

The Worker

NEW YORK, AUGUST 17, 1902.

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VOL. XII.—NO. 20.

IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Socialist Activity in the Strike State.

Great Enthusiasm Throughout the Strike Field.

PHILADELPHIA, August 11.—Regular meeting of the State Committee held on above date, Comrade Slick in the chair.

Charters were granted to the following locals: Luzerne County Committee, Nanticoke, Plymouth and Aroca, Luzerne County, Jackson, Schuylkill County, Mauch Chunk and Coalport, Carbon County, and Media, Delaware County with a membership of 178. Two ward clubs organized in Mahanoy City with upwards of 200 members.

Financial reports for the month of July and the vote on delegate to the Canadian convention received from nearly all locals. Those not yet reported are requested to do so at the earliest possible date.

Conventions.

In the Fifth Legislative District of Luzerne, J. T. Jenkins has been nominated. Lawrence County Convention held at New Castle, August 2. A complete ticket was nominated as follows: For Assembly, W. J. White and J. L. Bryson; County Treasurer, R. T. McKeown; Prothonotary, Frank Fields; County Commissioners, Clinton Mitchell and Wm. Hughes; County Auditor, John Kaufman; Congressman, George Frethey.

Carbon County Convention was held at Mauch Chunk August 9. Forty-eight delegates were present, every local in the county being represented. Comrade Collins addressed the convention. The following ticket was proposed by the convention subject to the referendum: Congressman, James Haggish; Senator, Edw. McFarland; Assembly, Jerry N. Walker; Judge, Charles Heydreich; Register, James Kennedy; Recorder, James Boyle; W. H. Bond, and W. H. Morse one to be selected; Commissioners, James Gallagher, Elmer Smoyer, George Evans, and Chas. Bittum two to be selected; County Committee is composed of Elmer Smoyer, chairman; L. G. Rothlein, secretary; Geo. Willingham, Lansford; James Butler, Nesquehoning; F. Knaute, Jr., Mauch Chunk; William Lamb, Lehighton; Wm. Peaily, Trexkov; Robt. E. Fahrman, Hazleton; and James Kistner, Wilkes-Barre.

The capitalist papers headed their notice of the convention, "Socialists Walk to the Convention," and they told the truth in this instance. Some walked ten and some walked twenty miles. Men of that calibre cannot compromise with capitalism. Clear as the tones of a bell came the declaration of the class struggle from that gathering.

Potter County Convention was held at Coudersport, August 8. The following were nominated: For Congress, Dr. C. A. Reese; for Representative, O. W. Grinn; for Prothonotary, A. E. Borden; for Register and Recorder, Jesse Lyman; Commissioners, Silas Stillman and Thomas Moffit; Auditors, Benj. J. King and Stephen White. Comrade J. Floyd Johnson of Coudersport was chosen as chairman of the County Committee. The national platform and the state candidates were endorsed. A number of resolutions were adopted, among them the following: "We, the Socialists of Potter County in convention assembled, believing in the principles promulgated by the members of the Socialist Party the world over, affirm our belief in those principles founded upon the natural law of the universe, and adherence to which will ultimately secure the establishment of justice, the reign of truth and right, and the brotherhood of man. Be it therefore, Resolved, That we realize that wealth belongs to him that creates it and not to the non-producer who exists upon the product of honest toil.

The following conventions will be held on dates named:
Fourth Legislative District of Luzerne, at Martin's Hall, Hazleton, August 19, 2 p. m.
Schuylkill County Convention, Mahanoy City, August 16, at Opera House, 1 p. m. Comrade Collins will attend.

Montgomery County Convention, Royersford, August 16, in the afternoon. Comrade Williams of Reading will be present at the convention and will address a public meeting in the evening.

Comrade Goastin, of Charleroi, reports good prospects of several charters being placed in that vicinity. He will visit California and a number of near by towns and Connelville within the next two weeks.

Comrade J. C. Frost, Organizer of Delaware County, reports that with the assistance of Comrade Kovan, Smith, Olson and others several charters will be placed in that county in the near future. F. Long spoke at Clifton Heights August 8. Comrade Barnes will speak at Darby, August 16. In the small towns the stereotypical used by Comrade Frost insures a good audience at every meeting.

Your comrades are up and doing. Comrade Toole of Baltimore spoke to a large audience in the public square on August 2. The County Committee has arranged a series of meetings, the first one being held at Spring Creek, August 16, at which Comrades Lewis, Brady, Kelley and Shady were the speakers. The next meeting will be at Eberton, August 15.

Comrade Barnes spoke at Reading, Sixth and Penn streets, Saturday, August 9, which made the eighth Socialist meeting held in that city during the week. Some fine local talent is being cultivated there as headquarters is

maintained and the movement is in splendid shape.

Comrades in the western part of the state are requested to be in readiness to have meetings for Comrades J. W. Clayton, candidate for Governor, and Charles Heydreich, of Erie, between September 3 and 10. They will probably visit Butler, Charleroi, Duquesne, West Newton, Conneville, Brownsville, Clevelville, Black Lick, and locals in Potter County. Comrades Collins and Moore have visited the following places in the strike district during the week: Inkerman Crossing, Avoca, Nanticoke, Sugar Notch, Plymouth, Warriors Run, Hazleton, Milnersville, Jeddo, Breaker No. 3 and Freshard. The membership of the party in the places visited has nearly doubled in the week, and the old party politicians are beginning to shed very large crocodile tears for the woes of the workers.

A letter from the field says: "The conditions upon \$100 being raised by subscription. The committee got the \$50, for in the one week they have collected cash amounting to \$189.50 and have received weekly pledges amounting to a total of \$435. No treasury is immune, be it large or small, from their assaults; no subscription too large to daunt them or too small to be ignored; they know what they are working for; they want to secure the halls of Congress as the forum from which to preach Socialism to the nation, by the election of some of our comrades fresh from the mines.

Comrade Moore's vacation is at an end, which ends his work for the present among the mines. Comrade Collins will visit all locals in Schuylkill County this week. Comrade Chas. Ufert, member of the National Committee from New Jersey, will enter the Lackawanna district to-day for a week. Comrade Slick of the State Committee will accompany Comrade Collins for two weeks.

Mother Jones en route from West Virginia to Wilkes-Barre, stopped for an hour in the headquarters last Thursday. She is filled with enthusiasm at the progress being made. She said: "Judge Jackson locks a few people in jail, but thereby clears the vision and brightens the eyes of thousands of the sons of toil. Industrial and political unity is now, and must be, the watch words of the workers; it is imperative that Socialist speakers gather to the reopening front."

The next we hear from her is in a newspaper report as follows: Mother Jones, speaking at a thousand miners at Plymouth, Pa. "We are doing all we can to win this struggle by striking, but if our victory is delayed too long we will, yet yet on strike, march in a body to the polls this fall and put our men in power, who will win the strike for us. You have been receiving and obeying in politics the dictates of the coal barons. Are you going to allow this to continue?" ("Cries of No, No!") Then she stood together. "Be man firm. We still have a path left—the ballot-box. Don't forget the ballot-box. Beware of false political influences and vote in a body.

Contributions for agitation received as follows:
Previously acknowledged, \$278.90;
Royersford, \$1; Milton Beach, Biddeford, Me., \$1; A. White, Saco, Me., 25c; Seattle, Mont., 25c; J. Waldron, Junction City, Cal., \$1; Philadelphia Special Committee, Atkinson, Forbes and Seitzer, \$80.75; Local Philadelphia, \$15; Miss M. E. Oswald, Arlington, N. J., \$5; John Gese, Alice Mines, Pa., \$3.80; J. Dorkin, New London, Pa.; Chas. Rieneck, Philadelphia, 50c; Caroline H. Pemberton, Philadelphia, \$5; Textile Union No. 8, Philadelphia, \$15; L. Wittenberg, Philadelphia, per Special Committee, \$10; total, \$425.20.

Send all contributions to J. Edelman, Treasurer, 807 W. Cambria street, Philadelphia.

J. MAHLON BARNES, Secretary.
CAROLINE H. PEMBERTON, Assistant Secretary.

MINERS OWNERS IMPORTING MEN!

Associated Press dispatches from Berlin say that agents representing American railroads that are at present in difficulty with strikers are said to be canvassing the Polish provinces of Prussia and the Slavic districts of Austria for laborers, to whom they offer \$2.50 a day and free board. The agents give the impression that the railroads would be glad to prolong negotiation with the strikers until able to fill their places with Europeans. According to the Berlin Intelligence Office, these agents are apparently working regardless of the American contract labor law, or they are confident of circumventing the law.

If the mine-owners succeed in importing these men, they will raise a disturbance when they find that they were brought over to be scabs working under difficulties and disgrace, then the capitalist press will accuse the strikers of violence.

And when another great mine disaster occurs owing to the mine-owners refusing to go to the expense of making the mine safe, then the capitalists will have another opportunity to blame it on "ignorant foreigners" as they did after the recent Johnstown disaster.

Labor receives no more consideration than it is in a position to demand and enforce.—Mt. Hope (W. Va.) Independent.

UNION'S MAIL OPENED.

Postmaster General Winks at Rifling of Trade Union Official's Mail.

SAN FRANCISCO, July 28.—Mr. Richard Cornelius, president of the Amalgamated Carmen's Union of this city, is in receipt of a letter from Postmaster General Payne which practically sets the seal of approval of the Postal Department upon the action of whomsoever likes to freely open the mail of trade union officials during times of strikes to gather information for the enemy, and, in effect, invites them to do so.

