

Which shall it be—free labor or slave labor? The choice is yours, workingmen! Manhood—Freedom—Socialism! or Poverty—Slavery—Capitalism!

The Worker.

We pledge ourselves, as the Party of the Working Class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our Fellow Workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation.

VOL. XVI.—NO. 23.

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 8, 1906.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

NOW THEY KNOW WHERE WE STAND.

"No Fusion Nor Dicker-ing," Says the Socialist Party.

The promoters of the so-called Union Labor party in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., has been trying to ingratiate itself with the workingmen by the unauthorized use of the name of W. H. Dettrey, Socialist candidate for Congress in that district, seeking to convey the impression that our party had fused or that Comrade Dettrey had accepted an endorsement, either of which would be contrary to the Socialist Party's established tactics.

In the Reading "Union Sentinel" of Sept. 1 Comrade Dettrey exposes this attempt by publishing the letters in which an endorsement was offered to him and refused. The correspondence is as follows:

Endorsement Offered.

Mr. W. H. Dettrey, Hazleton, Pa.: "Dear Sir—As you will see by the enclosed letter, your name has been presented to the United Labor Party (of which I am Secretary-Treasurer) as a candidate for Congress on our ticket. It is the desire of the party to know if you are willing to become our candidate, and I was instructed to write you for that information. Awaiting an early reply, which I trust will be in time for our meeting on Wednesday evening, Aug. 8, I remain—Yours respectfully,

"A. R. MELHUSH, Secretary-Treas." "Wilkes-Barre, Aug. 6, 1906.

No Fusion for Us.

Mr. H. R. Melhush, Secretary-Treasurer United Labor Party, Wilkes-Barre, Pa. "Dear Sir and Brother—Yours of the 6th inst. is received and carefully read. Reply: I certainly appreciate the confidence of the members of your party in tendering me the nomination for the high office of Congressman from this district, but having decided to accept the nomination for Congress which has been offered me by the Socialist Party of this county, and believing in the principles of said party, which is a class-conscious labor party which advocates the abolition of the wage-slave system, which in my judgment is the only real solution of the labor question, because just as long as there is a master there must be a slave, and while that condition of things exists the labor question will be unsolved—there can be no real peace between master and man—and to remove that condition the working class, the class which produces all wealth and have none, must take hold of the machinery of production and distribution and run it in the interest of all the people, not as now being run in the interest of a few, and this can only be brought about by electing men to office upon a party platform the principles of which stand for the abolition of the present commercial system, I cannot therefore consistently accept your nomination.—Very truly yours," "W. H. DETTREY."

"Hazleton, Pa., Aug. 7.

Dettrey's Action Approved.

Mr. Melhush, apparently not satisfied with Comrade Dettrey's answer, thinking perhaps that his attitude was more "quixotic" than that of the average Socialist, wrote to the State Secretary of the party, hoping that intence would be brought to bear to get Dettrey to agree. His letter and the reply follow:

"Mr. H. B. Ringler, Reading, Pa.: "Dear Sir—The union workmen of Luzerne County have organized what we term the United Labor party, the object of which is to place a legislative and county ticket in the field composed of union men or those who stand for union principles.

"The name of Mr. W. H. Dettrey of Hazleton was presented to us, and having written Mr. Dettrey, he informs us that, as he had accepted the nomination on the Socialist ticket, he could not accept our nomination. Now the party, and especially the United Mine Workers, are very desirous of having Mr. Dettrey's name at the head of our ticket, and I write you therefore to ask if we would be allowed to endorse Mr. Dettrey and place his name on our ticket for Congress the same as on your ticket. I am sure with Mr. Dettrey's name on both tickets he could be elected by a good majority, and I do not think the Socialists would be in any way the losers; in fact, I think it would be a gain, as there are a great number of the working class who would vote for Mr. Dettrey on a Labor ticket that would not on the Socialist ticket, for they don't care to vote the straight ticket and many are afraid of splitting so complicated a ballot.

"Trusting that this can be so arranged that we may be allowed to place Mr. Dettrey at the head of our ticket and so insure his election, I remain—Yours respectfully,

"A. R. MELHUSH," "Secretary-Treasurer United Labor Party."

State Secretary's Reply.

"Mr. A. R. Melhush, Westmore, Pa. "Dear Sir—Your letter of the 12th

COURTS STRIKE ANOTHER BLOW.

Wisconsin Judge Declares Peaceful Boycotting Criminal.

RACINE, Wis.—Union labor boycotts are declared to be criminal conspiracies and as such punishable by fine and imprisonment in a decision handed down by Judge Chester A. Fowler in the suit for \$25,000 damages brought by Otto B. Schultz, a baker, against the Trades and Labor Council and its leaders here.

The decision declares that the contract exacted from the boss bakers by the union men whereby they sought to enforce the closed shop is illegal; enjoins the Trades Council or any of its individual members from using the "unfair list," and awards to Schultz \$2,500 for the loss of profits and \$3,500 for injury to his business.

The decision is in part as follows: "All boss bakers of the city signed this agreement except the plaintiff, who has steadfastly refused to do so. Upon the plaintiff refusing to sign, concerted attack on his business was begun by organized labor with the object and purpose of compelling him against his will to sign the contract, and has been maintained with more or less vigor up to the present time.

"The plaintiff has suffered a permanent and all but destructive injury to his business, which has been caused by the combined acts and the attitude of organized labor above mentioned. Are the injuries so caused such as the courts furnish any remedy? An injury to one's honest business and trade is on the same footing as an injury to his tangible property and the law furnishes a remedy for one as well as for the other. Of course it is not every injury which one suffers from the acts of others that the law gives a remedy for. Whenever one suffers an injury as a result of a legal wrong inflicted by others, the law furnishes a remedy.

"The acts complained of are, in my views, plainly in violation of section 466 A, Wisconsin statutes of 1898, as construed by the Supreme Court. This statute makes any two or more persons who shall combine, associate, mutually undertake or concert together for the purpose of wilfully or maliciously injuring another's trade or business, by any means whatsoever, or for the purpose of maliciously compelling another to do or perform any act against his will, guilty of an offense punishable by fines and imprisonment.

"This contract was in itself an allegation contract, in that it would by its terms obligate the plaintiff to employ union labor only as distinguished from non-union labor; it would obligate him to maintain a 'closed' as distinguished from an 'open' shop."

inst. to hand and contents noted. In reply I will say that we are sorry we cannot comply with your request.

"The Socialist Party of the State of Pennsylvania is not looking for any endorsements for its candidates, nor will it allow any other party to use the name of any of its candidates on their tickets, our motto being: NO COMPROMISE, NO POLITICAL TRADING.

"We think that the history of the Socialist Party the world over has shown that it is a workingman's political party, and that it is only by wiping out the present system of rent, interest and profit, and substituting a system of co-operation and production for use that the working class can gain any permanent good.

"We think it a WASTE OF ENERGY AND TIME TO TRY TO BUILD UP A NEW POLITICAL PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS, which in itself has no definite aim or program to work for, WHEN THERE IS ALREADY A STRONG POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF WORKINGMEN IN THE FIELD.

"Now as to Mr. Dettrey: We do not allow our candidates to stand on any other ticket but our own, because we do not want them to be under obligations to any other political party but the Socialist Party, so that when we elect a man to office we can keep control of him and see that he carries out the program that we stand for, which we could not expect nor do in any other case.

"We would recommend that you and those interested with you read and study our literature, what we propose to do, and our relation to the working class as a whole, and when you understand it you will readily see that there is no need for any other political organization of the working class than that of the Socialist Party.

"We are sending you under separate cover a book and some leaflets, and hope that if you are sincere you will take this opportunity to inform yourself fully as to the merits of our position.—Yours respectfully,

"P. F. R. EAST," "Acting State Secretary."

—The New York Worker, 15 Spruce street, New York City, 50c. a year.

FOR FREE SPEECH.

Socialists on Deck in Pennsylvania, Georgia, Nevada, and Washington.

The Socialist Party is again having to make a fight in many parts of the country for the right to hold street meetings and carry on its orderly work of education and organization. The capitalist anarchists in authority show their fear of economic and political truth by resorting to lawless force to suppress it. But our comrades are by no means inclined to stand for such suppression.

'Way Down in Dixie.

In the South, where arbitrary methods are more commonly in vogue and where our party organization is still weak, the Socialist speakers have an especially hard row to hoe.

The National Secretary reports that Organizer J. B. Osborne, Socialist candidate for Governor of Georgia, was arrested in Atlanta on Aug. 23 for speaking on the street and was sentenced to serve thirty days in the city workhouse. There was, of course, no legal ground for such a sentence, but it was a case where "Might makes right." The effect, however, was to rouse a strong public sympathy with the Socialists and the local comrades, with the aid of the unions, immediately took steps to hold a great protest mass meeting.

Meanwhile, legal steps have been taken to procure the release of Comrade Osborne on habeas corpus proceedings. Local Secretary Wamser writes The Worker, under date Sept. 3, that the comrade is still in confinement and that the fight will be a stubborn one. It is of the utmost importance that we win a victory in this case, as the result will be felt all thru the South, making it easier for us to maintain our rights. The local needs financial assistance for this purpose. Contributions should be sent to A. Wamser, Secretary, 308 Auburn avenue, Atlanta, Ga.

Interference in Philadelphia.

Organizer Davies of Local Philadelphia writes:

"Despite the decision of the magistrate at the hearing of Comrades Casale and McKelvey on Aug. 27, to the effect that if we would move to another corner, we would not be molested, Geo. N. Cohen was ordered to move from the corner of Main and Levering streets, Manayunk, on Saturday evening, Sept. 1. Heretofore we have been holding our meetings at the corner of Main and Cotton streets in Manayunk. After the hearing of the comrades above referred to, we decided to move to the latter place. Comrade Cohen went there to speak on Saturday evening, but was told that if he persisted he would be locked up. No arrangements were made, as we thought that after the decision of the magistrate all would be well. Comrade Cohen moved to another corner, pending the decision of the Campaign Committee. At the meeting of the Campaign Committee held Sunday afternoon, it was decided to continue our meetings at Levering street, let the consequences be what they may. Further developments will be announced later."

Eggs as Arguments.

While Comrade Woodbey of California was speaking in Manhattan, Nevada, a few days ago, the capitalist heeled, having no better arguments against Socialism, resorted to the use of ancient eggs. The majority of the crowd, however, who were attentively following the speaker's words, resented the outrage in so emphatic a manner that the disturbers made haste to decamp. The next night a deputy sheriff tried to prevent Comrade Woodbey from speaking, making the very logical claim that Woodbey was responsible for the trouble, because, if he had not made a speech, the eggs would not have been thrown at him. The comrades did not approve this method of reasoning, however.

Fight On in Seattle.

Herman F. Titus, editor of "The Socialist," of Caldwell, Idaho, was arrested on the streets of Seattle, Wash., two weeks ago, because he dared to speak on the street without a permit from the Mayor. The case was a test one undertaken by Local Seattle in order to establish the right of the Socialists to the use of the streets for public meetings, which had been denied them.

A great crowd had gathered upon the announcement of the Socialists that they were going to hold a meeting in defiance of the Mayor's orders, and Titus' arrest has aroused intense interest and sympathy with the Socialists. Vincent Harper, a well-known Western author, was one of those who took up the fight and he wrote a public letter to the Mayor, strongly denouncing the proceedings as an outrage. A protest meeting has been arranged and the largest hall engaged. The Socialists are determined to carry the case thru the courts and there is no doubt they will win.

ACTUAL SITUATION OUT IN FRISCO.

The capitalist papers continue to announce the scarcity of labor in San Francisco and recount the advantages to be gained by workers going to that city. The "Socialist Voice" of Oakland, Cal., under heading "Calling up the Reserves," has the following to say on this subject:

"The only scarcity of labor in San Francisco and Oakland to-day is in those lines where the wages are insufficient to allow the men any surplus after they pay the present high prices for the necessities of life. At the present time the cost of living in San Francisco is practically double what it was before the fire, while at the same time there has been no raise in wages except in one or two favored lines of employment, such as plumbing. As a matter of fact, the real exploitation of labor in San Francisco to-day is greater than ever before. This fact in turn gives rise to discontent among the workers; discontent leads to strikes; and the threat of strikes emphasizes to the capitalists the necessity of importing into San Francisco large gangs of labor as the surplus army of the slaves of capital.

"It is true that there is a condition of great activity in production in the state of California, but it is also true that the state is being overrun with men looking for a master. There never was a time when the masters were in stronger control of the situation for their own immediate benefit than they are to-day."

PRINTERS LISTEN TO SOCIALISM AT 3 A. M.

John C. Chase, Socialist Party candidate for Governor of New York, addressed a public meeting of printers held in the club rooms of the West Side Agitation Committee, 585 Eighth avenue, New York, on Tuesday morning, Sept. 4. The meeting was arranged by the Socialist Printers' League for the printers who work at night and began at 3 a. m., and closed two hours later.

Comrade Chase spoke over an hour and his address was warmly received by the fifty printers present. The greatest interest was displayed. Refreshments were served by the League.

The meeting was so successful that more of the kind will be held, and probably also in the downtown district, so that the printers who cannot attend meetings at the usual hours can have an opportunity to hear the message which Socialism has for all workers.

NEW YORK CAMPAIGN FUND.

