

Socialism comes to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property is the means of life upon which his liberty of thinking, thought and action depend.—National Platform of the Socialist Party.

THE WORKER

FOUNDED APRIL 3, 1894

Workers of the State of New York; the Socialist Party is your party; it advocates your cause; it fights your battles. Only in its victories can you be victorious, only in its triumphs can you triumph.—State Platform Socialist Party of New York.

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LOCAL NEW YORK CALLS UNEMPLOYED CONFERENCE.

Representatives of Many Labor Bodies Meet and Plan Vigorous Campaign.

State Department of Labor Shows That Over One-Third of Working People Are Unwillingly Idle—That Means Over 250,000 in New York City Alone—Conference Will Demand that State and City Take Measures for Relief.

Disappointed in its hopes that the trade unions of the city, acting thru the Central Federated Union, would seriously take up the question of unemployment, Local New York of the Socialist Party two weeks ago voted to wait no longer but to take the initiative in the matter. In response to its call, some 90 delegates, representing about 50 workmen's organizations, met at the Labor Temple on Tuesday evening and organized the Unemployed Conference, which is to carry on the agitation for relief for the unemployed in a manner somewhat similar to that which was used with such good effect by the Moyer-Haywood Defense Conference. T. J. Lewis and George Gelder presided, with Edward M. Martin as Secretary. Besides Socialist Party organizations there were represented Butchers' Union No. 174; the Wood Carvers' and Modelers' Association; the Machinists' District Council and Machinists' Union Nos. 300, 313, and 402; the Carpenters' and Joiners' District Council and Carpenters' Union Nos. 375 and 464; the Piano and Organ Workers; Upholsterers No. 39; Plasterers No. 24; the Independent Machinists' Union; Cigar Makers Nos. 90 and 251; Ladies' Garment Workers; Typographers No. 7; Tailors No. 390; Sculptors' and Modelers' Union; Progressive Machinists' Union; East Side Journeymen Barbers; Decorative Glass Workers No. 36; Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society, Br. 1 and 153; Turnverein Vorwärts; Arbeiter Lesezimmer; fifteen branches of the party, besides the local and the Yorkville Agitation Committee; and the Russian and Lettish Social Democratic organizations. Many other organizations will send delegates to the next meeting, which will be held at the same place on Tuesday evening, Feb. 18.

Algeron Lee and Henry Ortlund, for the preliminary organization committee, explained the purposes of the conference and submitted several suggestions made by the committee, all of which were ultimately approved.

Officers were elected as follows: Secretary, Martin; Financial Secretary and Treasurer, Ortlund; Executive Committee—Lee, Fred Paulitsch, Lewis, Chas. Stiffer, Chas. Price, Boyd, Henry Harris, Raetsch, Mead; Press Committee—James O'Neal, Dr. Julius Halpern, Jos. Ziernig, Lee; Auditing Committee—Chas. Gall, Vogelnei, Sara Gordon.

The plans approved in their general outlines at the first meeting and to be worked out and put into effect include the holding of a great initial mass meeting at the earliest possible date, with numerous other meetings to follow; a parade and outdoor demonstration; the gathering of lists of the unemployed and the presentation of a demand on the city and state authorities for measures of immediate relief; a demand on the Dock Department for the holding of meetings; the issuance of a leaflet to explain the cause of the hard times and state the workers' demands for relief.

The demands to be made upon the city and state authorities, so far as outlined include the immediate undertaking of useful public works on a large scale, all such work to be done by public employment direct, without the intervention of useless contractors, who absorb a large share of the money that should go to pay useful workers, and all work to be done under union conditions of wages and hours of labor; also thorough labor legislation to establish a legal maximum workday of not more than eight hours and to abolish child labor, both of which will give employment to many men now out of work.

The conference will need funds to carry on its work and the Executive was authorized to call on all affiliated organizations and also on sympathizers to contribute for this purpose. A beginning has already been made by the 234 A. D., which sent in \$5 by its delegates at the first meeting.

