

The Worker. AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY PUBLISHED WEEKLY

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Address all business communications, and make money orders, checks and drafts payable to The Worker. Communications for the Editor should be addressed to the Editor of The Worker, Communications for the "Kulturkampf" should be separately addressed.

All communications should be written with ink and on one side of the paper; words should not be abbreviated; every letter should bear the writer's name and address, and should be put in as few words as possible, consistently with clearness. Communications are likely to be discarded. Rejected manuscripts will be returned unless stamps are enclosed. Receipts are never sent to individual subscribers. Acknowledgment is made by changing the number on the paper.

As The Worker goes to press on Wednesday, correspondents sending news for this day, or other communications, should reach this office by Monday, whenever possible.

Complete lists of the names of all subscribers are sent to the Board of Directors, Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, 104 William Street, New York.

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THE SOCIALIST VOTE. The Socialist Party has passed through its third general election. Its growing power is indicated by the increase of its vote: 1900 (State and Congressional) \$9,961 1902 (State and Congressional) \$2,768 1904 (Presidential) \$408,230

Patriotic Koreans commit suicide as a protest against Japanese usurpation. Lovers of freedom in Russia assassinate governors and police chiefs as a protest against autocracy. Of the two, we find the Russian method better.

Mr. Morgan has sailed for Europe to take a long and much needed rest. The steel workers and railway workers will stick close to their jobs and pile up profits for him while he rests.

"The United States government will try to get indictments against the Standard Oil officials. Just as in the Beef Trust cases," says a dispatch. Yes, we think so. Just the same—indictments that will serve as political capital and won't hurt the capitalists any more than a five-cent fine would hurt a fairly prosperous burglar.

It is marvelous what energy the Gerry and similar "philanthropic" organizations can show in preventing the employment of a few children on the stage, and with what philosophic calm they can regard the infinitely harder and more unheeded drudging of hundreds of thousands of children in cotton mills, glass factories, and other industrial establishments. Such is organized charity—rather different from the charity that Paul talked about.

The Secretary of the Interior has directed the register and receiver of the Vancouver Land Office to call on the Columbia Valley Railway Company to show why its right of way over public land should not be forfeited for failure to construct a road within the time limited by law. We can answer that question. It's dead easy. Because the gentlemen who constitute the Columbia Valley Railway Company are of the same class as the gentlemen who run the government of the United States.

"Faith is essential as a basis for success in business life," says John D. the Second. He is quite right. To be more explicit: What is essential is, on the one hand, the business man's faith in the everlasting gullibility and slavishness of the workingman and, on the other hand, the workingman's faith in the supernatural wisdom of the business man. But, alas! as we hear from so many quarters, faith is wanting in this age of "crass materialism." Business men are getting shakier in proportion as workingmen are getting restless.

Let our comrades not be too slow in remembering that Congressmen and, in nearly all states, Legislators (who are to elect one-half of the United States Senators) are to be elected this fall. Election is nine months off. True, the old parties will not begin their campaign—their open campaign—for five or six months yet. True, that is no reason why we should not begin ours. On the contrary, it is a reason why we should begin ours. Their plan is to make a short "whoop'er up" campaign. Our plan is to make a campaign of education. Therefore, it is important that we should start a few months ahead, while the people are still calm and receptive.

"I have always believed, and still believe, in home rule for Ireland. I don't believe in a qualified or franchise form of home rule, with a veto over and property qualifications there, but in the inherent right of the Irish people, as of all other peoples, to be able to govern themselves. I am not a separatist, nor do I believe in a separatist policy."

There were a large number of negroes in the United States available for and capable physically of doing the class of work required on the Isthmus, and who should be given an opportunity to go there.

All very well. But let us give the tip to our colored comrades and to our exchanges representing the negro race—that colored workers should join with whites in demanding the eight-hour day and union rates of pay on such work. It is for the good of the workers of both races, and for the blacks even more than of the whites.

The spokesman of the automobile men who appeared before a legislative committee at Trenton last Tuesday to protest against the Frelinghuysen Bill made two statements which ought to be considered together. He said:

"I speak as the direct representative of more than a thousand automobilists, some captains of industry, others great bankers, lawyers, merchants, all great American citizens. You will pardon me if I speak with earnestness on this matter which affects our personal rights."

Later on, he said: "A law that is not backed by public sentiment is a dead letter. Do you propose to perpetuate such an outrage on the automobilists of this state? If you do, you will create fourteen thousand law-breakers at once. You will put in the criminal class the most esteemed citizens all over the state."