During the recent street car strike detectives in the employ of the company were admitted to the postoffice and given permission to rifle the mail of President Cornelius. This crime is one which had the mail been James Phegan's or Irving M. Scott's, would have sent the culprits to prison for life, says "The Undercurrent"; but this crime was committed at the instance of a combination of capitalists against a humble trade union official, and hence is no crime—in the opinion of the postal authorities. When Mr. Cornelius demanded an investigation and punishment of the guilty, the investigation was granted, but as high officials were found implicated, he received the following jolly:

Office of Postmaster General, Washington, D. C., July 5.—Mr. R. Cornelius, San Francisco, Cal.—Dear Sir:

Replying to your letter of June 21, I beg to advise you that investigation of the matters to which you refer has been had, and the circumstances of which you complain are much to be regretted.

The department does not see that any good can come from further inquiry regarding the matter, as the officials of the department who were implicated have been censured and cautioned against any recurrence of the conditions of which you complain, and very careful restrictions have been placed regarding the mails from abuse of the privilege heretofore granted to the police in the matter of investigating crimes supposed to have been committed. Very truly yours,

H. C. PAYNE, Postmaster General.

Which says as plainly as words can say that workmen have no rights in the eyes of the department, that corporations can do no wrong in the eyes of the department, and that notice is hereby given to any and all who wish inside information concerning the working of a union may do so without fear of punishment.

Mr. Cornelius says: "I tried to find out whether the police department of this city or the Market street railroad was culpable in this matter. It was my purpose to prosecute the men whom Superintendent Cox had charged with this felony. After two months' persistent effort I am still unsuccessful in my effort to find these men. All that I have accomplished is to place the postmaster-general on record as an official utterly indifferent to the consequences of a crime that threatens not only my rights as president of a labor union in San Francisco, but which jeopardizes the rights and liberty of every member of a union in the nation. Under this ruling by the postmaster-general the agents of corporations in any city, against whom their employees may be striking, can tamper with the mail of the leaders as they tampered with mine, assured by the postmaster-general himself that they will not be prosecuted for their felonious action."

PRESS CENSORSHIP BY TEDDY THE STRENUOUS.

The following revelation of the press censorship exercised by President Roosevelt is from the "Fourth Estate," a paper dealing with the affairs of the newspaper world and circulating among publishers and editors:

"The New York Times" says that the President has inaugurated a species of censorship over the newspaper correspondents of the national capital.

"The story is that he has taken personal charge of the censorship bureau and directs its operations himself. To some of the offending writers he addresses personal notes, and others are sent for and interviews requested. The process is about the same in other cases.

"The correspondent is advised that it is known to the President that the matter he is sending to his paper or papers is regarded as unfriendly or unfair to the executive, and that if a change is not seen in the tone or coloring of the correspondence the offending person will find the usual courtesies accorded newspaper writers denied or restricted as much as possible.

"The intimation is conveyed in terms understood by the persons favored with this kind of White House attention that those whose names are recorded on the blacklist, or 'unfriendly list,' as it is designated by the President, will be discriminated against in the distribution of official news. It is not expressed in so many words, but the unfriendly Indian does not need to have a house fall on him to take the hint."

SUCCESS.

Lives of rich men oft remind us
The game could also be beat,
Leaving colleges behind us
If we'd availed, He and cheat.
—Duncan M. Smith

FOR THE DAILY.

Report of Pledges and Contributions.

The Board of Management of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association met on Monday, August 11, with Comrade Martin in the chair.

The Secretary reported that the work of interesting trade unions in the conference was progressing and that he was informed of several new unions having elected delegates.

Comrade Butcher was instructed to go to Elizabeth on Friday, August 15, and visit the comrades at their meeting there, and urge their co-operation for the daily.

The Board of Management also decided to publish a miniature edition of "The New York Globe" for distribution among the comrades and trade unionists.

The conditions of membership in the W. C. P. A. are: First, the applicant must be a member in good standing of the Socialist Party—called in New York the Social Democratic Party; second, he (or she) must buy one share of stock for \$5—\$1 to be paid on the pro rata of his name, \$1 on his admission, and the rest within one year.

The second conference of delegates from trade unions and other labor organizations for the establishment of

work, comrades, and we will have our daily paper out before a year has passed.

The comrades of New York and Brooklyn are asked to wake up and help push the work for the daily to its ultimate conclusion. The outlying towns are beating you and you won't allow that, we are quite sure.

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PLEDGE.

To the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association, 64 E. Fourth Street, New York City:

I hereby pledge myself to contribute for the publication of an English Socialist Daily the sum of \$..... to be paid in monthly installments of \$.....

Name.....

Address.....

The Socialist and Trade Union newspaper will take place at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth Street, on Thursday evening, August 14, at 8 p. m. All labor organizations are invited to send two delegates to participate in the deliberations of this body.

Amounts Pledged.

Following is a statement of amounts pledged for the Socialist Daily Fund up to August 11:

Branch 22, W. S. & D. B. Fund, Newark	\$50.00
Local Hudson County, N. J., Socialist Party	100.00
J. Wilson, City	10.00
Miss J. Lubin, City	10.00
Geo. Brunswick, City	10.00
Previously acknowledged	6,572.80
Total	\$6,742.80
Cash contributions	917.48
Total pledges and contributions	\$7,660.28

Cash Receipts.

The following amounts have been received on pledges and donations:

PAID ON PLEDGES.	
Wm. Mohr, Lawrence, Mass.	\$1.00
Peter Frank, Columbus, Ohio	1.00
L. Zakschewsky, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Theo. E. F. Schorr, Buffalo, N. Y.	1.00
W. W. Passage, Brooklyn, N. Y.	8.00
Local Hudson County, N. J.	10.00
A. Goeman, Brooklyn	.50
A. Kern, Newark	.25
J. Wilson, City	1.00
Miss Mary Levine, Brooklyn	1.00
Previously acknowledged	1,460.53
Total cash received on pledges	\$1,483.30

Cash Contributions.	
Wolfgang Rundsman, City	\$1.00
C. M. Int. Union 143, Calumet, Mich.	1.00
R. Lissowsky, City	1.00
Dr. 20th A. D., Brooklyn	5.00
Andrew Pitten, City	1.00
S. S. West Newton, Pa.	.50
Wm. Lippert, Rochester, N. Y.	1.00
Punch Card 212, Indianapolis, Ind.	1.25
E. H. Vaupel, Cincinnati, O.	1.00
German Branch, Socialist Party, Hartford	15.00
Punch Card 330, Jersey City, N. J.	3.00
J. Pavelkowitz, Newark	1.00
Previously acknowledged	887.73
Total	\$917.48

Total for week: On pledges, \$24.75; contributions, \$32.75. \$57.50
Previously acknowledged 2,348.28

Total cash..... \$2,405.78
Ben Kaplan reported last week as having paid 50 cents on his pledge which should be reported as \$1.00.

Notes About the Daily.

Cigarmakers' International Union 413 of Calumet, Mich., not being satisfied with sending a contribution to the Socialist Daily Fund, have also forwarded \$50.00 to pay for fifty copies of "The Worker" per week for three weeks. If every union that received a communication would do likewise they would be doing much to advance the cause of trade unionism by educating their members to be good and true union men every day in the year, including Election Day.

Branch 22 of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, located at Newark, N. J., has notified Secretary Butcher of the Publishing Association that at their last meeting it was voted to contribute \$50.00 to the Socialist Daily Fund. Good for Branch 22. Don't let his fringes either branch from doing the same thing or going fifty letters if they can't keep up the

work, comrades, and we will have our daily paper out before a year has passed.

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TO SPREAD SOCIALISM.

Seize This Great Opportunity for Propaganda.

Striking Miners Eager for Socialist Literature and Speakers.

Never before in the history of the Socialist movement in America did such a splendid opportunity offer itself to bring home the truths of Socialism to hundreds of thousands of workingmen as in the present coal strike of Pennsylvania. Had we but the necessary funds to put enough speakers and literature in the field, we could perhaps carry every one of the five counties in the strike region. Capitalism has there reached the climax of its development, and has thus itself distinctly drawn the class line between worker and employer. On the one hand is the coal operator, possessing not only the means whereby the miner makes his living, but owing everything to his sight—the house in which he dwells, the store where he buys, and even the ground on which he treads; on the other hand is the miner, possessing nothing but the power to work, and forced to be idle and to starve if the operator so orders.

With this glaring demonstration of the almightiness of the capitalist all around about them, and the absolute helplessness of their own position, is it any wonder that they are prepared to listen to the message of Socialism, and to grasp the meaning of the class struggle and of wage-slavery? They listen and are convinced almost as fast as they hear, for their deprivation and the wrongs of capitalist greed in one of its strong citadels has quickened and sharpened their minds for an intelligent grasping of the Socialist teachings. Within the past few weeks, and with the small force of speakers our party could afford, thirty-five locals were organized in the mine regions. The membership of the locals increases with remarkable rapidity, some of them which started with fifty or sixty members having now reached the figure four hundred. These new comrades pledge themselves enthusiastically to support the party not only by working for it, but with finances as soon as they resume their work. Think what an enormous aid this will be in increasing the efficiency of future Socialist propaganda!

It is estimated that the miners will elect three congressmen on the Socialist ticket, even without the further aid of outside speakers. By keeping ten or twelve speakers in the coal field, the entire territory could be covered, and our victories repeated in every new district. It takes but the meagre sum of ten dollars a week to keep one speaker in the field. The sum of one hundred and twenty dollars a week is all that is needed to enable us to take full advantage of the unique opportunity offered by the present situation.

