

THE DELUSION OF OPPORTUNISM.

The "Fringe" of the Socialist Movement and the Philosophy of Colonel Sellers Applied to Politics.

By W. J. Ghent.

Outside the Socialist Party—outside even the broader movement which includes the 408,000 voters who cast their ballots for the Socialist ticket, is a considerable mass of men who are more or less inclined to Socialist principles. What may be the numbers...

The Paltry Exceptions.

There are exceptions, it has been pointed out to me. But we do not generalize from exceptions. There are certain facts, I am told. True, we have certain facts, but how utterly inadequate they are to the real needs of the operative is known to every one.

Among the units of this Fringe are certain men who stand out as the formulators of its thought and the advisers of its policy. They are the self-confessed "practicals." They are bent, above all, as they say, on "getting things done." Nothing so visionary as supporting a minor party standing for the principles they believe in, will do for them.

What Can They Show?

That is the way with our many C. S. Sellers of the Fringe. That their immortal prototype never sold a single bottle of his wonderful eye-water made no difference whatever to his unquenchable faith; and that his modern followers rarely or never make any advance toward the goal they profess to seek, makes as little difference to them.

A Vital Distinction.

So with the Chicago verdict for municipal ownership of street railways. Judge Dunne's address on election night has already prepared the public for a long delay, and it is not unlikely that it will have to wait. But even if it does not—even if municipal ownership is attained—it will be but a petty step in the direction of the Socialist goal.

The Key to the Riddle.

I can say this with the greater conviction because it was for years a view I opposed—a view to which I have been brought against my will by experience and study. I have been, for more than eleven years, a professed Socialist. The temper of the old Socialist Labor Party made it impossible for me to support that body, and thus led me to look for advancement toward Socialism in the work of "reform" labor and citizens' movements.

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA.

A Sketch of the Present Situation in the Country Which Now Commands the Attention of Thinking Men the World Over.

By Morris Hillquit.

Russia holds the center of the stage in international politics to-day. Her fortunes, or rather misfortunes, in the far East and her troubles at home alternately engage the attention of the civilized world.

Bobel's Statement.

The speech of August Bobel at the Amsterdam Congress last summer vividly set forth the policy of the Socialist Party admirably. Censuring the laboring class for its parliamentary group, he said: "However much we may envy you French on account of your republic, and however much we may wish it, we do not think it is worth while to let our heads be cracked for it."

An Unstable Mixture.

The Russian population is by no means homogeneous. The Russians proper compose only a little over one-half, while the remaining half consists of a conglomeration of nations and races, no less than 110 in number. Of these several are nations who in the past have had their own governments and whose territories have been forcibly annexed to the empire, such as the Finns, Poles, Armenians, the population of the Baltic provinces and others.

Getting Things Done.

That, I take it, is the true Socialist policy, applicable alike here and in Germany, or wherever there is a Socialist party. And if we would really get things done—real things, things worth while—we must stand solidly by that movement which is based on an understanding of the material factors of life—based upon the historic class struggle, and having for its aim the complete reorganization of society.

The New Proletariat.

Next to the class of peasants the strongest class numerically are the factory workers. This class is of recent origin. Russia's industries are as yet in their infancy, and whatever there is of them has developed within the last decades. The class of industrial workers in Russia is in its first generation. It has had no time to develop its own type or class characteristics as the workmen of more progressive countries have.

A Unique Battle.

And it was a most unique battle, a battle in which a few thousand young men and women found themselves opposed by the combined might of the strongest autocratic government of the world. The battle was inaugurated by the Socialists on peaceful lines—her task was confined to the herculean task of educating and enlightening the peasantry. But their peaceful propaganda was proclaimed an act of high treason by the despotic government of the Tsar and was punished with inhuman cruelty.

Militarism.

The autocratic government of the Tsar is supported by the two most sinister forces in Russia—the army and the bureaucracy. Military service is compulsory for every man of the age of twenty-one years capable of bearing arms. The period of active service lasts five years, after which the soldier remains on the "reserve list" for many years more.

A New Social Force.

In the meanwhile, however, a new social force developed in Russia—the industrial working class. The last decades have witnessed an unprecedented industrial development in the domain of the Tsar. The introduction of modern methods of production and communication gave rise to numerous large modern factories employing millions of workmen in the different parts of the empire under conditions substantially similar to those of the modern countries of Europe and America.

The Early Revolutionists.

The peculiar social conditions of Russia account for the character of the revolutionary movement produced by that country. The modern revolutionary movement in Russia had its inception towards the end of the sixties and beginning of the seventies of the last century. That was the time when the famous International had reached the pinnacle of its power and influence in all progressive countries of Europe; when the German workmen under the still fresh influence of Lassalle's magnetic agitation were building up a powerful political movement; when the proletarians of France were giving to the world an inspiring example of heroism and devotion on the barricades of Paris; when the International Socialist movement was in the spring days of its career, haunted and weak in numbers, but radiant with hope and already strong in the conviction of the inevitable victory to come.

Class Struggle Destroys Itself.

If we announce that we will remove the present class state, then, in order to meet the objections of our opponents, we must also say that the Social Democracy, while it contends against the class state through the removal of the present form of production, will destroy the class struggle itself. Let the means of production be the possession of the community; then the proletariat is no longer a class—as it is in the bourgeoisie; then classes will cease; there will remain only society, a society of equals—true human society, unmarked and unmarked by class.

War and the Revolution.

More than once in modern history has a war served to rehabilitate a discredited tyrant and to strengthen his rule over a discontented people. The government of a nation engaged in war is always the principal beneficiary of the morbid and exaggerated patriotism engendered by it, and a successful war as a rule leads new prestige and power to the government. But the sword of war is a double edged and dangerous weapon for those who wield it. Just as success in the field of battle may save an otherwise shaky throne, so will failure hasten its downfall.

Tsardom.

This complicated social structure is held together by the one great power in Russia—the autocratic government of the Tsar. Politically the Tsar is the only real factor in Russia. All legislative administration of justice and regulation of the social and political affairs of the vast country in the last instance depend on his sanction, and the life, liberty and well being of one hundred and thirty-five million human beings are at the mercy of his individual will or whim. The arbitrary acts and decisions of the Tsar are the supreme law of the country and there is no remedy or appeal from them.

THE DREAM THAT MUST COME TRUE.

By John Spargo.

A profound faith in the ultimate realization of human brotherhood and comradeship is implied by the very name we Social Democrats bear. Good old Bronterre O'Brien, who in the rich mist of his powerful mind coined the phrase we now so proudly write for name upon our banners, sounded the very depths of our philosophy and sealed the heights of our faith when he declared, now more than sixty years ago, that brotherhood could never be realized in the world until liberty reigned in the social and that liberty could never reign in the world until the system permitting private ownership of socially necessary things was destroyed.

So when we to-day declare for the social ownership of all socially necessary things; when we denounce the system which makes private property master of the common life; when we urge our demands that the means of the common life, produced as they are by the common labor and experience of the world, be owned in common, we are more than a mere political party aiming at political supremacy. We are the apostles of the great universal religious impulse, the faith of humanity that the brotherhood of man shall yet be universally recognized.

How vast the array of dreamers! Time passed the workers of the world in Israel dreamed such a dream or saw such a vision. He saw through the centuries, the time to be "when the swords shall be beaten into plowshares and the spears into pruning hooks." He told of his vision, but men derided and cried out, "Dreamer of vain dreams!" The number of the prophets grew but slowly. The lonely Nazarene, homeless and poor; Campanella, the Italian monk; Sir Thomas More, Saint Simon and Fourier, Robert Owen and the brave German tailor, Wilhelm Weitling. So the line of the "dreamers" grew and spanned the centuries.

But not till the clarion call of the great twin spirits, Marx and Engels, called upon the workers of the world to unite did we realize that the power to make the vision rest rested entirely with ourselves. Now how the army of dreamers has grown! And how it grows! It is no longer the dream of the lone prophet or the poet. It is the dream now of millions in all lands, of all creeds, of all tongues. It is the dream of nations now. And as Lowell truly sings: "The dreams that nations dream come true!"

Ye, such dreams "come true." No power can prevent the fulfillment of the "dream" of the world's brain and heart. Our red flag, symbolizing as it does our workmanship and fraternity and the seas of martyr blood shed for the cause, shall yet float in triumph from every state capitol in the land. Aye, and from the capitol at Washington, shall proud flags be as waving from across seas, as like emblems of the Socialist triumph of our comrades in Europe and Asia, Africa and Australasia. "Softly sweet as living springs, Mighty hopes are blowing wide; Passionate prefigurings, Of a world revived, Dawning thoughts that ere they set, Shall possess the Ages yet!"

THE HYMN OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

This hymn was composed by Father Gapon some months ago and set to music of the "Marsellaise." It is sung generally throughout Russia by the workmen. Especially has it been used by the strikers. It was printed in England in the magazine, "Free Russia," published by exiled Russians. A week and trampled sons of pain. Who plead with patience thro' the night. Who pray for happiness in vain, And wait the coming of the light, Cease this depraved humility!

ANOTHER IRROUOUS.

The Rialto Theater, at the corner of Broadway and Thirty-ninth street, was totally destroyed in a fierce conflagration which began at nine-thirty yesterday evening. It is estimated that seven hundred and fifty members of the audience perished, amid smoke and flame. The second act of Manager Clawhanger's great spectacular production of "Skirtless Land" had barely begun when the barefaced Sisters, in their great bareback specialty, when Miss Gladys Symmetrical, the well-known show girl, observed that the asbestos curtain was in flames. With rare presence of mind the young lady uttered the word "Fire!" at the top of her lungs, and this, although she had never played a speaking part.

CLASS STRUGGLE DESTROYS ITSELF.

If we announce that we will remove the present class state, then, in order to meet the objections of our opponents, we must also say that the Social Democracy, while it contends against the class state through the removal of the present form of production, will destroy the class struggle itself. Let the means of production be the possession of the community; then the proletariat is no longer a class—as it is in the bourgeoisie; then classes will cease; there will remain only society, a society of equals—true human society, unmarked and unmarked by class. For that reason it has been stated in the plainest manner that we should not substitute one class rule for another. Only malice and thoughtlessness could incidentally put such a wrong construction on our meaning; for, in order to rule, I must have possession in the means of production. Private property in the means of production is preliminary condition for rule, and Socialism removes personal private property in the means of production. Rule and exploitation in every form must be done away with, men become free and equal, not master and servant, but comrades. This Theatrical Napoleon added the interesting information that the back seats in a theater are always the most difficult to sell. He believes that the fact that those who occupied back seats last night escaped with their lives will make such seats more popular in future, and that the fire will thus work good to the whole theatrical business.—Life.

The Worker. AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY (Known in New York State as the Social Democratic Party.) PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT 124 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK, By the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association. P. O. BOX 1512 Telephone Call: 302 John.

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS. Invariably in Advance. One year, \$2.00. Six months, \$1.25. Three months, \$0.75. Single copies, 25 cents. Bulk Rates: 100 copies, \$15.00. 250 copies, \$35.00. 500 copies, \$65.00. 1000 copies, \$125.00. Weekly Bundles: 5 per week, one year, \$1.25. 10 per week, one year, \$2.50. 15 per week, one year, \$3.75. 20 per week, one year, \$5.00.

Address all business communications, and draft money orders, checks and drafts payable to The Worker. Communications concerning editorial or editorial department should be addressed to the Editor, The Worker, 124 William Street, New York. Advertisements should be addressed to the Advertising Department, The Worker, 124 William Street, New York.

All communications should be written with ink and on one side of the paper; words should not be abbreviated; every letter should bear the writer's name and address; and matter should be sent in clear, concise, and consistent language. Communications which do not comply with these requirements are likely to be returned unopened. Rejected manuscripts will be returned unless stamps are enclosed for return postage. Acknowledgment is made by changing the number on the wrapper, and the following receipt is sent:

As The Worker goes to press on Wednesday, correspondents sending news should reach this office by Monday, whenever possible. Complaints about the business or editorial management of the paper should be addressed to the Board of Directors, Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, 124 William Street, New York.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post Office on April 9, 1901.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE. The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic Party of New York) has passed through its third general election in its history, and has secured its best victory for many years.