By "public sentiment" the gentleman meant, of course, the sentiment (or interest) of "the most esteemed citizens." But one is moved to ask: How would it be possible to "create law-breakers" out of those captains of industry, great bankers, and others of that class? Do they obey the Interstate Commerce Law, as it is? Do they not daily violate the labor laws of New Jersey—modest as those labor laws are? Has not their whole class been pilloried in insurance investigations, rebate investigations, bribery investigations, water-stealing investigations, land-office investigations, contract investigations, and investigations of all sorts, as a class of impudently "respectable" law-breakers? Break the law? Of course they will. That is their favorite sport. Only "the vulgar herd" respect law.

PREVENT THIS MURDER! On our first page we print news indicating that the mine owners and other capitalists of the Rocky Mountain region are about to execute another great judicial murder, on the pattern of that perpetrated in Chicago fifteen years ago, in the hope of thereby destroying the Western Federation of Miners and intimidating the most progressive elements in the trade-union movement of the United States.

We are convinced that they will fool themselves—even if they carry out their infamous plan—that the rank and file of the labor movement will not be so timid and docile as they were in 1897, but will respond to such a capitalist crime by more vigorous revolutionary action.

We have a right to hope, but we have no right to wait, so far as action is concerned. Every central labor body, no matter with what national organization it may be affiliated, ought at once, at its very next session, to take steps to get into communication with the Western Federation of Miners and offer its moral and financial assistance in resisting this attack of the organized capitalist class. Let all Socialists who are delegates in such bodies take notice.

Here is an important postscript—The secretary of any labor organization having been instructed to offer its aid to the W. F. of M. in this crisis, let him address, BY REGISTERED LETTER, as follows: Acting Secretary, Western Federation of Miners, Room 3, Pioneer Bldg., Denver, Colo. And let him take good note of the signature on the receipt for his registered letter. We cannot altogether trust Mr. Roosevelt's minds, these days.

A PROJECTED SYMPOSIUM. In view of the fact that the question of reconsidering our trade-union policy is being raised in the Socialist Party, some of the comrades urging that the party commit itself to an endorsement of the I. W. W. and a war upon existing unions, The Worker has decided that a thorough and orderly discussion of the subject in its columns would be of benefit to the movement. The position of The Worker is known: We stand for the policy which has brought such good results ever since 1890, as against that which prevailed in the old S. L. P. for some years before 1890 and to which it is now proposed that we return. But we do not assume that all wisdom is concentrated in William Street. Believing that we are right, we believe that our position will be justified by a fair statement of our opponents' views.

We have for some weeks, therefore, been engaged in making arrangements for a symposium, to run through perhaps a dozen numbers of The Worker and possibly more, in which all sides (for there are more than two sides) may be adequately represented. We have asked Comrade Debs to open the discussion with two or three articles—stating the position of the I. W. W.—with the understanding that he should have space later for rebutting arguments or correcting misunderstandings. To our great regret, Comrade Debs has replied that previous engagements and all

health forbid him to take part; but he names certain other I. W. W. men, whom we are now asking to take up the discussion in the same way. We expect—and it will not be our fault if our expectations are disappointed—that the contributors to this symposium will represent the following diverse elements: 1. Those who wish the Socialist Party committed to the I. W. W. as the S. L. P. was committed to the S. T. & L. A.; 2. Those who uphold the I. W. W., but object to having the party annexed to any union; 3. Those who favor industrialism in the union movement, but have their doubts about the I. W. W.; 4. Those— if we find any such in our party—who are opposed to industrialism.

We expect that the contributors to this symposium will, so far as possible, refrain from offensive personalities and will avoid confusing the question with side-issues. The purpose which we shall impress upon them, and in which they will undoubtedly join us, will be to present the important facts and the leading arguments on each side of each point at issue, in order that we may arrive, either at sincere harmony in action or, if that be impossible, at an "agreement to disagree" as self-respecting men and class-conscious Socialists, in place of petty squabbling and recrimination.

If, in the course of the discussion, it seems to us advisable, in the interest of truth, to invite persons who are not members of the Socialist Party to contribute, we shall not hesitate to do so. We shall not hesitate, either, to express our own editorial opinions, because that is what we are here for and because we conceive our readers to be men and women who can bear all sides and draw their own conclusions, not children whose minds must be guarded from this or that influence.

We hope to begin the discussion within two or three weeks. It will be of interest to all Socialists and to all union members, of whatever faction, and we now commend the coming issues of The Worker to their attention.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY IN ACTION. It is greatly to the credit of the comrades and sympathizers of the Socialist Party of America that, even in these recent days, when so little inspiring news comes from Russia, while reaction seems to be completely triumphant, they continue to pour in their contributions—small individually, but large in the aggregate—for the aid of the Russian revolutionary forces.

