedom reign from straitside stand, While industry unites the nations!

Then wave the banner of defiance, Though lords would lash us to adore, And let the voice of our alliance Roll on like mighty thunder's roar! Roll on like mighty thunder's roar! No more, as serfs, shall despots spoil us.

Who build their thrones on ancient creeds, And scoff when famished Labor pleads, Revolt! The voice of ages calls you!

READ THIS AND PASS IT ON.

SAID THE MASTER OF MEN.

By Horace Traubel.

Said the Master of Men: "Keep off the earth. Keep out of the air. Do not swim in the water. Did you suppose the harvest of the world were yours? Did you suppose that the air was intended for you to breathe in? Did you suppose that the water was made to drink? You have a licentious imagination. What do you suppose I have fenced in the earth for? Why do you suppose I charge you a solid rate for the opportunity to live? Do you believe that you have some rights to life which the air, the water, the field, in spite of me, are bound to respect? You do not count up your two and threes. I am a colleague and you are my toll. I am the gatekeeper of heaven and you must pay me to get in. I am the portal to all the vista of time. Through me you eat, drink and make merry. If you deny me you starve, you thirst, you mourn. But for me life would not live. But for me the earth would be a desert. Useless, am I? Where did you go to school? Sixty generations of children have been caught by my gospel. As many generations of grown up men and women have suffered and starved to prove me true. I am the taxrate and the tax. Ideas may be true. Dreams may be true. You may have a Hebrew or another Bible that is true. But nothing is so true as my unimpaired assessment. I drain the clouds dry. I take from the earth all its last blossom with me. I take from the heart of man till its last hope is lost. What could so much prove me true as the length of my arm? That arm will reach its palm into any pocket, into any estate, into any heart. And when it is withdrawn nothing is left. I live by several names. But these names rightly spelled spell one name, by some I am called rent. By some I am called interest. By some I am called profit. But I am neither as long as I am proud of my name. As long as I can accomplish my object I am willing to accept any name and equally willing to go without a name. When it suits my convenience I call myself rent. But the people who are robbed by interest would not like me to call interest rent. And the people I rob by profit are just as sensitive as the people I rob by rent and interest. They do not mind being robbed. They rob themselves when they get a chance. But they prefer to be robbed gracefully and according to the code. So I have to be perpetually on my guard. For as long as I rob right I am called shrewd and envied by my victims, who are my fellow robbers. But if I mix my etymology, a mob of professional thieves instantly at my heels threatening my increments. To show you how popular I am with the people I need only remind you of history. The people do not make the laws. But they make the law-makers. And they always make the sort of lawmakers who protect me in the laws. The people do not own the factories and the stores. But they permit the men who do hold the titles

to the factories and the stores, and they always permit the sort of men who first of all take care that my berth shall be cheerily fattened. And so on. Now, if the people did not mean me to be just what I am the people would refuse to make it possible for me to live just as I do. The people are very good. They provide for me before they provide for themselves. They take care that I have enough to eat even while they starve. And enough to wear and to cover my bed with even when they are cold. I get my dose of whatever happens. You sometimes see the people in trouble. They seem to be worrying over something. You may imagine that they have children at home who may not have enough to eat. Or agitating affairs of some other nature. That is a poor guess. Their grief is all about me. They are afraid they may not be able to do justice to me. They have no money and no way of own defense. What will interest rent, profit do to get along if I have no money and no work? Think of me going to the poorhouse. So they wander wearily about the streets grieving for me. And sometimes they get despondent and jump into the river or blow their brains out. Just because they would not like any hurt to come to me. For if anything was to happen to disable me the country would go to smash. The farmers all farm their farms for me. Every spindle in every factory spins for me. Every shoe at Lynn shod for me. The stores are conducted for me. The railroads run in furtherance of my estate. The people are well aware of this. They are my stubborn friends. When my integrity is threatened by some minority of the people themselves I do not need to lift a hand in my own defense. The people do all the defending for me. They are only too glad to demonstrate their loyalty. When rebellion rebels I just hold my peace and my unfeigned smile. Thousands of people will die in order that I may live. The clay of this world may render with carnage. But none of my blood is drawn. When the battle is over I reappear and receive the homage that attaches to my sacred prerogative. I who am interest. I who am rent. I who am profit. But for me the political state, the lord of the land, the lord of the money, the lord of the tool, could not live over a single night. I sit on every hearthstone and wait. I am in at every birth. I am in at every death. My decalogue fixes the social seasons. No one can dodge or postpone me. No one can order life with me left out. You might leave out God. But you could not leave out me. I am never premature and I never quit. In all the exigencies of your career, from the cradle start to the coffin finish, I fix the terms of settlement. I am life to you when you surrender and death to you when you revolt. I who am rent. I who am interest. I who am profit."

That is what the Master of Men said.

SONG OF THE BALLOT BOX. By Sumner F. Clafin. From the pine-clad hills of Maine, There's a thrilling, glad refrain, From the everglades and bayous of the South;

From the mountain and the plain And across the mighty main, Listen, brother, it proceeds from Labor's mouth.

Those who feverishly slumbered, Dreaming labored dreams unnumbered, Are beginning to awaken from their swoon; And the sounds we hear, like sighing, O'er the dead earth multiplying, Plainly tell us of the tyrants' coming doom.

Then arise! Awake, oh, sleeper! Join the chorus, swell it deeper, Add your voice and hand and ballot from now on; Make the movement one vote stronger; If we toll a short time longer The misery and the darkness will be gone.

If you get a bundle of copies of The Worker you will understand that you are kindly requested to see that they are distributed in your locality.

GOVERNMENTAL INBECILITY.

By Carl Pankopf.

The commission appointed by President Roosevelt to investigate the grievances of the miners and mine owners has finally reported, and in the course of its findings arrived at a "summary of awards," which in itself is of little consequence, but which is of prime importance to all workingmen is the attestation of the Commission, that after all, a government can exist, as such, only with the consent of the governed. At the end of its summary of awards it fairly admits that the employers are the governors and the workers the governed; that the Commission recognizes the imbecility of the state's attempting to enforce the awards and leaves it with the employers to protect themselves against a violation of the provisions by their employees. Not the faintest suggestion is made as to how the employers may protect themselves against a violation of the provisions by the employees.

The provision reads as follows: "XI. The awards herein made shall continue in force until March 31, 1906, and any employer, or group of employees violating any of the provisions thereof shall be subject to reasonable discipline by the employer; and further, that the violation of any provisions of these awards, either by employer or employees, shall not invalidate any of the provisions thereof."

A commission that has been given existence with an open and frank admission of its appointer that neither the government nor the commission has any provision by which it can enforce its rulings or awards that may be arrived at, dares to point out to the employers the means by which they may enforce the "provisions," while it holds up to the miners a sop that will satisfy only the most servile and degraded of them—"shall not invalidate."

Under the "Reforms urged by the Board," the inherent power of cohesive attraction among the capitalists and their hirelings is plainly and unmistakably visible.

1. The discontinuance of the "coal and iron police," and a resort to regularly constituted peace authorities. In plainer words, it simply expresses a desire of the government, which in the one case admitted its imbecility, to be recognized by the class it represents as the proper authority, to murder any of the struggling workingmen that are not satisfied with the eleventh or any other provision that does not provide for them.

pointed this "faithful" Commission, never mentioned one word to the Southerners about the 24,000 children of school age that are exploited in the South.

2. That the state and federal government shall provide machinery for compulsory investigation; the chief benefit to be derived from the suggestion herein made lies in placing the real facts and the responsibility for such conditions authoritatively before the people, that public opinion may crystallize and make its power felt. To speak of a crystallization of anything it must be presupposed that an inherent force of cohesion prompts it to attraction. This can not be said about the working class and the capitalist class. Ever since the introduction of the Arkwright spindle, the crystallization of the capitalist forces and the working forces have been two separate and distinct processes, and all attempts at pacifying the antagonism created by the very incoherence of their various compositions have ignominiously failed. In many instances such attempts have opened the breaches farther than they were ever before, as undoubtedly is the case with the miners now.

One needs but carefully to peruse these lines: "However we may make our estimates of the future production, it is apparent that the maximum output has been almost reached. The production will be henceforth from lower levels and thinner seams than those previously worked. This will necessitate greater expense in mining and consequently higher prices for fuel, more reconstructions, equipment and increased competition of other fuels." Just note the paternal spirit of the Commission toward the God-ordained Coal Marons.

To cap the climax of their hypocritical utterances they indulge in the following evasive explanation: "Naturally, some questions have been presented to the Commission that are incapable of final solution owing to the difficulties inherent in human nature." Another proof of the imbecility of the government to deal with a matter that it pretended to be able to cope with and that it will continue to tamper with for the sake of political prestige.

Regarding the boycott the Commission says: "What is popularly known as the boycott (a word of evil omen and unhappy origin) is a form of coercion by which a combination of many persons seek to work their will upon a single person, or upon a few persons, by compelling others to abstain from social or beneficial business intercourse with such person or persons. This is a cruel weapon of aggression, and its use immoral and anti-social, and the concerted attempt to accomplish it is a conspiracy at common law, and merits and should receive punishment due to such crime." This Commission has the prison and stripes for the workers ready for practical application, but for the employers' system of blacklisting, which it admits to be as reprehensible and cruel as the boycott, it suggests simply a "frowning down, by all humane men."

This distinction in suggesting remedies for like deeds is not accidental,

but is significant of the class distinction between Roosevelt, Capitalists, Commission and Company, on the one hand, and the combined forces of Labor on the other. It is, in plainer words, another proof of the imbecility of the government. Moreover, there is absolutely no fear that the capitalists will ever practice it "to the extent of being founded upon an agreement," and therefore it will appear absurd to refer workingmen to legal procedure for the "recovery of damages compensatory of the injury received."