1900 (Presidential)..... 96,961 1902 (State and Congressional)..... 229,782 1904 (Presidential)..... 408,230

In the state of New York, on account of certain provisions of the election laws, the Socialist Party is officially recognized under the management of the Socialist Party, and its emblem is the Arm and Torch.

Another Object-Lesson for the Opportunists.

The Supreme Court of California has declared unconstitutional the portion of the Los Angeles city charter providing for the recall of aldermen by a vote initiated by a certain proportion of the constituents.

There is nothing surprising in this. To us the only matter for surprise has been that such a test was not made when the new charter was first adopted. That the decision would be against the right of recall, whenever the test was made, we have never doubted.

Control of elected representatives by their constituents is quite at variance with the prevailing theory of constitutional law and equally at variance with the interests of the dominant class, for whom and by whom that legal theory has been developed.

The theory is that the representative, during his term of office, is absolutely independent, responsible only to his individual conscience for his use of the power delegated to him. This theory was well adapted, perhaps, to the earlier days of capitalism; in the present stage of capitalist development, with its sharp class divisions and conflict of class interests, this antiquated theory serves as a very useful mask for the real control of the representative, not by the voting rank and file, but by the political leaders, acting as agents for more or less closely organized property interests.

The Supreme Court of California has simply reaffirmed a well established theory and thereby parried a weak attack on property government.

The decision should serve as an object lesson for the opportunist reformers and self-styled "practical Socialists" who are never tired of reproaching us party Socialists for our strictness and aggressiveness and holding up this clause in the Los Angeles charter as an example of the progress to be made by their canny step-at-a-time policy. Long experience teaches, and this decision but confirms the lesson, that abuses and privileges are not abolished by the free consent of their beneficiaries, the powers of government are not exercised impartially to carry out abstract justice or to further progress according to any sweetly reasonable plan, but are used by the dominant class to serve its interests until they are wrested from its hands by a conscious and resolute effort of the oppressed class. This is as true of the judicial power as of the legislative or the executive. In order to effect any improvement in political and economic conditions it is not sufficient to get it enacted into law; it is necessary also to see that the interpreters of law are men disposed to uphold it and that the administrators of law are men disposed to carry it into action. Moreover, no specific partial reform, such as this of the "right of recall," can safely be considered by itself alone. Our masters know very well how to turn laws and constitutions inside-out, how to reverse their effects, as well as how to declare them unconstitutional or frankly violate them.

The opportunist reformers, granting their full sincerity, are really most unskillful. They think they can escape from the actual struggle of class inter-

ests by denying its existence. They expect to get reforms at the hands of those whose interest is all opposed to any real reform. They expect to get more by asking for a little than by demanding much. They expect to get more by putting power into the hands of their enemies than by using their own power. And they expect to be able to prune off social evils one by one without touching the cause from which they spring. The result is, they get almost nothing, and the little they do get is either taken away again or else perverted from a progressive into a reactionary measure.

A reader of The Worker says: "Except, possibly, for the high salaries that the officials get, I cannot see the difference between the current municipal ownership and Socialism." Our friend must think again. A city under Republican or Democratic rule issues interest-bearing bonds for \$35,000,000 and thereby establishes what is called municipal ownership of a subway that costs \$28,000,000 to build, and grants a corporation the right of managing the business for seventy-five years and making profits on it. The bondholders get a million and a half or two million a year in interest, and the managing company gets about eight millions a year in profits—all for doing nothing. The workmen who build the tunnel and run the trains get subsistence wages. That is municipal ownership as understood by the Democratic party in New York City, and the Republican party in the state. It does not fit in with Socialist ideas. Or suppose the city really builds and runs its own subway and issues \$35,000,000 bonds to do it. That is old-party municipal ownership in its best form. Still, there is that clear profit of a million and a half or two millions a year in interest forever and ever—new bonds are issued as old ones expire—going to non-workers at the expense of workers. That is not Socialism. It is just capitalism with the city acting as manager and collector for the capitalists. Does our friend see the difference?

NOTE, COMMENT AND ANSWER. In accordance with our promise to make this issue of The Worker distinctly a propaganda number, to the exclusion, so far as possible, of routine and controversial matter, we have postponed publication of two or three letters and of certain intended editorial remarks upon Comrade Berger's attitude and the questions raised thereby. This matter will appear in our issue of May 6.

The news dispatches bring us this rather astonishing, somewhat amusing, and, on the whole, very instructive item: Union hours for monkeys when owned by hand organ artists is one of the provisions of a bill passed by the Nebraska Senate. The measure in general prohibits cruelty to animals, and was introduced at the request of the Nebraska Anti-Cruelty Society. Its authors, however, were prompted to include the provision concerning monkeys by the methods of a gang of hand-organ grinders, who plied their vocation at the State Fair last year, using monkeys in gathering of coin from twelve to sixteen hours a day. Hereafter, any organ grinder working a monkey more than eight hours will be subject to a heavy fine.

And this comes simultaneously, he it noted, with a decision from the Supreme Court of the United States that a law fixing ten (ten) as the maximum workday for bakers is unconstitutional. It is dollars to doughnuts that if the Monkeys' Eight-Hour Law of Nebraska goes to the Supreme Court it will be upheld. There is no theory of contract between the Italian and the monkey, so it is not "paternalism" for the state to interfere. But a law to protect human workmen is an infringement on the inalienable right of the capitalist to extort the best terms he can from the workingman. Oh, that we were all monkeys! Or else that more of the working class knew how to vote like men.

The San Francisco "Argonaut" is mightily concerned because American Socialists do not rise up and denounce the "murderers" of Bobrikoff and Von Plehve and Sergius. If the "Argo" will point out to us wherein these men themselves were more or less than professional murderers, beasts of prey in human form and official garb, we will be ready to discuss the question whether killing them without benefit of clergy was anything else than a paterfamilias act, just like the killing of a tiger or a rattlesnake. Meanwhile, we refer the "Argonaut" to so respectable a paper as the New York "Times" for a pretty frank approval of political assassination under such circumstances.

"Leslie's Weekly" declares that those who know the history of American politics "will be very slow in predicting a long or a portentous career" for the Socialist Party of the United States. We would respectfully suggest that it is not a question of prediction. We have been in the field for seventeen years already and have made a gain at every general election, an average gain of 90 per cent. every two years. Maybe that isn't "portentous," but it beats the record of any other third party in American history.

The "New World," a Catholic organ, is alarmed by the growth of Socialism. It accuses the public-school system of being partly responsible. This is quite correct. Socialism does not grow so rapidly among ignorant people. The "New World" wisely concludes that the way to "do away with Socialism" is to "remove the causes." We heartily agree. Remove capitalism and the Socialist Party will pass into history without a word of protest. But will you do it, gentlemen of the "New World," and how?

The editor of the Pittsburgh "Christian Advocate" is grieved to the soul because "such a thing as a life after

death is unheard of in the Socialist propaganda." Well, we ask in all candor, do the Republican and Democratic parties make political propaganda for the immortality of the soul? Wouldn't it be rather stupid and rather impudent of them if they did? Wouldn't it be equally stupid and impudent for us to drag this question into politics? We decline to mix up theology with politics and we should be much pleased if the "Christian Advocate" would quit mixing up Big Stick politics with its theology.

The Washington "Bee," one of the principal organs of the colored population, has an interesting editorial on Socialism in its issue of April 15. It especially dwells on the fact that the Socialist Party has shown the good faith of its professions in favor of human brotherhood in its actual treatment of colored workmen, thus standing in broad contrast with the Republican and Democratic parties.

The Concord "Daily Patriot" prints the recent Socialist address of Rufus W. Weeks with the following editorial comment: "We who confine our reading to old party papers and depend for our knowledge of current events upon what may be found in the columns of these old party papers, know but precious little of what is being done and said to interest the working classes in lines of thought that do not touch us. At present we are sleeping, many of us, and we are at a standstill and we forget that the world is moving on. After a bit we will awaken and we will be surprised and shocked when we find ourselves standing in a isolated group looking along the pathway where the great majority has passed."

RAISE THE TORCH! By John Spargo. Raise the torch of Liberty! Grasp it with a firmer hand; Let thy tyrant masters see Labor's hosts have sworn to be From the yoke of bondage free!

Raise the torch! Uplift it high! And with loyal hearts and brave Shout the Revolution's cry: To each Master, to each Slave: "Freedom comes, and Slavery Banish'd from the earth shall be!"

Raise the torch! O, may its flame Set the nations' hearts aglow! Bear it high in Freedom's name, Singing ever as you go: "Workers of the world, unite! This is Freedom's holy fight!"

Raise the torch of Liberty! Bear it onward through the gloom Of the night of Tyranny; Shout aloud the tyrants' doom. Onward, till the world shall be From the yoke of bondage free!

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT. A Fifth Bad Week - Circulation is at a Standstill - Have the Comrades Forgotten What That 25,000 Means? The following table shows in detail the circulation of The Worker for the last two weeks:

Table with 2 columns: Item and Circulation. Includes Single subscriptions (13,864), Outside bundles (10,800), Samples (417), Exchanges (581), Sold at office in bundles (1,176), Total (26,338), and Leaving out of account the special New Haven edition (16,341).

This is the fifth bad week in succession, after eight months of almost steady growth. Last August, when we began making this weekly statement to our readers, The Worker had a regular paid circulation of about 11,000. It now has about 15,000. It needs 25,000 in order to be on a self-sustaining basis. If the rate of growth which was maintained up to the month of March were still kept up, the day would be in sight when we could say that The Worker was no longer a burden on a few devoted comrades, when we could seriously undertake much needed improvements.

Having done so much, shall we stop here? Or shall we resume the forward march? Every friend of The Worker knows how to answer. Every new subscriber sent in both extends the paper's field of usefulness and helps to put it on a safe financial footing. Can we count, as an average (balancing those who do more against those who do nothing), on one new subscription within the next month from each of our individual subscribers? Probably we cannot. And yet, how little exertion that would mean, and how big would be the result!

THE RED FLAG. The people's flag is deepest red; It shrouded off our martyred dead, And ere their limbs grew stiff and cold Their hearts' blood dyed its every fold.

They raise the scarlet standard high Within its shade we'll live and die. Though towards flesh and traitors sneer, We'll keep the red flag flying here.

Look round, the Frenchman loves its blaze; The sturdy German chants its praise; In Moscow's vaults its hymns are sung; Chicago swells the surging throng.

It waved above our infant might, When all ahead seemed dark as night; It witnessed many a deed and vow - We must not change its color now.

It tells the triumphs past; It gives the hope of years to last; The banner bright, the symbol plain Of human right and human gain.

It suits to-day the weak and base, Whose minds are fixed on self and place, To evade before the rich man's frown And haul the sacred emblem down.

With heads uncovered swear we all To bear it onward till we fall. Come down, dark and galling, from the sky, This flag shall be our parting hymn.

—Tim Conard. —Readers, the success of this paper and the extent of its usefulness depends on your activity as circulating agents.

AND SO I COME AGAIN AND KNOCK.

By Horace Traubel.