All contributions to the fund of the Unemployed Conference should be sent and all checks and money orders made payable to Henry Ortlund, Treasurer, 299 E. Eighty-fourth street. The Executive Committee desires that all comrades who are able and willing to speak to unions on behalf of the Conference immediately notify the

day: "No substantial orders have come in since December. Whereas we were formerly turning out 60 locomotives a week, we are now turning out only 20, and we will have finished up all our work in a short time. Then, unless we receive some substantial orders in the meantime, we shall have to close."

Little Work for Coal Miners.

POTTSVILLE, Pa., Feb. 6.—All employees in and about the collieries of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Co. have been notified that they will be permitted to work only four days a week.

Much Suffering in Pittsburg.

PITTSBURG, Feb. 6.—It is estimated that fully 15,000 persons are in want in consequence of unemployment. About 6,000 men have already registered at the City Hall as applicants for public work. Every charitable organization in the city is snowed under with applications for relief.

Trainers on Short Time.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 8.—Beginning Monday the Reading Railroad will put all its trainmen on a four-day-a-week schedule. It is stated that this road now has 160 good locomotives idle; on Jan. 1 the number was 145 and on Dec. 1 it was 28.

Rogers and Cooke Cut Forces.

PATERSON, N. J., Feb. 9.—In the last week several hundred more men have been laid off from the Cooke and Rogers branches of the American Locomotive Works. Of the 5,000 men ordinarily employed, only about 2,500 are now on the rolls; and most of these are engaged on repairs, not on new work. At both branches the officers of the company say the same thing: "No new orders are coming in. Matters may improve within the next few months."

Railway Men's Wages Reduced.

MOBILE, Ala., Feb. 10.—The Mobile & Ohio Railroad has issued an order making a cut of 10 per cent in the pay of all employees now receiving more than \$100 a month and 5 per cent in the wages of all now getting from \$50 to \$100 a month.

Colorado Smelters Hit Hard.

DENVER, Feb. 10.—By an order going into effect to-morrow, about 700 employees of the American Smelting and Refining Co. will have their wages reduced by from 10 to 20 cents a day, and one of the smelters at Pueblo is closed indefinitely.

Paper Mills Close.

CLAREMONT, N. H., Feb. 11.—The mills of the Claremont Paper Co. have suspended operations indefinitely.

Unemployed Mass Meeting.

The United Leather Goods Workers' Union, has called a mass meeting to be held at 73 Allen street, corner of Grand, Friday evening, Feb. 14, at 8 p. m. The crisis affects the leather workers keenly and the meeting will be devoted to a consideration of the unemployed problem.

The Wentworth-Littleton Debate Is Postponed.

The debate at the New Rochelle People's Forum between Franklin H. Wentworth of the Socialist Party and Martin W. Littleton, Democrat and former Mayor of Brooklyn, has been postponed to March 8 at Mr. Littleton's request. "Socialism or Individualism" is the subject for discussion and no doubt the debate will be well worth hearing.

Tchaikovsky Very Sick.

ST. PETERSBURG, Feb. 11.—Nicholas Tchaikovsky, the veteran revolutionist, who has been imprisoned in the Peter and Paul fortress for several months without trial or definite accusation, is reported to be very sick. It is feared that he will not live to be tried—and perhaps that is just what the government desires.

Dominador Gomez Unscathed.

MANILA, Feb. 11.—The Assembly, in obedience to the wishes of the Administration, to-day voted to unseat Dr. Dominador Gomez, the most radical and independent of its members and the only one who could be considered as in any sense representing the working people of the Philippines.

Union Labor Bank Closes.

CHICAGO, Jan. 20.—The affairs of the Commonwealth Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago, an institution organized two years ago as a union labor bank, are to be wound up and the corporation to be dissolved. The experiment is said to leave the stockholders about \$6,000. They will receive approximately 60 cents on the dollar. Of the \$200,000 required to do business as a state bank, \$128,000 had been subscribed, but only about \$22,000 was paid in. Labor unions failed to support the institution.

Baldwin Discharge Still More.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 5.—Still more men have been laid off at the Baldwin Locomotive Works. The full working force numbers 15,000 men, and 10,000 of these have been turned off since December. Mr. Vanclo, one of the firm, said in a report yesterday:

HAYWOOD'S MEETINGS.