For the purpose of securing this amount the State Committee of Pennsylvania called two meetings at headquarters, August 3 and 4, where Comrades Collins and Moore, who had been agitating in the coal region, pictured the situation which they listened to Socialist speakers and read Socialist literature. The leisure which the miners now have gives our speakers the opportunity to make three or four speeches a day to big sized audiences, and so popular has the Socialist sentiment grown that the miners would listen to no other but Socialist speakers. At the first meeting the undersigned were appointed a committee to devise means of securing the needed funds. One hundred and twenty-five dollars in cash were collected; some two hundred dollars were pledged in lump sums and weekly payments, and we are promised enough to bring the total up to six hundred dollars so far.

Comrades, we have endeavored to make clear to you the position in the strike region. Every extra effort of the part of Socialists and sympathizers at this juncture will bear fruit a hundredfold its ordinary value. Will you neglect this opportunity, or will you help us give such an impetus to our cause as will make Socialism in the United States in the near future a power commensurate with the monstrous strength of capitalism in our country?

WM. W. ATKINSON, Chairman.

THOMAS SELTZER, Treasurer.

S. INNES FORBES, Secretary.

Miners' Socialist Propaganda Fund Committee, 1022 Arch street, Philadelphia, Pa.

A GOOD EXAMPLE.

The international character of the labor movement is illustrated by the recent action of the Ironmolders' Union of North America in adopting a resolution providing for the recognition of the cards of European members to the extent of allowing their holders to work a sufficient length of time to demonstrate their eligibility for membership in the American union. The convention also decided to have its constitution and ritual printed in languages other than English for the benefit of the foreign element in American cities.

"Heads we win and tails you lose," is a good way to express the Socialist's confidence. If a strike wins, they rejoice as showing Labor's growing strength and sense of unity. If it loses the worsted laborers have learned a lesson and will do some thinking which will land them in the Socialist camp.—Colorado Chronicle.

OPEN LETTER TO BISHOP QUIGLEY.

By a Catholic Workingman.

The Rt. Rev. Jas. E. Quigley, Buffalo, N. Y.

Dear Sir:—As Secretary of Branch One of the Socialist Party of this city, I take the liberty to notify you that a recent meeting of our organization the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That the Socialist organization of Local Toledo place itself upon record condemning Right Rev. Jas. E. Quigley of Buffalo for attempting to array the Catholic Church against Socialism and connecting the church with politics."

I wish to call your attention to the significant fact that, although nearly half of the members of our organization are Catholics, the resolution was adopted unanimously. This would indicate that Catholics, as well as other workingmen and women, are beginning to do their own thinking, and are about through submitting to bossism, whether from ward politician or from papist.

If the Socialist Party was being recruited from the more ignorant elements of the working class, your tactics might be effective. But the very fact that one is a member of the Socialist Party is proof that he is a thinking, intelligent person who has the moral courage to stand for what he knows to be right before it becomes popular, although in so doing he may be subjected to the ridicule and contempt of his former friends. He may be discharged by his employer and excommunicated by his pastor; but persecution only strengthens his faith in the principles for which he suffers.

If the doctrines contained in the Socialist platform are wrong, specify wherein they are wrong. Denunciation is not sufficient. Abuse is not argument, and misrepresentation will react. I enclose a copy of the Socialist platform. Show us where you find it unjustified for classing Socialism with Anarchy, or what is "historically opposed to the Catholic Church." I also enclose a copy of an editorial from the Toledo "News," a Republican paper, commenting upon your latest attack on Socialism. It contains some wholesome advice, by acting upon which you can do more for the elevation of the church than by denouncing the movement which is destined to do that which Christ intended the church should do, and which he has not even attempted to do in all these nineteen hundred years—namely, the establishment of the Brotherhood of Man and Peace on Earth.

I write this as one whose only education was received in one of the Catholic parochial schools of this city, and who has been up to the present a practical Catholic. But, after having studied economics to the extent my scanty leisure would allow, I know there is no hope for humanity but in the adoption of the Socialist program. More than that, there is a crisis fast approaching which will engulf the world in bloodshed unless forestalled by the educational work now being done by the much despised Socialist agitator.

I went to mass at 5 o'clock last Christmas morning (before going to work), and I heard the choir sing that beautiful hymn, "Adeste Fideles," in praise of the humble infant born in a manger. I saw the splendidly decorated church and altar of expiation, and I saw the people thronging into the collection-basket for the maintenance of that costly edifice. Then I thought of the poor in the city, hundreds of whom were fed on that day by the Salvation Army and hundreds of others who were not fed at all. I thought of the so-called "fallen women" in every city in Christendom—most of whom did not fall, but were forced down by the fierce competition for bread, who had to sell their souls with their bodies, to avoid starvation or suicide. I thought of the haggard hungry faces and crippled hands of the children who toil for ten cents per day in the factories of this "glorious" republic. I thought of the thousands of widows and orphans who wept on that day of rejoicing for the husbands and fathers whose lives had been sacrificed during the year on the altar of capitalism, and I thought of the millions of people, a few whom God is said to have selected might build libraries and churches and endow colleges.

Then I wondered if Christ were to come to earth again, where he would spend Christmas. I wondered if he would have kept pace with the development of civilization and the church or would he still be the friend of the poor and oppressed. Would he tell the inhabitants of New York's tenement houses that they should build houses and live in them, or bid them to be contented in hovels while they built palaces? Then I wondered if it was not blasphemy to go to church and thank Christ for having died for us, when we had so utterly failed to apply his teaching to the conduct of our lives.

Your opposition to Socialism is virtually a plea for this infamous system under which one man's success means another's failure; under which children are taken from the cradle and forced into the factories, where their parents do not receive sufficient wages to feed and clothe these babies; under which men and women must beg for the privilege of slavish toil, for which they receive starvation wages and are thankful for even that; under which "The living envy the fortunate dead." As they toll for a pittance of bootless bread.

These conditions exist cannot be denied. That they should not and need not exist is a self-evident fact. The church blames God for these conditions. The Socialist knows that man is to blame and that man can and will remedy these evils. The Socialist recognizes in every man, woman, and child a brother or a sister, regardless of race, nationality, or religion. Do

Two Men.
Down in the coal mines of Illinois or Ohio or Indiana works a strong, brave man. He crawls on his belly. He faces hunger. He toils with night and day. He breathes foul air. Hour after hour he sweats and works. When he comes out of the hole in the ground and goes to his meager supper in his humble cabin, weary and begrimed, he has earned \$2. Of this he gives twenty cents to the cause, twenty cents in support of a principle, twenty cents in defense of American manhood. To meet this sacrifice his wife and children must give up something—a little less sugar on the table, no meat for support to-day, or baby must wait till next month for the much needed new shoes.

In a palace on Fifth Avenue in New York lives a man worth \$200,000,000. He has another palace at Newport. He has his yacht and his country seat. Every luxury of the world is at his command. His income is so great that he does not know what to do with it. But he, too, has his troubles. The thousands of employees of one of the many great corporations which he controls have had the audacity to ask for better wages, a more just method of measuring their work, and for arbitration. He, too, is fighting for a principle—the principle that poor men who work with their hands have no right to ask for anything except what their master chooses to give them.—Walter Wellman, in Chicago Record-Herald.

ROBBERS OLD AND NEW.
The highway robbers of old used to take from the rich and give to the poor. The modern highwaymen take from the meager pittance of the poor in order to swell the already fabulous fortunes of the rich. But a day of reckoning is not far off. The handwriting is on the wall. These modern Belshazzars will wake up some fine day, and find their occupation gone. The Nazis and Persians will capture their citadels at the ballot box and put an end to slavery and exploitation.—The New Era.

One of the beauties of a sympathetic strike at the ballot box is that it does not cost the strikers a cent.—Williamsport Labor News.

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the producing class from the means of production, with the rise of capitalism, with the perfection of the means of communication and transportation, with the complete control of all governments by the capitalists and the growth of an international capitalist class, the economic division of men into working class and capitalist class has obliterated all other divisions. The only division now separating men is a world-wide division, an international division; the division determined by the ownership of the means of producing wealth, the division into the class which produces wealth and the class which owns the tools with which it is produced, into wage-workers and capitalists. And between these two opposing classes there is a world-wide struggle—a class war. Organized Labor is arrayed against organized Capital; the army of Labor against the army of Profit.

In the light of the foregoing observations upon the solidarities of old, let us consider this new solidarity—the solidarity of Labor, and its discipline and ideal. We have seen that wherever individuals are bound together in a social group by common interests, wherever there is combination, there is a standard of conduct which is enforced by discipline and which, in its most extreme expression, becomes the ideal of the group. What of the discipline of the working class?

In many strikes, of which the present coal strike is one, working class discipline has manifested itself in a most determined manner—in a manner which has drawn cries of horror from the pious capitalist press. Strikers have walked out of church on account of the presence of a scab, and strikers' children have refused to attend school with the children of scabs—but these are mild measures, for everyone expects the scab to be despised and ostracized by strikers. Men on strike have taken seals up to the first building and broken their arms against the wall so that they could not work. In the present coal strike it was reported that strikers threatened to boycott a doctor if he dressed the wounds of a scab workman; it has also been reported that strikers in one locality have determined to cut off an ear of any man who turns scab. It may be that some of these reports are lies spread by the capitalist press to prejudice sympathizers—very probably some of them are. But we are willing to accept them as true. For things like these have happened. They will happen more frequently. And they show the growth of the spirit which is going to emancipate the working class.