And so I come again and knock. And the gift I bring is a gift for me. And the gift I bring is a gift for you. But my gift is rejected. When you hear my knock you send your servants out to say that you are not at home to me. And if I come again you tell me that you do not wish to be annoyed. And if I come again I must meet your police instead of you. Yet I come. Continue to come. Try what scheme you may you cannot intercept me. I come from a jail I come again and knock. You go to bed at night. You hear my knock. Before you can sleep, hear. In your dreams, hear. What would you give to get rid of me? What would you give for peace? There is only one thing you can give. You can give justice. If you do not give justice you may as well not give anything. My price is the whole of justice. Justice alone will buy my silence. As long as you withhold justice I come again and knock. Knock a knock of inquiry. Knock a knock loud with imperious command. How often you have thought I was gone for good. How often I have returned. I have surprised you at all hours of the day and night. So that you live in dread of my knock. Expecting it any time. You set up guards against it. It will catch you. You do not wish to do it. You make promises you do not intend to fulfill. You play the big stakes of the law against me. You get the state and church on your side. And yet I come again and knock. Now I come again. Now I ask you the old question. I say to you that you should put aside all power and desire for power and listen to me. This is a serious errand I come on. You would do well, you would do better, to hear me. It will pay you to neglect everything else. But do not neglect me. For I bring that without which everything else becomes worse than useless. So now I knock again. Do you hear? Will you listen? I knock gently. I warn. That is my first knock. But if I must knock again I knock louder. Again? Louder again. Till you must at last comprehend the sacred nature of the business upon which I have been despatched. You hear my knock. You open the door. You do not like my looks. You slam the door in my face. Am I discouraged? Not at all. I only return. You will be the one to soonest get discouraged. For I shall return until I am received and invited in. Yes, until finally I invite myself in. This I do not do until there is nothing else to do. But when there is nothing else to do I do this without any sense of guilt. I would prefer to have you set the time. But if you refuse to fix a date I fix one for you. I do not tell you that I ought to like me. I only say that it is safe to like me. You can never be

wounded that the energy and intelligence of healing arises. Our ethics are our social thought; and as each one man's thoughts are but a second stage of his feelings, articulated in words, themselves the product of society, so the larger ethical thought of many minds engendered proceed from things socially felt. This is the stern realism of the moral life in man; nothing is sincerely regarded by you as evil which has not hurt you, nothing is sin to your class mind but that which has hurt your pocket. If what the church calls sin does not hurt the church thus, if the sin a man is called upon to repent of, does not injure him here on this earth, feelingly, the church's protest against the sin and his repentance are unreal and immoral shams. We are not wooden people in our morals; our ethics are all alive at our throats where we get hurt, and the protest of church and state, the fastening on the sins they denounce are disgusting examples of insincerity.

That little portion of a church committee in Boston who refused the Rockefeller gift of money is one of our lost and prettier examples of old Hubby's shams. Had Mr. R. offered any of these gentlemen a gift privately, don't you know what they'd do? They would take it. Yet on behalf of an impersonal corporation, the church, they are willing to make a sacrifice and get a reputation. Now if there happened to be on the roster of these churches a number of workmen, and they refused to pray in any church adorned by trust plunder or bribery, then you would have a protest with some ethics in it. But these voices, alas! are still silent, and until you hear from them, Mr. Churchman, you had better take all that you can get. So long as you oppose Socialism on need not squirm at Rockefeller. But Mr. Rockefeller is not worrying about that church's refusal; no one is better acquainted than he, poor persecuted old man, with the mendacity and mendacity of the churches, and many more will make themselves known to him forthwith by zealously denouncing the Bostonians who refuse what they are so gratefully ready to accept. Let our old friend Rocky go to Rome; she understands, as none of these others do, how much money does it all the time, at so much a soul, as everybody knows. Send it to the Vatican; there they will take the price of all the souls you ever damned—and the interest. What a revolution it would be if the workers' voice should be heard on this matter; that voice of splendor, and ask His Holiness to strip from his person the gifts of the Hapsburgs, once deep in the blood of the people, or of the Bourbons, grandees among all of the bandits who have smitten with blindness the faces of the poor. What would happen if such a moral raid took place? If all the churches were stripped of the robbers' plunder? Verily we then might cry out: Babylon is fallen, is fallen, and her habitation has become desolate.

We have seen the politician who was once the orator of the people; we have seen him pass up to the chamber and the senate full of loud sounding phrases and sentiments of eloquent how little reform followed, and how soon these orators became silent. The wrongs they complained of were not their own; they were not workers. In the senate and chamber, while they were there, the workmen were still the missing voices.

It is not by outside reflections that ethics breathe; it is not by panoramic pictures of economic battles, drawn by others on our minds, that we move the revolution. Every man must himself feel at the point where he is hurt the power and experience that grows the revolution. The man who feels the wrongs he complains of makes them felt by others; for it is not by stimulation, but by suffering, that we lead the workmen from degradation to democracy.

We cannot discuss profitably any ethical matter outside of the daily problems of labor. I choose labor for my basis of ethics not by my prejudice or my caprice; I choose it because there is no other subject upon which ethics can be studied or applied but the current facts of labor. There remains nothing outside the labor question for the ethical process or consideration; so if to-day my middle or upper class person would attain to even as much morality as the mere clean statement of a public truth, he must arrive at it as an answer to the question: How does it effect labor? And having attained the correct verbal answer, he will still be outside the live current of the ethical process by which that class alone which feels the wrongs of society is destined to remove them.

Why is it, in spite of many ages of sentimental protest, that the horrors of war are still raging upon the earth? Because the victims are more usually killed than wounded. If the horrible total of the victims of the Japanese-Russian war were spared to nurse their wounds and poverty we would all be much nearer the end of military battles. But military war continues because the soldiers themselves have not yet risen against war. Just as economic wars shall continue until the victims, the wounded and mangled laborers, themselves cry out and arise and fight it. Commercial and military wars will continue while the laborers are silent; while they remain the missing voices.

Why is it, in spite of many ages of sentimental protest, that the horrors of war are still raging upon the earth? Because the victims are more usually killed than wounded. If the horrible total of the victims of the Japanese-Russian war were spared to nurse their wounds and poverty we would all be much nearer the end of military battles. But military war continues because the soldiers themselves have not yet risen against war. Just as economic wars shall continue until the victims, the wounded and mangled laborers, themselves cry out and arise and fight it. Commercial and military wars will continue while the laborers are silent; while they remain the missing voices.

Why is it, in spite of many ages of sentimental protest, that the horrors of war are still raging upon the earth? Because the victims are more usually killed than wounded. If the horrible total of the victims of the Japanese-Russian war were spared to nurse their wounds and poverty we would all be much nearer the end of military battles. But military war continues because the soldiers themselves have not yet risen against war. Just as economic wars shall continue until the victims, the wounded and mangled laborers, themselves cry out and arise and fight it. Commercial and military wars will continue while the laborers are silent; while they remain the missing voices.

Why is it, in spite of many ages of sentimental protest, that the horrors of war are still raging upon the earth? Because the victims are more usually killed than wounded. If the horrible total of the victims of the Japanese-Russian war were spared to nurse their wounds and poverty we would all be much nearer the end of military battles. But military war continues because the soldiers themselves have not yet risen against war. Just as economic wars shall continue until the victims, the wounded and mangled laborers, themselves cry out and arise and fight it. Commercial and military wars will continue while the laborers are silent; while they remain the missing voices.

Why is it, in spite of many ages of sentimental protest, that the horrors of war are still raging upon the earth? Because the victims are more usually killed than wounded. If the horrible total of the victims of the Japanese-Russian war were spared to nurse their wounds and poverty we would all be much nearer the end of military battles. But military war continues because the soldiers themselves have not yet risen against war. Just as economic wars shall continue until the victims, the wounded and mangled laborers, themselves cry out and arise and fight it. Commercial and military wars will continue while the laborers are silent; while they remain the missing voices.

Why is it, in spite of many ages of sentimental protest, that the horrors of war are still raging upon the earth? Because the victims are more usually killed than wounded. If the horrible total of the victims of the Japanese-Russian war were spared to nurse their wounds and poverty we would all be much nearer the end of military battles. But military war continues because the soldiers themselves have not yet risen against war. Just as economic wars shall continue until the victims, the wounded and mangled laborers, themselves cry out and arise and fight it. Commercial and military wars will continue while the laborers are silent; while they remain the missing voices.

Why is it, in spite of many ages of sentimental protest, that the horrors of war are still raging upon the earth? Because the victims are more usually killed than wounded. If the horrible total of the victims of the Japanese-Russian war were spared to nurse their wounds and poverty we would all be much nearer the end of military battles. But military war continues because the soldiers themselves have not yet risen against war. Just as economic wars shall continue until the victims, the wounded and mangled laborers, themselves cry out and arise and fight it. Commercial and military wars will continue while the laborers are silent; while they remain the missing voices.

Why is it, in spite of many ages of sentimental protest, that the horrors of war are still raging upon the earth? Because the victims are more usually killed than wounded. If the horrible total of the victims of the Japanese-Russian war were spared to nurse their wounds and poverty we would all be much nearer the end of military battles. But military war continues because the soldiers themselves have not yet risen against war. Just as economic wars shall continue until the victims, the wounded and mangled laborers, themselves cry out and arise and fight it. Commercial and military wars will continue while the laborers are silent; while they remain the missing voices.

Why is it, in spite of many ages of sentimental protest, that the horrors of war are still raging upon the earth? Because the victims are more usually killed than wounded. If the horrible total of the victims of the Japanese-Russian war were spared to nurse their wounds and poverty we would all be much nearer the end of military battles. But military war continues because the soldiers themselves have not yet risen against war. Just as economic wars shall continue until the victims, the wounded and mangled laborers, themselves cry out and arise and fight it. Commercial and military wars will continue while the laborers are silent; while they remain the missing voices.

Why is it, in spite of many ages of sentimental protest, that the horrors of war are still raging upon the earth? Because the victims are more usually killed than wounded. If the horrible total of the victims of the Japanese-Russian war were spared to nurse their wounds and poverty we would all be much nearer the end of military battles. But military war continues because the soldiers themselves have not yet risen against war. Just as economic wars shall continue until the victims, the wounded and mangled laborers, themselves cry out and arise and fight it. Commercial and military wars will continue while the laborers are silent; while they remain the missing voices.

Why is it, in spite of many ages of sentimental protest, that the horrors of war are still raging upon the earth? Because the victims are more usually killed than wounded. If the horrible total of the victims of the Japanese-Russian war were spared to nurse their wounds and poverty we would all be much nearer the end of military battles. But military war continues because the soldiers themselves have not yet risen against war. Just as economic wars shall continue until the victims, the wounded and mangled laborers, themselves cry out and arise and fight it. Commercial and military wars will continue while the laborers are silent; while they remain the missing voices.

Why is it, in spite of many ages of sentimental protest, that the horrors of war are still raging upon the earth? Because the victims are more usually killed than wounded. If the horrible total of the victims of the Japanese-Russian war were spared to nurse their wounds and poverty we would all be much nearer the end of military battles. But military war continues because the soldiers themselves have not yet risen against war. Just as economic wars shall continue until the victims, the wounded and mangled laborers, themselves cry out and arise and fight it. Commercial and military wars will continue while the laborers are silent; while they remain the missing voices.

Why is it, in spite of many ages of sentimental protest, that the horrors of war are still raging upon the earth? Because the victims are more usually killed than wounded. If the horrible total of the victims of the Japanese-Russian war were spared to nurse their wounds and poverty we would all be much nearer the end of military battles. But military war continues because the soldiers themselves have not yet risen against war. Just as economic wars shall continue until the victims, the wounded and mangled laborers, themselves cry out and arise and fight it. Commercial and military wars will continue while the laborers are silent; while they remain the missing voices.

Why is it, in spite of many ages of sentimental protest, that the horrors of war are still raging upon the earth? Because the victims are more usually killed than wounded. If the horrible total of the victims of the Japanese-Russian war were spared to nurse their wounds and poverty we would all be much nearer the end of military battles. But military war continues because the soldiers themselves have not yet risen against war. Just as economic wars shall continue until the victims, the wounded and mangled laborers, themselves cry out and arise and fight it. Commercial and military wars will continue while the laborers are silent; while they remain the missing voices.

Why is it, in spite of many ages of sentimental protest, that the horrors of war are still raging upon the earth? Because the victims are more usually killed than wounded. If the horrible total of the victims of the Japanese-Russian war were spared to nurse their wounds and poverty we would all be much nearer the end of military battles. But military war continues because the soldiers themselves have not yet risen against war. Just as economic wars shall continue until the victims, the wounded and mangled laborers, themselves cry out and arise and fight it. Commercial and military wars will continue while the laborers are silent; while they remain the missing voices.

Why is it, in spite of many ages of sentimental protest, that the horrors of war are still raging upon the earth? Because the victims are more usually killed than wounded. If the horrible total of the victims of the Japanese-Russian war were spared to nurse their wounds and poverty we would all be much nearer the end of military battles. But military war continues because the soldiers themselves have not yet risen against war. Just as economic wars shall continue until the victims, the wounded and mangled laborers, themselves cry out and arise and fight it. Commercial and military wars will continue while the laborers are silent; while they remain the missing voices.