This procedure of the Roosevelt Commission, from beginning to the end, should serve as a valuable lesson to all organized labor. It should prompt them to the resolution to pursue their own lines in search of justice and to abstain, meanwhile, from soliciting government interference of any kind. Until the working class is proportionately represented in the legislative chambers, it will have to be content with being a government within a government and rely upon its own capabilities of developing its power.

The union men of this country should learn from this last and most ridiculous of governmental farces that all action, legislation, and decrees of governments must have the power of enforcement behind them if they are intended as effective. Labor legislation can only be enforced by laborers as effectively as capitalist legislation is to-day enforced by capitalists. The sheep may as well walk into the lairs of the wolves for protection against its deceers, it would meet with as much well-meant support for its transportation to the hereafter, as the miners have received from the government. The class-struggle is not here because a few agitators are referring to it. The class-struggle is the unavoidable result of an economic system that is based upon wages and profits, slaves and masters.

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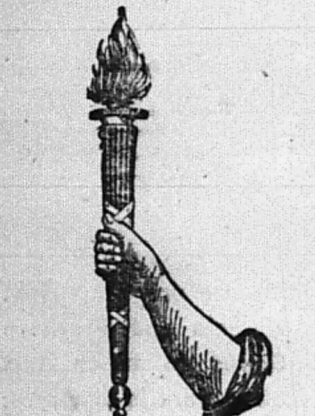
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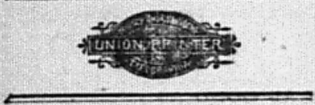
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THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

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

THE SOCIALIST VOTE. The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic Party of New York) has passed through its second general election with a growing power indicated by its steady victory for



THE MEANING OF MAY DAY.

All over the civilized world workingmen and workingwomen are meeting and marching on the First of May, hearing aloft the Red Flag of Socialism, singing the songs of revolution, voting their defiance of class rule, their aspirations toward freedom and brotherhood, their resolution to transform this world of war and hunger into a world of plenty and peace.

What is it that May Day stands for? Is it peace? Yes. And it is also war. Is it self-assertion? Yes. And it is also self-assertion. Is it the vision of the future? Yes. And it is also the realization of those visions in the deeds of to-day.

In two phrases we sum up the meaning of the First of May—the Class Struggle and the International Solidarity of Labor. The one is the war of to-day that must be fought out; the other is the peace of to-morrow that is to be won through that strife.

In free America, in constitutional Britain, in Bureaucratic Germany, in despotic Russia, in the new Japan, even in awakening India and China, regardless of varying political institutions and traditions, we find one constant feature. Everywhere we find a great mass of the people owning the land and the machinery, all of the things by which and with which men work, and living in comfort or luxury, without doing useful labor, by reason of that ownership and the power that it gives.

The number of responses which this paragraph has elicited prompts us to repeat the advice here to the larger number of readers whom this issue of The Worker will reach. It is not only to active comrades that the suggestion applies. The majority of us, in the rush and confusion of life, being denied the opportunities of thorough study and culture that ought to be the common heritage but are actually the privilege of a limited class, neglect to use those lesser opportunities of self-

by another's consent. We do not find either of these classes without the other. They are like the two poles of a magnet—as inseparable and as opposite. Everywhere we see the interests of the owners and the interests of the workers in irreconcilable opposition. The capitalists are raised aloft only by standing on the shoulders of the wage-workers; the wage-workers cannot stand erect unless by throwing the capitalists from their backs.

Everywhere we see the consciousness of this opposition growing clearer day by day. Workingmen are learning to think and act together to resist the aggressions of their masters, to demand a larger share of their own product. The capitalists, on their side, are organizing more closely to keep the workers in subjection. And by the experience of this daily struggle, forced upon them by hard necessity, the workers are gradually brought to realize the uselessness, the perniciousness of the master class, to think of a state of society in which there should be no masters, and to work together with that aim definitely in view.

In this conflict, whether over minor questions or over the great and all-embracing question, we see each side compelled to use every means that can serve its end—education and mis-education, the strike and boycott and the lockout and blackmail, persuasion, force and political power. We see that however individuals on either side may wish for peace between the classes, there can be no peace. For either side to relax its efforts in the struggle is to court defeat. The conflict of interests is absolute. They may be compromised, but never harmonized; and even compromises cannot long be maintained.

This is one-half of the truth that we proclaim on the first of May—the irrepressible class struggle that must be fought out, sooner or later, to complete victory on one side or on the other, and that wise and brave men should rather face and settle quickly than allow to drag on, consuming the energies of successive generations and blighting all that is fairest in human nature.

For the rest, we see that, however, the capitalists of different countries may try to outwit or overreach each other, however keenly they may compete to control the world market, however ready they may be to plunge their respective nations in wars where the blood of the toilers shall be coiled into gold for the idlers of the winning side, and however loudly they may declaim about patriotism and national interests and national glory in order to keep the workers in the mood to do their fighting for them, yet whenever the line is clearly enough drawn between the exploiting and the exploited classes in any country the exploiters of all lands forget their international quarrels and the sympathy of the masters all over the world is given to any section of their class whose power is seriously attacked. Class interest and class feeling overpowers all national jealousies and obliterates all religious lines. Prof- it is to them sacred above all other things, and the defenders of Profit everywhere are their friends.

On this day we point out that, as the interests of Capital are identical, so also are the interests of Labor. That one workingman is born an American and another a German, one a Christian and another a Jew, is no reason for their being enemies. That all are workingmen, that all bow under the same yoke of wage-slavery, that all have one common wrong, one common hope, one common enemy, is abundant reason for their feeling and acting as friends and comrades.

That is what May Day stands for—comradeship among the workers of the world against the exploiters of the world until exploitation is ended, until victory brings peace, and then comradeship among the free workers of the world in the splendid days that are to be.

ABOUT BOOKS AND READING. I spoke in this column last week of the danger to which every active Socialist is subject of centering his thoughts so exclusively upon the movement in its more immediate and practical phases as to lose his touch with other currents of thought and life and become narrow or shallow, and we suggested that every comrade would find it well worth while to set aside some stated time, if only two hours in a week, for the reading of something else than the daily papers and the party press and literature; even if this involved the giving up of some party duties now borne, we said, the man who follows this plan will probably find his very usefulness to the party increased, through becoming mentally refreshed and better equipped for thought and able to take a larger view of every subject considered.

We do not assume here to lay out a course of reading. You can do that for yourself, perhaps profiting by the advice of some thoughtful friend. We have thrown out only a few suggestions and we venture to add one more. If you have a family or other willing listeners, read aloud, at least part of the time. You can imagine many good reasons for that; a sufficient reason is that you will get more out of it yourself.

The Socialist of all men, has no right to be narrow or superficial. Socialism is a many-sided movement. It touches and links itself to every science, to every philosophy, to every current of history, to every phase of social life. The more of those links the Socialist can comprehend the bet-

ter Socialist he will be. So much for being broad. As for being deep, you cannot expect to know many things thoroughly; no one can. But you can train yourself in the habit of piercing below the surface of things, of observing facts and weighing ideas, of thinking independently as far as your knowledge goes and knowing where the limit is. In that sense every Socialist owes it to the cause, as well as to himself, that he should be deep as well as broad.

TO THE NEW RECRUIT. An Arabian shepherd, so the tale goes, trying to find a strayed lamb, discovered a cave and penetrated far into the mountain. At last he came upon a greater chamber where a thousand greybeards sat conning over books and reciting lessons to a greybeard teacher. The shepherd asked what it all meant. The teacher replied: "This is the punishment of my sins, that I must teach the whole Koran to all these thousand pupils."

"How long have you been at it?" asked the shepherd. "A thousand years." "And what progress have you made?" "I begin to feel encouraged," said the old man, "for one of them has just learned the first letter." The shepherd asked what might be the sin that merited so heavy a penalty. "In my life on earth," said the old man, "I used to offer advice unasked."

With that horrible example before us, we yet venture to offer some advice to those who have newly joined or are about to join the party. A preliminary piece of advice is, if you have not joined, do so quickly; and be active; and stick to it through thick and thin. It makes all the difference between a real man and a pig, whether or not he has some concern higher than food and shelter for his precious person, some conception of a larger self, not opposed to but including his personal self, for which to think and feel and work. And nowhere can you find, in this age of the world, a field for such selfhood better worthy of all your service than in the Socialist Party.

Granted then, you join the party and are active and stick to it. Don't imagine that your admission marks an epoch in the party's history. Maybe it does. But you should be the last man to think it—and it will take some time to find it out, anyhow. Don't think you have an exclusive and authoritative mission to reform the party. You will probably have many ideas to suggest, right off. Don't hesitate to express them. But reflect that they may have occurred to others before you, may have been tried or sufficiently considered and found unsound. Don't jump at the conclusion that those who tell you so are petrified fossils. You will find that some of those old warhorses are as young in heart and mind and as enterprising as you. Probably some of your ideas are both new and true. If so, and even if they are not accepted at once, you will have other chances to advance them and prove their feasibility when you have become better known to the party and know the party better. Remember that the party lived for some time, even grew a little, without you; assuredly it will live better and grow faster with your aid; but still, it might survive you, even should you withdraw. The party happens to be a thing bigger and stronger and wiser and more important in the world than any or all of its members, old and young, put together.