Some seven or eight weeks ago, just when the armed revolt in Moscow had been crushed and it became evident that a full revolutionary activity must ensue, the Secretary of the Russian Social Democratic Society of New York and the Editor of this paper discussed the situation and, incidentally, both agreed that the contributions to the fund which The Worker reports under the head "American Aid for Russian Revolution" would fall off considerably until another wave of revolutionary activity arose in Russia.

There was every reason to think so. But we have been most pleasantly surprised. During the last six weeks, since the pause in revolutionary activity in Russia became generally known here, this fund alone has received no less than \$2,301.46—an average of over \$80 a week—considerably more than had come in during the ten weeks of intense interest just preceding. During the same period the other special funds—those of the Bund, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, and the Finnish, Lettish, Polish, and Armenian organizations—have likewise been kept up. And, in the meanwhile, about \$1,400 has been sent to the National Secretary of the party for transmission to the International Bureau for the same general purpose.

It is a good record. And the best of it is that it has come in small amounts from many persons. Averaging large amounts and small ones, each thousand dollars received for these funds no doubt represents the contributions of at least five thousand men and women. It is altogether likely that, taking into consideration all of the eight funds named, the donations made by unions and societies as well as by individuals, not less than half a million residents of the United States have joined in giving financial aid to the movement for Russian freedom. To our way of thinking, the moral significance of this widespread practical sympathy in a movement on the other side of the earth is quite as important as the material benefit that the money will give to the cause.

FROM AN OLD CLIPPING. In looking over some old clippings we find an item of present interest. It is incomplete, being on the back of a piece clipped from a British Socialist paper somewhere about fifteen years old. It is part of a speech by a member of the Social Democratic Federation—the name does not appear, and we have not time to "chase it down"—and in it we find some interesting passages. This one, for instance:

"I have always believed, and still believe, in home rule for Ireland. I don't believe in a qualified or franchise form of home rule, with a veto over and property qualifications there, but in the inherent right of the Irish people, as of all other peoples, to be able to govern themselves. I am not a separatist, nor do I believe in a separatist policy."

Referring to Comrade Debs' letter in another column, we take due note of the fact that it was not "in the interest of harmony," but because they really supposed it to be true, that our comrades in the New York Office, in reviewing his subscription and enclosing a donation "for the good of the cause," wrote:

"Comrade Hoffman of Enterprise, Kas., in reviewing his subscription and enclosing a donation 'for the good of the cause,' wrote: 'I don't believe in a qualified or franchise form of home rule, with a veto over and property qualifications there, but in the inherent right of the Irish people, as of all other peoples, to be able to govern themselves. I am not a separatist, nor do I believe in a separatist policy.'"

Our Chicago comrades have done well in initiating a movement to invite August Bebel to make a speaking tour in the United States. We have our grave fears that the invitation will be declined. Comrade Bebel regards the movement in the country with great interest and would like to help us; but he is kept very busy at home. Yet, nothing can be lost by trying. It is possible that he may come. And if he does, it will be a great thing for the Socialist Party of America.

National Committeeman Kennedy of Washington is quite right in the essence of his proposition that, in the event of a strike of the national office workers, the forces of the national organization of the Socialist Party be concentrated upon the strike-fund. He is not altogether right as to what was done or left undone at the time of the anthracite strike of 1902. Much more was done than he seems to be aware of; and the results have shown. But that is another story. For the future, if, as is quite possible, there is a strike of 500,000 coal miners this year, we should lose no opportunity to make its meaning clear.

A correspondent in Massachusetts writes: We are in the dark as to the I. W. W. and the A. F. of L. We (the Socialist local) insist on our printing bearing the label of the International Typographical Union, which is affiliated with the A. F. of L. Are we, in so doing, inviting the cause of industrialism and the class-conscious labor movement?

Almost simultaneously came a letter from a comrade in Cincinnati, who says: We have a big furniture strike on, and the Employers' Association is boasting that it will establish the "open shop" in Cincinnati. Meanwhile, the printers' eight-hour strike is on all over the country. And, in the midst of all this, the I. W. W. people here take a delight in distributing their non-affiliated circulars and posters in the faces of the strikers. There is not an I. W. W. printing shop in Cincinnati (nor in the United States), the Editor might add, so this is obviously a bad work. The Employers' Association is well pleased.

The one letters answers the other. Comrade Hyrd of Corpus Christi, Tex., writes us, under our paragraph in this column two weeks ago, that "lost Comrade Debs feel some delicacy about naming the Socialist paper that is friendly to the 'Gompers unions' and bitterly hostile to the I. W. W.," and, in the name of the "Social Democratic Herald of Milwaukee," this paper, he has been sent to the National Secretary of the party for transmission to the International Bureau for the same general purpose.