Why is it, in spite of many ages of sentimental protest, that the horrors of war are still raging upon the earth? Because the victims are more usually killed than wounded. If the horrible total of the victims of the Japanese-Russian war were spared to nurse their wounds and poverty we would all be much nearer the end of military battles. But military war continues because the soldiers themselves have not yet risen against war. Just as economic wars shall continue until the victims, the wounded and mangled laborers, themselves cry out and arise and fight it. Commercial and military wars will continue while the laborers are silent; while they remain the missing voices.

FIRST CLASS IN SOCIALISM.

By Charlotte Perkins Gilman

[The class is in a state of actual objection, heavy reluctance, or entire indifference, but the subject is compulsory in the course of events.] Teacher: "What is Socialism?" The Politician: "Anarchy." The Millionaire: "Robbery." The Manufacturer: "Laziness." The Average Man: "Why, it's what these low-down foreigners want because they were so down-trodden at home. We don't want it. It's paternalism. We're Americans." The Average Woman: "Oh, it's perfectly awful! It's free-love and the children brought up by the state, and everybody wear the same clothes, and no nice houses of our own, and all eat at a common table. I think it's simply immoral and disgusting." Teacher: "That'll do. I cannot attend to any more answers this morning. It is quite evident that none of you have given the lesson any attention. I should have thought that your preceding studies would have left you better prepared." Teacher (to the Politician): "What have you learned from the study of government?" Politician: "How to take care of myself, of course." Teacher (to the Millionaire): "What have you learned from the study of economics?" Millionaire: "How to take care of myself, of course." Teacher (to the Manufacturer): "What have you learned from the study of industry?" Manufacturer: "How to take care of myself, of course." Teacher (to the Average Man): "What have you learned from the study of business?" Average Man: "How to take care of myself, of course." Teacher (to the Average Woman): "And you, my dear—your whose life is passed in the sacred precincts of the home—in the devoted service of the family—what have you learned from the study of—of—well, of your household duties?" Average Woman: "How to get somebody to take care of me, of course!" Teacher: "Well, it appears that you have not found in the course of events any preparation for our present study. The course is obligatory, however, and no other preparation is sought in addition by most of our pupils."

"So I shall have to make these lessons very thorough or you will not be able to pass the final examination. I will devote this morning to answering your answers. If I find any of you giving these astonishing answers again I shall be obliged to repeat this lesson at greater length." "Which of you said that Socialism was anarchy?" Politician: "I, sir. It's all one." Teacher: "Do not repeat that error again! You may differ in opinion as to the use and value of systems of human society, but to be misinformed as to the facts is not worthy of this advanced class. Let me explain. Anarchy, as you might easily have learned from your dictionaries, means no government. Socialism to put it into clear opposition, means all government. Can you remember that?" Politician: "Yes, sir. But, sir—great Scott—what a time we'd have! Politics everywhere! All business a part of government! Everybody a politician! Wouldn't we get rich?" Teacher (dryly): "Excuse my checking your raptures. But may I ask from whom you get your money now—from fellow officials or business men outside?" Politician: "Why, from the men outside, of course—that's what we want to get in for!" Teacher: "Exactly. And when all business men are 'in' from whom would you derive your revenue?" (Politician relapses into deep thought.)

Teacher: "Who said 'robbery'?" Millionaire: "I did, 'tis too. They want to divide up everything and let nobody get rich." Teacher: "What books of eminent Socialists have you read?" Millionaire: "None, sir. I wouldn't read such trash. I'm a busy man, sir." Teacher: "Where did you get your information as to this definition of Socialism?" Millionaire: "Why—why—from common report, sir. Everybody knows that's what they mean."

Teacher: "I am astonished that a man of your acumen and business training should form a judgment on so important a matter from such unreliable sources. I must correct each of these errors briefly, and leave you to substantiate my explanation from the reading I shall give you. Socialism, my child, does not mean the taking away from any man of anything that he has honestly earned. (Millionaire squirms uneasily.) It is not at all a question of the division of property. It is a system of organized industry which will increase wealth enormously, and in whose benefits all will share—you among them!" Millionaire (muttering to himself): "I don't want to share! I want it all!" Teacher: "What's that you say?" Millionaire: "I said, sir, that—that it wasn't fair to give a man what he hasn't earned."

Teacher: "Is that your honest opinion, sir?" (Millionaire considers.) Teacher: "Who said 'business'?" Manufacturer: "I, sir. Sheer, stark laziness. They won't work. You can't make 'em work. And they want the earth." Teacher: "When you lose a 'hand' by any accident how do you arrange to get another?" Manufacturer: "Arrange! Well, I like that! Why, sir, there's always extra help standing around. Every man in the mill's got a dozen relatives he wants to place—the foreman has a waiting list a yard long. I don't have to 'arrange' much."

Teacher: "You do not advertise, then?" Manufacturer: "Advertise! Well, I guess not! I did once, and I couldn't get into the yard the next morning from the crowd." Teacher: "Then it would appear that there are still some men willing to work. Any Socialists among your hands?"

Manufacturer (muttering): "A man ought to have all he can earn himself—for himself." Teacher: "Take away the 'hands' from your business and how much can you earn—yourself." "But that is enough on that point. Now, you little fellow here who talked about the low-born foreigners and paternalism. There is a little more sense in your remarks than in the others. You have at least read or heard or thought a little, and I will answer you more fully. The social movement of to-day is felt in each civilized country, but varies in form according to the local conditions. "What form this great social question will take in America will be modified, of course, by our special condition. You do not have to take your Socialism from any 'low-down foreigner.' By the way, what did you say your name was?"

Average Man: "Mallory, sir." Teacher: "And your father's?" Average Man: "O'Mallory, sir." Teacher: "And your mother's?" Average Man: "Kaufmann, sir." Teacher: "Yes, thank you. We won't press the matter further. As I was saying, we need not take our Socialism from any foreign country. America has her own form of this great fact, and it rests with the citizens of America to make it as free and democratic as they choose."

"Now, my dear little girl, who thinks Socialism immoral. Let me explain to you if I can." "Where did you get your ideas of Socialism?" Average Woman: "Why, from the papers and what the people say—and there was an article in the 'Babies' Home Journal' that was very convincing, and John says to let such things alone." Teacher: "It is too late to-day for me to cover all the ground I should have to make this clear to you, but I will tell you some plain truths and then I will leave you to read up about them afterward. Socialism is an economic theory and has no concern with marriage. But in the prosperity which Socialism brings marriage will be benefited, like everything else. Every one will be able to marry when they are fit. The children will not be 'separated from their mothers' nothing can ever do that. But no mother need ever see her children suffering for lack of food or care. There will be no compulsion whatever as to clothes and houses, but everyone will have these conveniences more generally than they do now. A common table is not in the Socialist program, whatever changes the evolution of household economies may bring about. When every citizen is well born and well reared, when there are no crime-producing causes among us as now, the morality of the world will improve enormously. I am aware that these remarks do not dislodge the ideas in your head, but in time I hope to reach you. Now for reading before your next lesson let me recommend one little book. It is a short, clear, simple work. It is neither for nor against Socialism, but describes it. The author is not a Socialist. It is Schaeffle's 'Quintessence of Socialism.' You can get it at the public library or your book-seller will order it for you."

APT ADULTERATION'S AID. Once cherry composed a half Of the morning cup we're wont to quaff. But now in coffee, whole or ground, Small trace of cherry is found. Have coffee sellers changed their ways In these uncertain latter days? Alas, no! they are just the same; But the cherry chaps are in the game. Which, being here translated, means That cherry's now half peas and beans! The coffee dealers all complain Pure cherry they can't obtain. And now—it need not cause surprise—The bean men, too, are growing wise. Crushed peas and beans of late, we're told, Fifty per cent. of sawdust hold. The cherry vendors loudly cry Pure beans and peas they cannot buy. When sawdust profits shall decline The sawdust men will get in line; And we shall see the fact disclosed Sawdust of clay is half composed. The bean men then will slyly own Pure sawdust is no longer known. Then will the clay men take a hand, And mix their wares, perhaps, with sand. Whereat the sawdust folks will say: "Alack, there is no more pure clay!" Nor will the sand men lag behind—Some cheaper stuff they'll surely find. And so on back, ad infinitum; There isn't further scope to cite 'em.

At breakfast, then, let's not look glum Of comfort there's at least one crumb. To wit: The worst is yet to come. —Philadelphia Saturday Evening Post.

# WHAT THE SOCIALIST LEGISLATORS AND ALDERMEN ARE WORKING FOR.

## Illustrations of a Policy That Is Both Revolutionary and Practical.

### How Elected Representatives of the Socialist Party Seek to Apply Its Principles to "Problems of the Day"—The Only Method by Which the Workers Can at the Same Time Get Immediate Relief and Hasten Their Complete Emancipation.

Many people make the mistake of thinking that, because the policy of the Socialist Party is revolutionary and uncompromising, it cannot be practical too. They say: "We must go a step at a time." They quote the old proverb: "A half-loaf is better than no bread." They cry out: "We want some immediate relief!"

To these critics, we Socialists reply: For the working class, a revolutionary and uncompromising policy is the only practical one. Of course we must go a step at a time; but if we do not think all the time of our final goal, if we look only one step before us, our steps are likely to turn to the right or the left or even backward, instead of going ever forward. Of course a half-loaf is better than no bread, but if you ask the masters for a half-loaf, you will get only the crumbs from their table; whereas, if you steadily demand the whole loaf that you have baked, you stand a good chance of getting the whole loaf and the whole tomorrow. Of course we desire any immediate relief that we can get; but the way to get it is to insist on complete emancipation, to organize and vote against the exploiting class, to roll up such a big vote, such a growing vote, year after year, for straight Socialism, as will frighten the capitalist politicians into making us one concession after another.

Our comrades in Germany have followed this policy. In thirty-four years they have gradually increased their vote from 125,000 to 3,008,000. What is the result? Year after year the government has granted reforms, measures of immediate relief—factory laws, laws restricting child labor, laws for the protection of female workers, workmen's insurance laws, old-age pension laws, tenement-house laws—so that to-day Germany has the best labor legislation in the world. On a smaller scale (because the Socialist movement entered the field later and has not grown quite so fast nor been quite so uncompromising) the workmen of France and Belgium and other countries have gained similar concessions. Here in the United States the Socialist Party has just begun to be an appreciable factor in politics. Just now (see the article on the second page of this paper) the Roosevelt Republicans and the Hearst Democrats are trying to bluff us with fake syndicalism—whitewashing trust investigations, freight-rate bills, and syndicated municipal ownership. They are just beginning to be scared by our 400,000 votes of last fall. Scare them once more, get us some real concessions. And we will accept those concessions and make the best of them, and go on and demand more and more, and demand it always more emphatically, and get it ever more surely—until the crisis comes, the lines clearly drawn, the last trial of strength between Capital and Labor, and then, with the workmen organized and class-conscious, their complete triumph will be assured.

So far the Socialist Party has had little political power in the United States. Never has it had full control even in a single city. But it is represented now by minorities in the legislatures of two states and in the councils of more than a dozen municipalities. Its representatives, with few exceptions, are plain mechanics or laborers. But they are proving themselves equal to the task, and they will be reinforced at the next elections, and pretty soon those minorities will be majorities.

We have asked some of our comrades in Wisconsin and Illinois to give to the readers of this May Day Number of The Worker some account of the experiences and the efforts of the Socialists elected to office in those states last year; and we commend them to the attention of all thinking workmen.

### SOCIALISTS IN THE WISCONSIN LEGISLATURE.

By Elizabeth H. Thomas, State Secretary for Wisconsin.

The Socialist Democratic Party of Wisconsin elected last November four members—W. J. Aldridge, August Asenbly, Edward J. Berner, and F. J. Brockhausen—and one State Senator, Jacob Rummel. These men all represent Milwaukee districts. The campaign in which they were elected was a red-hot one, so far as state issues were concerned. Governor LaFollette, the great "reformer" and idol of the people, was elected by a tremendous majority, although he was opposed by the national administration and the United States Senators, who put up a state ticket against him. He carried with him a strong "reform" Republican Legislature. The Assembly especially is controlled by the "reform" wing of that party.

This is the complexion of the Legislature which our five Socialist representatives entered. The "reformers" at first seemed inclined to be friendly. When the committees were organized, the Social Democrats were given good places. But the "reformers" soon regretted this action when the Socialists began to open their mouths—as Socialists are wont—and to make things lively in the committees.