Don't imagine that all Socialists are angels. They are not. By fully realizing this you will avoid some sad disappointments. You must expect to meet many stubborn men, many unreasonable men, not a few bad tempered men, some selfish men, a good many careless and lazy men, and even a few dishonest men, all, with more or less reason, calling themselves Socialists. You probably have some faults, too, which others may see more clearly than you do. Remembering, then, this human fallibility and imperfection, try to be vigilant without being unduly suspicious and charitable in your judgments to the point where further charity violates social justice. It is better for the rank and file to watch and instruct and criticize and control their officers than to trust them absolutely and then condemn them if they go wrong—better for the party and fairer to the individuals. But when you criticize, see to it that you are willing to endure criticism without resentment.

Be neither a fatterer nor a "knocker"—the slang may be pardoned, since no classic word seems quite to fit. Beware of both these sorts of men. Don't be afraid to take the floor against a recognized leader when you think he is wrong on a matter of some importance. If he is worthy to be recognized as a leader—and a hundred to one he is and has amply proved it—he will be glad to consider your argument. But don't be tempted to oppose him because he is counted a leader. If he leads right he has the right to lead. The Socialist movement is not much given to humping unearned honors on any man's head nor to being long deceived by unworthy aspirants for favor.

Don't allow yourself to think you are unappreciated, and if anyone whispers it to you turn a deaf ear to the suggestion. We Socialists have a way of quietly sizing men up and ap-

preciating them pretty closely at their true worth, even though we do not always tell them how much we think of them. Remember that the party owes you absolutely nothing but what it chooses to give you undemanded—neither praise nor position of responsibility nor honor or reward of any sort—nothing but your plain equal right as a comrade. No matter though your services to the cause and your sacrifices for it eclipse those of all other members, the party owes you nothing more than it freely offers you. If you are working for recognition, if you say, openly or by implication: "See what I have done for you! Do I not deserve gratitude?" the party rightly answers: "No. We supposed you were working because you wanted to see the work done. If you are working for reward you are in the wrong place." But observe, also—you will have plenty of chances—that the party is glad and eager to honor those who work for the cause without looking for honor.

Never intrigue. What you have to say, say it frankly and fearlessly. What you dare not say in your local meeting, you have no right to hint in private conference. Our party, is of all things, democratic through and through. So it must remain, or die—and it is not going to die. In a democracy there need be no fear of open conflict. The democracy has that vitality in it that it can endure disagreements, controversies, faction, even dissension and schism, and yet live and grow. The one thing it cannot endure, that must be stamped out, that must be branded as crime, is intrigue, because it strikes at the very heart and life of democracy. We repeat, the party owes you nothing and you owe the party all. But if you are a comrade in the true spirit, the party will give you, of the things that are more precious than material rewards or outward marks of honor, tenfold more than you ever can give to it. It will give you hope, it will give you increased self-respect, it will give you the joy of battle, it will give you the consciousness of work done, and it will give you with all these the deep and quiet and lasting love of manly and womanly comrades. It is an honor and a privilege to belong to the party. Your red card is a credential and a diploma whose validity your whole life must maintain.

THE ABSURDITY OF PERSONAL HOLIDAYS.

By Courtenay Lemon.

May Day, symbolic of spring, of the awakening of nature to new life, of hope and freedom, is the chosen holiday of the revolutionary labor movement, the day of defiance to ancient oppression and challenge to chartered wrong, the day of prophetic rejoicing in the vanguard of the long-suffering working class whose sure and mighty mission is the achievement of human freedom and social solidarity.

It is appropriate and significant that the Socialist movement should thus celebrate, not the birthday of an individual, but the awakening of our class, the rise of a movement, the re-birth of the race. Karl Marx, the great genius of the Socialist movement, was perhaps the most comprehensive mind since Aristotle, and certainly one of the most exact and powerful intellects that all time has seen; with Engels, he made the most valuable of all contributions to modern thought; yet it does not occur to Socialists to make the birthday of Marx their international holiday, and it is this that is suggestive of this May Day musing.

Let the capitalist state decree the celebration of personal holidays in honor of great men who are popularly supposed to have determined the course of history in their private persons, and to whom is given the credit for an age of the nation's collective effort; we choose rather to celebrate the collective spirit of the race as expressed in its most vital class, the collective aspiration and effort, the social movement of our time. To those groping in the darkness of the individualistic mind it seems natural to render holiday homage to single persons raised upon a popular pedestal; and, most people feeling that they must depend upon and admire something outside of themselves, other individuals very much like you and me are chosen, with the help of fate, as objects of their worship. But to those who are permeated with the collectivistic conception of human history and affairs, to those upon whom the sociality of everything has burst as a flood of light, the celebration of such personal holidays as now mark the birthdays of a Washington, a Lincoln, or even a Christ, are, in the last analysis, absurd.

If Washington, great as he was, had not lived, America would still have shaken off the British yoke; if Lincoln, great as he was, had not lived, the black slaves would still have been freed; if Jesus, great as he was, had not lived, a religion of subjective refuge and communistic revolt from Roman oppression would still have arisen. And, if all America had not been struggling to throw off the British yoke when Washington lived, he would not have become great as he was; if the slavery question and the unnumbered and unknown soldiers of the North had not given him the opportunity and the means, Lincoln would not have become great as he was; if the weary and the oppressed of his time had not needed the religion of refuge which found its voice in him, Jesus would not have been great as he was.

The leader of any great movement, the individual who is the temporary instrument of a movement, and in whom it is ultimately focussed for a final effort, does not make the movement, except in a very transient and non-essential sense; primarily, the movement makes him.

The Wars of Independence and of Secession were the outcome of long seething economic and social forces. They had to be; and when they came they easily found their individual instruments. The independence of the colonies was not achieved simply because a great man named George Washington lived and was a great patriot. The emancipation of the slaves did not occur simply because Lincoln lived and was a great humanitarian. Each of these great steps in human progress was the result of deep, underlying, half-hidden economic forces, and the social ideas growing out of them, which moved the mass of men. This should be obvious, but it is directly contradicted by the biographical view of history which is inculcated by individualistic teaching, and finds its culmination in holidays about persons. And did not the early rebels against the stamp act and the men of the "Boston tea party," the early abolitionists, the forgotten soldiers who silently suffered at Valley Forge and in the Wilderness, the whole multitude of men and women directly and indirectly concerned, all the forgotten ones who fought and lived and suffered and died for independence or abolition, play just as essential a part as did Washington or Lincoln? And could not the masses, the nation, have found other leaders if these had been wanting? Which, then, was the greater force and which the more essential, the social mass or the individual leader?

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GLOUCESTER MOORS.

A mile behind is Gloucester town Where the fishing fleets put in; A mile ahead the land dips down And the woods and farms begin. Here, where the moors stretch free In the high blue afternoon, Are the marching sun and talking sea, And the racing winds that wheel and flee

On the flying heels of June. Jill-o'er-the-ground is purple blue, Blue is the quaker-maid, The wild geranium holds its dew Long in the boulder's shade. Wax-red hangs the cup From the huckleberry boughs; In barberry bells the grey moths sup, Or where the choke-cherry lifts high up Sweet bowls for their carouse. Over the shelf of the sandy cove Beach-peas blossom late By cope and cliff the swallows rove Each calling to his mate. Seaward the sea-gulls go, And the land-birds all are here; That green-gold flash was a vireo, And yonder flame where the marsh flags grow Was a scurrier tanager.

This earth is not the steadfast place We landmen build upon; From deep to deep she varies pace, And while she comes is gone. Beneath my feet I feel Her smooth bulk bend and dip; With velvet plunge and soft upheave She swings and stendies to her keel Like a gallant, gallant ship. These summer clouds she sets for aill, The sun is her methused light, She taws the moon like a pliance fraff Where her phosphor wake churns bright. New hid, now looming clear, On the face of the dangerous blue The star fleets tack and wheel and veer, But on, but on does the old earth steer As if her port she knew. God, dear God! Does she know her port, Though she goes so far about? Or blind astray, does she make her sport?

To braved and chance it out? I watched when her captains passed; She were better captainless. Men in the cabin, before the mast, But some were reckless and some against, And some sat gorged at mess. By her buffeted hatch I leaned and caught Sounds from the noisome hold,— Cursing and sighing of souls distraught And cries too sad to be told. Then I strove to go down and see; But they said, "Thou art not of us!" I turned to those on the deck with me And cried, "Give help!" But they said, "Let her be. Our ship sails faster thus."

Jill-o'er-the-ground is purple blue, Blue is the quaker-maid, The alder-ump where the brook comes through Breeds crosses in its shade. To be out of the moiling street With its swelter and its sin! Who has given to me this sweet, And given my brother dust to eat? And when will his wodge come in? Scattering wide or blown in ranks, Yellow and white and brown, Boats and boats from fishing banks Come here to Gloucester town. There is cash to purse and spend, There are wives to be embraced, Hearts to borrow and hearts to lend, And heads to take and keep to the end. O little sails, make haste! But don't, vast outboard sailing souls, What harbor town for thou? What shapes, when thy arriving toils, Shall crown the banks to see? Shall all the happy signposts then Stand singing brotherly? Or shall a baggard ruthless few Warp her over and bring her to, While the many broken souls of men Fester down in the slaver's pen, And nothing to say or do?

—William Vaughn Moody.

THE JIMMIE HIGGINSES.

By Ben Hanford.