We are sorry not to have had an answer from the quarter whence we sought it. Socialists need not be "delicate" about such matters. Frankness is what we want. But we accept the volunteer answer at face value.

The "Social Democratic Herald" has, according to our opinion (possibly wrong), one way or the other been too violent in the expression of its disapproval of the I. W. W. and perhaps has been the cause of this too mild criticism of the existing unions. Our readers know, this is not the only matter in which we have to disagree with our Milwaukee comrades.

But, in justice, we have to note that the "Social Democratic Herald" has certainly not failed to speak plain truths about Mr. Gompers and his policy; also that most, if not all, of the unions to which it gives the use of a part of its space have shown their class consciousness by pretty vigorous strikes (not only for themselves, but also in sympathy with other workers), by adopting and publishing Socialist resolutions, by sending Socialist members as delegates to state and national trade-union conventions, by adopting (and within their power) adopting the industrial form of organization, and by voting money for the maintenance of Socialist speakers and the distribution of Socialist literature.

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ated in the trade-union world years before the I. W. W. was born and is today more nearly realized outside than inside that organization. But now it seems that, after all, since the claim to a monopoly of industrialism cannot be maintained, our correspondent has "to fall back on a claim to a monopoly of class consciousness. Industrialism, after all, is a minor matter, much as the I. W. W. and S. L. P. men have talked of it. And of course, when a lot of coal miners or cigarmakers or printers or garment workers go out on a sympathetic strike, enduring hardship and facing the blacklist to help fellow workers—when men not affiliated with the I. W. W. do this, it is no proof of class consciousness. Such men are, a priori, either "fakers" or "dupes." If, however, they will secede from their unions and take a charter as a "mixed local" of the I. W. W., they undergo the magic change which is described in the evangelist's language as "being washed in the blood of the Lamb," and then they are, whether they know it or not, class-conscious. It is a new definition of class consciousness. Marx and Engels, Hebel and Guesde, Thorne and Aveling, were not able to figure it out. We must have time to "let it soak in."

As to the DeLeon-Hagerty "bugaboo," as Comrade Kelly calls it: We have nothing to do with bugaboos, and it is childish for anyone to pretend to believe that we have. When we speak of Hagerty, we speak of the man whom we (and Kelly with us) had to fight two or three years ago as an anarchist-opportunist and a grafter. When we speak of DeLeon we speak of the man who launched the S. T. & L. A. under false pretenses in 1902, and used it to split the party seven years ago, has plied the union ever since then to injure the Socialist Party, and now purposes to use the I. W. W. as he used the S. T. & L. A.—if he can.

Let us take this occasion to note the one difference between the S. T. & L. A. and the I. W. W.—indicative of the somewhat which DeLeon had to make when the party got away from him: The theory of the S. T. & L. A. was that the union must be judged at the bar of the party; the theory of the I. W. W. is that the party must be judged at the bar of the union. It is a point worth considering.

Three weeks ago in the National Secretary's acknowledgement of contributions to the Russian fund, appeared the item: "proceeds of lecture given by Thomas H. Lucas, Minneapolis, Minn., \$7.85." We are asked to state—and it is only fair to do so—that this lecture was given under the auspices of the "suspended" "Brotherhood of American Miners" and the local group opposed to the recognized state organization.

"PUZZLED."—The letters W. S. & D. B. F. stand for Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society; the letters A. K. & S. K. stand for Arbeiter-Kassen and Starke Kassen, the German name of the same organization; this is a society of German origin and in general, of German membership, whose purpose is sufficiently indicated by its title. The Arbeiter Ring or Workmen's Circle is a Jewish organization of a similar character. Both have proven themselves useful auxiliaries to the Socialist movement.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT. Latest Quarterly Statement of Financial Conditions of The Worker Shows Increase of Income and Outgo and Slight Increase of Deficit.

Eighteen months ago The Worker began the practice of giving its readers weekly reports of its circulation and quarterly reports of its financial standing. During that period we have undergone many vicissitudes, some quarters showing great improvement and others showing serious losses. For the year preceding the adoption of this plan the average weekly excess of expenditures over business receipts was \$41.15; in the third quarter of 1904 the deficit fell to \$29.02; in the last quarter of that year it sank to \$14.10; and in the first quarter of 1905 to

AVERAGE WEEKLY EXPENSES.