The Social Democratic members of the Legislature are all workmen. Three are carpenters, a painter, and a machinist—and not great orators. But they know how to present the claims of labor and the demands of Socialism, and the fear which they have inspired in the representatives of capitalist interests is the best certificate of their activity.

The Social Democrats at Madison have introduced in all fifty-seven bills and joint resolutions. Some of these embody demands of the Socialist national and state platforms, such as provisions for old-age pensions, the referendum and initiative, recall of officials, annulling of unlimited and exclusive franchises, giving cities the right to acquire and operate "public utilities," making Election Day a legal holiday, free text books, eight-hour bills, and others of the same character. Others are purely labor bills, to protect the wages of the workmen, to provide for their safety at work and raise their standard of living.

All these bills, so far as they have yet come before the Legislature, have been mercilessly killed. Some of them have not only been voted down, but yelled down. Only one was saved from the general wreck, a harmless little bill, forbidding the signing away of a workman's wages without the consent of his wife.

The bill to establish the right of recall is still pending, having passed the Assembly—but in what shape? It has been changed so as to refer only to Aldermen and to require the signatures of fifty per cent of all the voters in the respective districts.

The Socialists were successful in getting a roll call on only one bill. The old-party representatives are eager to

Such a support means much to our representatives. This, then, is the story of our Social Democratic members for the last three months since they took their seats at the opening of the session. While we cannot point to any important measure which they have pushed through, we believe that the beginning has been made. The bills so relentlessly slaughtered by the "reform" element have fastened themselves on the attention of the people. The break-up of the "reformers" in Wisconsin is near at hand. We are on the threshold of great events.

### MILWAUKEE'S SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ALDERMEN.

By Frederic Heath, Editor of the "Social Democratic Herald."

Milwaukee has long been a Socialist center. It had a place on the map of International Social Democracy as far back as the early seventies, when there were enough German immigrants to maintain some show of activity and numberly enough in 1875 to support a daily paper in the German language. To-day this German-American element has to be thanked for the sure-footedness of the Milwaukee movement, now that that movement has become native to the soil and a considerable political factor in the community. In Milwaukee to-day nearly every third man at least votes Social Democratic.

In the spring elections of 1904 the Socialists not only elected nine Aldermen, four Supervisors, two Justices, and one Constable, but so narrowly missed putting Victor L. Berger into the Mayor's chair that it was some time before the political fog lifted and the ultra-capitalist interests quieted down from the shock. Moreover, there were some other narrow misses. One of our aldermanic candidates in the Twenty-second Ward lacked but two votes of election, and one in the Ninth Ward missed by but six votes. Those elected were:

Aldermen: Tenth Ward—Alfred J. Welch and Frederic Heath; Eleventh—Edmund J. Melms and Gustave Wild; Twentieth—Emil Seidel and Carl Malewski; Twenty-first—Edward Schranz and Henry W. Grant; Twenty-second—Nicholas Petersen.

Supervisors: Ninth Ward—Frank Boness; Eleventh—James Sheehan; Twentieth—Charles Jeske; Twenty-first—Gustave Geurts.

Justices of the Peace—Carl P. Dietz and Richard A. Beyer.

Constables—Phillip Sigel and George Kirschner.

Of course we do not contend that it was Socialist ballots alone that put our representatives into office. The average Milwaukeean was stirred up at the time of the spring election by some very extensive graft indictments—both capitalist parties being almost equally involved—and in the atmosphere of disgust and moral revolt that followed, our campaign literature got a reading it would not otherwise have had. We contend, of course, that most of those who went to the polls and voted Social Democratic were near the conversion line. Still, some there undoubtedly were who cast their votes to invoke the services of our known honesty of purpose rather than of our principles. They turned over to us the job of political house-cleaning, in despair of any other effective way.

But the comfort of saying that we had got a non-Socialist vote was not long vouchsafed the enemy, for when the elections rolled round last fall our party not only held the spring vote—in the absence of a graft commotion—but increased it, and elected five members of the state Legislature. It was naturally with some misgivings as to our personal worthiness under the new responsibilities that we presented ourselves that memorable day a year ago and reached our desks, unscathed, in the big Council Chamber of the city hall. We were in the midst of a maze of vulgarly-overdone floral tributes with which various special interests had weighed down the desks of the capitalist Aldermen, flowers that towered so high that we could not see the chairman on his throne or even much of the crush of humanity in the galleries, although we were soon to know that we had friends there by the way the applause went. The session was certainly interesting to us. During the proceedings we were placed on various preliminary committees and it even fell to the lot of the writer to help escort to the Chamber Milwaukee's pibald Mayor so that he could deliver his annual message, a penance he bore with becoming resignation, I believe, all things considered.

We nominated and voted for Social Democratic candidates for President of the Council and City Clerk, but in spite of this the enemy still had hopes of us. I do not need to say that that enemy has its own rating of the morals of mankind and that it had to be "shown" before it would believe we were any less politicians than the representatives of the capitalist parties—of whom, by the way, the Council contained eleven Republicans and twenty-six Democrats. Our platform professions were all right, doubtless—they had read high-sounding platforms before, and had even run on some of them—but platforms were manifestly not made to be kept! So at the start the enemy treated us with wistful smiles. This friendliness was shown when the committees were given out at the second meeting—Heath on Finance and on Printing, Seidel on Judiciary and on Salaries, Melms on Legislation, Welch on Sewerage, Petersen on Water Works, Wild on Harbor and on Rules, Grants on Licenses, Malewski on Plats, and Schranz on Engrossed Ordinances—but we got no places on several other committees of special value to "the gang," such as Railroads, Public Buildings, Street Lights, Health, Police, and the like—committees on which no prying Socialists were desired.

In spite of the proffered friendliness on the part of the enemy, they found us untractable. Their smiles and wiles made no impression. We would not "mix." Then in disgust they swung their tactics to the other end of the scale. The days that followed we will scarcely forget. It was fight, fight from the drop of the hat. Our measures were treated with contempt, even some that were not very strongly inimical to capitalist interests. But we welcomed the fray and in the com-

man. That this is a species of cowardice we must not be guilty of going without saying.

My allotted space is about exhausted. Let me briefly, however, give the reader an idea of the nature of our work in the Council by the following selected list of measures we have introduced. It must be remembered that some of these measures were proposed while well knowing they could not pass because of the poverty of the city under capitalist management and extravagance, a poverty due also to the fact that rich men dodge taxes in Milwaukee as they do everywhere else.

In the list there also appear several measures noted as legislative. Milwaukee works under a charter from the Legislature and cannot do some things without legislative permission. We put in so many measures the past year calling on the Legislature for action in one way and another, that these and the measures of others which our own activity called out made the Milwaukee bills in the present Legislature large beyond all precedent or expectation. The list of measures in the Council follows:

To provide for evening sessions of Council, so that citizens at work in the daytime could look on.

To provide bonds for an isolation hospital outside the city.

To provide for the union label on all city printing.

To require the street railway to sprinkle its tracks during dusty weather.

To require the city to invest an eight-hour work clause in specifications for a 20,000,000 gallon pumping engine. (This led to Injunction proceedings by Parryates, the Trade Council intervened in the suit, and after a rank decision against the city, the Parryates had the effrontery to ask the city to pay their lawyer bills; this we succeeded in killing.)

To provide for concerts in all the parks, especially those where the street railway company would not come in for a harvest of nickels.

To provide safeguards for cleanliness in the mataturoids.

To provide additional and more humane amount of time off for firemen.

To remove all bronze tablets on schools and other city buildings setting forth names of city officials, shady or "otherwise."

To analyze the ice sold to the people in the interests of public health.

To require the Tax Commissioner to prepare a statement showing taxes paid by larger property holders believed to be dodging taxes.

To require the eight-hour day on all city work, whether by contractor or otherwise.

To require the sale of ice.

To appoint a commission to prepare for a city electric lighting plant.

To provide platforms for free speech in all the city parks.

To provide for the right on the part of workmen and firemen to a hearing before being dismissed from the department and being right to pensions. (Legislative. Will probably become a law.)

To remove the name of a convicted hoodler from tablets in public buildings and schools.

To require all ice wagons to carry scales.

To stop remitting water rates to private institutions.

To provide for improvements in civil service. (Legislative.)

To regulate the headway of street cars so as to afford more seating capacity in rush hours.

To withhold the Mayor's salary for times when out of the city for protracted periods.

To require covers on patrol wagons.

To provide for the use of the surplus from the city water works for establishing and maintaining other municipal undertakings and public schools. Afterward amended in committee to apply to schools only.

Sent to Legislature and passed. Nearly every school building in Milwaukee is surrounded by barracks to supplement the inadequate school room facilities.

To provide for the use of the surplus from the city water works for establishing and maintaining other municipal undertakings and public schools. Afterward amended in committee to apply to schools only.

Sent to Legislature and passed. Nearly every school building in Milwaukee is surrounded by barracks to supplement the inadequate school room facilities.

To provide for the use of the surplus from the city water works for establishing and maintaining other municipal undertakings and public schools. Afterward amended in committee to apply to schools only.

Sent to Legislature and passed. Nearly every school building in Milwaukee is surrounded by barracks to supplement the inadequate school room facilities.

To provide for the use of the surplus from the city water works for establishing and maintaining other municipal undertakings and public schools. Afterward amended in committee to apply to schools only.

Sent to Legislature and passed. Nearly every school building in Milwaukee is surrounded by barracks to supplement the inadequate school room facilities.

To provide for the use of the surplus from the city water works for establishing and maintaining other municipal undertakings and public schools. Afterward amended in committee to apply to schools only.

Sent to Legislature and passed. Nearly every school building in Milwaukee is surrounded by barracks to supplement the inadequate school room facilities.

To provide for the use of the surplus from the city water works for establishing and maintaining other municipal undertakings and public schools. Afterward amended in committee to apply to schools only.

Sent to Legislature and passed. Nearly every school building in Milwaukee is surrounded by barracks to supplement the inadequate school room facilities.

To provide for the use of the surplus from the city water works for establishing and maintaining other municipal undertakings and public schools. Afterward amended in committee to apply to schools only.

Sent to Legislature and passed. Nearly every school building in Milwaukee is surrounded by barracks to supplement the inadequate school room facilities.

To provide for the use of the surplus from the city water works for establishing and maintaining other municipal undertakings and public schools. Afterward amended in committee to apply to schools only.

Sent to Legislature and passed. Nearly every school building in Milwaukee is surrounded by barracks to supplement the inadequate school room facilities.

To provide for the use of the surplus from the city water works for establishing and maintaining other municipal undertakings and public schools. Afterward amended in committee to apply to schools only.

Sent to Legislature and passed. Nearly every school building in Milwaukee is surrounded by barracks to supplement the inadequate school room facilities.

To provide for the use of the surplus from the city water works for establishing and maintaining other municipal undertakings and public schools. Afterward amended in committee to apply to schools only.

Sent to Legislature and passed. Nearly every school building in Milwaukee is surrounded by barracks to supplement the inadequate school room facilities.

defect so a court can find an excuse to knock it out on the ground of it being unconstitutional or class legislation, the committee prepares an amendment covering such defect.

On the other hand, if a bill is against the interest of the workers it is so marked and reasons given why the members vote no upon same. Most of the bills, however, in fact 90 per cent. of those which find their way into the legislative halls at Springfield, are measures intended to give the capitalists a more free hand in the exploitation of the working class and consequently the Legislative Committee is on the whole the busiest and perhaps the most important body during a session of the Legislature of all the committees in our party. Some idea may be gleaned from the fact that to date over SEVEN HUNDRED bills of all shades and descriptions have been introduced, upon every one of which the Socialist members will have to take a definite stand one way or the other.

In the preparation of bills the committee has had the services of an able lawyer in the person of Comrade E. M. Winston, who is a young attorney of exceptional ability and well versed in corporation law. He has been made a member of the body and together with the committee, as well as the legislators, each bill is taken up separately and discussed fully and in this way our two comrades are thoroughly advised of the nature and character of every pending bill.

Practically every law is made or unmade in the committee room of a legislature and it is here the big battles are fought. It is on these committees that the real value lies of having representatives of labor, since oratory here is of no account and any well balanced workman can be of tremendous assistance to his class by exposing the hypocrisy of the so-called "friends of labor."