Financial Secretary U. Solomon acknowledges the receipt of the following contributions for the campaign fund:

- NEW YORK: G. Beck, List 11, \$3.10; Jacob Berman, List 157, \$6.75; E. Brown, List 248, \$1; Geo. Brown, List 255, \$3.50; Sam. Davidson, List 302, \$1; August Dietrich, List 388, \$2.55; P. Donohue, List 391, \$2.50; K. Eisenbud, List 434, \$1.50; F. Elvers, List 442, \$1; J. Hawk, List 708, \$2.50; Paul Hilde, List 748, \$3.50; Emil Krass, List 1018, \$6.75; Chas. Lindan, List 1125, \$3.00; Rev. Nathan Lublin, List 1154, \$11; Louis Mandelker, List 1168, \$3.40; Paul Alexander, List 1390, \$1; John Schmidt, List 1650, \$4.75; Peter Schumann, List 1663, \$2; Wm. Schultz, List 1676, \$2.25; Chas. Serry, List 1711, \$1; J. Fishmann, List 1894, \$2; Hyman Stelberg, List 2089, \$2; Herman Lipschitz, List 2508, \$1.50; Rum. Ivelson, List 5515, \$1.15; Israel Bloch, List 5519, \$2.83; S. Cohn, List 5530, \$1.90; Fred Paullitch, List 5531, \$2; Frank A. Wilson, List 5548, \$2; UP-STATE: Richard Ramlich, Camillus, List 3256, \$4.75; Geo. A. Whittling, Centre Melches, List 3276, \$9; Albert Carrett, Croton-on-Hudson, List 3289, \$2.45; CASH CONTRIBUTIONS: A. K. & S. K., Br. 25, New York, \$25; A. K. & S. K., Br. 3, Yonkers, \$25; Mrs. A. Bursham, \$2; James Kabela, San Bruno, Cal., \$2; surplus, plenk, Carpenters and Joiners, Local 306, Hess Shop, \$9.25; John J. Long, \$1; Bro. of Carpenters and Joiners, No. 309, \$150; total for the week, \$325.15; previously acknowledged, \$553.21; total to date, \$1,178.36.

WHAT THE "OPEN SHOP" LEADS TO.

The logical effect of the agitation of such labor-haters as Kirby and Marshall, Lieutenants of Parry, is seen in Dayton, O., where an enterprising union-smashing and cheap labor loving manufacturing concern according to the "Dayton Daily News," has imported a low class of foreigners and is keeping them herded like cattle in a huge pen, called "The Stockade." They must purchase all their supplies in a store inside the inclosure and are prohibited from renting rooms outside. The National Cash Register Co., in the same city, also kept a gang of strike-breakers "bull-penned" for weeks when the printers started their eight-hour movement. These are the conditions that the howling hypocrites and money maniacs of the open shop consider to be ideal for their "free and independent" wage-slaves; who lack the manhood to organize and resist oppression.—Cleveland Citizen.

RAND SCHOOL OPEN EVENINGS.

The Rand School, 112 E. Nineteenth street, is now open evenings until 10 o'clock. Comrades and friends are cordially invited to call.

RECENT TOUR OF JOHN C. CHASE.

Socialist Candidate for Governor of New York Had Great Success.

John C. Chase, Socialist Party candidate for Governor, has completed a long speaking tour of the state. He has this to say about his trip:

"I have visited many of the important cities and towns where we have organizations. Almost without exception, the meetings have been better attended and the interest greater than ever before. The comrades, thruout the state generally understand the importance of this year's campaign and are more willing to work for the cause than ever. They understand that this campaign offers greater opportunities for the advancement of the cause of Socialism than any other in the history of the movement.

"The people are discontented and are preparing to give expression to their discontent. Whether it will crystallize in favor of the Socialist Party or be swung off to some reform movement, depends largely upon the efforts put forth by the organized Socialists of the state.

"The leaders of the Independence League, or Hearst movement, have been working hard to form organizations in the state. Emisaries have been sent to all the principal cities and towns to secure whatever aid they could for that movement.

"The people are seeking relief from present conditions and they are liable to embrace that movement which makes the most plausible and far-sounding promises of immediate relief unless the Socialist Party organization can do work enough in the campaign to show the people that their hopes lie not so much in the success of reform movements headed by some politically ambitious individual as upon the final success of the revolutionary Socialist movement.

"In this campaign we must show that there is but one way for the working class to free itself, and that is by the complete capture of the machinery of government and to use that machinery of government to abolish entirely the private ownership of the instruments of production and establish in its place the collective ownership of industry by all the people.

"History proves conclusively, that no great step toward freedom has ever been made by the people thru half-way or reform movements. A revolutionary spirit and a revolutionary movement have always been necessary to abolish any oppressive system or class.

"We need not fear to state our position too boldly. We know that the incipient reform movements of to-day must go the way of all that have gone before and that eventually those people who are honestly seeking the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery will be obliged to come to the Socialist movement. Every comrade should set himself to the task in this campaign as never before. Money must be contributed to place speakers in the state. There must be more individual work on the part of every comrade. The difference between a Socialist movement created for the purpose of complete and absolute freedom of every man, woman and child, and a movement which at best can only aid a small part of the people to survive in the struggle for existence, must be clearly shown. The future is ours but every comrade can aid in this campaign in making that future all the more surely and quickly ours.

"The State Committee has more speakers engaged and a more complete and effective campaign mapped out than ever before and every comrade should render all the assistance possible. This is undoubtedly one of the most critical years of our movement. We must do the work in this campaign that will bring us out of the struggle with an organization strong enough to withstand any attack upon it in the future and to be recognized as the only one that the working class of the state can ally itself with in all future campaigns."

CIVILIZATION'S REWARD TO HONEST INDUSTRY.

Any one who is acquainted with the state of the population of all great industrial centres, whether in this or other countries, is aware that amidst a large and increasing body of that population there reigns supreme . . . that condition which the French call "la misere", a word for which I do not think there is any exact English equivalent. It is a condition in which the food, warmth, and clothing, which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the body in their normal state, cannot be obtained; in which men, women, and children are forced to crowd into dens wherein decency is abolished, and the most ordinary conditions of healthful existence are impossible of attainment; in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to brutality and drunkenness; in which the pains accumulate at compound interest in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development and moral degradation; in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger, rounded by a pauper's grave. — T. H. Huxley, Nineteenth Century, Feb., 1888.

WHERE MR. BRYAN FAILS.

When Mr. Bryan's utterances since his return from abroad are analyzed one thing is notably conspicuous by its absence. That is the utter lack of hope held out to the working class in any proposition put forward by him.

His entire addresses contain nothing that is new or significant. That he is able to clothe his propositions in eloquent language and well turned phrases does not hide their dearth of originality. All that he says about government ownership of railroads, an income tax and other reforms has been said by less prominent men than Mr. Bryan. He is therefore not even a leader of opinion, but merely the politician who thinks he sees a favorable opportunity to add to his popularity by advocating measures which others have made popular.

It is true that he declares himself in favor of the eight-hour day as a labor measure; but this recognition of a labor measure comes after the working class organizations of America have made the eight-hour day a practical fact in many branches of industry. And if the eight-hour day is not more extensively in vogue it is mainly because the party to which Mr. Bryan belongs and of which he is the recognized leader, has along with the Republican party, used the powers of government to thwart the efforts of the unions. The unions have educated the public, or a large portion of it, to the practicability of the eight-hour day and many are actually now discussing the introduction of the six-hour day. We can expect that if the unions should succeed in making that advance Mr. Bryan will be ready to declare himself for that also. But it would be too much to expect that he would offend his middle-class followers by advocating anything which they are not yet qualified to understand or approve.

We repeat, then, that Mr. Bryan does not present anything which would justify hope on the part of the working class that his program or policy, if elected president, would bring them anything of relief from present conditions. He would still retain them in wage slavery. He would still have

them dependent on the owners of industry. He would still have their labor, their flesh and blood, their brain and energy, bought and sold like pig iron, pork, cotton, or any other commodity. He would still have them subject to the competitive labor market in which they must continue to fight each other for jobs controlled by the capitalists as dogs fight over a bone. He would still retain the ownership of industry in the hands of the capitalists so that they can traffic in labor and adulterate, debauch, and corrupt every avenue of human activity, for their profit. And if he puts forward government ownership of railroads it is solely for the benefit of the small shippers and traders, for whom he pleads; not for the railroad workers, who run the roads, but for those business men who are being crushed out by the combinations of railroads and large industrial plants, and who are, so far as their opportunities go, as much labor sweaters and exploiters as the railroads are.

Between the lines of Mr. Bryan's orations, therefore, there is still writ large: Wage Slavery for the Workers.

It is Wage Slavery which must be abolished, if the workers are to be free and enjoy what their labor and their labor alone produces.

Wage Slavery has its root in the capitalist system of private ownership of industry—all industry, not the railroads alone, but ALL the instruments of production and distribution controlled by the capitalist class and operated by labor for the profit of that class.

The substitution of Socialism—the ownership by Society of what properly belongs to Society: The tools of production and distribution—for the capitalist system of private ownership will abolish Wage Slavery and enable the Workers to reap all that labor sows. This is the lesson which the Workers must learn and the Socialists must teach them, and with it the just as important lesson that the Workers can only realize Socialism by uniting in a class conscious party pledged to Socialism and the freedom of all Workers from capitalist oppression everywhere.

DESTROYING THE FORESTS.

After me the deluge! Such is the maxim of the individualist. The utter disregard for the common welfare and the profound contempt for the needs and rights of posterity which is manifested under the individualistic regime can receive no better illustration than the rapid destruction of American forests. It is estimated that in the United States there are at the present time about 1,475 million feet of timber, but 45,000 million feet of this are being cut down every year for commercial purposes. So that at this rate the timber forests will disappear altogether in about 33 years unless the destruction is checked.

In fact, the timber forests may disappear even sooner, for, according to "Agriculture," immense quantities of forest timber are destroyed by fire every year, and, taking this into consideration, the standing timber which is used for the supply of commercial needs will not last more than twenty years at the present rate of consumption.—London Labor Leader.

ANOTHER ILLUSION DESTROYED.

The editorial page of one of the local daily "epileptic fits" remarks that "what British Columbia needs to make her great, prosperous and populous, is development, and development cannot be gained without laborers." We had fondly believed that capital was the only thing needed and now it seems that prosperity can only be realized when there is an ample supply of laborers to be skinned. Thus is another of our cherished illusions knocked into a cocked hat.—Western Clarion.

When Mr. Bryan's utterances since his return from abroad are analyzed one thing is notably conspicuous by its absence. That is the utter lack of hope held out to the working class in any proposition put forward by him.

His entire addresses contain nothing that is new or significant. That he is able to clothe his propositions in eloquent language and well turned phrases does not hide their dearth of originality. All that he says about government ownership of railroads, an income tax and other reforms has been said by less prominent men than Mr. Bryan. He is therefore not even a leader of opinion, but merely the politician who thinks he sees a favorable opportunity to add to his popularity by advocating measures which others have made popular.

It is true that he declares himself in favor of the eight-hour day as a labor measure; but this recognition of a labor measure comes after the working class organizations of America have made the eight-hour day a practical fact in many branches of industry. And if the eight-hour day is not more extensively in vogue it is mainly because the party to which Mr. Bryan belongs and of which he is the recognized leader, has along with the Republican party, used the powers of government to thwart the efforts of the unions. The unions have educated the public, or a large portion of it, to the practicability of the eight-hour day and many are actually now discussing the introduction of the six-hour day. We can expect that if the unions should succeed in making that advance Mr. Bryan will be ready to declare himself for that also. But it would be too much to expect that he would offend his middle-class followers by advocating anything which they are not yet qualified to understand or approve.

We repeat, then, that Mr. Bryan does not present anything which would justify hope on the part of the working class that his program or policy, if elected president, would bring them anything of relief from present conditions. He would still retain them in wage slavery. He would still have

them dependent on the owners of industry. He would still have their labor, their flesh and blood, their brain and energy, bought and sold like pig iron, pork, cotton, or any other commodity. He would still have them subject to the competitive labor market in which they must continue to fight each other for jobs controlled by the capitalists as dogs fight over a bone. He would still retain the ownership of industry in the hands of the capitalists so that they can traffic in labor and adulterate, debauch, and corrupt every avenue of human activity, for their profit. And if he puts forward government ownership of railroads it is solely for the benefit of the small shippers and traders, for whom he pleads; not for the railroad workers, who run the roads, but for those business men who are being crushed out by the combinations of railroads and large industrial plants, and who are, so far as their opportunities go, as much labor sweaters and exploiters as the railroads are.

Between the lines of Mr. Bryan's orations, therefore, there is still writ large: Wage Slavery for the Workers.

It is Wage Slavery which must be abolished, if the workers are to be free and enjoy what their labor and their labor alone produces.

Wage Slavery has its root in the capitalist system of private ownership of industry—all industry, not the railroads alone, but ALL the instruments of production and distribution controlled by the capitalist class and operated by labor for the profit of that class.

The substitution of Socialism—the ownership by Society of what properly belongs to Society: The tools of production and distribution—for the capitalist system of private ownership will abolish Wage Slavery and enable the Workers to reap all that labor sows. This is the lesson which the Workers must learn and the Socialists must teach them, and with it the just as important lesson that the Workers can only realize Socialism by uniting in a class conscious party pledged to Socialism and the freedom of all Workers from capitalist oppression everywhere.

BIG RATIFICATION MEETING.

New York Socialists Will Turn Out In Full Force at Cooper Union on Sept. 15.

The Socialist Party of New York will hold its ratification meeting in Cooper Union on Saturday evening, Sept. 15. It is desired and expected to make this meeting a tremendous success, and every comrade or sympathizer should do his part to that end.