A comrade who shall be called Jimmie Higgins because that is not his name, and who shall be styled a painter for the very good reason that he is not a painter, has perhaps had a greater influence upon me as a social product, and so long as the individual is arrayed against society, society will be arrayed against the individual. There must be peace between the two by the surrender of the individual to the greater parent power, society; and then individuality will not be lost but found. The individual cannot develop his individuality alone; he must develop with, by and through his fellows—through society. Humanity has never been able to escape some form of collectivistic coherence although it be chaotic, half-realized, and rent with class divisions. And after the final class struggle has culminated in collectivism, individuality will flourish in the fertile soil of social solidarity and the absurdity of the false philosophy which finds one of its minor expressions in personal holidays will be apparent.

What did he do? Everything. He has made more Socialist recruits than any man in America. Not that he did the talking; but he carried the platform on his bent shoulders when the platform committee failed to be on hand. Then he hustled around to another branch and got their platform out. Then he got a glass of water for "the speaker." That same evening or the day before he had distributed handbills advertising the meeting. Previously he had informed the district for gathering a crowd. Then he distributed leaflets at the meeting, and helped to take the platform down and carry it back to headquarters. The next day the same, and so on all through the campaign, and one campaign after another. When he had a job, work was none too often for Jimmie was not an extra good workman, and was always one of the first to be laid off, he would distribute Socialist papers among his fellows during the noon hour, or take a run down to the gate of some factory and give out Socialist leaflets to the employees who came out to lunch.

What did he do? Jimmie Higgins did everything, anything. Whatever was to be done, that was Jimmie's job. First to do his own work; then the work of those who had weakened or been negligent. Jimmie Higgins couldn't sing, nor dance, nor tell a

NO ROOM AT THE ECONOMIC TOP. There is less room at the top than is popularly supposed. They who are there are few, but large.—Puck.

THE ROOT OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

By Leonard D. Abbot.

The fundamental blasphemy of our civilization lies in the assumption that it is right and natural for the majority of people in the world to be poor. What should we think of the biologist who seriously contended that it was normal for the majority of human beings to be deformed? What opinion could we have of the doctor who took the position that it was right and natural for men to be in a chronic condition of disease? And yet these conclusions are not more monstrous than is the point of view of the political economist who publishes learned tomes based on the assumption that it is right that the majority of men should be poor.

SOCIALISM VERSUS CLASS HATRED.

By Owen R. Lovejoy

An organization has recently been formed by prominent financiers and social and religious leaders, having for its purpose the study of economic problems and "to oppose Socialism and class hatred." This movement is quite in keeping with much that now appears in the "orthodox" press, and from pulp and platform.

THE MISINFORMATION OF THE WORLD.

By George D. Herron.

The distinctive characteristic of a newspaper, concerning even the most trivial items of news, that is not moved or amended by the interests of the owning class, is its position to state or conceive the awfulness of this world-atmosphere of lies which we breathe—the poison and death and darkness of it all. In even the most reputable part of the capitalist press, in its religious and literary journals, there is not one thing concerning current events, or the men who make them, that can be taken as fairly true. The masses have no access to the facts of this systematic misinformation of the common life, the more I am appalled by the fact and the horror of it; at the obsolescence or absence of any conscience about the matter. In specifically religious journals, as well as political, there is absolutely no sense of moral responsibility for stating or arriving at the truth about men or things; there is only responsibility for carrying a point, casting a slur, or making an opponent's position seem untenable.

THE MARCH OF THE WORKERS.

By Franklin H. Wentworth.

"There has been no great people," wrote George Eliot, "without processions." Greatness, as typified by peoples, is the flower of solidarity. When men and women march together in processions it is because their hearts are beating to a common impulse. It is because they are moved by a common enthusiasm.

But they are rather badly named, and do not cover the ground indicated by their titles. We need a comprehensive study of this important branch of Socialist thought, and I am glad to know that at least one competent comrade, in whose ability to do the subject justice I have great confidence, is engaged upon such a study. At the present time the vicious phrase, "Natural Rights," is common in our press, and the idea more common than the phrase. A third of the membership of the Socialist Party, it is said, as students of a well-intentioned School of Social Economy, have been taught this long-explored idea, which, properly comprehended, is the very antithesis of Socialism. In the absence of any book on the subject by an avowed Socialist, let me recommend two books as particularly clear and good. Professor Ritchie's "Natural Rights" (Macmillan), by William Kingdon Clifford (the Humboldt Library). A careful study of these books will effectively remove the "Natural Rights" delusion upon which every utopian movement, as well as every reactionary movement, has been based.

BOOKS FOR STUDENTS.

If you wish to study Socialism, so as to gain a real understanding of its economic and philosophical principles and its historical relations, you will find the list of books given below of the utmost value.

SOME HELPFUL BOOKS: A CAUSERIE.

By John Spargo.

In common with most of my conferees of the Socialist press, I am often asked for advice, particularly by comrades young in the movement, upon the important question of the choice of books. One such letter, a type of many, lies before me as I write. "Please help me," says the writer, "I am a willing and anxious learner. But I don't know where or how to begin." The letter concludes with a list of six books which the writer had chosen, "because they are often quoted in our papers." The list begins with Marx's "Capital," the other five books being "Looking Backward," "Equality," "Merrie England," "Britain for the British," and Ruskin's "Unto This Last." Without casting the slightest reflection on any of the books, all of which might be read with advantage by every Socialist, it is certain that with the exception of the first, the student could not possibly obtain from them anything like a clear conception of Socialism. Presuming that the comrade had no knowledge of economics, the former task I may essay at some future time, with the genial editor's consent, but in accepting his present invitation, I shall simply chat in a free and easy way about some helpful books, some of which are, I fear, all too often neglected.

By Karl Marx. A clear narrative and keen analysis of the movement of 1848. Cloth, \$1.20.

SOCIALISM IN THE SOUTH.

By National Organizer John C. Chase.

[Comrade Chase of Haverhill, Mass., well known throughout the country as the first Socialist mayor in the United States, has for more than a year been travelling through the country under the direction of the National Committee of the Socialist Party, speaking for Socialism. Last year he made a tour from East to West, beginning in New England and extending to the Pacific Coast. It was then chosen as the first Socialist speaker to carry our systematic propaganda into the "Solid South." At our request he has given some account of the conditions of the movement, as he has seen them. The Worker heartily endorses his plea for a continuance of the work that he has begun and urges the most liberal support to the National Committee, which intends to continue the propaganda in the South.—Ed.]

I have been South of Mason's and Dixon's line now for three months and have addressed meetings in important cities and towns in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama and Arkansas. In these states conditions are as much different from what they are in Northern states as one can imagine. There are three conditions especially, which stand out from all others as powerful factors.

First of all, there is the "solid" Democracy, so-called, in complete control of affairs political. The Democratic party has no competition and has a machine that for corruptness and rascality cannot be duplicated anywhere on earth. No matter how many votes may be cast against them, they still remain in power, because they do the counting. Thousands of citizens refuse to vote any longer, as they consider it a useless effort. So the old crowd continue to run things to suit themselves.

Secondly comes the race question. This is above all others, the question of the South. The fear of negro domination keeps thousands of people who are thoroughly disgusted with the Democratic party still voting that ticket. Many of them—and the number is almost unlimited—would vote for Socialism if they could understand the difference between social and industrial equality. This particular phase is the one above all others that makes it hard to win people from the Democracy to the Socialist Party. Yet the task is being accomplished as well as could be expected.

The third important condition is the fact that the South, in many ways, is no different industrially from what it was a quarter of a century ago. In many sections there has been no industrial development such as has taken place in almost every section of the North, and the people are drifting along in the same old conservative way.

In many parts of the South the people get an existence fairly easy. They have no fuel problem and can live in any old kind of a shack and keep warm. So long as they live they seem to think that the world is moving along very well.

There are other localities, however, where the same capitalistic development is going on and the same tyranny and oppression exists as in the North and West. Here we find Socialism fast gaining favor.

The people of the South have heard very little of the subject, and what they have heard has been largely the misrepresentation of the capitalist press. When Socialism is once presented to them as it really is, they are well pleased with it.

I have had exceptionally good meetings on the whole, and have had no difficulty in organizing locals of the party wherever I could get up a meeting at the unorganized points. In Florida and Alabama several new locals have been organized at the close of my meetings.

Indiana is now organized in eight places and will at once organize a state committee. Florida has something like sixteen locals and a good state organization. These two states are undoubtedly the most fertile field for Socialism, and I think they will lead other Southern states in the movement.

My experience of three months' work in the South teaches me that this entire section, notwithstanding the many peculiar conditions, can readily be organized for Socialism if we do the necessary work. The South will play an important part in the final struggle for Socialism in America.

The capitalist newspapers are already saying that the South is to be ruled upon, through the natural conservatism of her people, to help put down Socialism. Some of them have even proclaimed that her people will rise up and help subjugate the unruly workmen of the North if they should attempt to overturn the capitalist system. The South will, of course, have troubles enough to look after at home. Still, if this be the idea, it is well that the Socialists of the country should consider the work of propaganda in the South. It strikes me as very important that every effort should be made at once to organize this part of the country, so that our movement will have no weak or vulnerable point anywhere in the Union. There is no difficulty whatever in getting a good working body wherever a man can get in to speak.

There are but few active workers who are able to do anything outside of their own localities. With assistance from outside for a few months several places could be brought into line and the movement placed upon a self-sustaining basis. Missionary work at this time through the South would be valuable and effective.

My task as a pioneer has been somewhat difficult at times, but the next one who comes along will find it much easier. I have spoken in many places where no man ever spoke on Socialism before. In some of these places the ring would have enjoyed running me out of town, but did not quite dare do so. In most places I have received good press notices and in nearly every case have been impromptu either to come to the speaker or to send some other speaker to the small untidy village on my way back to the North.