Our two representatives were very fortunate in each capturing a place upon one of the two committees most important from the workingman's point of view. Comrade Ambroz has been made a member of the Committee on Labor and Industry, while Comrade Olson is on the Committee on Mines and Mining. Hardly a week passes but from two to half a dozen committees are sent down by the various labor unions of the state to urge the passage of some labor bill or ask for the defeat of some other which is being pushed by the employing class, and as a rule it takes them but a short time to find out the difference between "friends of labor" and the actual representatives of the working class.

In the work of these two comrades has been revealed more clearly than ever the necessity of more and still more members of the working class sitting in the halls of legislation, MAKING laws in their interests, instead of shivering in the lobby and BEGGING for recognition on some trivial bill, only to be turned down and out.

So far as agitation for the Socialist Party is concerned their work is proving of great value. The "unions" over the state are recognizing the two Socialists are the only ones whose votes are always on the side of labor, and who need no lobby to watch them. On various occasions they have shown their sympathy in a way that put them in sharp contrast with some members who were supposed to be the special friends of the unions.

Fundamentally, however, they are laying the foundation for future action. When they return to the Legislature, as there is every reason to believe they will, and find other Socialists there to help them, as also some quite certain, they will be in a many fold better position to act than at this first term.

Something might be said of what they have seen at the state capitol—of the character of capitalist law-makers, of the work of the lobbyists, of the operation of the "machine," etc. But all this has been told many times before. Springfield is not different from Albany, or Boston, or any other capital in this respect, and while the Socialists of Illinois will have more concrete and positive facts to offer than heretofore, they can add little that is new to the old story of corruption, incompetence and ignorance of the law-makers of America, and their complete subservience to capitalist interests.

But in a few states the signs of an awakening are evident. In a few years that little body scattered in two or three states will have grown to an army of legislators in nearly every law-making body. Until then all work is work of preparation.

Both of these men are solid, substantial comrades, with plenty of common sense—no orators, in the popular sense of the word, but fully capable of expressing their opinions in good strong working-class English that is vastly more effective in their present position than would be the speeches of soap-box orators.

They have not attempted to introduce the Co-operative Commonwealth. Through a misunderstanding between the Editor of The Worker and Comrades Smith and Simons it came about that both of these wrote on the same subject. We do not regret the mistake, as Comrade Simons' article in some respects valuably supplements Comrade Smith's.

Immediately upon the election of these legislators a meeting of the full State Committee was called at which the question of linking the two public officials to the Socialist Party was taken up and earnestly discussed. The outcome of this was the election of a State Legislative Committee with the following as a basis for action:

Resolved, That a committee be elected to advise with the Socialist members of the state Legislature and that this committee have only advisory power; that in case of a disagreement between the Socialist members so elected and this committee, the committee shall take no public action until an appeal has been taken to the full State Committee.

On this committee were the following comrades: A. M. Simons, Seymour Stehman, John Collins, A. F. Germer, and Jas. S. Smith.

At the first session of this committee steps were taken to draw up a number of bills beneficial to the working class, with the result that from time to time one or more bills would be completed at each session and given to our comrades to introduce in the Legislature. Among others, were the following: Employers' Liability for injury to life or limb; repeal of the Law of Assumed Risk; Eight-Hour Bill. Aside from these bills, which vitally effect the whole working class, the committee has worked out other bills and amendments, such as the "Chicago Charter Convention" bill, a bill amending "An Act Providing for Public Improvement," which will enable towns and cities to employ the unemployed upon public works.

At each session of the Legislative Committee our two members submit all the bills which are pending before the Legislature, and these are carefully gone over and their merits or demerits weighed from the viewpoint of the working class. Should any bill meet their approval and they have bars will then vote for them. If a bill is in favor of labor, but has a bad

### OUR MEN IN THE LEGISLATURE OF ILLINOIS.

I.—By James S. Smith, State Secretary for Illinois.

When the ballots were counted after last fall's election it was revealed that the Socialist Party had elected two of its members to the Legislature. Since that date the names of Joseph Ambroz and Andrew Olson have become well known to the readers of Socialist papers. Among the comrades frequenting the headquarters last fall could be heard the inquiry: "Who is Ambroz and who is Olson; who knows these comrades?" Had they in the stockyards and the reaper works districts these men were little known outside their own wards. Not a little fear was manifested lest men were elected who would forget that they were elected by workmen, and who might fall to advance our cause. Little by little these comrades became known to the membership; their acquaintance widened, until all felt they knew them. Not only did they know them but had found in them the best evidence that their proletarian blood was well entrenched with the red globules of revolutionary class-consciousness. When the hour finally came for the convening of the Legislature, the Socialist representatives went forth with a strong bond attaching them to the 45,000 Socialists in Chicago and 69,000 in the state.

Later developments showed that the workmen who elected these two comrades to office had made no mistake. One of the first public acts these comrades did was to turn over to the State Committee a bundle of passes they received from the railroads, which the committee promptly returned with a check letter stating that these passes were intended as payment for work favorable to the railroads, and that as Socialists and workmen they neither intended nor could do such work, these passes were therefore returned. Copies of these letters were also mailed to each of the daily papers, nearly all of which published them and at least one made editorial comment upon this act and very reluctantly endorsed it. While a number of the old party legislators held up their hands in horror and swore they would return the passes they had received, one of the papers published a statement to the effect that upon inquiry at them the best evidence that they found the only passes actually returned were the ones from the Socialists.

There have been other problems, which I will not take space to detail. It could not well be otherwise. We must conquer the political power. Our conquests will naturally first be in the cities, and we will have to take a stand one side or the other on every matter a city council has before it, whether our platforms cover the point or not. There is only one alternative—we might play Anarchist and desert the halls of legislation, as was, indeed, suggested by an Impossibilist with whom one of our Milwaukee Socialists, Aldermen came into collision in Chicago. He claimed to agree with Marx as to the necessity of capturing the political power, but said rather than vote for municipal ownership, even if his party declared for it as a means, he would resign as Alderman.

At each session of the Legislative Committee our two members submit all the bills which are pending before the Legislature, and these are carefully gone over and their merits or demerits weighed from the viewpoint of the working class. Should any bill meet their approval and they have bars will then vote for them. If a bill is in favor of labor, but has a bad

At each session of the Legislative Committee our two members submit all the bills which are pending before the Legislature, and these are carefully gone over and their merits or demerits weighed from the viewpoint of the working class. Should any bill meet their approval and they have bars will then vote for them. If a bill is in favor of labor, but has a bad

At each session of the Legislative Committee our two members submit all the bills which are pending before the Legislature, and these are carefully gone over and their merits or demerits weighed from the viewpoint of the working class. Should any bill meet their approval and they have bars will then vote for them. If a bill is in favor of labor, but has a bad

**JACOB HERRLICH & BRO.,**  
**Undertakers**  
 AND  
**Embalmers.**  
 506 Sixth Street, 332 E. 86th Street  
 Betw. Avenues A and B. Betw. 1st and 2d Ave.  
 Telephone Call, 1173 Spring. Telephone Call, 21-79th St.  
**NEW YORK.**

—We notice that quite a few of the big exploiters are exhibiting uneasiness over the prospect of Japan closing the "open door" when she has conquered Manchuria. Capitalist governments know just how far each other's promises are to be relied on.—Joe. Washburn.

—The Governor of Kansas says that a state oil refinery operated by convict labor isn't Socialism. Now, you fellows who drive about Socialism being slavery, listen to Governor Hoch. He knows what he's talking about.—Joe. Washburn.

—In New York and Wisconsin, the Socialist Party is known under the name of the Social Democratic Party. In New York the cause is in the arms and torch. The State Secretary is John C. Chase. His address is 84 E. Fourth street, New York.





LOCAL KINGS COUNTY, S. D. P.

May Day Celebration

AT THE BROOKLYN LABOR LYCEUM 848-955 WILLOUGHBY AVE.

ON SUNDAY, APRIL 30, AT 8 P. M.

Addreses by WALTER THOMAS MILLS and ALEXANDER JONAS Followed by CONCERT, ENTERTAINMENT, AND DANCING TICKETS, 15 CENTS MUSIC BY W. K. SCHAEFER

CAUSES OF POLITICAL CORRUPTION.

No, Socialism will not increase political corruption. Capitalism increases political corruption. Some people who have never thoughtfully considered the subject say that the public ownership and operation of the industries, with the consequent increase in public officials and public business, will lead to an increase in political corruption. And they say we have enough now.

Indeed, it is true that we have enough now. We have entirely too much. Socialism proposes to abolish political corruption. How? By abolishing its cause. What is its cause? The private ownership of the industries.

In other words, capitalism is the cause of political corruption. Capitalism is also the cause of private corruption, the cheating, lying, now going on in private business. If Socialism merely transferred the corruption now going on in private business to the public business the total sum of corruption would not be increased. We would be as well off in that respect as we are now.

But we do not intend to do that. We intend to abolish political corruption. What is it that causes a legislator to take a bribe? The private business interests of those who bribe him. It is to their financial interest to bribe him.

Socialism will make those business interests public. It will thus remove the incentive to bribe him. Nobody could gain anything by doing so. Who is it that corrupts the Aldermen of the cities and towns? The corporations which own the water works, the street railways, the gas works, the electric light plants, the telephone systems, the fire hose manufactory, the brick plants, the industries which supply cities with the things they need.

Socialism will publicly own and operate all of those enterprises. The cause of that corruption will thus be removed. What is it that causes a candidate for Congress to spend more money getting elected than the salary of a Congressman amounts to, corrupting the voters with liquor and buying them outright when possible.

It is because the great capitalists of the country, the owners of the big industries, in return for his favors to the capitalist class in Congress, are only too glad to give him tips as to when and where to speculate and invest as to make many times the amount of his salary. Sometimes they bribe him outright. But that is scarcely necessary. They can easily reward him by showing him how he can draw a big amount of the pockets of the toiling dupes who elected him to Congress.

Socialism will make the industries public property. There will be no incentive to buy Congressmen. The Congressional aspirant will no longer want the office badly enough to try to corrupt the voters in order to get it. Why is it that capitalist political parties, the Republican and Democratic machines, shamelessly disgrace our election days by the use of liquor and money at the polls? Because there are great corporations and trusts which are willing to pay these machines vast sums of money, called campaign funds, for their services in letting the capitalist class alone or passing such legislation as it desires.

Socialism will provide an environment in which graft cannot live. It will withdraw away and die.—John M. Work in "What's So and What Isn't"

"There are many institutions that will never live to see Socialism," and the Democratic party is one of them.—Jos. Wanhope.

"MASS AND CLASS," BY W. J. CHENT. The deservedly favorable reception of this book has resulted in the issuance of a paper bound edition at such a price as to enable the comrades to sell it at public meetings. Its circulation should be pushed, for not only is it one of the half-dozen most valuable books of our popular literature. As an exposition in plain language of the materialistic conception of history it is without an equal. The local or branch of the Socialist Party that cannot dispose of at least twenty or thirty copies at its open-air meetings this summer is an organization that does not know a good thing when it sees it.

Prices—Paper, 25 cents a copy; 10 or more—15 cents; 20 cents a copy; cloth, \$1.25 a copy. SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO., 184 William Street, New York. MAY DAY CELEBRATION SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. LOCAL RICHMOND Sunday Afternoon 4 p. m. at the Labor Lyceum, Roff st., Stapleton, S. I.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY ORGANIZATION.

How it Differs from the Old Parties and the Reason for the Difference.

Parties whose purpose is to maintain class rule must be financed and managed from above—our Party's object is to end class rule, therefore it is Democratically Organized.

The Socialist Party differs very much from the other parties, not only in its principles, but also in its form of organization and methods of action. To those who are just getting acquainted with our party these methods seem strange and even unreasonable. For that reason, in this issue of The Worker which will go to many thousands of persons who are sincerely looking for information about Socialism, it seems fitting that we should give some account of the organization of our party and its methods and explain the reasons for its peculiarities.