July-Sept. Oct.-Dec. Editorial salaries and expenses \$36.00 \$34.05 Business office salaries and expenses 28.05 26.50 Stationery and postage 26.42 26.80 Commission on ads, electric light and power, gas, agitation, sundries 3.37 4.35 Paper 26.75 27.00 Expedition, postage and mail bills 31.92 28.06 Discount to subscribers and dealers 3.31 3.26

Average total weekly expense, lowest \$115.82 \$115.23 Increase 115.82 \$20.41

AVERAGE WEEKLY INCOME.

Subscriptions and sales \$121.90 \$156.00 Advertising and sundries 7.48 9.29

Average total weekly income \$129.38 \$165.29

DEFICIT.

Average weekly deficit \$14.93 \$16.94 Increase of deficit \$2.01

The following statement shows in detail the circulation of The Worker for the last two weeks:

Week ending Feb. 10, Feb. 17, Printed 13,000 13,000

Single subs. 9,301 9,131 Bundles 173 179 Samples 540 443 Exchanges 494 494 Sold at office 1,942 1,994

11,940 12,215

Gain 278

Loss in single subs. 200

BRITISH RETAILERS TO FIGHT CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

The United Traders' Association of Great Britain, a large organization of retail merchants, is trying to raise a fund of £10,000 to fight the workingmen's co-operative movement, which, it alleges, "illustates more severely against private manufacturers and wholesale and retail traders than any other form of modern competition, and which is gradually eliminating the individual trader of the country."

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THE IMPORTANT QUESTION.

"Young man, how do you intend to support my daughter if you marry her?" "By working, sir." "Yes, I understand all that; but what I want to know is whom you are going to work."—Baltimore American.

PROLETARIAN POINTERS. By Eugene V. Debs. Altruism is enlightened selfishness. When a revolutionary principle is involved, the talent of compromise is the touch of death. Old age in capitalism is a personal calamity and a social crime. In Socialism it will be as calm and serene and full of mellow light as the set of sun.

"The lessons of light are in full pursuit of the hordes of darkness. The masters are going out, the liberators are coming in."—Victor Hugo. In plain proletarianism this means that capitalism is going and Socialism coming.

The G. O. P. elephant is having a great time in the circus of capitalism. He is having the ring all to himself. The Democratic mule is braying lustily for his inning upon the paramount issue of free and unlimited coinage of assnity.

Joy and sorrow are twin sisters. They live together, but where one is in the, the other is out. They are never both gone, nor both at home at the same time. They are necessary to each other and without either the other would die.

John Morley says that with its labor representatives the English House of Commons "will now be a better place than it has ever been." Right he is, the veteran publicist, and when it consists wholly of labor representatives, it will be for the first time the parliament of the people.

The other day I saw two "business" men meet and shake hands. I could not hear their conversation, but I understood every word they said. Not once did they look into each other's eyes. They did not stand face to face, but at right angles, so that they could look past each other and each could see the other without seeing himself seen in return. Their attitude toward each other was characteristic—cold, calculating, clammy. There was about as much warmth in their hand-clasp, and it must have produced about the same sensation, as if each had laid in the palm of the other a cold liver pudding. They instinctively evaded each other's eyes—each knew the other because he knew himself. When they shook again and exchanged parting words they were looking in opposite directions. This is "business" in full bloom. Each was at the half ashamed of himself and the other half ashamed of the other half. They would not have met at all if either had seen the other in time. Beautiful, beautiful is "business!"

In what is reported to have been a "startling" speech before the City Club of New York, District Attorney Jerome said: "I have no reverence—I have not even everyday common respect—for the Justices of the Supreme Court of this department and you will understand, as members of the bar, what I refer to. The cowardice of my profession, the cowardice of the bar, is responsible for this state of affairs. When a judge of the Supreme Court has to go to Charles Murphy, a common bartender, and plead to be elevated to a position to pass on our lives, our liberties and our property, it is something for the bar to think about it."

It is the bartender that "elevates" bartenders from the bar to the bench! Quite proper that the bar of capitalism should have its bartender. The bar and the bartender are on a level and the bench is propped up by the bartender. It is a lucky thing that it is not some Socialist who makes the American bartender the patron saint and promoter of the American bar. The "profession" would have all kinds of compulsion fits. The words of District Attorney Jerome in reference to the Supreme Court of New York will be carefully filed away for future reference. They may some day be found posted on the barricades in the streets of Gotham.

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Week ending Feb. 10, Feb. 17, Printed 13,000 13,000

Single subs. 9,301 9,131 Bundles 173 179 Samples 540 443 Exchanges 494 494 Sold at office 1,942 1,994

11,940 12,215

Gain 278

Loss in single subs. 200