John C. Chase of New York and Gustave Strelow of Syracuse, candidates of the Socialist Party for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, will address the meeting, as will also J. G. Phelps Stokes, Jos. Wanhope, Hugh O. Pentecost, Morris Hillquitt, and John W.

Brown, all of whom are well known as powerful speakers and good exponents of Socialist principles. If necessary—and it should be necessary—overflow meetings will be held.

During the next week every comrade ought to help in distributing the announcement cards and otherwise advertising the meeting among the working people in the shops and tenements.

Let the hall be packed and the streets thronged besides. All hands to work. Compel the capitalists to take notice.

AMERICAN AID FOR RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

Secretary Rubnow and Treasurer Rotam of the Russian Social Democratic Society of New York acknowledge receipt of the following contributions for the Russian revolution:

- Previously acknowledged, \$9,862.41; Social Dem. Frauen Verein Central Committee, \$25; S. P. Local, Elizabeth, N. J., German Local 1, \$10; Soc. Dem. Frauen Verein, Br. 4, Elizabeth, N. J., \$10; H. Zarkhite, Elyria, O., \$1; Soc. Dem. Frauen Verein, Br. 2, Yorkville, \$3; Local Grains, S. D., \$1; P. \$2; Wm. Pritschan, Boulder, Neb., \$2; F. Teichman, 1644, 50 cents; G. Werner, 1644, 50 cents; collected at a meeting 234 A. D. S. P., Brooklyn, N. Y., \$300; C. Keyser, Kansas City, Kas., \$5; per Volkszeitung, \$9.25; total, \$9,966.66.

Contributions should be sent and checks or orders made payable to Dr. Maxim Romm, Treasurer, 306 E. Fifteenth street, New York City.

AMERICA AND THE TRUSTS.

The essential question for America, as for Europe, is the rescue of her land, her public services and the whole of her great economic process from the anarchic and irresponsible control of private owners—how dangerous and horrible that control may become the Railway and Beef Trust investigations have shown—and the organization of her social life upon the broad, clean, humane conceptions of modern science.—H. G. Wells in London Tribune.

The Worker.

AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY PUBLISHED WEEKLY 15 SPRUCE STREET, NEW YORK

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS. Invariably in Advance.

One year \$3.00 Six months \$1.75 Single copies 10c

Weekly Bundles: 5 per week, one year \$1.75 10 per week, one year \$3.00

Address all business communications, and make money orders, checks and drafts payable to The Worker.

All communications should be written with ink and on one side of the paper.

As The Worker goes to press on Wednesday, correspondents sending news should mail their communications in time to reach this office by Monday.

Complaints about the business or editorial management of the paper should be addressed to the Board of Directors.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post Office on April 6, 1901.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Socialist Party has passed through its third general election. Its growing power is indicated by the increase of its vote:

Table with 2 columns: Year and Votes. 1900 (Presidential) 96,961; 1902 (State and Congressional) 229,762; 1904 (Presidential) 408,280.

New York State Ticket

- For Governor—John C. Chase, of New York. For Lieutenant-Governor—Gustav A. Strebel, of Syracuse.

Next week's issue of The Worker will contain two articles which will make it especially valuable for propaganda purposes.

"WHY DO THE HEATHEN RAGE?"

Benjamin Kidd, in that remarkably suggestive if not always satisfactory book, "Social Evolution," remarks that the death-knell of the French aristocracy was sounded from the moment when that ruling class began to have doubts about its own right to rule.

Mr. Kidd might have gone further, had he not been misled by his half-way idealistic philosophy. He might have explained why it was that the

aristocracy at that time lost confidence in the rightness of its position, why its best elements went over to the opposition—that it was just because, in fact, it had at last utterly outlived its usefulness.

Within the last few months several well known young men belonging by birth and training and social position to our ruling class have, after a period of hesitation and attempt to find a middle course in philanthropy or moderate reform, definitely broken with the old system of which they were and might easily continue to be beneficiaries.

For us, we welcome these men as we welcome every honest recruit—as, in fact, they wish to be welcomed—not as leaders and heroes, but as comrades. And the party gladly accepts the services which they gladly render.

We do not expect to get many recruits from the capitalist class. The few we get will be men worth having. And their coming will help us as much by the way as it spreads in the enemy's camp as by the strength it brings to our own.

These remarks are suggested by an editorial in the New York "Times" of September 2 in comment on Joseph Medill Patterson's article, "Confessions of a Drone," which we this week reprint from the "Independent." That the "Times" editor's comments are the limit of silliness and puerility goes without saying.

The statement made as an argument against Socialists that they want to create dissatisfaction is true, but only half the truth. They do want to see the workers dissatisfied, but they also realize that unless an intelligent and logical remedy is presented to the workers the dissatisfaction created would be likely to result in disaster and chaos.

workers as a class thru a political party of their class on election day. And this is the reason why Socialism is growing, because no other political party offers a rational remedy for the social conditions which appal the nation to-day.

Twenty thousand dollars is the amount which Justice Spencer of the New York Supreme Court declares to be necessary for the maintenance of a certain young lady who is about to marry and live in France.

THE VERMONT ELECTION.

While the report of the Socialist vote in Vermont last Tuesday has not yet reached us, the returns showing the election of the Republican candidate for Governor, are interesting insofar as they indicate the failure of the working class of Vermont to rally to the support of Clement, the Independent-Democratic candidate.

An English professor justifies the existence of kings on the ground that they are cheaper than other rulers. This may be so. We are not prepared to discuss kings as economic bargains.

The wiping out of the different tribes in the Philippines continues with all the Christian vigor of which the American army there stationed is capable. The United States, along with its other progressive features, is developing a colonial policy very similar to that of England and other powers.

THE REVOLT IN CUBA.

The present revolution in Cuba gives every sign of being merely a political revolution, engineered solely by the political adventurers of the old regime who were counted out in the last elections and since shoved into the background by President Palma's administration.

crush the revolution and "restore order" there seems to be no doubt. While the treaty with Cuba, thru the Platt amendment, gives the government of the United States the power to interfere in Cuban affairs, in the event that internal disorder should warrant it, yet there is no likelihood this power will be exercised within the near future.

We can be quite sure, however, that when the time appears propitious the United States government will exercise the power which it craftily provided for when the Cuban treaty was signed, and Cuba be annexed, as our capitalists desire it to be.

Socialists are so often denounced as being enemies of marriage and the home that it is interesting to note a new rule of the Boston School Committee in disqualifying for further service any teacher who gets married.

The clergy of the Church of England are to get no more revenue directly from the public funds, according to the new education bill. So the blessed bishops are howling about "confiscation" and "robbery."

NOTE, COMMENT, AND ANSWER.

We regret the necessity of remarking that, so far, the contributions of up-state locals and comrades to the New York state campaign fund are not coming in proportionately to their numbers and to the needs of the campaign.

A reader of The Worker takes umbrage at our editorial of August 25, in which we compared Speaker Cannon to "Mother" Eddy.

COMING HOME.

The summer days are dying. And from mountain, sea and shore, The summer crowds come flying. To city life once more.

IN A FEW WORDS

BY WILLIAM MAILLY

Our best citizens continue to be our worst examples. There is no use in being a Socialist if you are not useful to Socialism.

If the workers got all they earned there would be nothing left for the idlers who earn nothing. Christianity covers a multitude of bank deficits.

J. Ogden Armour is said to be opposed to "The Jungle" being staged. Objects to competition, as usual.

SOME NAVAL DITTIES.

Sing a song of our naval review, Our ships and our guns galore, And our President Teddy, Who's always ready To wade in rivers of gore.

Sing a song of our admirals great, And their brave and lusty crews, Who're able and willing To knock the filling Out of whomever Teddy should choose.

Sing a song of the blessings of peace, Which Teddy desires to maintain, And if he should need us We'd use our torpedoes To blow peace into those who complain.

Sing a song of the nation sublime, With a ruler onto his job, Who'd make any old king Feel a mighty small thing, And willing to mix with the mob.

Sing a song of the workers whose labor Makes the naval show grand and complete, But who're easily spared And not seen or heard—When Teddy surveys the great fleet.

Mr. Bryan is still of the opinion that the laborer is entitled to all that the capitalist lets him have.

Capitalism is as black as the capitalist papers paint it.

Save your pennies and the bank presidents will look out for themselves.

Socialism would solve the problem of how much the capitalist is entitled to on his investment by putting the capitalist to work and turning the investment into social property.

Burglars are now beginning to use automobiles, just like other robbers.

Whether it's Hearst, Jerome or Platt, Higgins, Hughes or Odell, For the workers it's a cinch, that Life will keep on being hell.

Mr. Bryan says he "finds his aversion growing to the killing of men"—probably making a mental reservation in favor of the Democratic states where lynching bees are popular.

Poverty is a blessing—to those who are rich.

Socialism is opposed not because it will mean free love but because it will mean free labor.

If the workers can run industry for idle capitalists they can run it better for themselves.

Taking off the tariff won't take the parasites off labor.

"Eight makes eight"—but the capitalist won't believe it until the might of the workers makes him.

Necessity is the mother of prostitution.

Roosevelt's square deal doesn't prevent round steals.

If capitalist law makes it legal to exploit the workers then working-class law can make it legal to expropriate the capitalists of what they have expropriated from labor.

Unfortunately the defaulters do not commit suicide until all the funds are gone.

Scratch an opportunist and you will find an office seeker.

The summer days are dying. And from mountain, sea and shore, The summer crowds come flying. To city life once more.

Bringing tales of brook and meadow, Of the river flecked with shadow, Of the moonlight's magic thrill, Sun-lit road and shady wood, And old ocean's varying mood: Of tennis, golf and autos, Skimming yachts and sylvan grottoes; Of the foreign lands and places, Varied life and shifting faces, Gems of art and ancient lore; Of the golden sunset streaming, And the evening lights agleaming, Twinkling, sparkling, from shore to shore.

Back they come now, never fretting, That they'll have to work or sweat. For they left the workers sweating—And they're sweating yet, you bet!

The only ones who need to fear a change in social conditions are those

TWO YEARS FROM TO-DAY.

Alexander Jonas in "Volkszeitung."

Unless all signs fail, two years hence we shall be put to the test as never before as a party in our presidential campaign. What happened last year in the city of New York—namely, that hundreds of thousands of voters cast their ballots for a man who threw the battle-cry of "municipal ownership" out among the people—this experience may be repeated in a couple of years, but on a tremendous scale, embracing all the voters of the United States.

As history seems sometimes to repeat itself in certain external aspects, yet shows important basic differences, so will the case be this time. Hearst's mayoralty candidature came at a moment of tremendous popular excitement over the shocking disclosures in the corporation and life insurance activities. Bryan's candidacy, apparently, will come at a time when a sham campaign against the trusts which Roosevelt has put upon the stage will still have influence, but the bitterness of the people will not yet be raised to the boiling point, as last year in New York. On the other hand, Bryan has a personality of much greater weight than Hearst. He is a skilled agitator and a powerful speaker. And, above all, the majority of the people are probably more determined than ever before to break loose from the old party machines.

If, then, it is always our duty to work unceasingly to build up our party by bringing in constantly new members who cannot be blown away by the first sensational storm, this duty is now doubled in the face of the social-political situation as it has formed itself thru the appearance of Bryan and as it will form itself in the near future. For even now the lines are very clearly shown upon which the next battle will be fought. The whole Democratic press—to say nothing, of course, of the Republican—turns its

face against the one demand of Bryan which refers to the nationalization of the railroads. Almost all the other demands—and this is extraordinarily characteristic—such as the introduction of a progressive income tax, direct election of United States Senators, and above all, a change in the tariff, they accept. As one of the papers expresses it: "To-morrow we should see the mines nationalized, the day after the telegraph and telephone systems, and finally all the great industries." If these timid capitalist advocates would only consider that it never occurs to Bryan to have the railroads appraised and expropriated at their true value, after squeezing out all the water—the only way at present to permit them to pass into the possession of the state to the advantage of the people—and that, on the other hand, the great capitalists to whom the railroads now belong would with the greatest pleasure accept the thousands of millions if Bryan were ready and could find the means to pay them—if they would consider this, their hair would not grow gray on account of his railroad plank. But they are filled with a terrible fear of the beginning of a possible general expropriation. "It is the first step that costs."

We should deceive ourselves very much if we did not expect to go thru the experience of seeing Bryan as a so-called "radical" Democrat and a "conservative" Democrat stand in the field along with Roosevelt, the Republican candidate. It may be that the conservative Democrats will stand by Roosevelt as the somewhat erratic but yet absolutely safe man; but all that is a matter of the future. The only consideration for us is that in the face of the threatening storm of the two years before us we should weld our party together into a power impregnable within and imposing without. Then, if the people of the United States is obliged by its own fault to go thru a new period of disillusionment, because it has once more mistaken the appearance for the reality, we can at least take care that the period be a short one and that the masses of the disappointed voters, as they stream back, shall find in the Socialist Party an unshakable organization founded upon principle, in which they can gather and under whose banners, in the last decisive conflict with the dark powers of capitalism, they can march forward to the final victory. And no disappointment will follow this victory.

who profit by social conditions remaining unchanged.

It is sweeter to talk about the dignity of labor than help to dignify it.

The capitalists would rather the workers risked their lives for capitalism than risk their votes for Socialism.

Grover Cleveland gets a salary of one thousand dollars a month as life insurance trustee as a reward for the frugality and foresight of the policy holders.

Would be ready to believe that Trepp-off is suffering from heart disease instead of poison, if there had been any previous indications that he had a heart.

It is now apparent that the only kind of politics President Gompers objects to in the unions is Socialist politics—and that progresses despite his objections.