I could write enough to fill a book about the slavery of the wage-workers in the South, if time or space would permit. I am satisfied, from what I have seen, that the brutish and demoralizing conditions existing here have never been exaggerated by any writer upon the subject. At one cotton mill in Georgia I saw scores of little half-dead white children emerge from the gates at noon, emaciated and gaunt, while on the next street there was a troop of colored children on their way to school—a phase of the race question which decidedly staggers a Southern audience when I call their attention to it.

Sitting in the railway station one day recently in a Mississippi city, I engaged in conversation with a loungeer, who turned out to be a weaver in one of the mills there. I asked him about the wages and hours for weavers and he said—rather proudly, too—that he did very well, as he made one dollar a day by running eight looms for twelve hours, while there were many other men working twelve hours for anywhere from 50 to 75 cents per day. And yet we are told that salary was abolished a few years ago!

Speaking about slavery reminds me of an incident which illustrated how far we are from it now. While standing on the banks of the Mississippi at New Orleans, watching the raging river trying to burst its bonds in its mad rush to the sea, I saw a big river steamer loaded with cotton lay to at the dock. The gang-plank was lowered and the man in charge of her cargo came down to pick out his men to do the work of unloading. Instantly there were hundreds of hands outstretched to secure one of the tickets which he gave out to the chosen few, who, by the possession of one, were allowed a master for a few hours. Such a pulling and hauling of each other I never saw. The big burly fellow giving out the tickets was alert for the big burly fellow to give the tickets to. He swore and cursed at the crowd, giving a rebuff to this one in the form of a curse and to that one in the form of a kick, until he had as many as he wanted, about twelve in all, perhaps. The luckiest ones went aboard singing. Most of the rejected ones went away cursing.

The two forms of slavery, the one of the past and the one of the present, loomed up before me, and I realized how little has actually been gained in the change from one form, where a man was sold into slavery for life with a master to look after him, to the other where he sells himself into slavery on the installment plan, a few hours at a time, and looks after himself. I presume, however, that if I had told them then and there that they were still slaves they would have felt like throwing me into the river.

Yet this is the very thing that must be done. They must be made to see their condition and the needlessness of it and the way out of it to the freedom of Socialism.

If a fund could be got up to send speakers through the South to follow up the work we have already begun, the results would be more valuable than anyone can conceive who is not familiar with conditions here.

The Southerner is not such a hustler as his Northern brothers, because of climatic conditions, and while the Socialists are working hard, they do not carry on the vigorous campaign of education that we do in the North. A Northern speaker of good judgment can do much for Socialism on a trip through the South. But let me say here, that he must be a man of good judgment and cool head if he is to keep out of trouble. It is like trying to walk on eggs in some parts of the South for a man—particularly a Northern man—to talk Socialism. But any man who has these qualifications can go through with the best of success and kind treatment. The Socialist Party is the only one that can cut into the politics of the South and with the proper amount of work toward building up the movement now, the time will come when the South will be as eager and enthusiastic in the movement as the North. If there is any spot on earth where Socialism is needed it is here. Van Buren, Ark., April 2.

THE HEIRS OF TIME.

From street and square, from hill and glen
Of this vast world before my door,
I hear the tread of marching men,
The patient armies of the poor.

The halo of the city's lamps
Hangs a vast torchlight, in the air;
It waters the earth with the gleaming lamps;
The masters of the world are there.

Not ermine-clad or clothed in state,
Their title-deeds not yet made plain,
But waking early, toiling late,
The heirs of all the earth remain.

Some day by laws as fixed and fair
As guide the planets in their sweep,
The children of each outcast heir
The harvest-fruits of time shall reap.

The peasant brain shall yet be wise,
The untamed pulse grow calm and still,
The blind shall see, the lowly rise
And work in peace Time's wondrous will.

—Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

THE MOVEMENT IN INDIANA.

By State Secretary James Oneal.

The Socialist movement in Indiana practically dates from the Unity Convention of 1901, which placed the responsibility of the movement in each state on the comrades who resided there. The state had been organized prior to that time, but no systematic agitation was carried on. Since that time our propaganda has invaded almost every county in the state, and a total of fifty-one counties out of ninety-two have been chartered, though all the locals have not survived.

In 1900, twenty-four out of ninety-two counties contained no Socialist votes. In 1902 the number of counties casting no Socialist votes was reduced to eight. The vote in this state increased from 2,223 in 1900 to 7,134 in 1902, making us an official party.

At the state convention held in Terre Haute in July, 1902, John Ray was elected as State Organizer and made the most wonderful organizing tour of all who have worked in the state. His work covered a period of three months, during which he spoke every night. Meetings were held in seventy-six cities, and from thirty-two of these came applications for charters of the Socialist Party. Some of these locals have not survived, but we expect to revive them this summer, and these, together with those cities already maintaining permanent locals of the party, will provide us the means to invade every county in the state and to organize for the contest of 1904.

The state convention to be held at Indianapolis on April 25 and 26 will, no doubt, be the largest ever held in Indiana, and plans will be perfected for continuous work every month in the year.

One significant phenomenon in this state is the organization of farm laborers in the rural districts in the southern part of the state and of workmen in old and heretofore reactionary towns like Vincennes and Sullivan, both of which also have locals of the Socialist Party. The system of capitalist rule is gradually shattering old illusions and ideals which form in these isolated cities and bringing them in contact with the large industrial centers. The trolley car is also knitting them together into the common fabric of capitalism.

At the same time the larger cities are developing a nonrad proletariat by the absorption of "independent" plants by the great industries and closing the smaller plants or working them half-time. This is especially true of the

glass and iron trades. In the latter, mills are rusting away in Terre Haute and various cities in the gas belt.

The workers naturally become impatient and restless under these conditions and are frantic in their search for that great "blesting" which capitalism can no longer bestow—a steady job.

At the same time capitalism, ever on the alert in defense of its interests, is preparing for the struggle with the "brother." Labor, which these tendencies indicate will occur in the near future. Riot cartridges containing two bullets instead of one have been substituted for the cartridge formerly supplied to the militia. The weekly pay law and the law fixing a minimum wage on public work have been declared unconstitutional. David N. Parry of Indianapolis, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, an exploiter whose frankness is refreshing, aids us by proclaiming the class struggle in his bulletins to his fellow-exploiters; and the indiscreet Is any other state blessed with better conditions for Socialist propaganda than we? How many can boast in addition to the riot cartridge and a faithful capitalist judiciary, such horrible examples as Parry, Beveridge, and Sherman? We are certainly well favored in this respect, and when the working class raise their standard on the dome of the state Capitol at Indianapolis they can "point with pride" to the unolicited aid given us by those who are charged with the defense of capitalism.

The comrades are alive to the situation in this state and the summer months will witness the most active agitation yet waged. Speakers are being secured and routes arranged for this work and we are confident that we will maintain our ratio of increase and probably increase it. Organization must be the watchword with every Socialist and we should not rest content till we have every professional Socialist a member of the party.

Terre Haute, April 12.

One thing we have been sowing the seed for the ripening harvest. Socialist papers and literature, agitators and writers, scholars and thinkers have grown in number until they can be found in every city, town and village in North America. Our press extends into every state and territory, and turn which way it will, the capitalist class sees the doom of the present system written in an increased Socialist vote. All this has come to pass after years of work and trial on the part of men and women now living, and of brave souls who have passed away ere the dream they had in every city, town and village in North America. Our press extends into every state and territory, and turn which way it will, the capitalist class sees the doom of the present system written in an increased Socialist vote. All this has come to pass after years of work and trial on the part of men and women now living, and of brave souls who have passed away ere the dream they had in every city, town and village in North America.

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THE ONLY SALESPERSONS IN GREATER NEW YORK FOR THE CELEBRATED SOHMER PIANOS ARE LOCATED IN THE SOHMER BUILDING FIFTH AVENUE CORNER 854 STREET THE "SOHMER" HEADS THE LIST OF THE HIGHEST GRADE PIANOS

PREPARE FOR CAMPAIGN OF 1904.

Omaha, April 10, 1903.

To the members of the Socialist Party. Comrades—A great opportunity confronts the Socialist of this country. The rapidly growing sentiment for Socialism, the working-class tendency towards independent political action, the increasing number of industrial conflicts and strikes, the futility of Civic Federations and Arbitration Commissions to avert these conflicts and produce harmony between antagonistic forces represented by the working class and the capitalist class, the promulgation of decoy labor parties, the deterioration and breakup of the Democratic party, the abject failure of the Republican party to handle the trust question, and the open activity of the capitalist class in its opposition to Socialism—all these and hundreds of other evidences, apparent on every side, should teach us that the time has come when Socialists must prepare for the final struggle between Socialism and Capitalism.

For years we have been sowing the seed for the ripening harvest. Socialist papers and literature, agitators and writers, scholars and thinkers have grown in number until they can be found in every city, town and village in North America. Our press extends into every state and territory, and turn which way it will, the capitalist class sees the doom of the present system written in an increased Socialist vote. All this has come to pass after years of work and trial on the part of men and women now living, and of brave souls who have passed away ere the dream they had in every city, town and village in North America.

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less we have organizers, and we cannot have organizers so long as we are without the necessary funds to ensure their taking the field. While the regular revenue of the national office is growing steadily, yet part of this must go toward relieving the party of its legitimate debts, which have already been unsettled too long. These debts must be cleared as soon as possible, and we have already begun a systematic effort to bring this about. The Special Organizing Fund will be used to the best advantage of the entire movement. Many states, already organized, need assistance in order to revive delinquent locals, to encourage other locals, now working, and to organize new ones. If we can get the organized states into a condition where a steady revenue is assured the respective state committees and the National Committee, the states will be strengthened and provision thereby made for extensive operations in unorganized states. An Organizer must be sent through the Southern states, where interest is growing, and where organizations that will provide tours for speakers must be formed. Interstate tours for reliable organizers and speakers will be arranged. We intend to make the national office the headquarters for the best party lecturers, thus ensuring economy in every way, guaranteeing a systematic method of conducting our propaganda, and at the same time enabling this office to fulfill its real mission as the National Agitation Bureau of the Socialist Party.