When patriotism was the highest ideal no penalty was too severe for the deserted in time of war, and the man who sacrificed home, family, and life for his country was regarded as the greatest hero. The spirit of devotion to his class is now taking the place of patriotism in the workingman's breast; he is learning that he is a man without a country, that all countries belong to the capitalist class, that the interests of the working class of all countries are one in the universal struggle against the international capitalist class and that to set them against each other by "patriotism" is a hoax of his masters. When the workingman believed that the interests of his government were his interests his ideal was "patriotism"; when he knows that the government's interests are the interests of the capitalist class and that his interests are the interests of the whole working class his ideal becomes devotion to his class and he is said to be "class-conscious." The working class demands that in the struggle against the capitalist class home, family, and life be sacrificed for its good, just as the patriot sacrificed these things for what he thought was the good of his country. And in the class struggle no penalty is too severe for the scab who deserts. In every army there must be a standard of conduct subservient to the general good and the army of Labor will enforce its standard by what means it may.

But, says the man with the laissez-faire, individualist mind, if the scab does not belong to the union he is not a deserter and should not be subject to its discipline and has the right to work—if he can get it. Veriest sophistry. He shares in whatever benefits may come to the working class by the strike or union, and if he does not belong to the union it is only another count against him. By the very fact of being in the working class he owes loyalty to it and is subject to its discipline.

Individual liberty ends where class interests begin. Many Socialists with quick sympathies, and knowing the terrible industrial conditions which force men to scab, are also horrified at such grim discipline, which they are impatient of because they see how easily Labor could win complete victory at the ballot-box and thus this suffering seems to them so unnecessary. This view is a shallow one. For it is absurd to expect men to vote for their class interests on the political field before they have discovered those class interests on the economic field. Men must necessarily become class-conscious in the factory or mine before they can carry that class-consciousness to the ballot-box.

The grim discipline now beginning to show itself in strikes indicates an insistence upon solidarity, a spirit of class-consciousness and a determination that will be invincible when it is brought into the political field under the banner of Socialism.

And it is pleasing to reflect that as Socialism will end both the struggle between classes, by the working class absorbing the capitalist class, and the struggle for existence between individuals, by giving all an opportunity to earn a living, that under Socialism discipline will disappear and the government of man by man be reduced to a minimum. C. L.

THE MASTERS OF THE BREAD. Snatch from our hands the gold we've won And leave us worthless dross; Blind on our brows your crown of thorns And on our backs your cross. Seize on the earth and bid us delve. That we may yet be fed, Then dole a pittance for our toll, Ye masters of the bread.

Go rob our childhood of its youth In sweatshop, mill and mine; With hunger's lash drive home the lie That 'tis the will Divine. But should we dare to guard our own, Your ruthless hands to stay, Call out your hireling butchers then, Our sudden mobs to slay. Then let the grizzly wolf of want Stalk through our boy's bare feet, Till bootless hope and fruitless toil Shall mock our loved ones' prayer. Yet wait until our famished babes In cold and hunger die, Then send your holy beaehmen there To prate their pleasant lie. Yes, starve our daughters into shame, Our sons to felon's deeds; Then talk of trade and private rights, Of glory, flags and creeds. Yet think not ye may thus remain Secure in gilded night; In late dark hour some frenzied hand The heartless breast may smite. Or if ye live your evil span— Unblessing and unblessed— Your Helot's curse will seal your walls And flit your guarded rest. And though ye float and flee abroad, Still in your secret room Our shades will dog your dying steps And hound ye to the tomb. Though hell be "but a guilty dream," And heaven a hope forlorn; Though age on age of wrong may cloud Reluctant reason's morn, Still in the silent halls, where sleep The high and humble dead, Your limbs will lie, as cold as ours, O masters of the bread. —Webster Rogers.

A MONKEY ON A STICK. By Peter E. Burrows. If we squarely interrogate the Socialistic mind with "What is your push?" I believe the central answer of our whole movement will be essentially this: "A protest against the great iniquity of a man's being separated from the public life." On the other hand, if you come to the individualist mind with the same interrogation it will answer substantially: "An effort to affirm my own independence of society; up to that point where I shall have occasion to call in the government as a policeman."

The protestors assume that there is a public life, from which to be intellectually separated is iniquity. The affirmationalists, repudiating any social unity of the mind deny that there is a public life of any stronger cohesiveness than that which joins the rolling pebbles on a sea beach. The geographical accident of their being on one beach they recognize, but for the rest, except when they are rubbed up against each other by the waves, each rolls on his own supercilious and that's all. And if there are other pebbles, that circumstance is merely the discovery of an outside point of view with which I have no real concern. "Let me alone, I roll."

Holding, as I do, that mind and conscience are the same agency, and that the boundary of the one is the boundary of the other; every human thinking, as I see it, being a more or less broken integrity; the notion of each and every separate mind doing its own rolling, is, of course, to the obnoxious. But others not seeing it this way so constantly as I do; not regarding Socialism so perhaps, as I do, may think it worthy of an essay. In 'The Worker' to discuss one or two problems and cons of this protest and this affirmation.

I hope I will not be charged with monkeying too much with the sanctity of the private life if I borrow, by way of illustration, that dear little toy of my childhood whom we have all met, a little painted and jointed monkey who ran up over and down a stick in obedience to the little hand of the delighted operator. I remember well what a roguish little fellow he was, that little wooden philosopher used to bestow upon me, as taking for granted every possible and impossible position into which I thrust him, he stayed, devoting each eye with equal attentiveness to those particular spots of everything which happened to be right opposite each respective eye until, once more urged from behind by me he found himself with a like resignation devoting the same two deliberate and fixed gazes to whatever pair of other opposite side issues happened to be at the ends of a line passing from eye to eye through his wooden head.

My little wooden friend (in whom we all readily recognize the father of the dual philosophy) will, I trust, excuse me, when I borrow him, by no means rarely, for I have tried many exceptions to his method of looking at things. First, then, sir, you assume several things that don't belong to you. When on the beach, for instance, as a pebble you say: "Let me alone, I roll." you are assuming that if let alone you could roll, which indeed you are doing only because the tide interferes with you; and because it will not let you alone, therefore you roll. In fact, my dear monkey; you have no "alone," and never had one. The little pin that holds your joints together, I put into you myself one time, and you, my shoulder pin, as you know, was put in by a poor little Christian white slave over there in Germany. Don't contradict me. You know very well you are a social creature. You know the little girl that made your legs and the little boy who poked on your eyes with his little brush—ten hours a day for ten cents. After this, how can you dare to assert your impudent independence. If all other pebbles are no concern to you, why only the phenomena of an outside point of view, and are like men in society all stand-offish, what about the tide that rolled you here?

Well, to be sure, you admit, that in so far as being rubbed down or groomed by the other rolling pebbles there is some advantage to an individualistic monkey in having other fellows around him; and in fact that appears to be the only use you have, as a gentleman and laissez faire individualist, for the mob of other persons called society. But suppose they all choose to stand off from that egoistic pebble of yours as you do from them, at least in your philosophy, how about your smooth surface, and your polished manners, when you stand off from gentlemen who come from, or where would you be? It happens to me that if stand-offness were the general order you would be still in geology, where there is no one to be ordered, nothing to give an order, and no one to give an order. In fact the sum of all madness is the insanity of a man's separation of himself from the public life, my dear old companion on a stick. I will spare your feelings, I will make no further reflections upon yourself as a factor in the great process of civilization, except to remark that, with this last, you are stand-offness in your sharp finger nails and in your hip pocket, whatever figure you may have cut in a book on evolution, you will cut nothing but your neighbor's throat as a philosophical individualist wishing to be let alone and to live your own life, and make your own character, by using all other mortals as punching bags for the muscular development of the great Roosevelt which you feel pulling himself together inside of you.

Now this is not intended for unkindness, my dear toy. But really you are more a creature of circumstances than you think, and I have been, next after those sweetened babies in Germany your principal circumstance. I have been society's right hand to you, and without that right hand you never came up, you never stayed up, or you never came down. But I will tell you what I'll do with you. If you can

show itself in strikes indicates an insistence upon solidarity, a spirit of class-consciousness and a determination that will be invincible when it is brought into the political field under the banner of Socialism. And it is pleasing to reflect that as Socialism will end both the struggle between classes, by the working class absorbing the capitalist class, and the struggle for existence between individuals, by giving all an opportunity to earn a living, that under Socialism discipline will disappear and the government of man by man be reduced to a minimum. C. L.

THE "BEST MAN" ARGUMENT. "Vote for the best man," that's my motto. "Yes, thousands get left by that motto." "How so?" "Why, the best man is no better than his party, is he?" "No, of course he stands for the party that nominates him." "Then, if he is nominated by a capitalist party, he must stand for capitalist principles, he must favor how good he is. What can he do alone, anyhow?" "Yes, I know. A man without a party is helpless." "Well, then, it looks to me even 'the worst man' in a good party is better than the best man' in a bad party. Principles, not men—that's my motto." —The Seattle Socialist.

manage to keep me off when I want to come on to you, then I will allow you to set up a separate property shop of your own, to thump and bleed the working people around you, to keep them on your house ratons while they are furnishing the tables of your palace, and to call me in as a policeman when they go on strike.

Having thus disposed of our timber failed friend as a philosopher of the independent personal life, let us have a word over the corpse; although no dignified cut ever kills the same mouse twice let us at least turn him over. When a wooden monkey declares his unbelief in the public life, is about the time that, behind closed doors he is watering the milk, watering the stock, watering the political and official flowers that blossom around Mr. Root. His denial of the public life is only made in the property sense; for, though he will not allow the public life to own property, he cordially allows it to own the club, the policeman, the deputy, the militia and Judge Jackson to beat off that that crowd who never learned any better than to work for their living. He allows the government to own property, for that important trust by handing itself over to be owned and monkeyed by the trust. And when it has proved its calling and election sure by declaring its loyalty to that interpretation of the constitution which shall, forever and ever, exclude the laborers from everything but work; as our monkeyship provides and finds it profitable to give.