Perhaps Roosevelt thought a change in spelling a good way to cut short Bryan's speeches.

MAINLY PERSONAL

The sudden death of John Oliver Hobbes in the very prime of life has removed one of the brightest stars from our literary firmament. And some of us Socialists had great hopes of her. A woman who could write "The Serious Wooley," for instance, could not have remained much longer outside our ranks.

The comrade writing under the pen name of "Spartacus" who has been for years contributing the matter for the Socialist department in the Winnipeg "Voice," closes his work in the last issue with the statement that he is moving away from Winnipeg and the department will therefore be discontinued. This is to be regretted as the writings of "Spartacus" must have done much good.

It is reported that Jack London will begin his trip around the world in a forty-foot boat Oct. 1, starting from San Francisco. The boat is perfectly equipped for the voyage, which is intended to cover several years. Comrade London will be accompanied by his wife, and two men, one American and one Japanese.

ARKANSAS ELECTION.

Unofficial reports give the Socialist Party 1,500 votes in the state election held in Arkansas on Tuesday. In 1904 we had 1,816. It is likely that final and complete reports will change this apparent loss into a small gain. Our party is not yet well organized in Arkansas, as in several other states of the South, and it is easy for the old-party officials to ignore the Socialist ballots cast in many districts.

face against the one demand of Bryan which refers to the nationalization of the railroads. Almost all the other demands—and this is extraordinarily characteristic—such as the introduction of a progressive income tax, direct election of United States Senators, and above all, a change in the tariff, they accept. As one of the papers expresses it: "To-morrow we should see the mines nationalized, the day after the telegraph and telephone systems, and finally all the great industries." If these timid capitalist advocates would only consider that it never occurs to Bryan to have the railroads appraised and expropriated at their true value, after squeezing out all the water—the only way at present to permit them to pass into the possession of the state to the advantage of the people—and that, on the other hand, the great capitalists to whom the railroads now belong would with the greatest pleasure accept the thousands of millions if Bryan were ready and could find the means to pay them—if they would consider this, their hair would not grow gray on account of his railroad plank. But they are filled with a terrible fear of the beginning of a possible general expropriation. "It is the first step that costs."

We should deceive ourselves very much if we did not expect to go thru the experience of seeing Bryan as a so-called "radical" Democrat and a "conservative" Democrat stand in the field along with Roosevelt, the Republican candidate. It may be that the conservative Democrats will stand by Roosevelt as the somewhat erratic but yet absolutely safe man; but all that is a matter of the future. The only consideration for us is that in the face of the threatening storm of the two years before us we should weld our party together into a power impregnable within and imposing without. Then, if the people of the United States is obliged by its own fault to go thru a new period of disillusionment, because it has once more mistaken the appearance for the reality, we can at least take care that the period be a short one and that the masses of the disappointed voters, as they stream back, shall find in the Socialist Party an unshakable organization founded upon principle, in which they can gather and under whose banners, in the last decisive conflict with the dark powers of capitalism, they can march forward to the final victory. And no disappointment will follow this victory.

who profit by social conditions remaining unchanged.

It is sweeter to talk about the dignity of labor than help to dignify it.

The capitalists would rather the workers risked their lives for capitalism than risk their votes for Socialism.

Grover Cleveland gets a salary of one thousand dollars a month as life insurance trustee as a reward for the frugality and foresight of the policy holders.

Would be ready to believe that Trepp-off is suffering from heart disease instead of poison, if there had been any previous indications that he had a heart.

It is now apparent that the only kind of politics President Gompers objects to in the unions is Socialist politics—and that progresses despite his objections.

Perhaps Roosevelt thought a change in spelling a good way to cut short Bryan's speeches.

MAINLY PERSONAL

The sudden death of John Oliver Hobbes in the very prime of life has removed one of the brightest stars from our literary firmament. And some of us Socialists had great hopes of her. A woman who could write "The Serious Wooley," for instance, could not have remained much longer outside our ranks.

The comrade writing under the pen name of "Spartacus" who has been for years contributing the matter for the Socialist department in the Winnipeg "Voice," closes his work in the last issue with the statement that he is moving away from Winnipeg and the department will therefore be discontinued. This is to be regretted as the writings of "Spartacus" must have done much good.

It is reported that Jack London will begin his trip around the world in a forty-foot boat Oct. 1, starting from San Francisco. The boat is perfectly equipped for the voyage, which is intended to cover several years. Comrade London will be accompanied by his wife, and two men, one American and one Japanese.

ARKANSAS ELECTION.

Unofficial reports give the Socialist Party 1,500 votes in the state election held in Arkansas on Tuesday. In 1904 we had 1,816. It is likely that final and complete reports will change this apparent loss into a small gain. Our party is not yet well organized in Arkansas, as in several other states of the South, and it is easy for the old-party officials to ignore the Socialist ballots cast in many districts.

—Read our premium announcement on page 3. Then get busy.

THREE SOCIALISTS IN LABOR DAY SYMPOSIUM.

The growing importance of the Socialist movement is shown, among many signs of the times, by the fact that the New York "Evening Telegram"...

By Joseph Medill Patterson.

Mr. Workingman, isn't it a fact that whoever first said "the interests of capital and of labor are identical" was a liar? Don't you know from your own experience a good many times when your interests were not identical with those of your employer?

Have you ever been on a strike? If so, that was plainly one time when your interests were quite opposite to his, wasn't it?

Again, the poorer and more helpless you are, the richer and more powerful he is. You can be sure of this by comparing the condition of the workers in unorganized industries with the condition of the workers in organized industries.

To maintain his power over you the capitalist does not depend, as you do, simply and purely upon industrial organization. He goes into politics. He puts men into the Senate, the House of Representatives, the State Legislature, the gubernatorial chairs and the state and federal benches.

Now don't you think that you ought to go into politics too? Merely in self-defense, if nothing more. Would it not be easier for you if you had a few men in the Senate, in the gubernatorial chairs and on the bench who saw things from your angle?

When you conclude to go into politics (as you will have to some day), you will probably see that the wisest thing for you to do is to join the Socialist Party, which is the only workingman's party in the world of any consequence.

The chief enunciator of scientific Socialism was Karl Marx. Non-Socialist university professors now openly concede that with the possible exception of Charles Darwin, Marx was the greatest scientific intellect in the nineteenth century.

The master statesman in Germany, August Bebel, is a Socialist. The greatest orator in France, Jaurès, is a Socialist. The acutest mind in the Belgian Chamber of Deputies belongs to Vandervelde, a Socialist.

The Socialist vote started in 1871 with 101,000 all over the world. It has been steadily increasing until this year it is 8,500,000. The rate of increase for the past dozen years has been about half a million a year.

You may say you do not care to wait until the Socialists gain complete power. You want immediate relief. Then elect a Socialist or two to the Legislature, to Congress. You will find he works and votes most effectively for every single measure of immediate relief for labor.

The motto of the Socialist Party will interest you. It is: "Workers of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain."

By Upton Sinclair.

The American nation is at present facing the greatest crisis in its history. Corruption, which has been feeding upon the body politic for a generation, is now admitted to be threatening its very life.

They have failed because they did not appeal to labor; because labor was asleep. And now at last labor is beginning to realize the part which he plays in the political game.

There is a natural and obvious limitation to the continuance of that process. It can go on until the capitalist begins to have so much money that the workingmen has none at all; and then the workingman goes into politics.

I do not talk buncombe when I talk to workingmen. I do not tell them about the importance of delivering the American Republic. The present day conditions keep the workingman's nose on the grindstone, and he has no time to think about anything but making a living and keeping his family alive.

All thinking men among our capitalists are agreed that we are on the verge of hard times such as the country has not yet known. When those times come several millions of men will be out of work, the unions will fall like houses of cards, and the workingman will be out on the streets.

I think no right minded man would say that the right to use the machine should be wholly free, for it has been produced by others, and its life is limited, and he who produces or provides it for another's use should receive compensation from the user.

I am not of those who would exclude all employers from the category of the world's productive laborers. All grades of productive activity and of indolence can be found among both employers and employed.

cause I know that if it catches him suddenly he may take to bricks and munny. It is the working class Socialist Party which holds the Emperor in check, and prevents him from crushing the Russian struggle for freedom.

It is time that you workmen had enough of being buncoed by political bosses and trust magnates. It is time that you thought of putting your own representatives into Congress to look after your interests, and to restore democratic institutions to America.

By J. G. Phelps Stokes.

I am asked to express my views as to what Labor should do in politics. I assume the term Labor, as here used, can with propriety be held to denote those who produce at least as much wealth as is required for their own maintenance.

It is the same all over the world, the same story of corruption and oppression, and of a new hope of justice and right conditions, depending solely upon the working class to force them.

Where a vast group of men are compelled by circumstances beyond their control to produce much more than they and their families require, as is the case at present, in order that hundreds of thousands of others may live in partial or complete idleness, or excessive luxury, a wrong exists which should receive wide public attention.

Until the universal introduction of machinery into the industrial world the exploitation of labor, as at present, did not exist. So long as each laborer or would-be laborer possessed or was capable of possessing the few tools necessary to the production of marketable commodities, and had access to such lands as he needed, he was free industrially and his own master.

The wide introduction of labor saving machinery changed all this. The average individual workman, whether he had access to land or not, could no longer produce independently in competition with the machine.

The modern tool is the machine, or the power drill, or the steam engine, or the expensive farm machinery that the average farmer has to mortgage his farm to buy.

Here is a chance, comrades, to build up a good library for your local branch, or club, and at the same time to help The Worker and make year-round propaganda for Socialism in your locality.

Remember that by selling the paid-subscription cards you will get back the full amount, so that you get the books absolutely free.

In ordering, state clearly which book you desire and to what address it is to be sent. Use postoffice money order in remitting money.

Here is a chance, comrades, to build up a good library for your local branch, or club, and at the same time to help The Worker and make year-round propaganda for Socialism in your locality.

Only in proportion as Labor makes its just demands effective by co-operation is its condition improved. Such co-operation is now needed in the political field as much as in any other.

The basic fact which Labor must face is that it is denied access to land and to the machinery of production, unless it will produce sufficient not merely for its own support, but for the maintenance also of the vast array of those who live in complete or partial idleness upon the surplus product of its toil.

I think no right minded man would say that the right to use the machine should be wholly free, for it has been produced by others, and its life is limited, and he who produces or provides it for another's use should receive compensation from the user.

The first time the Business Man was confronted with the alternative of doing wrong or losing money, he let the money go, and that was all there was to it. The second time, he snorted some, but still he let the money go.

agents is an employer. The trade unionists and socialists, whether as individuals or acting thru their organizations, are no exceptions, and it occasionally happens that employer and employed work together justly in the promotion of common interests.

The line in the class struggle is more correctly drawn between those who consume more wealth than they are willing to produce, and those who, if they would live, are compelled to produce more than they require.

Labor, as the term is here used, constitute the latter class. It should clearly recognize the fact of its exploitation by others for the satisfaction of private greed, and should struggle politically to secure such public control of the land and of the costly machinery of production as will insure to all men access to both without any being under the necessity of producing a surplus product for the maintenance of exploiters.

SPECIAL PREMIUMS.

Twenty-eight of the Best Socialist Books to Be Got Free by Hustling in Subscriptions for The Worker—Locals and Clubs, Get Comm. tees at Work to Build Up Your Libraries.

As an acknowledgement rather than a reward for the efforts of our volunteer sub-getters (many of whom do not care to take the 20 per cent cash discount which we offer to regular agents), The Worker makes the following offer, open from now till Election Day:

1. For \$2 in cash we will send four yearly paid-subscription cards and any one of the following books: Spargo's "The Socialists," Untermyer's "Science and Revolution" or "The World's Revolutions," Kautsky's "The Social Revolution," Simons' "The American Farmer," Andreoff's "The Red Laugh" (paper), or Moyer's "Songs of Socialism" (paper).

2. For \$3 in cash we will send you six yearly paid-subscription cards and any one of the following books: Gorky's "Creatures That Once Were Men," "Three of Them," or "The Man Who Was Afraid," or Von Suttner's "Lay Down Your Arms," or Liebesgarny's "The Paris Commune of 1871."

3. For \$5 in cash we will send ten yearly paid-subscription cards and any one of the following books: Sinclair's "The Jungle," Ghent's "Mass and Class," Spargo's "Socialism," Marx' "Revolution and Counter-Revolution," Hyndman's "Economics of Socialism," Dawson's "German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle," Massari's "Parasitism, Organic and Social," Ferri's "Socialism and Modern Science," or Vail's "Principles of Scientific Socialism."

4. For \$8 in cash we will send twelve yearly paid-subscription cards and any one of the following books: Jaurès' "Studies in Socialism," Hillquit's "History of Socialism in the United States," Kirkup's "History of Socialism," Loria's "Economic Foundations of Society," Hunter's "Poverty," Hobson's "Evolution of Modern Capitalism," or Marx' "Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy."

All books cloth-bound unless otherwise stated.

Remember that by selling the paid-subscription cards you will get back the full amount, so that you get the books absolutely free.

In ordering, state clearly which book you desire and to what address it is to be sent. Use postoffice money order in remitting money.

Here is a chance, comrades, to build up a good library for your local branch, or club, and at the same time to help The Worker and make year-round propaganda for Socialism in your locality.

Remember that by selling the paid-subscription cards you will get back the full amount, so that you get the books absolutely free.

THE WORKER,

15 Spruce St., New York.

AMERICA'S BUTCHER BILL.