Unlike the two old parties, THE SOCIALIST PARTY DOES NOT PRETEND TO REPRESENT ALL CLASSES OF THE POPULATION. It knows that this is impossible, that to make such a claim is dishonest. When one class works and produces wealth and lives in poverty and another class lives in luxury without doing any productive labor, it is obvious that the interests of these two classes conflict. The political policy which will benefit the one will be injurious to the other. As "no man can serve God and Mammon," so no party can serve both these classes.

A party whose real purpose is to serve the capitalist class will naturally wish to conceal that purpose, to pretend that it will serve the whole people, regardless of class, because it must get the workers' votes in order to win. It is the policy of the capitalists to prevent the workmen from thinking together and voting together as workmen, TO DIVIDE THEM ON ISSUES THAT DO NOT REALLY TOUCH THEIR CLASS INTERESTS, to keep them voting poorly into the hands, now called seats of capitalist agents, now of another.

This is what the Republican and Democratic parties actually are—TWO SEATS OF CAPITALIST AGENTS, with their following of docile voters. They fight sham battles over questions of tariff and silver coinage and imperialism and pretend "trust-busting" questions which sometimes represent real differences between big capitalists and little ones, but which do not affect the interests of the working class. They profess great hostility in campaign time. But when we look behind the scenes, we find that prominent Republicans and prominent Democrats are big stockholders and directors in the same trusts or are acting together in the lawless anti-labor organizations of the Party Citizens' Alliance.

And when we examine the records of the two old parties where they have been in power, we find that, however they may differ in other matters, THEIR RECORDS ON THE LABOR QUESTION ARE AS LIKE AS TWO PEAS—congresses and legislatures of both parties defeat labor laws, presidents and governors of both parties send troops against strikers and mayors of both parties put the police at the service of lockout bosses, judges of both parties issue arbitrary injunctions against labor organizations and join in declaring unconstitutional such labor laws as may now and then be passed.

These parties are RULED FROM ABOVE and FINANCED FROM ABOVE. They do not appeal to their rank and file to decide questions of party policy; those questions are decided by conferences of leaders. They do not appeal to their rank and file for funds; their funds are supplied by the great property interests, the trusts and franchise corporations and the like. All they ask from the working-man is his vote; they are even willing to pay him for his vote if need be; they count it a good investment. This form of organization and this method of campaigning, we repeat, is perfectly adapted to the purpose of these parties—the maintenance of capitalism.

The purpose of the Socialist Party being just the opposite—to overthrow capitalism and establish industrial democracy—just the opposite form of organization and method of action suits it.

"Who pays the piper may call the tune," is an old saying and a true one. It takes money to run political campaigns—not so much money for an honest campaign as for a corrupt one; but still, money is needed. Whoever holds the purse-strings can dictate the policy of any party. In order, therefore, to make sure that the Socialist Party shall continue to represent the working class faithfully, it is necessary that it should be financed by the working people.

This is the reason for our system of dues-paying membership. In every city or town where five or more straight-out Socialists can be got together, we organize what we call a local of the Socialist Party. Many of the large locals are subdivided into branches. The locals are grouped into state committees and these under a National Committee. Each member pays dues of 25 cents a month—except when excused by reason of sickness or unemployment. The national organization issues stamps to the state organizations at 5 cents each and the latter sell them to the locals at 10 cents each, and whenever a member pays his month's dues one of these stamps is affixed to his membership card as a receipt and an evidence of his good standing in the party. Thus the revenues are divided in a fixed ratio among the national, state, and local organizations. The number of dues-paying members in the United States is now about 25,000 and is steadily increasing.

This is the nucleus of our party revenues. Other methods are used to add to them. In campaign time special appeals are made and lists circulated and party members and sympathizers give according to their means and their enthusiasm—a dime, a quarter, a dollar, or more. Progressive trade unions and other labor organizations also make donations. Entertainments and picnics are arranged, too, and the proceeds turned into the party treasury. Sometimes, when we arrange public meetings we charge a small admission fee—and the old-party

politicians hold up their hands in wonder at a party that can successfully use such methods. While they are passing around the cigars in campaign time, our party is passing the hat, so to speak. And while they are calling on the voters to get drunk with enthusiasm and other things and "whoop'er up," our party is calling on them to keep cool and do some hard thinking.

There is no secrecy about the finances of the Socialist Party. Public accounting is made of all receipts and expenditures and we are proud of the fact that our funds come from very small amounts from very large numbers of earnestly thinking men and women.

The same democratic system prevails in the management of all our party affairs. The local officers, the state secretaries and members of state committees, and the members of the National Committee are all elected, for terms of six months or a year, by the party membership and are subject to removal by the party membership if it is not satisfied with their work. The National Secretary is elected yearly by the National Committee. The principle of direct legislation is applied throughout. Acts of the National Committee and the state committees and even of the conventions are subject to referendum if desired, and an opportunity is given for locals to initiate propositions to be submitted to general vote.

For the greater part of the work of the party is done by unpaid volunteers, men (and women, too—for women have equal rights and duties with men in our party) who give a little of their leisure to help along the great cause by speaking, writing, working as organizers or secretaries, arranging meetings, distributing literature, and the like. Comparatively a few are employed by the party, at fixed and moderate salaries, to give all their time to the work.

If you ask: Who are the leaders of the Socialist Party? we must answer: We have no leaders in the sense which those who work commonly mean; we have chosen no spokesmen whom we honor in proportion to their fidelity and efficiency; but WE DO NOT LET THEM DO OUR THINKING FOR US, DO NOT GIVE THEM ANY CHANCE TO BECOME MISLEADERS. Ours is a party of equals, of comrades, a democratic party in the best sense of the word, every member having the same right to participate in its decisions and every member having the same duty of helping to carry out its decisions when made.

It is by this peculiar form and method of organization that our party has safely weathered so many storms in the past—has endured obloquy and misrepresentation and persecution, has fought out and settled internal differences, and yet always presented a fighting front to the enemy, has learned by its own mistakes and corrected them, has escaped the snares of fusion and corruption in which so many reform and labor parties organized on old-party lines have been caught, and has gone steadily forward toward a victory which even many of our opponents now admit to be near at hand.

In a word, ours is a party of men and women who know what they want and know how to get it and who depend upon their own honest efforts, not upon luck nor upon trickery nor upon the influence of some political Moses, to win success. Only by such a party can the existing industrial despotism be exchanged for the Co-operative Commonwealth. IN THE STRUGGLE TO WIN THEIR ECONOMIC FREEDOM THE WORKERS MUST LEARN HOW TO USE IT WHEN IT IS WON.

And YOU, reader, if you agree with our principles, are earnestly invited to join this party, not as a leader nor as a follower, but as a comrade, and to do your fair share in its great work.

BROTHERHOOD. There shall come, from out this noise of strife and groaning, A broader and a juster Brotherhood A deeper equality of aim, postponing All selfish seeking to the general good.

There shall come a time when each shall love his brother, Be as Christ would have him, Brother unto Brother.

There shall come a time when brotherhood grows stronger Than the narrow bounds which now distract the world; When the cannons roar and trumpets blare no longer, And the ironclad trusts and battle-flags are furled; When the bars of creed and speech and race, which sever, Shall be fused in one humanity forever.—Lewis Morris.

CONCENTRATION AND WAGES. Here are some striking figures, drawn from the United States Census, showing the progress of capitalist concentration in the shoe industry and the accompanying decline of wages: In 1890 there were 2,082 factories; in 1900 there were 1,900. The average factory in 1890 employed 64 workers; in 1900, the average was 89. In 1890 the average output was \$105,079; in 1900 it was \$163,130. In 1890 there were 123,000 workers employed at wages averaging \$454 for a year's steady work; in 1900 there were 142,222 workers, with average wages per full year of \$414.

HISTORY AS SHE IS WRITTEN. "Do you think that history tells the exact truth about great men?" "Certainly not," answered a certain Bohemian. "A man who is competent to rule legislators and soldiers ought to be able to have pretty much his own way with a few historians."—Washington Star.

The eight-page May Day Number of The Worker will be good for propaganda; 100,000 copies, each at \$1.50 a hundred. Order from this office.

THE YEAR'S RECORD FOR SOCIALISM.

At Home and Abroad It is Full of Encouragement and Inspiration.

Parliamentary Elections in Italy Show Big Gains—The International Congress—Unity in France—Russia and Japan—Increase of Vote and Party Membership in the United States.

The past year has been one of great activity for the Socialist Party in this country and abroad—for ours is an international movement, fighting for the emancipation of the workers in every civilized country. And the year has brought encouraging results from our past labors, inspiring us to renewed efforts.

The most important electoral contest outside of the United States within the year was the parliamentary election in Italy last November. At the last previous election, held in 1900, the Italian Socialist Party had not yet completely asserted its independence, but was in alliance, in many districts, with the Radicals and Republicans. With their aid it polled 162,000 votes. This alliance was broken and last fall our party stood alone, with a more aggressive program than ever before.

The government used every method of coercion and intimidation to defeat it. Yet when the balloting was over, the Socialist Party had 302,000 votes to its credit—a gain of 85 per cent.

The International Socialist and Trade Union Congress which was held at Amsterdam last August must be counted among the most important events of our year. Nearly 500 delegates were present. With the exception of Portugal, Greece, Turkey, and Rumania, every European country was represented, and there were representatives, besides, from the United States, Canada, Argentina, Japan, Australia, and South Africa. Among the delegates were men and women who had suffered years in prison or in exile for their devotion to the cause of liberty and three at least went back to the Congress to meet in another prison sentence—one in Germany, one in Italy, one in Spain. Many matters of party policy and methods were discussed and acted upon and the prevailing notes in the whole proceedings were: Unity of all the workers, regardless of race or religion; no truce nor compromise in the battle against class rule!

Among the happiest results of this parliament of the world's workers must be counted the achievement of Socialist unity in France. In that country the Socialist forces have been unfortunately divided and thereby weakened, one wing holding to an aggressive and independent policy as does the party in Germany and in the United States, the other favoring an alliance with the more radical of the non-socialist parties as a method of getting immediate partial reforms.

This schism has at last been healed, the final unification of the party having been effected within the present month. And the best bit, that unity has been made on the basis of an independent policy. The method of seeking reforms by fusion and compromise has proven a bad one and has been abandoned, and one self-reliant Socialist Party now faces all the parties of capitalism.

Throughout the year, Russia and Japan have held the center of the stage. From our point of view, even more than from any other, they have been intensely interesting. When the war began, early in 1904, the Socialists of Russia raised their voices against it, held public meetings and circulated leaflets and papers to denounce it as a gigantic crime and to express the fraternal greeting of Russian thinking workers to those of Japan. Simultaneously, the Japanese Socialists did the same thing. In both countries such utterances were cruelly punished. In Japan Socialist meetings were broken up by the police, the party's paper was suppressed, and a score of comrades sent to prison; but other comrades took up the work, a new paper was started, and the agitation

for peace and freedom still goes on in Russia the denial of free speech is still more rigorous and criticism of the corrupt and tyrannous government still more ruthlessly punished. But in spite of imprisonment, Siberian exile, Cossack brutality, and every form of persecution, the Socialist propaganda has grown more and more powerful. It has reached up to the professional classes and out to the poverty-stricken peasants. On January 22 at St. Petersburg the class-conscious workers showed a courage and self-command which sent a thrill of admiration around the world and the government replied with a cold-blooded massacre which filled up the cup of its iniquities. Since that day all Russia has been in a ferment of thought and action. Autocracy is evidently tottering on the brink and we eagerly await the news of the May Day demonstrations of the next fortnight, which may be the decisive moment that will remove this greatest incubus on the world's progress. Let it only be added that Socialist party members and sympathizers the world over have been giving financial as well as moral aid to the Russian revolution: from this country alone thousands of dollars have been sent during the year.

Turning at least to our own land, we find the year's record most satisfactory. On May 1, 1904, the national convention of the Socialist Party assembled in Chicago, adopted a platform, revised its constitution, made provisions for a vigorous propaganda, and nominated Eugene V. Debs of Indiana and Benjamin Hanford of New York as its national standard-bearers. The campaign that followed was by far the best, both in the amount of work done and in the quality of that work, that has ever been made for Socialism in America. And our efforts were well rewarded for when the ballots were counted we found that we had cast a total of 408,230—more than quadrupling our vote since the last presidential election.