Once there and the capitalist becomes a whole number, a unit, while every worker outside is but a dead fraction, having neither a local habitation nor a name, until a whole number attaches him and gives him significance among the masses of unassigned humanity by giving him a job and letting him call himself, "Mr. Monkey's man."

The radical difference as a thinker between that monkey and me was thus: That he, after his tail took root in a city lot or some other bit of property regarded that as the absolutely fixed-in-itself-for-evermore part of all human relations. Starting with this initial fixity which simply forbids all change but such as may be incidental to the unlimited extension of the original lot—the logic of individualism that the state is the accidental thing but any lot the absolute—he does not deny the right of other falls taking root and keeping root, until he is ready to root them up; he simply denies public life to be anything else but a constant to take care of him while he is rooting.

A number of such monkeys may be swinging on their tails like daisies, each in his own lot and some day when they get their heads together they are the state, they are progress, they are culture, they are civilization.

TIMELY TOPICS. The miners can offset General Gotha's target practice by shooting their ballots straight for Socialism next fall. It didn't require the much resented criticisms of the Socialists to make the Civic Federation a failure. High tariff or no tariff, Republican and Democratic politicians agree that reciprocity between themselves and the trusts is highly essential to prosperity. Mark Hanna exhibits his usual estimate of workmen's intelligence when he presumes to advise them how to run the unions that were built up in spite of his efforts to destroy them.

The Kaiser got his information about Socialism from a German workman and organ who will be better posted when American workmen also get busy. It's peculiar that only old party politicians out of office have remedies to settle the coal strike. Mr. Bryan is apparently determined that if he cannot be elected president by the Democratic party no one else will. The language used by the Shenandoah priest who condemns the strike leaders is singularly like that reported to have issued from the mouths of certain false priests and parishes some 1900 years ago. The trust magnates won't fret much while Attorney-General Knox uses nothing more deadly than his fists upon them. Our capitalists evidently believe they have the right to use the same methods in running their automobiles that they are permitted to exercise in conducting industry.

Workmen all over New York state must feel considerably richer since learning that Governor Odell "saved" over nine million dollars to the state treasury during the past year. Now we are assured that the heads of the American aristocracy will be eager since King Edward wears a crown. Perhaps it's because Carroll D. Wright says 60 per cent. of all strikes are successful that Mark Hanna sees the necessity for a Civic Federation to prevent strikes. The difference between the deaths of a "scab" and a striker is that one is always murdered and the other is simply killed. If the workers are entitled to a larger share of their product, as Senator Hanna declares, why are they not entitled to the whole thing? If it is right for the capitalists to retain 1 per cent. of their product, why is it not right for the workers to retain all that they can get. WILLIAM MAILLY.

CIVILIZED. The heathen in his blindness Doves down to wood and stone, But after civilized while He hammers to gold alone. —Duncan W. Smith.

COMRADESHIP: THE SOCIALIST IDEAL. BY LEONARD D. ABBOTT. "It is to the development, identification, and general prevalence of fervid comradeship (the adhesive love at least rivaling the amative love hitherto possessing the imaginative literature, if not going beyond it), that I look for the counterbalance and offset of our materialistic and vulgar American Democracy and for the spiritualization thereof. Many will say it is a dream, and will not follow my inferences; but I confidently expect a time when there will be seen, running like a half-hid way through all the myths and visible worldly interests of America, threads of manly friendship, fond and loving, pure and sweet, strong and life-long, carried to degrees hitherto unknown—not only giving tone to individual character, and making it unprecedently emotional, muscular, heroic and refined, but having deeper relations to general politics. I say Democracy infers such loving comradeship as its most inevitable twin or counter-part, without which it will be incomplete, in vain, and incapable of perpetuating itself."

In these suggestive words (quoted from "Democracy and the Future" by Walt Whitman takes cognizance of a very interesting phase of the social ideal. He makes us realize that the world of today is a world of fragments; that it has lost all sense of organic unity; and that it cannot express or realize itself in any adequate way until that unity be gladly and openly, even passionately, recognized. Our society is a society of competitors, which is only another way of saying that it is based on division. It separates men. It sets them, individually and in classes, at one another's throats. It brings ease where there should be equality; suspicion where there should be affection; hatred and rivalry where there should be fellowship.

Life to-day is a thing in the rough from top to bottom. There is no finish or beauty in it. Our cities are a patchwork of dull and thoughtless architecture; our streets are full of men and women who are mere automata, who possess no real personality or individuality. To quote one of Stephen Phillips' phrases, they are—"Creatures we warred, compelled upright To drift beside us in the light."

It is not the crude, unsharpened condition of human life, in the last resort, simply for the sake of comradeship, our lack of social responsibility? We have learned how to refine iron and steel; to span oceans and annihilate space; to breed horses and dogs. But we seem supremely indifferent to the breeding of the human being. The potentialities of humanity are unimaginably great; the actualities, as made visible in the averages of modern life, are unspeakably meager and contemptible. We have thought we could exist each by himself. We have thought we could separate ourselves from the social whole. We have tried such one to live a petty life within four walls, and to overlook the great torrents of humanity that flow past our doors. We have tried to put up our little barriers of class and clique. And the result of it all has been just the kind of a world we see around us—the festering East Side tenements here, and a ston's throw away, the Fifth Avenue mansions; the portly millionaire in his carriage, and, beside him, the poor huckster in the gutter.

Is it a thing to wonder at that our public life is mean and squalid, when our private lives are so isolated and unnatural? The average man of today may be a kind husband and a good father, but he leaves his conscience behind him when he goes out into the industrial arena. In our city offices we see "pillars of the church" and "philanthropic citizens" paying their clerks wages that will barely support life; and Christian employers are rigid in their adherence to the "market rate" of labor, even though that rate be on the starvation line and their profits in the millions. The commercial code of ethics is clearly understood, and is well expressed in the phrase: "Each for himself and the devil take the hindmost." The social callous feeling extends over into the realm of governmental and political affairs. We hand over the reins of government to the Crooks and Platts with perfect serenity, for we are quite unconscious of any social responsibility. A similar state of affairs prevails in the world of international politics. The politicians and the newspapers of the various countries never lose an opportunity to jar race pride and prejudices, with the result that the "great powers" of to-day, though they talk loudly and bombastically of their friendship for one another, are quietly increasing their armaments and ever holding themselves in readiness for international war.

Might it not almost be said that the world has progressed just in so far as it has admitted the spirit of comradeship? Is not that simply a statement in ethical terms of what the economists have been telling us in economic terms? Comradeship, translated into economic terms, means nothing but co-operation, co-ordination, organization. We live together in cities or communities because we realize that life lived that way may become a richer and fuller thing for each one of us. We build libraries and public schools, we have all its resources, will stand behind every baby born. Then at last we shall know a race of full-statured men and broad-voiced women.

Socialism will give men room and opportunity to be kindly, gentle, tender, to one another. It will express in the very fiber of the industrial fabric the organic unity of human life. It will weld together all the jarring atoms that will fuse the very passion and arro-

gance and malice of men; it will harness all the virtues and the vices in the service of the commonwealth. For the vicious act is but the act which is anti-social, and to-day a premium is set upon vice. But in the days that are to be a premium will be set upon mutual aid and fraternity. There will be every reason why we should work together and none why we should pull apart. The barriers will break down. Frenzied hearts will become warm. Artificial gradings and conceits and jealousies will go to the rubbish-heap. We shall begin to reverence this poor humanity of ours, which has been so battered and torn and trodden under foot. We shall begin to understand that the red blood runs and the red heart beats beneath all flesh. We shall verily be comrades one to another. And this comradeship will blossom in every beautiful thing in great social life, great art, great thinking. Our mission must ever be, in the words of Edward Carpenter: "To form an indissoluble union and compact, a brotherhood unalterable. 'Far reaching and inviolable as the wind milled in Freedom—' "A golden circle of stamens hidden beneath the petals of humanity, "And guarding the sacred ark, "Through heroisms and deaths and sacrifices. "Attends for the poor and despaired, "Attends for the outcast and oppressed, "Through kinship with Nature, and the "Tend handling of all forms and customs. "Through the treasured teaching of inspired songs—never lost and never given wholly to the world, but always emerging— "Through love, faithful love and comradeship, at last emancipating the soul into that other realm of freedom and joy into which it is permitted to no mortal to enter— "Thus to realize the indissoluble compact—to reveal the form of humanity."