"Russia's butchers' bill" is attracting world-wide attention. In the course of ten days 101 soldiers and policemen were killed and seventy-two wounded. Two hundred and ninety-one private persons were killed and wounded.

Only in proportion as Labor makes its just demands effective by co-operation is its condition improved. Such co-operation is now needed in the political field as much as in any other.

The basic fact which Labor must face is that it is denied access to land and to the machinery of production, unless it will produce sufficient not merely for its own support, but for the maintenance also of the vast array of those who live in complete or partial idleness upon the surplus product of its toil.

The first time the Business Man was confronted with the alternative of doing wrong or losing money, he let the money go, and that was all there was to it. The second time, he snorted some, but still he let the money go.

THE JAMES BOYS, AND LAW AND ORDER

By Ben Hanford.

(From "Railroading in the United States.")

Once Upon a Time, said the Young Observer, there lived two men who were deservedly notorious, if not famous. They were known as the James Boys. Frank and Jesse James, brothers, and both were strong-limbed and keen of eye, and had what is sometimes called Nerve.

Each was a crack shot with a rifle or revolver, and Jesse could with the latter weapon hit a nail on the head or a man in the heart at a distance of fifty paces easily, with certainty, and if called upon, most rapid succession. But he never practised much on railroads, preferring, like a True Sportsman, Live Game.

In addition to their splendid physical qualities, the James Boys were great on morality, the Rights of Property, and such things, and took especial pride in themselves as Exponents of Law and Order. But, alas! Like many other great men, they lived behind their time, and their theories were little understood and sadly unappreciated.

People denounced their notion of Property Rights, and to practically carry out their philosophy of Law and Order they were often compelled to resort to the most strenuous measures.

You see it was this way, continued the Young Observer. Frank and Jesse James were often in need of funds, and to supply themselves they sometimes resorted to what is called (most vulgarly, to be sure), Robbing banks, stages, railroad trains, and so on, by the most Crude and Plebeian methods.

I do not mean that there is anything wrong in robbing a bank; everybody—that is to say, all really Respectable people (and I flatter myself that I am so classified, said the Young Observer)—recognizes the natural and inalienable right of a man and a gentleman to rob a bank or a railroad train.

But he must always act in accord with the rules of the game. And the two primary rules are, first, before robbing a bank, a man must have properly qualified himself, either by having been born Respectable, by having Respectability thrust upon him, or by having achieved Respectability; no man has any right to rob a bank, or even a stage coach, unless he has received his degree from a high-class institution of learning and taken a conspicuous part in at least one campaign as an advocate of sound money.

It is easily to be seen by even the dullest mind that if a man is to be robbed of his money, it is of the highest importance that the money should be Sound money. These institutions and opportunities, throughout the United States at least, are open to all alike on the same and equal terms, so that no citizen is prevented from acquiring these essential qualifications, and none of his inalienable Rights are alienated.

The second rule of the bank robbing game requires that, in addition to his indubitable Respectability, the robber must do his Work from the Inside. Any other procedure is not only bad form, but can only be properly described as Vulgarity, and utterly unworthy of a true Gentleman.

The education of the James Boys had been sadly neglected, went on the Young Observer, and, reasoning from their inner consciousness, and always remembering that this was a Free Country, they proceeded to enforce their ideas of the Sacred Rights of Property and Law and Order by the methods most convenient to their hands—generally six-shooters.

This was the way of it: Frank and Jesse James would board a passenger train at some convenient city, first taking care to purchase tickets. Both were scrupulously honest, and made it a point of honor to pay their car fare. When the train was well under way, Comrade Bloor will speak in this state from Oct. 1 to 14, and we shall certainly expect good results from her work.

In the meantime Alexander Rosen of New York is keeping the flame alive by visiting every town which has a Socialist local and holding an outdoor meeting. Good work is being done in Connecticut; the movement looks healthy in the land of steady habits.

We have nominated candidates for every office on the state ticket, and several towns have a Socialist ticket. The ballots will be offered to every town in the state and it is very necessary that we get into communication with some one in each town who can be trusted to use and distribute these ballots.

It is hoped that this notice will bring out some Socialists or sympathizers who will volunteer to do this work. By writing to the State Secretary further information may be had. Address, M. DELLFAUT, State Secretary, Box 45, New Haven.

IN PROSPEROUS AUSTRALIA.

Between 700 and 800 men crushed and fought each other to get into the S. S. R. Co's premises in Sydney, New South Wales, in answer to an advertisement for cane-cutters to go to Queensland. The struggle is said to have been something akin to a riot, and the police were employed to keep the men back. Three hundred of them were engaged, and others are to be taken on. Commenting on this the Mackay "Pioneer" says: "There are more men in the sugar districts than can find work now, and the dragging in of hundreds more is a savage attempt to force down the white slave to a lower standard."

STEEL AND STEAL—AN OBJECTLESSON.

The net earnings of the United States Steel Corporation for the last quarter amounted to approximately \$45,000,000. The number of employees is 160,000. A little figuring will show that the company received a clear revenue of \$290 for each employee in its service for this period of three months. This would be at the rate of \$1,100 per year. This revenue represents what was left in the hands of the company out of the sale of the output of the quarter year, after the wages of the men had been paid, as well as such other expense of operation as may have been incurred.

It is well to remember that all of the values brought forth by the operation of its plant, were created by the employees and not by the Steel Corporation. The capitalists who constitute the corporation contributed nothing to the production of these values. It is safe to say that the great majority of them never even saw any part of the plant during the period in question. Probably the most of them never have seen and never will see any part of it. It is not necessary that they should, as their services are in no manner necessary to the operation of the business. Were they to come around the works they would only prove a nuisance and an obstruction in the way of the workmen, and, therefore, a hindrance to the effective operation of the plant. But in spite of their utter uselessness in the matter of producing these values they have been able during the time mentioned to draw out \$45,000,000. It is safe to say that this is in excess of the sum received by the workmen for their services during the same period.

It is of the utmost importance that every workman should know how and why values to the prodigious amount of \$45,000,000 could be gathered by an absolutely useless bunch of individuals while an army of useful persons who created this value were unable to retain it for themselves.

The wage worker, wherever he may be or at whatever industry he may be employed, is not paid for what he does. He is merely paid the price of his labor power as a commodity in the market. The employer being the purchaser of this labor power owns the product that results from its expenditure in producing wealth.

The cost of labor power in the market and the value of the product it brings forth are two entirely different sums is amply demonstrated by the fact that the Steel Corporation had in its possession at the end of the quarter \$45,000,000 after having paid the entire cost of its labor power and other expenses for that period. This vast sum represents what the workers did during three months and for which they received no compensation whatever.

Granting that the entire balance of the Corporation's gross revenue was paid out for wages the \$45,000,000 or \$290 per employee, represents what the slaves of the iron and steel mills did for absolutely nothing. It went into the coffers of a bunch of useless individuals called capitalists, but because the government of the United States declared them to be the owners of the resources of the earth and tools of production upon which 160,000 useful persons depended for the privilege of expending their labor power for the purpose of feeding, clothing, and sheltering themselves and their families.

Under such circumstances of ownership the workers could not provide for their necessities except by surrendering their life force to these owners and receiving in return merely the market price of that life force as a commodity. In plain language they were compelled to submit to a robbery of \$290 each during a period of three months.

To the owner of the means of production belongs the product of labor." The only power that can assert ownership and successfully defend the owner in his possession is the state. So long as the state is the instrument of a ruling class as at present, it will enforce the system of property according to that class.

The exploitation of labor at the hands of capital must of necessity continue so long as the ownership of the means of production is not vested in the working class itself. To take from the hands of the present ruling class its power to rule and rob is the mission of the uprising revolutionary movement of labor. To effect this it is merely necessary to obtain control of the state and use its power to transform the United States Steel Corporation and similar concerns from capitalist property as at present, into the common property of the people as a whole.

Such a transformation or transfer of property need not of necessity interfere with the carrying on of production for a single moment. The transfer of title to vast capitalist properties even now frequently occurs, but production does not stop. The workers are undisturbed in their tasks, the wheels revolve and products come forth unaffected by the transfer. One thing that will occur, when the workers have seized control of the state and transferred the ownership of the means of production from the capitalist class to the workers' commonwealth is the stream of wealth which now pours into the coffers of the useless capitalist will be turned into the pockets of the workers as a welcome addition to the stipend they have been accustomed to receive as wages.

Had such a transfer taken place prior to the last quarter year the iron and steel workers would have realized a revenue equivalent to \$290 each over and above the amount they did receive as wages. Every report made by capitalist concerns showing the amounts of their profits affords an object lesson to every workman who has eyes with which to see and ears to hear. Every time these concerns publish a report

of their profits they simply herald to the world the extent of the robbery they have been able to perpetrate upon the wage slaves whom fate has brought within reach of their infernal skin game.

Let the workers profit by these lessons, and having become wise, exercise their political rights by capturing the reins of government and by public enactment dispossess the capitalists of their present privilege of owning and controlling the means of production upon which all men must depend for a living except robbers, confidence men and sneak thieves.

With the highly developed industries under democratic ownership and control, the exploitation of labor ends. The wage slave is no more. The owner of small means of production shall be in their possession so long as he prefers to remain as an individual producer. The product of his labor will be his own. When the present huge combination of capital in manufacturing and transportation have been converted into the common property of a democratic community, for the first time since civilization was born the workingman will be free. Free to provide needful things for himself and those dependent upon him, by his own labor, without tribute to chattel slave master, feudal lord or capitalist—Western Clarion.

Let the workers profit by these lessons, and having become wise, exercise their political rights by capturing the reins of government and by public enactment dispossess the capitalists of their present privilege of owning and controlling the means of production upon which all men must depend for a living except robbers, confidence men and sneak thieves.

With the highly developed industries under democratic ownership and control, the exploitation of labor ends. The wage slave is no more. The owner of small means of production shall be in their possession so long as he prefers to remain as an individual producer. The product of his labor will be his own. When the present huge combination of capital in manufacturing and transportation have been converted into the common property of a democratic community, for the first time since civilization was born the workingman will be free. Free to provide needful things for himself and those dependent upon him, by his own labor, without tribute to chattel slave master, feudal lord or capitalist—Western Clarion.

Let the workers profit by these lessons, and having become wise, exercise their political rights by capturing the reins of government and by public enactment dispossess the capitalists of their present privilege of owning and controlling the means of production upon which all men must depend for a living except robbers, confidence men and sneak thieves.

With the highly developed industries under democratic ownership and control, the exploitation of labor ends. The wage slave is no more. The owner of small means of production shall be in their possession so long as he prefers to remain as an individual producer. The product of his labor will be his own. When the present huge combination of capital in manufacturing and transportation have been converted into the common property of a democratic community, for the first time since civilization was born the workingman will be free. Free to provide needful things for himself and those dependent upon him, by his own labor, without tribute to chattel slave master, feudal lord or capitalist—Western Clarion.

Let the workers profit by these lessons, and having become wise, exercise their political rights by capturing the reins of government and by public enactment dispossess the capitalists of their present privilege of owning and controlling the means of production upon which all men must depend for a living except robbers, confidence men and sneak thieves.

With the highly developed industries under democratic ownership and control, the exploitation of labor ends. The wage slave is no more. The owner of small means of production shall be in their possession so long as he prefers to remain as an individual producer. The product of his labor will be his own. When the present huge combination of capital in manufacturing and transportation have been converted into the common property of a democratic community, for the first time since civilization was born the workingman will be free. Free to provide needful things for himself and those dependent upon him, by his own labor, without tribute to chattel slave master, feudal lord or capitalist—Western Clarion.

Let the workers profit by these lessons, and having become wise, exercise their political rights by capturing the reins of government and by public enactment dispossess the capitalists of their present privilege of owning and controlling the means of production upon which all men must depend for a living except robbers, confidence men and sneak thieves.

With the highly developed industries under democratic ownership and control, the exploitation of labor ends. The wage slave is no more. The owner of small means of production shall be in their possession so long as he prefers to remain as an individual producer. The product of his labor will be his own. When the present huge combination of capital in manufacturing and transportation have been converted into the common property of a democratic community, for the first time since civilization was born the workingman will be free. Free to provide needful things for himself and those dependent upon him, by his own labor, without tribute to chattel slave master, feudal lord or capitalist—Western Clarion.

Let the workers profit by these lessons, and having become wise, exercise their political rights by capturing the reins of government and by public enactment dispossess the capitalists of their present privilege of owning and controlling the means of production upon which all men must depend for a living except robbers, confidence men and sneak thieves.

With the highly developed industries under democratic ownership and control, the exploitation of labor ends. The wage slave is no more. The owner of small means of production shall be in their possession so long as he prefers to remain as an individual producer. The product of his labor will be his own. When the present huge combination of capital in manufacturing and transportation have been converted into the common property of a democratic community, for the first time since civilization was born the workingman will be free. Free to provide needful things for himself and those dependent upon him, by his own labor, without tribute to chattel slave master, feudal lord or capitalist—Western Clarion.

Let the workers profit by these lessons, and having become wise, exercise their political rights by capturing the reins of government and by public enactment dispossess the capitalists of their present privilege of owning and controlling the means of production upon which all men must depend for a living except robbers, confidence men and sneak thieves.

With the highly developed industries under democratic ownership and control, the exploitation of labor ends. The wage slave is no more. The owner of small means of production shall be in their possession so long as he prefers to remain as an individual producer. The product of his labor will be his own. When the present huge combination of capital in manufacturing and transportation have been converted into the common property of a democratic community, for the first time since civilization was born the workingman will be free. Free to provide needful things for himself and those dependent upon him, by his own labor, without tribute to chattel slave master, feudal lord or capitalist—Western Clarion.