All this can be achieved in a comparatively short time. Comrades, if you will help do it. We know that the demands upon your meagre resources are never ending, but we wish to impress you with the fact that \$1,000.00 expended for organizing purposes by this office within the next few months will return in increased revenue and membership many times over before the year closes; and we want, and should have, at least that sum by May 1. We do not wish to go to the expense of issuing subscription lists, but we request that locals get out such lists in their respective localities. There are many sympathizers who will subscribe to our fund if their attention is called to it.

Socialists of America, you must act now so that the Socialist Party can enter the national campaign next year fully equipped to meet the enemy in the first great national struggle between Socialism and Capitalism. Fraternal unity and cooperation are essential. WILLIAM MAILLY, National Secretary.

Approved: J. P. ROE, JOHN M. WORK, ERNEST UTERMANN, GEORGE H. TURNER, SAMUEL LOVETT, Local Quorum.

NOTE—Contributions will be received direct at this office by the National Secretary or through the various state committees. Acknowledgment will be made in the Socialist press. Prompt action is requested, and remember every penny counts.

HOW TO ORGANIZE LOCALS.

1. Five or more persons may organize a local branch, provided they subscribe to the platform and constitution of the Socialist Party, and sever their relations with all other political parties.

2. The officers to be elected are: (a) A Chairman at each meeting. (b) Recording Secretary. (c) Financial Secretary. (d) Organizer. (e) Literature Agent. (f) Order of business. (g) Reading of the minutes. (h) Admission of new members. (i) Communications and bills. (j) Report of Organizer. (k) Reports of committees. (l) Unfinished business. (m) New business.

3. Where a state is unorganized and a local is formed, a monthly payment computed on a basis of ten cents for each member, for the maintenance of the national organization, shall be paid to the National Secretary.

Where state organizations exist, this payment of ten cents should be made to the State Secretary with a formal application for charter. These funds can be raised by levying dues on the membership or otherwise, as the local may see fit.

5. A full report of the meeting in which organization was decided on, the names of persons participating, together with the ten cents for each member, should be sent with application for charter after receipt of which, upon approval of the National or State Committee, charter will be granted.

6. Each local branch should hold a meeting at least once a week, for the transaction of business or the discussion of political and economic questions.

7. Where no local exists, any person desiring to become a member of the Socialist Party may apply to the State Secretary in organized states or to the National Secretary in unorganized states, and will be enrolled as a member-at-large on payment of the monthly dues of ten cents.

—Socialism is an old story, but it's always new to somebody. Every time you tell it, you bring fresh life into the heart of some weary soul.—Coming Nation.

National Platform of the Socialist Party.

[Note.—In New York and Wisconsin this party is officially recognized under the name of the Social Democratic Party. The party emblem in New York is the Arm and Torch.]

The Socialist Party of America in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class and those sympathetic with it into a political party with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalist to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood of the working class, the rapid disappearance of the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The means of livelihood gives to the capitalist the power of the press, the pulpit, and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the interests of the working class are sacrificed for profit, war are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalist class may extend its domination abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

It is the same economic cause which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism. The capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and better system is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent actual conflicts, are alike interested in the maintenance of the present system of bourgeois private ownership of wealth, and all other parties which do not stand for the abolition of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class. The working class in their struggle against the collective ownership of the means of production, are in a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the proposed classes.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS. While we declare that the development of economic conditions is the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to the new system is a matter of development rather than of principle. We, therefore, consider it the duty of the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to improve their condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

1. The public ownership of all means of production, distribution, and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts, and cartels, and the abolition of all such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to the benefit of the whole to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, and the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the rate of profit, and to increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age. Funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, and to be levied upon the employees of the

SOCIALIST PROGRESS IN OLD MASSACHUSETTS.

By State Secretary Dan A. White.

In endeavoring to analyze the Socialist movement in Massachusetts, it is essential that a calm view of the situation should be taken, and as far as it is possible, the Socialist should separate himself from his enthusiasm and consider, not his hopes and desires, but the facts as they present themselves across the political and industrial horizon.

The greatly increased vote in this state at the last election was as much a cause for alarm to the capitalist parties as it was for pleasure to the Socialists. Immediately the results of the election were known, the capitalist press evinced a condition of mental hysteria, which evidently obtained even up to now. During the campaign, the newspapers in general pursued a policy of silence as far as our efforts were concerned. In many places we held meetings on the same evening as the older parties, who brought into the places men of great reputation in state and national politics. Their meetings were advertised parades with brass bands were held prior to the meetings, and the people were encouraged to attend the meetings by the music, passed by the halls in which the old party rallies were being held and attended the Socialist meetings. Numerous instances could be cited where, after the managers made this great effort, comparatively few were in attendance to hear these so-called heavyweights of the old parties, while the Socialist rallies were large and enthusiastic. On the following morning those interested in Socialism, after purchasing the capitalist papers, would look for a report of the Socialist meeting, only to find that it had been entirely ignored, while columns of space were given to the old party speakers. During all this time, the only admission or anything in the nature of an admission that the political atmosphere was chilly, as far as the old parties were concerned, was the repeated utterance that the people were no longer interested in attending political rallies, that the time for this form of campaign had gone by. Now all this was in line with the newspaper's policy of ignoring the trend towards Socialistic thought, and striving to hide from the people the evidence of this great and growing sentiment.

When, after election, the Socialist policy of silence had failed, they immediately began to find excuses for the increased vote for Socialism, and each paper found a different cause. The Boston Herald claimed that the reason was that the people desired to rebuke the Republican party for persisting in nominating for Governor the man who had served as Lieutenant-Governor, and that this accounted for the increased vote for our candidate. In another instance, John C. Chase, who they discovered that John Quincy Adams, our candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, had received six thousand more votes than Chase, they recognized that they had one more guess. Then they fell back on the coal situation, and said that "when that situation becomes normal we would need a microscope to find the Socialist vote."

In the spring elections just passed, nine cities and towns returned 1,920 votes for our ticket, or within 33 of us as many as the entire state vote six months ago—a gain of 102 per cent. over the vote of these same cities and towns at that time.

The organization is keeping pace with this increase in the vote, seven new locals having been chartered since January 1, while several of the older locals have nearly doubled their membership. In addition to the agitation incidental to municipal campaigns, the circulation of our petitions asking the State Legislature to pass an act establishing city and town municipal fuel yards has proven a splendid propaganda method, having opened the doors of thousands of homes to the introduction of Socialist literature and the discussion of the principles of public ownership. Best of all, it has proven the means of putting the movement in friendly relations with fully one-half of the trade unions in the state, and on a basis which precludes all possibility of fusion on our part, while at the same time minimizing the danger of an "independent labor party" movement on their part.

While not attempting a forecast of the future, being neither prophets nor the sons of prophets, we believe that the same policy of keeping out of debt, eternally and untriggingly working, and holding every inch we gain must, if persisted in, ultimately result in placing our movement in the front ranks of the party.

Already signs are not lacking that the conservatism that has been our greatest stumbling block in the past is crumbling under the pressure of economic necessity, and once shaken out of their time-worn ruts, our people here move rapidly.

Keep your eyes on Maine, comrades, for in 1904 we speak first, and it will be in no uncertain tones. We propose to stand in the forefront of the conflict in the near future.

[Note.—Maine holds her state elections in September, two months before the national elections.—Ed.]

DIVIDE ON LINES OF CLASS, NOT ON LINES OF RELIGION.

There is something wrong with the preacher or teacher who tells you that it is your duty to betray your fellow worker and his duty to betray you. Lead no ear to the poisonous counsel of the hypocrite who wants you to "down the church" or "sustain the church" at the ballot box. He is an emissary of that spawn of Satan, Capitalism. He has caused more woe and un-Christian hatred between the Catholic and Protestant workmen than a thousand sermons can overcome. He gained the ear of Judas and induced him to betray one of his own class for thirty pieces of silver.

Remember that a vote on religious lines is not a vote for or against any church, but a vote against the workmen and for the capitalist.—Industrial Labor Journal, Salt Lake City.

BUY UNION MADE GOODS.

SOCIALIST PARTY IN OHIO.

By State Secretary W. G. Critchlow.

The Socialist Party movement in Ohio has never been in better condition than at present. Never has there been more interest shown, more literature distributed, more speakers in harness, more organization work done, or more general activity shown than at the present time.

Two years ago we had but sixteen locals organized, and several of these were in bad standing, not having paid dues for some time. The work has been constantly pushed, even under the most adverse circumstances, until to-day there are forty-five locals and thirty-three branches in good standing, with a membership of over 1,000.

The organization has grown from a mere weakling with a very lax business method to a recognized party with a cohesive organization working in harmony upon a most orderly and systematic basis. A permanent state headquarters is maintained with a secretary who devotes his time to the duties imposed upon him. The work at headquarters has increased to such an extent that an assistant will soon be a necessity and already the correspondence amounts to over one thousand letters each month in addition to the many postals and packages that are daily sent out. Thousands of pieces of literature are handled weekly and forwarded to the various parts of the state, either upon orders from organized points or sent into unorganized territory with a view to getting new locals started.