A SOCIALIST "SOCIALIST-KILLER." Mr. Hourwich has more than one way, as well as more than one name, to combat Socialism with. His favorite way is to discredit the prevailing Socialist views not so much by argument as by ridicule. And his favorite method of ridicule is the easy but effective ridicule of quotation marks. His new favorite but more effective way of casting discredit on Socialism is to present something of his own, something which he claims is Socialism—the real thing—a practice which tends to discredit Socialism with every sensible but uninformed person. He expatiates in the Jewish "Vorwarts" on the demerits of the government printing establishment in Washington. It is dominated by the unions. This involves great loss and waste of labor. Stereotyped tables are destroyed for the purpose of being set up again, and that by hand labor, as the union succeeded in preventing the introduction of linotype machines. People should consider this, says Mr. Hourwich, and think twice before they favor government ownership of railroads. The Socialists who stand for the complete overthrow of capitalism are unable and unwilling to solve this problem. Therefore this job devolves on Mr. Hourwich. Mr. Hourwich is a well informed man and it would be unjust to charge him with ignorance. Therefore, we take it, that he rails against Socialism deliberately and with malice aforethought. He knows the position of the Socialists on this question. He knows that the Socialists will be easily solved by the trade union in question. Let Mr. Hourwich guarantee to the printers in the government establishments a reduction of their hours of labor in proportion to the saving of labor by the linotypes, and he will find no greater enthusiasts for the introduction of the linotypes than the printers and their union. Their present opposition to the linotypes is easily explicable, seeing that their introduction will put so many of them on the street to shift for their jobs. All of which Mr. Hourwich knows well, but does not even hint at for it would be an attack on capitalism and not on Socialism. But this is not all. Mr. Hourwich knows well that the opposition of trade unions to the introduction of modern machinery is an ever-waning phenomenon. The unions are impotent in this direction and their opposition is of no effect and is not a factor in industrial development. On the other hand, industries which are completely controlled by trusts and monopolies are noted for the tenacity with which they adhere to the old forms of production. There is good reason for it. Once competition is eliminated, the tendency of the capitalist to introduce new machinery. The outlay may be far exceeded the profits which may accrue from the saving on labor. Or, at least, the capitalist thinks so, and this is sufficient reason for him. This negative attitude of monopolized industries to the introduction of modernized machinery is, unlike the opposition of the trade unions, an ever-growing industrial factor, threatening social progress. Facts of this kind come often to the surface in the daily press. We read now and then of an invention or discovery in the production of a commodity controlled by a trust. The trust always secures control of the invention and this may be the last that we hear of it. It is suppressed or, perhaps, destroyed to the irretrievable loss of society. All of which is perfectly well known to Mr. Hourwich. But to point out this would be against capitalism and this is not Mr. Hourwich's mission. Besides many Socialists do it and to denounce and ridicule them is the mission of Mr. Hourwich. We predict but a short career for Mr. Hourwich as a Socialist "Socialist-killer."

Democratic politicians are trying to make the capitalists think they are a socialist party. The intelligent workmen knew it all the time.—E. L.

Our Esteemed Contemporaries. Courier-Herald, Wilkes Barre, Pa. "Do not forget we need a lot of shingle and lumber manufacturers in the next legislature, and the time to do effective work is at the primaries. It is immaterial what your politics are so long as the lumber and shingle men are chosen."

Daily American, Mahanoy City, Pa. Socialist John Collins cracked right and left with wit and eloquence last evening, nor did he appear to fear the assault of his position. Socialism has many features that appeal to the narrow minded man; and again, quite a few avenues which lead to the social and moral betterment of the man who does not fear the loss of a little sweat in honest toil. Perhaps Socialism is the Land of Promise!

First principles of Socialism: 1. Society is divided into two classes, the capitalist class and the working class. 2. There exists a struggle between these two classes for the product of labor. 3. The interests of these two classes are diametrically opposed to one another. 4. In this class struggle, each class is organized both economically and politically. 5. The trusts represent the economic and the Republican party the political organization of the capitalist class. 6. The American Federation of Labor represents the economic, and the Socialist Party the political organization of the working class. 7. The dying middle class is represented economically by the so-called master workmen's organizations and the Citizens' Alliances, and politically by the Democratic party, all of which organizations must inevitably die with it.

Reading Advocate. Labor papers in the anthracite region are busy denouncing the sheriffs and judges for appointing deputies to aid the coal barons. They seem to forget that they helped to elect those capitalistic puppets to office. Cleveland Citizen. The New York Worker calls attention to the manner in which the two sensational yellow organs of that city, the "Journal" and the "World," which constantly pose as being friendly to labor, are surreptitiously aiming to injure the striking miners. They do not make honest editorial attacks on the union men, but distort and magnify little incidents that occur in the anthracite region in such manner as to start a general demand for military interference. The Cleveland "Press" is evidently imitating the New York sheets. The blood-curdling headlines and distorted dispatches are injuring the cause of the miners a hundred times more than the "strongest editorial" that could be published. Those union men who have been taking the "Press" as a "friend of labor" are now having their eyes opened. False idols have fallen before.

Southern Mercury, Dallas, Tex. Now a national anti-boycott league is proposed. The president of the Wilkes Barre "Citizen Alliance" was in New York last week and shed the information that there was a movement on foot to form a secret organization of the "best citizens" of the country for the purpose of antagonizing boycotts by boycotting all boycotters in the manner attempted in Wilkes Barre, Scranton, Torrington, and other places. Of course the organization will be a secret one, as the members of such organizations lack the courage to let their membership be known, and will sneak up back streets to attend meetings. Secretary Mulhaly, of the Ironmen, has been arrested and placed under \$12,500 bail in Wilkes Barre, under the charge of libeling a number of scabs by advertising them as unfair men. The editor and manager of the Wilkes Barre "Courier," a labor paper, has also been dragged into the court for libel and had to furnish \$2,000 bail. The editor of the "Trade Unionist" of Hazleton, when arrested for libel and charged for damages by scabs, grimly declared that about all they could secure was a list of delinquent subscribers. Others have also been proceeded against. Needless to say that the coal barons are behind all these cases. They are taking advantage of oppressive laws enacted by the corrupt old party politicians to cripple the unionists if possible.

The Exponent, Saginaw, Mich. Incidental to the western trip of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, comes the report that Samuel Gompers will not be re-elected at the coming convention in New Orleans. It is said that the national officers of several large organizations have already talked the matter over and have selected a new man for the position. James Dunean, of the Granite Cutters, and first vice-president, is said to be the choice, and he is considered a more aggressive man than Gompers.

Labor papers in the anthracite region are busy denouncing the sheriffs and judges for appointing deputies to aid the coal barons. They seem to forget that they helped to elect those capitalistic puppets to office.—Reading Advocate. The presentation of facts in a calm, thoughtful manner impresses the mind with lasting effect, where passionate flights of oratory are superficial and fade from the mind except out of reach of the sign of the artisan voice. —E. L.

Working class discipline. As far back as we can trace the history of man we find that the struggle for survival has always forced him into combinations for reciprocal protection and benefit. The struggle for survival has been not only a struggle with nature, and a struggle between individuals, but has ever become more and more a struggle between opposing divisions of mankind. For wherever man has found a common interest he has combined to make that common interest effective and gain the added power given by co-operation and organization. In gens, clans, family, tribe, race, nation and class men have successively found common interests and therefore some degree of solidarity and social life within the boundaries of these groups. But the persistence of the struggle between the individuals composing these groups makes some sort of discipline necessary to protect the interests of the group as a whole. The interests of the group create a social standard of conduct to which the individual must conform, they necessitate social regulation of individual action. The common interest of individuals in the group gives rise to the idea of individual duties and responsibilities to the group; and to protect the interests of the group some method of enforcing those duties and responsibilities is necessary so long as the struggle between individuals gives rise to situations where individual interests and the interests of the group become temporarily divergent.

Family, tribal, geographical, racial and national divisions, based on the common interests of whole families, tribes or nations as opposed to warring families, tribes or nations, gave constituted real divisions of interest and the allegiance of individuals, for example, to their own nation as patriots, was necessary to evolution, survival and progress. But with the complete separation of

the producing class from the means of production, with the rise of capitalism, with the perfection of the means of communication and transportation, with the complete control of all governments by the capitalists and the growth of an international capitalist class, the economic division of men into working class and capitalist class has obliterated all other divisions. The only division now separating men is a world-wide division, an international division; the division determined by the ownership of the means of producing wealth, the division into the class which produces wealth and the class which owns the tools with which it is produced, into wage-workers and capitalists. And between these two opposing classes there is a world-wide struggle—a class war. Organized Labor is arrayed against organized Capital; the army of Labor against the army of Profit.

Our Esteemed Contemporaries. Courier-Herald, Wilkes Barre, Pa. "Do not forget we need a lot of shingle and lumber manufacturers in the next legislature, and the time to do effective work is at the primaries. It is immaterial what your politics are so long as the lumber and shingle men are chosen."

Daily American, Mahanoy City, Pa. Socialist John Collins cracked right and left with wit and eloquence last evening, nor did he appear to fear the assault of his position. Socialism has many features that appeal to the narrow minded man; and again, quite a few avenues which lead to the social and moral betterment of the man who does not fear the loss of a little sweat in honest toil. Perhaps Socialism is the Land of Promise!

First principles of Socialism: 1. Society is divided into two classes, the capitalist class and the working class. 2. There exists a struggle between these two classes for the product of labor. 3. The interests of these two classes are diametrically opposed to one another. 4. In this class struggle, each class is organized both economically and politically. 5. The trusts represent the economic and the Republican party the political organization of the capitalist class. 6. The American Federation of Labor represents the economic, and the Socialist Party the political organization of the working class. 7. The dying middle class is represented economically by the so-called master workmen's organizations and the Citizens' Alliances, and politically by the Democratic party, all of which organizations must inevitably die with it.

Reading Advocate. Labor papers in the anthracite region are busy denouncing the sheriffs and judges for appointing deputies to aid the coal barons. They seem to forget that they helped to elect those capitalistic puppets to office. Cleveland Citizen. The New York Worker calls attention to the manner in which the two sensational yellow organs of that city, the "Journal" and the "World," which constantly pose as being friendly to labor, are surreptitiously aiming to injure the striking miners. They do not make honest editorial attacks on the union men, but distort and magnify little incidents that occur in the anthracite region in such manner as to start a general demand for military interference. The Cleveland "Press" is evidently imitating the New York sheets. The blood-curdling headlines and distorted dispatches are injuring the cause of the miners a hundred times more than the "strongest editorial" that could be published. Those union men who have been taking the "Press" as a "friend of labor" are now having their eyes opened. False idols have fallen before.