Let the workers profit by these lessons, and having become wise, exercise their political rights by capturing the reins of government and by public enactment dispossess the capitalists of their present privilege of owning and controlling the means of production upon which all men must depend for a living except robbers, confidence men and sneak thieves.

With the highly developed industries under democratic ownership and control, the exploitation of labor ends. The wage slave is no more. The owner of small means of production shall be in their possession so long as he prefers to remain as an individual producer. The product of his labor will be his own. When the present huge combination of capital in manufacturing and transportation have been converted into the common property of a democratic community, for the first time since civilization was born the workingman will be free. Free to provide needful things for himself and those dependent upon him, by his own labor, without tribute to chattel slave master, feudal lord or capitalist—Western Clarion.

Let the workers profit by these lessons, and having become wise, exercise their political rights by capturing the reins of government and by public enactment dispossess the capitalists of their present privilege of owning and controlling the means of production upon which all men must depend for a living except robbers, confidence men and sneak thieves.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE TRADE UNIONS.—XIII.

The question of the relation of the Socialist Party to the trade unions having again attracted attention...

To each of the comrades invited to participate in this discussion we have submitted the following questions...

1. What do you understand by the term 'industrial unionism'?

2. What are the causes of the defects of which you complain in the existing unions?

3. Do you think it advisable to form a new organization, rather than to work for the transformation of the existing unions?

4. What do you think ought to be the attitude of the Socialist Party, as such, toward the organizations of labor on the economic field?

Under the same heading we have printed four articles not written for the symposium, but pertinent to the subject.

By G. A. Hoehn.

(Translation of an editorial in the St. Louis "Arbeiter Zeitung.")

For a long time has Samuel Gompers been singing us the old song, "No Politics in the Union"...

Again at last year's convention of the American Federation of Labor in Pittsburg Brother Gompers thundered against Socialism...

But what was to be done? No politics in the union? Hold on, that would not do any longer...

Thus Gompers has arrived at—been driven to—the opinion that the working class must take part in the political struggle...

Now Gompers has swung round to the left. Certainly we are under no illusion as to the value of this political change of front...

Now for the other side of the medal. In 1894-95 Professor DeLeon brought forth his trade-union abortion known as the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance...

Through imprudent projects, occasioned by personal feelings and shortsightedness on the part of leaders...

Instead of helping to bring about a union with the A. F. of L., Father Hagerty, Eugene V. Debs, Edward Boyce, and others used every influence to widen the breach...

We raised a warning voice. When the General Executive of the A. L. U. in Butte made an attempt to use—or misuse—the national organization of the Socialist Party...

Here, then, was the situation: There was a Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance on its death-bed; there was a Socialist Labor Party on its death-bed; there was a bankrupt American Labor Union...

In June, 1905, a conference was called at Chicago, and there a miscellaneous aggregation of utopian Socialists, Anarchists, academic Socialists without practical experience...

Here, then, was the situation: There was a Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance on its death-bed; there was a Socialist Labor Party on its death-bed; there was a bankrupt American Labor Union...

found a "Socialist labor organization" under the high-sounding name of "Industrial Workers of the World"...

Now it goes to its work. "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost"...

The Socialist Party was to be the fifth wheel of the cart. The political class struggle was declared to be of secondary importance.

The I. W. W. was in a fair way to follow the S. T. & L. A. into the grave when the capitalist-anarchist governors of Colorado and Idaho executed their infernal plan and Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone of the Western Federation of Miners were seized by night and dragged off to Idaho...

St. Louis certainly has a progressive central labor body. Debs himself has spoken under the auspices of the Central Trades and Labor Union and the Socialist Party of this city almost a dozen times...

No! A thousand times No! We will not put our hand to the work of destroying the hard-fighting trade-union movement. To-day, while the Citizens' Industrial Alliance is summoning all its forces to crush the unions, our duty is to cry out to the workers: Unite, unite, unite!

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the rule of the bourgeoisie...

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is thus the legalized concentration of all that the labor of the working class produces...

As an American Socialist Party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations.

The Socialist movement, therefore, is a world movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another...

You forgot to renew your Subscription. We asked you to attend to it as soon as we notified you.

HOPE AND FAITH WORKINGMEN'S DAILY PAPER.

A considerable percentage of the money now in the hands of The Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association for the establishing of a daily paper has come as the proceeds of fairs, concerts, picnics and other entertainments...

The need of a daily paper grows greater every day. The encroachments of capitalism on the rights and liberties of the workers grows ever more oppressive, flagrant and cruel...

The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, makes its appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the liberty and self-government in which the nation was born...

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people...

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the rule of the bourgeoisie...

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is thus the legalized concentration of all that the labor of the working class produces...

As an American Socialist Party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations.

The Socialist movement, therefore, is a world movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another...

Let every comrade exert himself, not only to give his own direct support, but to bring the matter before his associates in shop, factory, store, and office. When once it becomes generally known throughout the length and breadth of the land that the publishing of a workingmen's daily paper is contemplated, we believe the appeal for the necessary funds will not be in vain.

superior to those of our antagonists, and one of such weapons is a daily newspaper. The penny paper is today one of the levers that move the world. It is the great teacher of men and the moulder of their opinions.

Let every comrade exert himself, not only to give his own direct support, but to bring the matter before his associates in shop, factory, store, and office. When once it becomes generally known throughout the length and breadth of the land that the publishing of a workingmen's daily paper is contemplated, we believe the appeal for the necessary funds will not be in vain.

THE PRESS COMMITTEE.

NATIONAL PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, makes its appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the liberty and self-government in which the nation was born...

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the rule of the bourgeoisie...

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is thus the legalized concentration of all that the labor of the working class produces...

As an American Socialist Party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations.

produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the benefit of the community...

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the rule of the bourgeoisie...

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is thus the legalized concentration of all that the labor of the working class produces...

As an American Socialist Party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations.

THE CORRECT VIEW OF EMERY

The Wilkes-Barre "Courier-Herald" expresses the correct working class view of Emery, the Fusionist reformer-candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, in the following:

"No matter what the politicians may say our troubles spring from an economic and not from a political source. No matter how politics may be purified, until it comes to be recognized that the worker is entitled to the full social value of his labor the battle must go on. Suppose Mr. Emery be elected, since he merely stands as an opponent of the monopolists and does not advocate a change in our industrial methods, what has the working class to expect from him but a bag of empty promises?"

"The very best evidence that Emery will be of no service to labor, is to be found in the fact that he is a candidate suitable to thousands of labor fleecers, who would not have a word to say for him were there any doubt of his doing nothing position on the labor question."

THE NEW COSMOGONY.

And Private Enterprise said: Let there be Profit, and there was Profit. And Private Enterprise saw that Profit was good, and Private Enterprise divided Profit from loss, and Profit it called Capital, and loss it called Risk.

And Private Enterprise saw that it was good, and Private Enterprise created two great lights, the one to rule man's body, the other to rule man's mind and soul.

Every time I hear a dog barking it reminds me of a Philadelphian judge.—E. J. Higgins.

PUBLICATIONS.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. BY KARL MARX. Translated from the German Edition by N. I. Stone, A. M.

313 PAGES. CLOTH, \$1.50. SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO., 15 Spruce St., New York.

The Red Laugh

BY Leonidas Andreief. The Red Laugh is a sort of hideous nightmare, depicting the horrors of war, rather in their psychological than their physical attributes...

Price: 40c. By mail 45c. SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO., 15 SPRUCE ST., NEW YORK.

"POVERTY"

BY ROBERT HUNTER. This book is the result of several years of original investigation of social conditions in New York, Boston, Chicago, and London. It is a storehouse of information, invaluable to the Socialist student.

Price: Cloth, \$1.50; paper, 25 cents; postpaid. SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO., 15 Spruce St., New York.

JACK LONDON'S WAR OF THE CLASSES

Jack London has imagination and insight, and his book is interesting because it sets one's own imagination to working. It will induce anyone who reads it to study the subject and thus learn more about the greatest problem that this country has to face.

Price: Paper bound, 25 cents; postpaid, cloth-bound, \$1.50. SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO., 15 Spruce St., New York.

New Yorker Volkszeitung

If your boss needs help tell him to advertise in the F. KRAFFT, Manager, 15 Spruce St., New York.

NAMES FOR THE RAND SCHOOL

Comrades and friends of the movement can do a useful service by sending to the Secretary of the Rand School, 112 E. Nineteenth street, names and addresses of persons outside the party, who are likely to be interested in the work of the School. Send them in at once.—Adv.

Houses and Lots for sale, easy payments. With or call every Saturday. CURT BIEDENKAPP, 202 East 23. st.

AGENTS.—2,000 different novelties for carnivals, celebrations, kiddie hats and buttons, campaign buttons, confetti, ticklers, Japanese cards, ribbons, spikes, paper bells, flower pots, fans, wreaths, handkerchiefs, postal cards of all kinds, Christmas and holiday goods; catalog free. Miller, 124 Park Row, New York.

PUBLICATIONS. HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

No one can thoroughly understand the Socialist movement in the United States as it exists to-day without knowing how it arose and developed. Every member of the Socialist Party, therefore, ought to give Hilgitt's book a careful reading. It should be in the reading room of every local club that maintains headquarters, and the comrades should see that it is in every public library as well.

By Morris Hillquit. SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO., 15 Spruce St., New York.

"LAY DOWN YOUR ARMS"

By Bertha von Suttner. Second Edition. Cloth Bound, 75c. SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO., 15 Spruce St., New York.

IF THERE ARE ANY GERMANS

In your neighborhood, send their names and addresses to "Vorwärts", No. 15 Spruce street, New York. "Vorwärts" is the leading German Socialist weekly. It is the weekly edition of the well-known German Socialist daily, the "New Yorker Volkszeitung".

TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION: Six weeks for 10 cents.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: ONE YEAR, \$1.00. SIX MONTHS, .50. THREE MONTHS, .25.

Address: VORWAERTS, 15 Spruce Street, N. Y.

THE JUNGLE

DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS calls it "the greatest novel written in America in fifty years. And there are many other comments equally significant."

An able lawyer was sent to Chicago by the publisher of the "Packingtown" conditions that they might be sure they could in fairness publish the novel. His report amply verified the truth of the story.

PRICE REDUCED NOW: Bound in Cloth, \$1.08; by mail \$1.20. SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO., 15 SPRUCE STREET, NEW YORK.

THE SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of New Jersey.—Semi-Monthly 25 cents per year. The only paper published in New Jersey in the interest of the working-class—and owned by that class. It is interesting and brings all the Socialist Party happenings in the state. Send for Sample Copies.

Published by the Socialist Party Branches of West Hoboken, N. J. Address: Lock Box B, West Hoboken, N. J.

PRINCIPLES OF ANIMAL UNDERSTANDING

A Constructive Essay on the Intercourse in the Animal World. BY HERMAN TOENJES. Price 60c. postpaid. SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO., 15 SPRUCE ST., NEW YORK.

HENRY FRAHME

1499 THIRD AVE., or 84th St., New York. Recommends an excellent selection of TRUSSES, BRACES, ABDOMINAL SUPPORTERS, ELASTIC STOCKINGS, Examination free. Work guaranteed. Mail order a specialty. LADIES' DEPARTMENT Telephone, 3332-19th.

SONGS OF SOCIALISM

A popular inspiring Socialist Song Book by Harvey P. Moyer, A. B. The Song comprises Solos, Duets, Mixed Quartets, Male Quartets, Ladies' Quartets, Children's Songs, Humorous and telling Encores, etc. There are songs set to popular old tunes which thrill the hearts of the people, and songs set to lively, inspiring new music, all intensely Socialist.

The many voluntary and most enthusiastic letters of commendation already received from leading Socialist workers would indicate that Comrade Moyer's work is a great success and will prove, by its happy combination of inspiring song and convincing argument, one of our greatest aids in helping us to ultimately gain a sweeping Socialist victory.

An order for a sample copy will surely lead to an order for a hundred for Local Branch work or general propaganda distribution. Prices: Single copy, postpaid, 25c.; per doz., \$2.25; per 100, \$15.

FOR SALE BY SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO., 15 Spruce St., New York.

Do you wish to convert your French neighbor? Send him a copy of L'UNION DES TRAVAILLEURS

The only French Socialist paper in the United States. Published weekly. Eight pages. LOUIS GOAZIOU, Editor. Price, \$1.50 per year; 10 copies or more, 1 cent per copy; 75 cents per 100. Address: 750 Washington St., Charleroi, Pa.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Standing advertisements of Trade Unions and other Societies will be inserted under this heading at the rate of \$1 per line per annum.

LABOR SECRETARIAT.—Delegates' meeting the last Saturday of the month, 8 p. m., at 345 E. Eighty-fourth street, Room of Assembly, 2nd floor, Thursday of the month, 8 p. m., at the office, 320 Broadway, R. 703. Address correspondence to Labor Secretariat, 337 Broadway. Telephone: 6076 or 5977 Franklin.

COAKMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INT. UNION No. 90—Office and Employment Bureau, 241 E. 84th St. The following Districts meet every Saturday: Dist. I (Bohannon)—321 E. 71st St., 8 p. m.; Dist. II (German) 85 E. 4th St., 8 p. m.; Dist. III—Clubhouse, 236 E. 80th St., 7:30 p. m.; Dist. IV—342 W. 42d St., 8 p. m.; Dist. V—109 W. 42d St., 8 p. m.; Dist. VI—2011 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VII—1430 Second Ave., 8 p. m. The Board of Supervision meets every Tuesday at Paul-haber's Hall, 1561 Second Ave., 8 p. m.