Including the figures of the smaller and now declining Socialist Labor Party, this is, in round numbers, the record of the vote for Socialism in the United States in the nine presidential and congressional elections it has passed through:

Table with 2 columns: Year and Vote. 1888: 2,000; 1890: 13,000; 1892: 21,000; 1894: 33,000; 1896: 37,000; 1898: 52,000; 1900: 130,000; 1902: 280,000; 1904: 441,000.

Nor does this increase of the vote tell the whole story. Under the pressure of Socialist Party gains both the old parties have been compelled to begin a policy of concession to Socialist tendencies, and under the pressure of repeated and accumulating gains in the coming years they will be compelled to carry that policy still farther and make concessions of real value to the working class, just as has been the case in various European countries.

Besides, it must be noted that the year has been marked by a great improvement and strengthening of the Socialist Party organizations. State organizations have been formed in several more states, and locals have been organized in every state and territory, the party membership has grown, and the circulation of the party press has increased greatly.

The year has been one of labor and of triumph, here as well as beyond the two oceans. We may celebrate May Day with hearty enthusiasm and step forth ready for new labors and confident of new victories.

WHAT THE PENNSYLVANIA FEDERATION REALLY DID. The Worker stated last week that the convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor had adopted a resolution favoring the industrial form of organization for the unions, as against the trade-union plan. Secretary C. E. Quinn tells us that we were misinformed. Such a resolution was introduced by the Brewery Workers' delegates. On the recommendation of the resolutions committee and after long debate, it was referred to the affiliated unions for discussion and a referendum vote.

CHICAGO METAL TRADES COMBINE. For the first time in the history of trade unionism in Chicago, five crafts have entered into an offensive and defensive alliance in reference to wages, hours and other conditions of work. Craft autonomy will be preserved, but each stands ready to assist the others in forcing their demands. The alliance affects 14,200 men, divided as follows: Blacksmiths and helpers, 3,000; brass crafts, 1,300; moulders, 3,000; metal workers, 2,000; machinists, 5,000.—St. Louis Labor.

BREWERS' VOTE ON TRAUTMANN CASE. The vote of the membership of the United Brewery Workers on W. E. Trautmann's appeal from the decision of the Executive Board to remove him from the editorship of the "Brewers' Journal" for having participated in the Industrial Reorganization Conference at Chicago without authority stood: To sustain the Board, 11,900; against, 10,801; blank, 510.

HAGERTY'S ACTION REPUDIATED. Wm. D. Haywood, W. E. Trautmann, A. M. Simons, W. L. Hall, and Clarence Smith, constituting the Temporary Executive Committee established by the Industrial Reorganization Conference, have given out a signed statement repudiating the conduct of Thos. J. Hagerty at a recent Socialist convention in San Francisco, in so far as his action there might be understood to represent the feelings of other signers of the Chicago Manifesto. Hagerty is editor of the "Voice of Labor," the organ of the A. L. U.

CRIPPLE CREEK STRIKE STILL ON. The Western Federation of Miners has issued from its headquarters in Denver, under date April 11, a denial of the reports given in the public press that the strike in the Cripple Creek district has been declared off. We quote in part: "The Western Federation of Miners has not declared the strike off, and never will as long as the mine operators are unfair to organized labor, as long as they continue shipping their ores to the scab mills at Colorado City, and as long as the card and blacklisting system is used to discriminate against members of the W. F. of M. Hundreds of men have been driven from their homes in the Cripple Creek district, and are still exiles from their wives and children. Many of these men bear the scars that were inflicted by the brutal forces of the Mine Owners' Association and a Citizens' Alliance. These men and their wives and children, who have borne the insults and outrages of a hired soldiery, would scorn a compromise or a surrender to that "law and order" combination that

FLEISCHMANN'S VEGETABLE COMMINATED MEAT HAS NO EQUAL. revealed in a carnival of brutality, to subjugate and enslave the best blood and brains of the Cripple Creek district. . . . Anyone who goes to the Cripple Creek district and accepts employment in the mines will be recognized as a scab by the metal miners throughout the United States and British Columbia. Whenever the strike is declared off, or a settlement effected, an official notice will be issued from the headquarters of the W. F. of M.

SILK WORKERS' WAGES FALLING. In the silk industry of the United States, according to the Eleventh and Twelfth Censuses, the average wages of men, per full working year, fell from \$531 to \$342 in 1900; the average wages of women fell from \$276 to \$271; those of children, from \$158 to \$141. The proportion of women and children employed increased. The value of the product increased greatly.

BROOKLYN "EAGLE" UNIONIZED. Typographical Union No. 6 has made an agreement with the Brooklyn "Eagle" for one year from May 1. This will bring 100 men employed in the composing room and thirty men in the job printing office into the union. The strike of the Mail and Newspaper Deliverers' Union is still in force.

THE SIZE OF IT. Up in the morning and work all day. Just for the grub of to-morrow to pay. Work to-morrow for meat to carve. Got to keep working or else I'll starve. Work next day for a chance to sup. Just earn money to eat it up. Next day after its sort or die. Habit of eating comes mighty high.

Next week too. It is just the same—Never can beat the eating game. Working on Monday for Tuesday's bread. Working on Tuesday to keep me fed—Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, too. Same old game and it's never new. Don't want to kick or make a fuss. But blamed if I last 'em out.

MARY A TRUE WORKER'S SAID IN JEST. "Is there anything in this movement for immediate democratic ownership?" asked one of his constituents. "I hope so," said the Alderman from the "Steenth Ward, hangtily.—Chicago Tribune.

Lee's "Labor Politics and Socialist Policy" 75 cents a copy; \$1.50 a hundred. Order from this office.

WORKINGMEN'S WIVES AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

Julius Zorn in the "Brewers' Journal."

This is a subject that has not up to date received the attention which a matter of such importance really deserves. With the exception of the Socialist Press, which is constantly working for the emancipation of womankind, we seldom see a paper that discusses this question. Of course, we cannot expect it from the capitalist press, but the trade union publication might pay some attention to the question, but even here we seek in vain.

Rarely do we find an article in a trade union paper bearing on this subject, and yet what an important rôle could not the wives of the workmen take in the labor movement if they were only drawn into it and given the necessary enlightenment! Especially the wives of union men could contribute a great deal to improve the condition of the laboring class and of their husbands.

Not only the question how to earn the money should be considered by the toilers, but also how that money is again expended, and especially in the household. The married workmen carry their wages home on pay day and give all or at least the greater part of it to their wives to carry on the household and then pay no further attention to how or where they make their purchases. The only thing they look at is that the household is properly conducted, that the children are well cared for, and that nourishing food is placed on the table. And it is highly commendable that all these things be done, that the women use the money for such purposes, and are careful not to squander the hard-earned wages of their husbands.

But right here we come to the point where the wives of the workmen can indirectly be of great service to the labor movement. If when making purchases, they will, wherever possible, buy only union-made goods, if they were all or at least the greater part of it to their wives to carry on the household and then pay no further attention to how or where they make their purchases. The only thing they look at is that the household is properly conducted, that the children are well cared for, and that nourishing food is placed on the table. And it is highly commendable that all these things be done, that the women use the money for such purposes, and are careful not to squander the hard-earned wages of their husbands.

Under the pressure of Socialist Party gains both the old parties have been compelled to begin a policy of concession to Socialist tendencies, and under the pressure of repeated and accumulating gains in the coming years they will be compelled to carry that policy still farther and make concessions of real value to the working class, just as has been the case in various European countries.

Besides, it must be noted that the year has been marked by a great improvement and strengthening of the Socialist Party organizations. State organizations have been formed in several more states, and locals have been organized in every state and territory, the party membership has grown, and the circulation of the party press has increased greatly.

The year has been one of labor and of triumph, here as well as beyond the two oceans. We may celebrate May Day with hearty enthusiasm and step forth ready for new labors and confident of new victories.

WHAT THE PENNSYLVANIA FEDERATION REALLY DID. The Worker stated last week that the convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor had adopted a resolution favoring the industrial form of organization for the unions, as against the trade-union plan. Secretary C. E. Quinn tells us that we were misinformed. Such a resolution was introduced by the Brewery Workers' delegates. On the recommendation of the resolutions committee and after long debate, it was referred to the affiliated unions for discussion and a referendum vote.

CHICAGO METAL TRADES COMBINE. For the first time in the history of trade unionism in Chicago, five crafts have entered into an offensive and defensive alliance in reference to wages, hours and other conditions of work. Craft autonomy will be preserved, but each stands ready to assist the others in forcing their demands. The alliance affects 14,200 men, divided as follows: Blacksmiths and helpers, 3,000; brass crafts, 1,300; moulders, 3,000; metal workers, 2,000; machinists, 5,000.—St. Louis Labor.

BREWERS' VOTE ON TRAUTMANN CASE. The vote of the membership of the United Brewery Workers on W. E. Trautmann's appeal from the decision of the Executive Board to remove him from the editorship of the "Brewers' Journal" for having participated in the Industrial Reorganization Conference at Chicago without authority stood: To sustain the Board, 11,900; against, 10,801; blank, 510.

HAGERTY'S ACTION REPUDIATED. Wm. D. Haywood, W. E. Trautmann, A. M. Simons, W. L. Hall, and Clarence Smith, constituting the Temporary Executive Committee established by the Industrial Reorganization Conference, have given out a signed statement repudiating the conduct of Thos. J. Hagerty at a recent Socialist convention in San Francisco, in so far as his action there might be understood to represent the feelings of other signers of the Chicago Manifesto. Hagerty is editor of the "Voice of Labor," the organ of the A. L. U.

CRIPPLE CREEK STRIKE STILL ON. The Western Federation of Miners has issued from its headquarters in Denver, under date April 11, a denial of the reports given in the public press that the strike in the Cripple Creek district has been declared off. We quote in part: "The Western Federation of Miners has not declared the strike off, and never will as long as the mine operators are unfair to organized labor, as long as they continue shipping their ores to the scab mills at Colorado City, and as long as the card and blacklisting system is used to discriminate against members of the W. F. of M. Hundreds of men have been driven from their homes in the Cripple Creek district, and are still exiles from their wives and children. Many of these men bear the scars that were inflicted by the brutal forces of the Mine Owners' Association and a Citizens' Alliance. These men and their wives and children, who have borne the insults and outrages of a hired soldiery, would scorn a compromise or a surrender to that "law and order" combination that

FLEISCHMANN'S VEGETABLE COMMINATED MEAT HAS NO EQUAL. revealed in a carnival of brutality, to subjugate and enslave the best blood and brains of the Cripple Creek district. . . . Anyone who goes to the Cripple Creek district and accepts employment in the mines will be recognized as a scab by the metal miners throughout the United States and British Columbia. Whenever the strike is declared off, or a settlement effected, an official notice will be issued from the headquarters of the W. F. of M.

SILK WORKERS' WAGES FALLING. In the silk industry of the United States, according to the Eleventh and Twelfth Censuses, the average wages of men, per full working year, fell from \$531 to \$342 in 1900; the average wages of women fell from \$276 to \$271; those of children, from \$158 to \$141. The proportion of women and children employed increased. The value of the product increased greatly.

BROOKLYN "EAGLE" UNIONIZED. Typographical Union No. 6 has made an agreement with the Brooklyn "Eagle" for one year from May 1. This will bring 100 men employed in the composing room and thirty men in the job printing office into the union. The strike of the Mail and Newspaper Deliverers' Union is still in force.

THE SIZE OF IT. Up in the morning and work all day. Just for the grub of to-morrow to pay. Work to-morrow for meat to carve. Got to keep working or else I'll starve. Work next day for a chance to sup. Just earn money to eat it up. Next day after its sort or die. Habit of eating comes mighty high.

Next week too. It is just the same—Never can beat the eating game. Working on Monday for Tuesday's bread. Working on Tuesday to keep me fed—Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, too. Same old game and it's never new. Don't want to kick or make a fuss. But blamed if I last 'em out.

MARY A TRUE WORKER'S SAID IN JEST. "Is there anything in this movement for immediate democratic ownership?" asked one of his constituents. "I hope so," said the Alderman from the "Steenth Ward, hangtily.—Chicago Tribune.

Lee's "Labor Politics and Socialist Policy" 75 cents a copy; \$1.50 a hundred. Order from this office.