Southern Mercury, Dallas, Tex. Now a national anti-boycott league is proposed. The president of the Wilkes Barre "Citizen Alliance" was in New York last week and shed the information that there was a movement on foot to form a secret organization of the "best citizens" of the country for the purpose of antagonizing boycotts by boycotting all boycotters in the manner attempted in Wilkes Barre, Scranton, Torrington, and other places. Of course the organization will be a secret one, as the members of such organizations lack the courage to let their membership be known, and will sneak up back streets to attend meetings. Secretary Mulhaly, of the Ironmen, has been arrested and placed under \$12,500 bail in Wilkes Barre, under the charge of libeling a number of scabs by advertising them as unfair men. The editor and manager of the Wilkes Barre "Courier," a labor paper, has also been dragged into the court for libel and had to furnish \$2,000 bail. The editor of the "Trade Unionist" of Hazleton, when arrested for libel and charged for damages by scabs, grimly declared that about all they could secure was a list of delinquent subscribers. Others have also been proceeded against. Needless to say that the coal barons are behind all these cases. They are taking advantage of oppressive laws enacted by the corrupt old party politicians to cripple the unionists if possible.

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DANGEROUS DOCUMENTS

Calculated to "Incite to Class Hatred."

Pernicious Literature Emanates from the Census Bureau—Tends to Show that the Rich Are Growing Richer and the Poor Poorer—Bulletin No. 215 Deals with Cotton Industry.

Under the new anti-trust law, the government should start out by prosecuting and suppressing the Census Bureau. That office has just issued a dangerous revolutionary document, entitled to excite discontent with the existing state of society and "incite to class hatred" in the highest degree.

Table with 2 columns: Establishments, Capital, Wages, etc. showing percentages and values.

Table with 2 columns: Wage-workers, Men over sixteen, Women over sixteen, Children under sixteen, etc.

Table with 2 columns: Net product, Wages, Profits, etc. showing values and percentages.

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Wages Absolutely Reduced. First, then, the table shows a positive reduction of wages (2). In 1890, the average yearly wages of the 218,876 wage-workers amounted to \$301.05—surely a magnificent sum on what to support an American family and keep a "full dinner-pail."

Increase of Child Labor. Of the wage-workers in the cotton industry in the year of grace and prosperity 1900, only 135,721, or less than 45 per cent, were men—even counting boys from sixteen to twenty-one as being men. Nearly 42 per cent were women—including girls over sixteen.

Wages of Women and Children. The table summarized above does not give separately the wages of men, women, and children. But in Table 5, which covers "cotton goods," as distinguished from "small cotton wares,"

and includes over 98 per cent. of the wage-workers in the industry, we find these items separated, and this will serve for the whole industry.

The average of the forty thousand child slaves in the cotton mills in 1900 averaged \$132.57 a year. The women got an average of \$208.11 a year, and the men \$349.25.

Who would take care of the home and tend the younger children in such a case? We leave that question to be answered by the eminently respectable stockholding gentlemen who say that Socialism would undermine the home and destroy the family.

Dividing Up the Product. In 1890, the average net product of a wage-worker's labor for a year was \$424.38. Of this, he got back \$301.05, and left \$123.33 as profit for the capitalists who "gave him employment"—in addition to contributing his share to the salaries of capitalists and to the various items of rent, interest, legal fees, corruption funds, and "pickings and snags," which went to some portion of the capitalist class under the head of "miscellaneous expenses."

Who is Responsible? These figures are a sufficient reply to the claim of politicians of either old party that they have given "prosperity" to the working class. The Republicans held power in the nation during the first two and the last four of the ten years from 1890 to 1900 and the Democrats were in power for four years in between. The cotton industry is chiefly centered in New England and in the South; in the former section the Republican party has held control of the state government most of the time during the period in question, and in the Southern states the Democratic party has had almost uninterrupted control. Responsibility for the lowering of the condition of the workers in this industry must, therefore, fall about equally on the two old parties.

Our candidates for Congress, especially in the districts where there are many cotton mills, should write to the Director of the Census, Washington, D. C., asking for "Census Bulletin No. 215, Cotton Manufactures." It will be a valuable asset in any campaign. Table 23 is the most important part.

(1) The heading of "Salaried officials and clerks" includes many proprietors, firm-members, and stockholders; in these cases the salaries are often not actually wages of superintendence, but simply disguised profits. The heading of "Miscellaneous expenses" includes some items which are legitimately a part of the cost of production (as fuel, repairs, etc.) and others (as rent, interest on loans, legal fees, lobbying, etc.) which are actually disguised profits. The total of salaries, however, is relatively small, and it is impossible to separate the legitimate from the illegitimate items of "miscellaneous expenses"; in analyzing the table we shall therefore give the capitalists the benefit of the doubt and treat both as a portion of the cost of production. Our treatment of the figures errs, therefore, on the side of moderation, showing the net product and the profits smaller than they actually are and the proportion paid to the workers in the form of wages larger than it actually is.

(2) In the face of his own figures, showing the number of wage-workers and total amount of wages in 1890 and in 1900, the compiler of the Bulletin has the audacity to say: "It is a matter of which experience teaches that wages in cotton mills were higher in 1900 than in 1890." He must suppose that the people outside of his office are all too ignorant to perform two simple sums in long division, that they will never examine the tables, but will read only his comments. We shall have to revise the old proverb and say: "Figures don't lie, but some figures do."

PROGRESS IN INDIANA. The condition of the Socialist movement and the Socialist Party in Indianapolis, as well as throughout the state of Indiana, presents a most extraordinary growth, and the effect is to stimulate the comrades to renewed efforts. Each meeting of the Indianapolis local is marked by an ever increasing number of applications. The most gratifying thing about the new members is their desire to become thoroughly acquainted with the true basis of Socialism.

ers' association, against this latter bill, was reported in the New York "Times" of May 20. "That," that according to Table 9 of this same bulletin No. 215, the employment of children has increased in the last ten years, not only in the South, but also in New England and in the Middle States, where it is well known that there are many men out of work, even in this "era of prosperity."

FOR RELIEF OF THE STRIKING MINERS.

New York Defense Committee, No. 1, for the relief of the striking miners, headquarters University Settlement, 184 Eldridge street, New York, which meets every Friday at 8 p. m., has issued the following appeal: "To All Labor Unions—Greeting: 'The greatest of all labor contests is now being waged. On one side there are four railroad companies that monopolize the richest mineral deposit of the world—the fuel that furnishes the motive power of our industrial system; and on the other the great army of 147,000 quiet and determined men—instilled with living their hazardous toil, and the right of association, in order that they may be able to make better terms for themselves. The future of the labor movement depends largely upon the outcome."

By each member contributing his mite, the men-battling heroically for a cause which is so obviously just, and which deeply concerns every lover of humanity, they will be enabled to win, if only the bare necessities of life that are needed.

The next meeting will be held in the same hall on Monday, August 25, at 8 p. m. Thereafter the regular monthly meeting will be held the first Monday of every month. Plans for national organization will come up before the Executive Committee next Monday evening. This meeting will take place at the home of Hyronimus Guindlach, 127 New Brunswick avenue, Perth Amboy.

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AID FOR STRIKING MINERS. A mass meeting was held on August 4 by Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union No. 9463, A. F. of L., at their headquarters, 2475 Water street, New York, to discuss the means of assisting the striking coal miners of Pennsylvania and West Virginia. Wm. A. Conkey, president of the International Lithographic Apprentices and Press Feeders' Union of the United States and Canada, made a strong appeal to the members for their financial support to the men out on strike. His words had the desired effect, as it was unanimously voted to assess each member ten cents a week until the strike is over. As there are between 850 and 900 members in this union this will net the sum of about \$350 a month, a very creditable showing for a union that is still in its infancy.

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During the month we have furnished many locals with blank nomination petitions and resignation blanks for candidates free. We still have plenty on hand for those needing them. Ask and ye shall receive. Push the state petitions. * * * Ask the State Secretary all the questions you like about the election. But don't write on more than two sides of the paper. Make your letters pointed as possible. Support the speakers that we are arranging to tour. Push the distribution of literature. Hold as many agitation meetings as possible. Get as much of your literature from us as possible; it all helps to keep the organization going. Our organizers are busy, and as a result they are keeping the headquarters crowded with work. We are too busy to tell you all about it, but everybody seems to be working for all they are worth. Let's keep the work moving. Agitate and equip to push the work of education and organization, and no effort would be spared to make the Socialist Party a factor in the political affairs of the state. W. M.

ORGANIZATION AT PERTH AMBOY.

The Fire Proof Tile and Brick Makers Along the Sagitt River Form a Union.

Comrade E. T. Neben has organized the fire proof tile and brick makers of Perth Amboy and vicinity. The men were eager to form a union and an immense crowd of workers from all the shops near Perth Amboy responded to the call and assembled early last Monday evening at Nelson's Hall, Woodbridge, N. J., to enroll themselves as members. Comrade Neben opened the meeting at eight o'clock and made a few brief remarks upon organization. The locals' hall was then opened and for over an hour two men were kept busy obtaining the names of over four hundred men who enrolled as members. When the last man had signed his name, the meeting was called to order and officers of the union elected. E. T. Neben was elected President, and Matthews Holsing, who is also a Socialist, Vice-President; Recording Secretary, William Hilly; Financial Secretary, Charles Anderson; Treasurer, James Hogan; Sergeant-at-Arms, Michael Fisher. The election of the Executive Committee next took place. This committee is composed of the following members from the six plants located at Perth Amboy: Alex. Lepold, William Barrett, John Glodish, Alev. Ferguson, Steve Tillman, John Serzick, William Reid, John Subos, John Grazer. To this committee there will be added nine more men at the next meeting. The name, Amalgamated Association of Fire Proof Tile and Brick Makers' Union of America, was adopted with ringing cheers. An account of the late-ness of the hour the meeting had to adjourn without completing all its business.