CAHL SAHM CLUB MUSICIANS' UNION, meets first Tuesday of the month, 10 P. M. in Clubhouse 245-247 E. 84th street. Secretary, Oscar Funk, 402 E. 80th street.

SOCIALIST WORKING WOMEN'S SOCIETY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—Branches in New York, Brooklyn, Paterson, Newark, Elizabeth, Syracuse, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, Card of Membership in the first second Thursday in the month at 11 a. m. in the clubhouse, 206 E. 80th street, New York City.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS & JOINERS OF AMERICA, LOCAL 123 E. 80th St., 476, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. in the clubhouse, 141 East 81st St. E. 73d street, L. E. Krueger, 249 E. 84th street, Recording Secretary; H. B. Stoffer, 221 E. 101st street, Financial Secretary.

UNITED JOURNEMEN TAILORS' UNION, meets every second and fourth Monday in Lincoln Clubhouse, Rooms, 321-323 East Thirty-eighth street.

Arbeiter - Kranken- und Sterbe - Kasse fuer die Ver. Staaten von Amerika. WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and Socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of large branches with 700 males and 4,800 female members) is rapidly increasing among workmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement.

Workmen's Children Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America. The address of the Financial Secretary of the National Executive Committee is: HENRY HAUPF, Bible House, Room 42, Astor Place, New York City.

WORKMEN'S Furniture Fire Insurance. Organized 1872. Membership 18,000. Principal Organization, New York and Vicinity.

OFFICE: 241 E. Eighty-fourth street. Office hours, daily except Sundays and holidays, from 10 to 9 p. m. Managers: H. H. Moyer, Binghamton, Gloverville, Albay, Onondaga, Tonawanda, Schenectady, Rochester, N. Y.; Paterson, Newark, Elizabeth, South River, Passaic, Trenton, and Rahway, N. J.; Adams, Boston, Holyoke, Springfield, Mass.

New Haven, Waterbury, Meriden, Hartford, Bridgeport and Rockville, Conn.; Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Allegheny, Luzerne, Scranton, Erie, Pa.; Cleveland, O.; San Francisco, Cal. Managers: N. H. Baltimore, Md. St. Louis, Mo. Providence, R. I.

For addresses of the branch bookkeepers, see "Vorwärts."

Local Troy, N. Y., Socialist Party, meets 2d and 4th Wednesdays in Germania Hall, Secretary, W. Wollack, 1 Fulton St.

SOCIALIST BADGES

Arm and Torch stick pin, gold plate, very neat and durable—10 cents each; 85 cents a dozen.

Arm and Torch buttons, 5 cents each; 25 cents a dozen; \$1.75 a hundred.

Globe and Clasp Hands button, with name "Socialist Party" and motto "Workers of the World, Unite!"—75 cents each; 25 cents a dozen; \$1.75 a hundred.

SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO., 15 Spruce St., New York.

LABOR SECRETARIAT

Society for the protection of the legal rights of the working class. 320 BROADWAY. TELEPHONE: 58299 FRANKLIN

DR. MATILDA SINAI, DENTIST, 243 East 80th St., New York. Phone, 3366, 79th St.

DR. S. BERLIN, DENTIST, 22 E. Eighty-fourth street.

Dr. C. L. FURMAN, DENTIST, 121 Schermerhorn street, Brooklyn. Telephone No.: 3113 Main.

DR. A. CARR, DENTIST, 123 E. Eighty-fourth street.

Do you wish to convert your French neighbor? Send him a copy of L'UNION DES TRAVAILLEURS

The only French Socialist paper in the United States. Published weekly. Eight pages. LOUIS GOAZIOU, Editor. Price, \$1.50 per year; 10 copies or more, 1 cent per copy; 75 cents per 100. Address: 750 Washington St., Charleroi, Pa.

Do you wish to convert your French neighbor? Send him a copy of L'UNION DES TRAVAILLEURS

The only French Socialist paper in the United States. Published weekly. Eight pages. LOUIS GOAZIOU, Editor. Price, \$1.50 per year; 10 copies or more, 1 cent per copy; 75 cents per 100. Address: 750 Washington St., Charleroi, Pa.

Do you wish to convert your French neighbor? Send him a copy of L'UNION DES TRAVAILLEURS

The only French Socialist paper in the United States. Published weekly. Eight pages. LOUIS GOAZIOU, Editor. Price, \$1.50 per year; 10 copies or more, 1 cent per copy; 75 cents per 100. Address: 750 Washington St., Charleroi, Pa.

Do you wish to convert your French neighbor? Send him a copy of L'UNION DES TRAVAILLEURS

The only French Socialist paper in the United States. Published weekly. Eight pages. LOUIS GOAZIOU, Editor. Price, \$1.50 per year; 10 copies or more, 1 cent per copy; 75 cents per 100. Address: 750 Washington St., Charleroi, Pa.

Do you wish to convert your French neighbor? Send him a copy of L'UNION DES TRAVAILLEURS

THE CHANGING ORDER.

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new." -Tennyson: "The Passing of Arthur."

Some Speculations as to What is Happening in the Present Industrial System, and What May Be Expected to Follow.

By W. J. Ghent

From Collier's Weekly.

(Copyright, 1906, by P. F. Collier & Son.)

(Continued from issue of The Worker of Aug. 25.)

"Lieutenants of Industry"

One must go "higher up" to find the gleaners of the increasing harvest of wealth. The very rich have indubitably grown richer. But a subordinate section—the moderately rich—has also increased its holdings and has grown in numbers. The concentration of wealth is rather toward a CLASS of two or three hundred thousand lieutenants of industry than toward an exclusive group of a few score capitalists.

The officials of banks, of insurance and trust companies, of trading and transportation and of manufacturing companies, have increased by very notable percentages.

It would seem that the trust, in its conquest of the independent manufacturer and dealer, cannot always impose the terms of unconditional surrender. Many of the vanquished yield only on condition that they be "taken care of". From competitors in the industrial warfare they become partners in the all-inclusive trust.

Not with all combinations, be it understood, is this the rule. The practice has varied widely between the Standard Oil Trust, which almost invariably crushed the independents, and the School Book Trust, which benevolently took them into the fold—the Whisky Trust, which sagaciously crushed some and welcomed others, exemplifying a sort of golden mean between the two extremes. Yet even the Standard Oil Trust, in its earlier days, found it necessary or advisable to invite some of its competitors to a participation in its enterprises, and all of these have waxed rich with its growth.

A Commercial Oligarchy.

As a general thing, those who have fairly succeeded as independent owners or managers are found to be needed in the new combination when the separate concerns are welded together. A commercial oligarchy, like a political oligarchy, requires for its proper conduct a horde of administrators. There must be advisers of general policies, diplomats, for negotiations with outside interests, prefects and sub-prefects known as territorial managers; tax-farmers, who can assess to a nicety the tribute which a particular community shall provide; legal counselors who can point out the means of successfully overriding the public will, and a host of lesser retainers. All of these have their appropriate and necessary functions, and their number increases with the expansion of the trust in its effort to induce the last persuadable unit of the public to buy its wares.

The recent census gives us considerable light on the matter. Taking from the different occupation groups those wherein the very rich or the moderately rich form the majority of the units of the group, and assembling them under one classification, we have the following table:

THE GREATER CAPITALISTS.

(Prepared from the census volume on Occupations, pp. xxxii-xlviii.)

Table with 3 columns: Occupation, Per Cent of Increase 1890 to 1900, No. 1900, No. 1890. Rows include Officials of banks and companies, Manufacturers and mfg. officials, etc.

III.—THE LESSER CAPITALISTS.

Those who extol the beneficence of the existing order are prone to make much of the fact that in spite of trusts, commercial failures, and the increasing severity of competition, the number of business concerns has been for several years steadily increasing. They make of it, however, much more than it warrants.

There were, in 1904, according to the figures of the Dun Mercantile Agency, 1,329,172 business concerns in the United States. There was a considerable decrease in the number during 1896, 1897 and 1898, but an abnormal increase during 1899. Since that time the increase has been fairly regular, at the average annual rate of 3.01 per cent. It is not pretended that these figures represent separately owned firms. Every Butler grocery store and every selling place of the United Cigar Stores Company, for instance, are enumerated. The figures thus represent establishments and not firms.

Petty Concerns Go Down.

The vast majority of them are doubtless petty concerns, employing but little capital. What the average capital is can not be said, even approximately.

The foregoing groups do not, of course, include all of the "greater capitalists". Many of the individuals in the groups of retail merchants, builders and contractors and hotel keepers, which will be found in the classification of "lesser capitalists", to follow, are no doubt of plutocratic rank.

On the other hand, the foregoing groups include many individuals who rightly belong to a subordinate rank. Bank cashiers, except those in the wealthier banks of the great cities, are not a conspicuously opulent body of men, while many of the individuals enumerated as manufacturers are the owners of small plants with but a moderate output.

Some of the mining and quarrying officials are doubtless persons of but small possessions; a certain part of the wholesale merchants may be suspected of living along the ragged edge, and a like suspicion may rightly rest upon some of the money and stock brokers. But there are no means, in this case, of separating the exceptions from the rule, and it is thus necessary to accept the groups as the census gives them, and to consider them as representative.

Increasing Numbers of the Rich.

"That the development of large-scale production," writes M. Vanderveide, in his "Collectivism, or Industrial Evolution," "increases the absolute number of capitalists enjoying revenue without work is undeniable." It increases also the relative number, as he illustrates in the case of the manufacturing state, the Kingdom of Saxony, where between 1879 and 1894 the number of moderately rich and of very rich increased by far greater percentages than did any other groups. The same tendency is doubtless observable in all other lands wherein the capitalist system of production has been highly developed.

So far as the United States is concerned, the evidences are many and obvious. The increase in the number of mansions, of palace-like hotels and apartment houses, of large country estates, and of business concerns of one sort or another supplying luxuries which only the rich can buy, is apparent to all.

"But at the same time" (with this growth in the numbers of the rich), continues M. Vanderveide, "the number of proletarians is increasing in even greater proportions, and this double movement is coming about at the expense of the various categories of independent producers, artisans, small employers, peasant proprietors." The data and indications bearing on this generalization, so far as regards the United States, will be considered in subsequent articles. For present purposes it is sufficient to have pointed out the indubitable fact of the increasing numbers of the rich.

time to time, are merely crude guesses. It is altogether likely, however, that the lesser figure is far more nearly correct than the greater.

The Gambler's Chance.

But a noteworthy thing is that, despite the increasing number of failures, an increasing number of persons rush into business enterprise. They are eager to take the gambler's chance and stake their all upon winning. Thousands are bankrupted, and other thousands fall without liabilities, merely closing out their business. But with fresh resources, generally, if not always insufficient, got from savings from wages or salary, or by loans from friends or relatives, they follow the advice given in the familiar adage:

"If at first you don't succeed, Try, try again!" and open another shop or store. "Bradstreet's," in a recent number, stated that 284,293 firm-names were erased from its business register of 1903, while 322,006 were added, and suggested that probably most of the new enterprises were taken up by men who had discontinued other lines of business.

The temptation to "go into business for one's self" is always alluring. The pains and drudgery of wage-earning labor, the subordination and routine of salaried labor, are a known quantity; and so is the yearly recompense, at least in any trade or calling where employment is steady. But the possible revenues from a business enterprise are unknown, and the imagination of the investor runs free in picturing them. It is perhaps only the exceptional petty retailer who does not see in his little store the potential beginning of a great mercantile house, and only the exceptional petty manufacturer who does not regard himself as a possible captain of industry.

The petty manufacturer has troubles which the petty trader has not. To an extent not necessary by law, he must compete with the big concerns. The petty trader persists by reason of the smallness of capital required, as well as by giving a local service, and often a limited amount of credit, to the consumers in his immediate neighborhood. But except in the absolutely new lines of production which are being constantly created by inventions and the specialization of labor, the petty manufacturer must feel increasingly the competition of his big rivals.

Increase of Number of Merchants.

It is therefore to the petty traders, more than to the petty manufacturers, that we must look for signs of persistence in the face of the opposition of the big concerns. This persistence seems to be common throughout the capitalist world. Sombart, in 1896, pointed out that in Germany, in 1882, there were 1,364 merchants for each 100,000 of population, while in 1895 this proportion had grown to 1,502. In Belgium the number of members of trading houses increased from 400,000 in 1836 to 523,000 in 1880, and 700,000 in 1890; and a somewhat similar showing is made for France. In the United States retail merchants, according to the census, increased from 1890 to 1900 by but 19.8 per cent, a rate less than that of the increase in population; but a considerably higher percentage is given by including wholesalers, and the furnishers of food, drink, lodging, and other service, such as keepers of restaurants, hotels, saloons, boarding houses, and livery stables. All of these are probably classified together in the Belgian, German, and French statistics as merchants.

So the "middle class"—and especially that part of it engaged in petty trade—indubitably advances, for the present, in numbers. Its character, however, the amount of its revenues, the range of its possibilities and its commercial and political influence, are another matter. M. Vanderveide has well described the character of a considerable part of this class, as it is found in western Europe:

"For one [small trader] that disappears, ruined by the capitalist bazaar, ten appear in other branches of trade or in other places, in the country, or in the suburbs of large cities. They are ordinarily old servants or workmen who have saved something, or else artisans whose situations have become intolerable, and in the villages farmers who have wholly or partly given up farming.