One of the obstacles that we have had to contend with is the existence of the S. L. P. Although they amount to very little here, yet they act as a very real hindrance to the Socialist movement in this state. All is grist coming to our mill.

SOCIALISM IN MAINE.

By State Secretary F. E. Irish.

The breath of progress is abroad in the land, and that even conservative Maine feels its bracing influence is evidenced by the rise and steady growth of the Socialist movement in this state.

First entering the political arena in the state campaign of 1900, with a vote that year of 632, which was increased in the national election of November 6, 1902, by the vote of 1,273 votes in 1902—an advance of more than 200 per cent in two years. Our party membership increased in about the same ratio.

But gratifying as the results obtained with limited resources, imperfect organization, and secrecy of energetic workers may have been for the past two years, the change in public sentiment and increased growth of the movement during the first quarter of 1903 is still more satisfactory.

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The organization is keeping pace with this increase in the vote, seven new locals having been chartered since January 1, while several of the older locals have nearly doubled their membership. In addition to the agitation incidental to municipal campaigns, the circulation of our petitions asking the State Legislature to pass an act establishing city and town municipal fuel yards has proven a splendid propaganda method, having opened the doors of thousands of homes to the introduction of Socialist literature and the discussion of the principles of public ownership. Best of all, it has proven the means of putting the movement in friendly relations with fully one-half of the trade unions in the state, and on a basis which precludes all possibility of fusion on our part, while at the same time minimizing the danger of an "independent labor party" movement on their part.

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BUY UNION MADE GOODS.

THE ATTACK ON THE TRADE UNIONS.

By Max S. Hayes.

During the last couple of years the trade unions of this country have experienced such wonderful growth and so increased their power and influence that it is quite natural that they are made the object of assault by the whole capitalist class.

In every industrial center in the land the organized workers have wrested concessions from the enemy in the shape of higher wages, reduced working time and improved conditions in the shop and factory.

The advantages gained by labor and the fear that the workers will struggle for still more has made the capitalist class apprehensive, and well-planned moves are being made to check the growth and destroy the power of the proletarian army. In fact, the hustle and bustle in the camp of capital resembles a panic. Organizers are rushing hither and thither and forming local Civic Federations to arbitrate and compromise questions that arise between the two hostile classes; so-called Economic Leagues are sending out tons of literature to "educate the work-people" and show the impracticability of Socialism and the unreasonableness of unions; more organizers are hurriedly spring from city to city to combine the capitalists into Manufacturers' Associations; the heavyweight editors are writing piles of stuff meant to "mold public opinion" against unions, strikes and lockouts; the sudden affections that is shown by Brother Capital and his newspaper and pulpitering apologists for the "non-union" and the "independent" workmen and strike breakers and scabs; the starting up of spy agencies and information bureaus that employ a regiment of conscienceless minions to sneak into unions and betray their business—all these daily developments are signs of the times that point out the fact that the class struggle is becoming more bitter and so plain that the most obtuse mind can grasp its significance.

The trade unionists in every industrial center have had opportunities to learn the damage that has been caused by the reckless burning of injunctions, on the part of the capitalist courts, at a critical point in a strike or boycott. But if the attacks of the judiciary have created havoc with their injunctions, it was only a mild skirmish compared to the onslaught that is coming. For a year or two the diplomats of capitalism have been telling us that the labor organizations ought to be incorporated so that they might be legal institutions and have a standing in court. They refused to be ambushed. They felt that they would be dragged into court and their funds confiscated in damage suits, which would mean their complete undoing for obvious reasons.

But now the profit pirates are inaugurating a campaign of confiscation against the unions of this country. They are suing unincorporated labor organizations. As we have seen, the unionists of Rutland, Vt., were indicted out of \$2,000 damages for striking and picketing a scab shop, and there are also test cases about to be made in Waterbury, Conn., Dayton, O., and several other places.

When the Taft-Vale railway decision was rendered in England, in which the railroad workers' union in that country was held for \$113,000 damages, the American capitalists received their cue. The precedent established across the water was eagerly seized here and in the future we shall have to face the new issue.

In the eyes of capitalism and its courts property rights are more sacred than human rights. Labor, owning no railroads, shops, factories and land, has no standing in court. Just as the capitalist can secure an injunction against the worker and the latter is denied the right of obtaining an injunction against the former, so the capitalist will be given the opportunity of suing the union, but the union cannot sue the employer. In other words, if the men strike and boycott a shop, they will be made to sweat; but if the capitalist locks out his employees the latter can suffer and starve and have no redress. It's a case of "heads I win, tails you lose" from the employer's standpoint.

Well, since the demand for labor for protective laws has been met with contempt by Congress and the various State Legislatures, there is nothing else left to do but "turn the rascals out." Labor is the vast majority and the organized part of labor ought to take the lead to make good use of the power of the stronghold of capitalism—the governing institutions—whenever it sees fit.

The trade unionist should join the Socialist party, the new abolition party that will emancipate the wage-slaves, and prepare to take the machinery that makes, interprets and enforces judgment laws into their own control. The splendid gains made by the Socialist party last fall and the still further increases in the municipal elections this spring is proof that the progressive and thinking workmen are rapidly falling in line with the young political giant who will contest every inch of ground with the capitalist Republican and Democratic parties. Every new Socialist Party vote is one step nearer the co-operative commonwealth in which there will be no injunctions, damage suits, union-smashing associations, spy agencies, etc. These evils are born of capitalism, but they will be uprooted.

Cleveland, O., April 17.

THE MEANING OF MAY.

How is it that in the spring the workman's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of strikes? Whatever the reason may be, it is a fact that four-fifths of the great popular movements have begun in April, May or June.

The French revolution began in May, 1789. The battle of Lexington was on April 19, and Bunker Hill on June 17. The Chartist movement of England came to a head on April 12, and the great Labor Day of Europe has for centuries been the first of May.

Winter, especially to the poor, has always meant hardship. It is the season when the struggle for life is the most strenuous and fatal. The oppressed peasant or wage-worker shrinks from any trial of strength with his economic antagonists in the inclement winter months, when failure would most likely mean hunger and cold.

But with the spring comes hope. "I feel as though I were budding out," said a New York social reformer recently to a friend, on one of the lamblike days of March. The push of the summer's life is felt not only in the trees and the flower buds, but in the hearts of men as well; and therefore thousands of workers who have hitherto endured what they knew to be unfair treatment instinctively refuse in the springtime to endure it any longer.—The Labor Union, Toledo, O.

—For information in regard to the Socialist Party, Massachusetts address: Dan A. White, State Secretary, 630 Washington street, Boston.

—For information about the Socialist movement in Pennsylvania address: Fred W. Long, State Secretary, Socialist Headquarters, 1305 Arch street, Philadelphia.

—For information about the Social Democratic Party in the state of New York address: Henry L. Slobodin, State Secretary, 60 Second avenue, New York City.

—The capitalist's idea of harmony is absolute obedience on the part of the laborers to the demands and commands of the capitalists.—Coming Nation.

LOUIS D. BEHREN, Manufacturer of UNION-MADE HAVANA CIGARS, 189 WILLIAM STREET, Opposite the office of The Worker, NEW YORK. MAIL ORDERS PROMPTLY ATTENDED TO.

PARTY DIRECTORY.

Following is a directory of the national and state and territorial organizations of the Socialist Party (known in New York as the Social Democratic Party) and of the local organizations in Greater New York. Every reader of The Worker who is not already a member of the party organization is urged to join at once. The party officers named will gladly answer queries and send out places of meeting or give other information needed by those wishing to join the party.

What's to be done? Well, since the demand for labor for protective laws has been met with contempt by Congress and the various State Legislatures, there is nothing else left to do but "turn the rascals out." Labor is the vast majority and the organized part of labor ought to take the lead to make good use of the power of the stronghold of capitalism—the governing institutions—whenever it sees fit.

LOCAL NEW YORK. Acting organizer—W. J. F. Hanemann. City Executive Committee meets on the second and fourth Wednesday evenings of each month at 125 West 125th street, New York City.

JOS. FISCHL, Artist and Photographer, 1442 Third Ave., NEW YORK. Photos of Children and Clubs a Specialty.

OLD HOMESTEAD GARDEN, 3rd AVE., betw. 90 and 90st St. A superb Park located in the Center of the City for PIC-NICS, OUTINGS, CONCERTS, etc. Liberal conditions to Societies. LARGE NEW PLATFORM. During the summer season every evening.

Grand Concerts and Vandeville Show. Admission free.

CHAS. KRIEGER Proprietor.

Westchester Park. Grand Opening Sunday, May 3, 1903.

Dancing Commences at 2 p. m.

ADMISSION FREE. Committees are invited to call, as good days are open for PICNICS, OUTINGS, Etc.

Union Beer for Outings at \$4.50 a Keg.

It is easy to reach the Park. Take trolley "L" to 177th street, then with trolley direct to Park, or by West Farms, Mount Vernon and South Boulevard trolley from 120th street and Third avenue or 135th street and Eighth avenue to Third avenue. Combination fare, "L" and trolley, 8 cents.

ERNST SULZER, Proprietor.

GRAND CENTRAL PALACE. BALLS.

Call, write, or telephone us (Telephone Call 165-38th) for open dates season 1903-1904. Beautifully finished and illuminated, with stages and every modern equipment, at \$75.00, \$150.00, \$250.00 and \$350.00, according to size, dates selected and terms. Committees are invited to call and inspect. Office hours 8 A. M. to 6 P. M. Evenings only by appointment.

MONTGOMERY MAZE, GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, Lexington Avenue, 43d and 44th Streets, New York.

SOCIALISM IN NEW YORK.