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SOCIALISM IN MAINE.

Report of the State Secretary Shows Gratifying Progress.

To the Locals and Members-at-Large of the Socialist Party of Maine: Pursuant to the constitutional provisions, your State Committee has the pleasure of submitting its first report on the progress and growth of the state organization. While the constitution provides for quarterly reports, its final ratification by referendum of the membership occurred too late to render this section operative for the first quarter of the year. This report therefore embodies the first six months of the present year.

On the first day of January, 1902, there were 77 members enrolled who had paid state and national dues for the previous month. Of this number, 55 were concentrated in the four locals of the state, situated at Bath, Biddeford, Skowhegan, and Portland. The remaining 22 members were scattered in varying numbers over eleven counties of the state, representing, in a large measure, what has been accomplished in the way of organization from the date of the Unity Convention to the close of 1901.

With this nucleus of 77 members, the present State Committee entered office and began its labors. Profiting from the natural impetus given the movement by holding our state convention early in January, we are able to report a gratifying progress. New locals have been chartered at Auburn, Berwick, Camden, and Madison, doubling the number of local organizations and adding proportionately to the effectiveness and aggressiveness of the movement.

Several of the old locals, notably Portland and Skowhegan, have added materially to their strength, so that on July 1 the total membership in the locals had risen from 55 to 140, while the membership at large had increased from 22 to 40, making a total membership in good standing on July 1 of 180, as opposed to 77 on January 1, or a gain of over 100 per cent. in six months.

We regret to state that the membership of two locals, Biddeford and Camden, the former with 23 and the latter with 30 members enrolled, are not included in this report. Local Biddeford being in arrears for June, and Local Camden not only for June, but also in part for May and April. In making this statement as to the financial standing of these locals, we wish to say that in the case of Biddeford there are a few comrades who have nobly proven themselves exceptions to the general rule. Almost alone and single handed Comrades White and Bach have done all in their power to rebuild the movement and strengthen the local. We believe in both instances cited that the existing conditions are entirely due to negligence on the part of the comrades, and not in any sense the fault of the respective financial secretaries, who appear as much distressed as in the state executive office.

The formation of the four new locals and the extension of the membership at large has opened three new fronts in which we have no membership whatever. These are Franklin and Piscataquis, both of which we hope to report "occupied" in September.

Owing to conditions peculiar to the state, notably long distances between centers of interest, poor connections, severity of winter travel, and high cost of halls, but little effort has been made during the period covered by this report to conduct agitation meetings. Comrade D. A. White of Saco has addressed meetings in Camden, Rockland, Thomaston, Bath, and Portland at different times during this spring, and Comrade Roland T. Patten of Skowhegan has also spoken in several Somerset County towns.

chance to elect one representative to the legislature. The party funds, while totally out of proportion to our wishes and expectations, show a comfortable balance on the right side of the ledger. The statement of receipts and expenditures from January to July is as follows: January: Receipts and 1901 balance, \$27.81; expenditures, \$23.22; February: Receipts, \$21.79; expenditures, \$21.34; March: Receipts, \$109.95; expenditures, \$20.33; April: Receipts, \$44.32; expenditures, \$10.48; May: Receipts, \$43.55; expenditures, \$40.28; June: Receipts, \$52.72; expenditures, \$73.88; Mileage on hand, \$55.16; due on mileage, \$19.82. Total receipts, January 1 to July 1, \$335.59; total expenditures, January 1 to July 1, \$218.85. Net balance in treasury, July 1, \$116.74.

In closing, we wish to impress upon the minds of the comrades that we are here to perform the party business. We are ready and eager to co-operate with each and every comrade at all times, in order to secure any results tending to add to the strength and effectiveness of the movement. In return, we trust that each and every individual member of the organization will feel a sense of personal responsibility in the upbuilding of the party, and lose no opportunity of soliciting new members and disseminating our principles.

Yours fraternally, FRED E. HUBB, Secretary-Treasurer, For State Committee, Socialist Party of Maine.

LUZERNE COUNTY, PA. The County Committee of the Socialist Party of Luzerne County, Pa., held its regular monthly meeting Tuesday evening, August 5, at 40 W. Market street, Wilkes Barre. The following were present: Delegates: Chas. J. Duke of Pittston; Wm. M. Phillips of Edwardsville; M. J. Dooley and Richard Dillon of Plains; Albert Jarzyk of Nanticoke; Condy McCole and Joseph Papen of Freeland. Candidates: Charles F. Quinn, I. N. Cathrall, Frank Mienarik, and John T. Jenkins. Officers: ex-officio members, J. G. Both, Chairman; C. F. Quinn, Secretary, and Fred Schade, Sr., Treasurer. Bills amounting to \$10 were accepted and laid over because of lack of funds. Treasurer's report showed \$2 in treasury.

Chairman's report showed thirty agitation meetings held during the month, which were addressed by Comrades Swift, Quinn, Lavin, Roth, Cathrall, Durand, Wierzinski and others. Comrade Morrison I. Swift, who is with us at present, alone addressed twenty-five meetings. He is a great aid to our movement. He is here on his own hook and expects to leave next week. We shall miss him very much.

Five locals were organized during the month—Maltby, Edwardsville, Plains, West Wyoming, and Exeter. Encouraging reports were received from all the delegates. Comrades McCole and Papen stated that they had come all the way from Freeland to represent their local at their own expense. Both are striking miners. Comrade Papen made a special appeal for literature in the Polish language for his countrymen.

Comrade John Harris of Edwardsville sent in his resignation as candidate for County Commissioner in order to make room for a man from the Hazleton region. Comrade Harris' resignation was accepted and Comrade Charles Jaquet of Highland (near Freeland) was nominated to fill the vacancy.

Our ticket as now completed is as follows: For Congress—Chas. F. Quinn, union salesman of Wilkes Barre, secretary-treasurer of Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor. For County Treasurer—Nym Seward, union carpenter of Luzerne, member of Wilkes Barre Building Trades Council. For Register of Wills—I. N. Cathrall, union painter of Pittston, president of Painters' Union and vice-president of Pittston Central Labor Union. For County Commissioner—Frank Mienarik of Nanticoke, formerly president of Bliss Local, United Mine Workers. For County Commissioner—Charles Jaquet, union miner of Highland, president of Freeland Local. Nomination papers have been prepared and placed in the hands of the delegates for the collection of signatures. All comrades having nomination papers are urged to get them filled as neatly and quickly as possible and turn them in to the County Chairman by September 1. Be sure and have them sworn to.

National Platform of the Socialist Party.

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

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them. Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalists and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit, and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profits, wars are fomented between nations, industrial slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie public ownership parties and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act to act as their thugs and ruffians, and have used the state militia as their private standing army to force submission upon protesting or striking workers; and they have availed themselves of their economic power to stop production as a means of further exploiting the toilers both as producers and consumers. Society cannot save itself from the abuses, extortions, and crimes inseparable from private ownership of the trusts except by placing them under government ownership, operation and control.

The condition of the thousands of men, women and children employed as wage-earners in the state of New York will not be bettered by Republican, Democratic, or Reform parties, for these parties are owned and controlled by corporations and capitalists. So long as the workmen of New York place Republicans and Democrats in political power by voting for them on Election Day, that long they will be compelled to pass legislation favoring the trusts; and as long as they remain beggars they will receive the beggar's share of crumbs and bare bones. Only after years of petition to Republicans and Democrats in office will they pass laws ostensibly in the interest of the Working Class, and laws so passed will be found in fact to be unconstitutional, or remain unenforced.

Workingmen of New York, you have a majority of the votes in this state. Only you and those who cast their lot with you and wish to be of you do or can know what laws are needed by your class, can or will judge those laws honestly or are capable of enforcing them in your interest.

At Washington, D. C., national, state or local, to unite in the political field as you do in the trade union. As you would not allow capitalists to select your trade union officers, do not allow them to select your political officers. As you strike against capitalists, so cast your ballot against capitalists. As workingmen of every nationality, and of every religion, must work together, so vote together. Socialism is your only salvation, and in the triumph of the Working Class slavery will cease and class wars disappear in a nation of free men among free men. As you workmen labor and prosper, hunger and suffer together, so shall you achieve your freedom together—by uniting on the political field as well as on the economic field, and working and voting for the success of the Socialist Democratic Party. We urge the workmen of New York to join the unions of their respective callings, build up their labor organizations, and stand shoulder to shoulder in strike, lockout, and demand. And we also urge them to join the Socialist Democratic Party to vote its ticket, and to see that every public office is manned by a Socialist, that we may have a government of, by, and for the Working Class.

as a class in their struggle against the collective power of capitalism, by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end. As such means we advocate: 1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts, and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, and to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing, and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

8. In advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as a temporary expedient to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

one direction follows from the absence of organization in the other.—Sidney Ball.

Great Mistake. YOU WILL make one if you put a Watch or other jewel in your pocket before you have read our new book. W. F. DOLL MFG. CO., 175 Broadway, New York. Established 1874.