"To these must be added a great number of clerks and salesmen who, finding themselves out of a situation, or desiring to marry, establish themselves on their own account, often with manifestly insufficient resources. The possibility of supplying themselves too easily, in consequence of competition, with merchandise or credit, leads to the invasion of certain branches of trade by establishments with nothing solid about them, which appear especially in times of depression like mushroom after a rain, only to disappear in the course of a year or two when inevitable ruin overtakes them.

Cripples of Capitalism.

"In short, small trade is the special refuge of the cripples of capitalism, of all who prefer, in place of the hard labor of production, the scanty gleanings of the middleman or who, no longer finding a sufficient revenue in industry or farming, desire to add a string to their bow by opening a little shop. This is in particular what explains the multiplication of saloons and taverns of all sorts—the easiest and least costly enterprise to start—in all the communes."—"Collectivism," Translation by Charles H. Kerr.] To a considerable extent the same comment may be made upon the small shops and stores in the United States.

The notion that an increasing number of establishments is proof of an increasing wealth and commercial independence of the "middle class" is unsupported. As a matter of fact, the independent small concerns suffer a progressive diminution of returns, and a progressive limitation of scope and power. "It is generally known," as I have written in another place, "that small industries the product of which is more or less ingenious or artistic manage to survive (at least until some promoter 'trustifies' the trade); that those the product of which is common or usual are sooner or later extinguished; and that the petty retailers represent so many heterogeneous elements that it is difficult to predicate anything of them as a class. Of these latter there is a moderate number who, by furnishing a needful social service, make profits; there is a large and constantly changing number who, through ease of credit manage to obtain stock without capital, and who almost invariably succumb; there is then a large number whose little shops are run by women and children, the husbands and fathers working at some trade or office job, and hopefully expending their weekly earnings in the vain attempt to 'build up a business'; finally there is a class, the number and relative importance of which it is impossible to estimate, whose businesses are owned, directly or indirectly, by other men or by companies."—[Our Benevolent Feudalism.]

(To be continued.)

PROTESTING AGAINST CHURCH AUTOCRACY.

Rev. A. L. Wilson, who was forced out of the Methodist Episcopal Church because of his outspoken advocacy of Socialism, has organized at Ridgefield Park, N. J., the People's Congregational Church, with forty-five "constituent members." Worship is conducted in the Town Hall for the present. A desirable plot of ground in the center of the town for a church has been secured, but it has yet to be paid for. The "covenant" of the church declares: "We believe that the church must stand for the largest freedom in the promulgation of all truth relating to the Kingdom of God and the well-being of men." Also that: "We believe that in the church we should find the fullest expression of the Brotherhood of Man, in fellowship, equality and service for Jesus Christ and for each other." The movement is a protest against the autocratic suppression of free expression of opinion inside the church and for the freest expression regarding the vital social questions of the day. Comrade Wilson will be glad to hear from anyone interested in such a movement and who might desire to strengthen it.

MINE OWNERS' ARROGANCE.

Labor of France is indignant over the brutal impudence of the mining company of Courrières, which is bringing suit against one of our party papers, asking for an indemnity of \$150,000 because said paper, as well as the bourgeois press, published the facts on the causes of that horrible catastrophe which hereafter over a thousand families of their supporters. It will be remembered how the glutinous greed of the company dismissed after a few days the volunteering German live-saving crew, because longer relief work might have curtailed dividends. Profits were at stake, let human lives perish. A great many lives could have been saved had profits not been in the way. Labor will never forget this object lesson.—Leipziger Volkszeitung.

PUBLIC INSURANCE IN GERMANY.

In Germany nearly 19,500,000 workers are insured against accidents, and the expenditure is close on \$30,000,000. Against sickness, over ten millions are insured, and the amount of money reaches \$31,000,000.

In Germany, as well as Austria-Hungary, in the case of fatal accidents the payment of burial money, as well as pensions to surviving dependents, is compulsory.

In Germany, in addition to accident pensions when incapacitated from earning a livelihood, old-age pensions are now granted, but the recipient must have reached seventy years of age.

Premiums are paid for every week of employment in equal sums by the employers and workers, ranging for each from two to five cents, according to the wage class to which the workman belongs.

SERBIA STIRRING.

On July 22 our Serbian comrades held in the streets of the capital, Belgrade, a monster demonstration, with a parade of over 5,000 participants, in favor of universal and equal suffrage.

—You cannot get a correct understanding of Socialism by listening to its enemies only. You must hear its friends. Read a Socialist paper. The Worker, 15 Spruce street, New York City, 50c. a year.

—Last week's paper had a big extra circulation, as it deserved. Give us still bigger orders for next week. —So far there has been a good response to our premium offer, but we hope for yet more.

INTERNATIONALISM AND ORGANIZATION.

The international movement needs organization. Never before was it so important that the Socialist Party should exercise its full influence in international affairs. To-day the organized Socialist Party in all countries is infinitely stronger than ever before; yet it does not exercise international influence in proportion to its increased power. In the days of the "old International"—the International Working Men's Association—the strength of the organized working-class party was infinitesimal compared with what it is to-day. Yet that association caused kings and governments to tremble, and was the terror of despots all over the civilized world. We need to organize the international movement in relation to the Socialist Bureau at Brussels, so that any pronouncement coming from thence shall be the pronouncement of the whole international Socialist Party, and shall have behind it the whole organized force of that party. All international action should be taken by and with the sanction and co-operation of the International Bureau, and no international business should be transacted thru any other channel, and no international conference should be held under any other auspices. Never was it so important as now that the international movement should be consolidated. We cannot afford that the party should speak with different voices; we cannot afford to have fiascos. The international—the new International—must make itself heard, and make itself feared.—London Social Democrat.

THE MOVEMENT IN SWEDEN.

The Swedish Trade Union Congress was held recently at Stockholm, with 475 delegates present. The central bodies of the trade unions of Finland, Denmark, and Norway were also represented by fraternal delegates. At the time of the last congress three years ago the Swedish unions numbered 39,570 members; now the organizations have grown to a membership of 108,000. The sum of 1,110,000 kroner was expended for strike benefits and aid to boycotted union men during the last three years. The Swedish Socialist party has published its report for 1905. The vote for the candidates for the Swedish parliament was 26,083, or three times as much as three years ago. The party of Sweden is in very good condition financially and in membership, and the peaceful settlement between Sweden and Norway must be attributed to a large extent to the influence of the Swedish Socialists.

I. W. W. AND S. L. P.

To the Editor of The Worker.—I have followed with considerable interest the discussion regarding the I. W. W. and the kindred question of unity with the S. L. P. Having spoken in a number of states since March 12 the writer has acquired some interesting information which may also be of interest to readers of The Worker. One tendency in particular I have noted among adherents of the I. W. W. which is of utmost importance to Socialists and suggests a revival of the same anarchist views which became popular in the early eighties, in this country and which culminated in the Haymarket executions. That tendency is seen in either minimizing the power and use of the ballot or its open rejection. It was this view of the use and power of the ballot that drove Parsons, Spies and others to a rather indefinite and obscure espousal of an equally obscure combination of anarchism and Socialism.

In Youngstown, Ohio, this tendency has reached an acute stage. This city, because of its large number of industries, has created as clear a type of industrial proletarians as one may find anywhere, yet the once promising Socialist movement no longer exists there. I was candidly informed, after a three days' stand, that the ballot was unnecessary to realize common property in the powers of production. I was told that the presidents of the various departments of the I. W. W. would be a congressmen when we had the workers properly organized, and that we would then "take and hold" the machinery of production when the hour of the "industrial revolution" strikes! Just how these "industrial socialists" proposed to meet the police and military powers, which their rejection of the ballot leaves in the hands of the ruling class, is left to the imagination. I might venture the opinion, however, that when such a farce is attempted by an unarmed proletariat, the ruling class that has not lost all its sense of humor, would arm its forces with corn cobs and drive the whole bunch of "revolutionists" into the Mahoning River. Yet this caricature of the philosophy of Marx and Engels finds root in a city that has a promising field for a working-class party.

Then I am also informed, with an occasional sneer to emphasize their lack of faith in the ballot, that we are "political Socialists" and they are "industrial Socialists." The comrades sitting in the various parliaments in Europe, much against the will of the capitalist exploiters, may, no doubt, be glad to learn that these Socialists heartily agree with the capitalist class that political activity is useless to the working class.

One thing our comrades should remember. One of the chief differences between the anarchists and Socialists is who rejects in the use of the ballot. He who rejects it merely invites the working class to petty insurrection and to their own slaughter. It is only fair to say that what I have written is not true of all those who are affiliated with the I. W. W. On the contrary there are many in that organization who realize the danger and fight it. But I am convinced that the tendency to ridicule the ballot has grown during the past year. What will it require to bring some of these "Socialists" to their senses? With regard to unity of the S. L. P. and the "multi-cocca party," I confess I am unable to understand the former. Their representatives seldom fail to inform me that ours is a capitalist party ruled by fakirs and grafters and yet they would compromise with fakirs and grafters by uniting with them! Unite with the "multi-cocca" party and the "party of many

CONFESSIONS OF A DRONE.

By Joseph Medill Patterson.

(Reprinted from "The Independent", New York.)

The "Independent" has asked me for a short economic autobiography. I comply in the understanding that I am talking about myself, the type of the idle, rich young man, not myself the individual.

Were I the only one in the country who had such an easy time of it, then there need be no such thing as Socialism. But I am far from being the only one. There are thousands of others who produce no wealth and consume a great deal of it. There are thousands who produce no more than I, and who consume ten or twenty times as much. Be it remembered that wherever the first personal pronoun is used it is used to represent the type and not the individual.

I have an income of between ten and twenty thousand dollars a year. I spend all of it. I produce nothing—am doing no work. I (the type) can keep on doing this all my life unless the present social system is changed.

Where His Income Comes From.

My income doesn't descend upon me like manna from heaven. It can be traced. Some of it comes from the profits of a daily newspaper; some of it comes from Chicago real estate; some from the profits made by Pennsylvania and other railroads; some from the profits of the United States Steel Corporation; some from the profits of the American Tobacco Company.

As to Chicago real estate, I didn't put it there. Some of it I have never seen. It came into possession of my family some years ago, when it was cheaper. People came to Chicago to work, and in proportion as their numbers increased, the value of this real estate rose automatically. The people who came to Chicago to work caused the increase in value—but I get the benefit of it. There are people who are willing to work on this land. I am not willing to do so. Thus we arrange that they shall work there and pay me an annual tribute for my permission.

As to Pennsylvania, Tobacco and Steel stocks and bonds, I know nothing whatever about railroads, except how to read a time-table and to bless heaven for the eighteen-hour train. Yet I get an annual income from railroads. It isn't the capitalists who supply me with my income from railroads. I am one of them myself—and we couldn't all be so comfortable together by merely handing each other money back and forth. No, it must be the men who work the railroads or the travelers and shippers who contribute our incomes. Probably it is both. The men who run the trains are underpaid for the work they do, and those who ship or travel overpay for the service they get. We capitalists get the margin in between.

Had a Safe Job.

I was not living on \$15 a week basis and they were not living on a \$3 a week basis. I wasn't afraid of losing my job just because it was a dull season. I was the greenest cub on the staff. I got my "allowance" in addition to the fifteen—and the allowance was by considerable the more substantial figure. The allowance came from the pressmen, switchmen, cigarette girls, the other reporters, etc., via my family.

It is just this "allowance" that makes all the difference. Suppose, instead of being an absolute idler, as at present, I go to work and earn from \$2,000 to \$4,000 a year. My allowance continues and brings me in just five times as much as I earn. At first blush I would not be called an idler, because my daily physical or mental activity would be manifest. Yet the allowance for which I do not work brings me in five times as much as the salary for which I do work. As regards the people who contribute that allowance I am an economic idler, even tho as regards some other business I am a worker. Indeed I might fill a dual capacity as worker and idler in the same business. As a reporter on a newspaper I was a worker; as a member of a stock-holding family I was an idler.

Idlers Dislike the Truth.

Since our capitalists have not yet as a rule achieved the habit of ornamental idleness to the same extent as the effete aristocracies, they bitterly resent being called idlers. They point with pride to the fact that aside from their trips abroad and their week-ends in the country, they keep office hours religiously. But as to that portion of their incomes which is "allowance" they are, economically speaking, idlers. Let us concede that as to that portion of their incomes which is salary they are workers and earn their pay.

If a man produces \$2,000 worth of wealth a year, and consumes \$10,000 worth a year, he is overpaid. If he is overpaid, some must be underpaid. Socialism urges the underpaid to unite and insist on receiving the full amount of the wealth they produce.

Idle—Enjoy the Best; Work—Get the Worst.

In short, I lead a far more highly civilized life than the working people. I have offered me the choice of all the best things that man in his stay upon this earth has discovered, evolved or created. The working people do not have this choice offered them. There is left for them the shoddy things of life—hard work and small reward. I

THEY KNOW WHERE THEY STAND.

We have received communications asking where the "Montana News" stands in the present labor controversy in Montana. In reply we will say that the present trouble is none of our business. The Socialist Party is a political organization and not an economic one. We stand by the declarations of the national organization which were adopted by the Socialists of the United States thru a referendum vote, and the Montana Socialists voted in the affirmative in that referendum. The position of the union question is neutral. Working-class organizations must grow from within, from the economic environment of the working class. That is the position that the majority adopted, and we will stand by majority rule. The "Montana News" will not take sides in the present labor controversy in Montana, but will stand by the position of the Socialist Party unionism, as long as the "Montana News" is a spectacle only possible in the U. S. L. P. that has turned more tactical somersaults in recent years than any other organization known to labor. Terre Haute, Ind. JAMES ONEAL.