There is probably no portion of the United States... There is the direct and indirect influence of political corruption in the city. Philadelphia, Chicago, and St. Louis have won unenviable notoriety through their bosses and hoodlums...

that by advancing beyond the S. L. P. we put the Arm and Torch of the Social Democratic Party henceforth in the third column of the ballot, which will probably counterbalance, in the future, the last of the disadvantages enumerated above.

a short time when the rank and file will become educated along the lines of their class interests and will vote as they strike—for their own interests. The Labor Lyceum has been very well attended throughout the season and has been productive of much good.

Since the national convention in 1901 resulted in a united Socialist Party in Connecticut, the party has grown—slowly, perhaps, but steadily—until practically all the available Socialists in the state are now united with it.

SOCIALISM IN CONNECTICUT. By State Secretary W. E. White. Important CLOTHING OFFERS. The WORLD MOVES. One-man tailoring has had to give way to organization, to improved machinery and a system which requires that each man be specially trained to do one part well.

PARTY NOTES.

Frank and Kate O'Hare started for the west on Monday, April 27. They will address meetings in Johnston, April 27; Utica, April 30; Rochester, May 3, and Niagara Falls, May 4; on their way to Ohio where they will speak from May 5 to 10, and in Indiana from May 20 to 31, after which they will spend June and July touring Michigan under the direction of State Organizer G. J. Lamb.

A large and interesting meeting of Local Trenton, N. J., was held Friday evening, April 24, with Howard W. Caldwell, of Philadelphia, as speaker. His address was one of the most effective in the series, five new members being gained, beside a liberal collection of much literature sold.

Walter Thomas Mills will speak on "Capital and Labor," Friday evening, May 8, in the new Auditorium, Orange street, Newark, N. J., under the auspices of Branch Seven, Local Essex County.

Comrade McGrady spoke to a well attended meeting in Buffalo last Sunday. Father Heiter, who has been talking large against Socialism when he thought McGrady was not coming, was in the audience, but sat silent under McGrady's challenge to discussion.

Comrades of Stamford Springs, Conn., write enthusiastically of J. W. Brown's address there last Saturday.

Comrade Putney of Somerville, Mass., writes that the McGrady meeting there last week, the first large Socialist meeting ever held there, was very successful. The increase of the vote in Somerville last year was 800 per cent. Another such increase would carry the city. The Somerville and Cambridge locals celebrate May Day together in G. A. R. Hall, Cambridge, with Dr. H. A. Gibbs and Thos. A. Scott as speakers. The Somerville comrades are making a fight for the right to hold open-air meetings.

Local Luzerne County, Pa., will hold its next regular meeting at headquarters, 16 S. Main street, Wilkes Barre, Tuesday evening, May 5. There are still a large number of Socialists in the county who are not members of the party, many of whom are expected to join at this meeting.

State Secretary Holman of Minnesota reports two new locals, at Badger and Waterville. At the latter place Carl D. Thompson addressed a large meeting and local Socialists speak enthusiastically of his work. Thompson will spend a couple of weeks in Iowa and Nebraska, and then resume the agitation in Minnesota.

National Lecturer and Organizer John C. Chase will close his Texas tour on May 6, and after speaking in Maricopa, I. T., on May 7, will enter Oklahoma, where he will spend two or three weeks, returning by way of Arkansas and Southern Missouri to Tennessee.

National Organizer M. W. Wilkins opened his work in Oregon at Ashland on April 10, speaking to a large meeting at Medford on the 17th, and Gold Hill on the 18th. On Saturday, the 19th, at Grant's Pass, the Opera House was packed to hear Wilkins debate with two Republican and Democratic lawyers. Comrade Ingie, candidate for Congress, reports that "Wilkins mopped the earth with both of them, and the consensus of opinion was all together in our favor." Wilkins reports strong sentiment and Socialists eager for work.

The organized opposition on the part of the capitalist corporations is partly the cause of this change of attitude on the part of the unionists towards the working-class political movement. In Connecticut, as in other states, a series of anti-union suits for conspiracy and injunctive legislation has been aimed at the labor organizations until the fact is becoming evident to the dullest of union men that the government is an important force in the hands of their opponents.

These events caused the trade unions in some localities to turn their attention to independent labor politics. Thus, over a year ago, as a result of an injunction and conspiracy suit against the unions in Ansonia, the unions at that time, although the men elected were incapable of rising beyond the influences of old-party customs and, therefore accomplished nothing of material benefit. Encouraged by this success in Ansonia, the trade unions made similar attempts in other towns, but as all of these movements were invaded and captured and controlled by capitalist politicians or middle-class reformers they have all resulted in dismal failure and the movement may be said to have about run its course.

Many of the union men who have thus been disappointed in their hope for a union labor party, and who were hitherto the experience to a deeper study of Social Problems are now joining the Socialist Party.

Meanwhile, capitalist organization continues along the lines which the Ansonia strike began and the unions may gain more experience in the near future. The suit against the Ansonia union for damages under the common law developed weaknesses in that mode of legal procedure, and as contests with labor unions grew greater and more frequent so capitalist unions were organized to oppose them.

The National Association of Manufacturers has been formed and a score or more of firms among the largest employers of labor in Connecticut have already become members of it.

A bill to force the incorporation of labor unions was introduced in the state legislature and another placing heavy penalties for boycotting, picketing, and other forms of "conspiracy" against employers was afterward substituted for it. This measure, the Tracy Bill, provides disfranchisement of workers for one of the penalties for its violation.

In some towns movements have been started by employers to establish joint arbitration boards with the unions on the plan of the Civic Federation. In New Haven this move was started by a firm which is a member of the National Manufacturers' Association just mentioned. There seems to be some prospect that this move will be successful, and if so it will prove an eye-opener for the unions.

A storm of protest from unions all over the state has been aroused by the Tracy Bill and many delegates have been sent to Hartford to protest to the legislature against its passage. It is illustrative of the progress made by socialism in the unions that the delegate sent by the New Haven Trades Council, the strongest central body in the state, is a prominent member of the Socialist Party.

Conditions in Connecticut, therefore, seem to be very favorable for our party's growth. It only remains to take advantage of the opportunity. The time is ripe for the Comrade J. W. Brown has offered his services to the party as organizer and a call for contributions to supplement the resources of the State Committee and the locals will be issued soon. It is confidently expected that the work of agitation and organization will be taken up early in June and continued for four months or more.

A continuous series of open-air meetings will be conducted, and special attention will be given to the wide circulation of literature and our party papers. Connecticut will be abreast of Massachusetts before next election if there is any virtue in hard work.

The committee appointed at the previous meeting to investigate the conduct of Organizer Wood and Comrades Searing, Wilkins, and Bowerman in connection with the "New York Socialist and Trade Union Review" gave its report, recommending that Searing be exonerated in so far as his action as attorney was concerned, and that Wood and Bowerman be severely censured, and that Wood be summarily dismissed from office. The report was carried, after extended discussion, by a vote of 36 to 6. Fuller account of the meeting is deferred. In order not to encroach on the space of the May Day Number.

The May Day Conference met last Saturday evening and perfected arrangements for the mass meeting to be held in Madison Square on Friday. It was reported that Cigar Makers' Union No. 90 had appropriated \$5 toward the expenses and other organizations were requested to contribute.

Treasurer Haunemann of Local New York acknowledges the receipt of \$5 from the 24th A. D., Br. 11, and \$3 from the 11th A. D. to apply on party debts.

The class studying political economy with Comrade Fieldman as instructor will meet next Monday at Comrade Bartholomew's, 412 St. Nicholas avenue. A full attendance is requested and anyone interested is welcome to come.

At the last meeting of the Kings County Committee it was decided that outdoor meetings be held weekly at Fifth avenue and Fourteenth street, Nevins street and Atlantic avenue, Grant and Rodney, and in the vicinity of the Labor Lyceum; if a permit can be had Saturday afternoon meetings will be held also in the Park Plaza. The 20th A. D. reported as opposed to the formation of the proposed New City Executive, but held that, should it be formed, it should be only for the purpose of calling a convention for the "center city. This district begins sending fifty copies of The Worker weekly to enrolled independent voters. Among the applications for membership to the party was one from a member of the regular army. Strong objection was made to his admission and the matter was laid over until next meeting.

At the last meeting of the 6th and 10th A. D. it was decided to print two thousand leaflets for distribution, to organize volunteer work in the election districts, and to hold weekly open-air meetings after May 1.

The New York Socialist Literary Society opens its new headquarters at 232 E. Broadway on May 2. The parlor floor will be used for reading-rooms and lectures, and the basement for games and conversation. Friends and sympathizers are invited to call.

At the last meeting of the 14th A. D. the financial report for the last quarter showed a balance on hand of \$13.64.

The Agitation Committee reported will be announced next week. All readers of The Worker in this district are invited to join the party organization, whose headquarters are at 238 E. Tenth street, and assist in general agitation and propaganda work for Socialism. The next meeting will be held on Thursday evening, May 14.

The Social Democratic Educational Club of the 8th A. D. moves on May 1 into larger headquarters at 250 Broome street. Lectures will be held every Saturday and Sunday evenings. May 9 and 10 will be a sort of "house-warming," with good speakers and music.

MILLS IN NEW YORK. Walter Thomas Mills will speak in Cooper Union on Tuesday evening, May 5, under the auspices of the New York Socialist Literary Society. An admission fee of 10 cents will be charged to cover expenses. Comrades who have had tickets to sell are requested to settle for them at the hall; put the money in a sealed envelope, and hand to the committee.

You can't expect to have honest men under a dishonest system.—Coming Nation.

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