Is Enthusiastically Welcomed Wherever He Goes.

Halls Packed at Lynn, Providence, and Elsewhere.—In Boston City Authorities Try to Prevent Meeting, but Only Rouse Greater Interest.

The mass meeting arranged for William D. Haywood, in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on Feb. 5, was prevented by interference by the city authorities. It was claimed that the permit was secured under a name different from that under which the meeting was to be held. A crowd of 3,000 people had filled the hall and much indignation was expressed at the dispersal of the meeting. This became so general that it brought the authorities to their senses and they have now granted the use of the hall for a meeting on Tuesday evening, Feb. 18. The action of the officials has given publicity to the meeting and it is expected that Faneuil Hall will be packed to the doors. Haywood will speak almost every night from now on. He has met thousands of union men in the East, and made many friends for the Western Federation of Miners. In Lynn he spoke to a house packed to the doors, the union men being eager to meet Haywood personally.

Last Monday he spoke to one of the largest audiences ever assembled in Providence, R. I. Over 2,000 people were present and long before the time for opening, the hall was so filled that hundreds were turned away. When Haywood appeared on the platform the people rose and cheered for several minutes. The chairman, W. H. Johnson of the Machinists' Union, made his remarks brief. Before concluding, however, he turned to Haywood, grasped his hand and said, "We have waited a long time for this meeting, Comrade Haywood." This brought forth another ovation from the audience. Haywood spoke in part as follows:

Pays His Respects to Morgan.

"I read recently of an interview granted by J. Pierpont Morgan, to a newspaper man, in which he stated for publication that the working people of the United States must be whipped into submission and that they will be starved until they are willing to consent to what the powers that be wish to offer him. Now I want to say to Mr. Morgan in no uncertain words that the working people of this country will not submit to a lower standard of living, they will not submit to being starved, they will not submit to the kings of finance, and they will not submit to a reduction of wages, that men of Mr. Morgan's ilk may buy valuable pictures in Rome. The working men of to-day will not submit to buying their wives and children coarser clothes, eating coarser fare, and living more poorly in order that Vanderbilt and other rich people of the land might buy Counts at so much per pound.

"Mr. Morgan has thrown down the gauntlet to every laboring man. Are you ready to take it up?"

"The working class of this country is at last beginning to awaken and to bestir itself. The great giant of organized labor, awakened by the stories of oppression in the West, is stirring, and will soon be fully alive to the conditions. And I have come from out of that West to urge you on to better conditions and show you the way to power and the full realization of your just desires.

The Goldfield Situation.

"The President has ordered troops to Goldfield, and has declared his intention of keeping them there until next April. There has never been so much as a fist fight in Goldfield, and the President knows it. There is no insurrection there. There is no revolutionary spirit in this room now that was ever in the mining camps at Goldfield."

Haywood then discussed the trouble at Goldfield, from its earliest inception and said in emphatic terms that the President was wrong in sending troops to that place. He declared that the mine explosions which have been reported of late, in which many miners lost their lives, was murder on the part of the mine operators.

A collection was taken up which netted \$101, to be devoted to the defense of Steve Adams, now being held in a Colorado jail, for the alleged murder of Arthur Collins. On the suggestion of Luella Twining a telegram was sent to President Roosevelt asking him to withdraw the troops from Goldfield.

Haywood will also speak in Cypress Hall, Cambridge, Mass., on Monday evening, Feb. 17. The meeting is arranged by the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone Conference of that city. Squire E. Putney will preside and John Cooper, President of the Central Labor Union, will act as vice-chairman. Harry Joe, vice-president of the Bridge Workers' Union and Luella Twining, will also speak.

The Worker helps to organize Socialists.

SOCIALISTS IN MILWAUKEE COUNCIL.

Our Aldermen Introduce Resolutions to Help Ameliorate the Hard Lot of the Unemployed and Are Jeered by Republican and Democratic Members.

MILWAUKEE, Feb. 7.—The Socialist Aldermen at the last meeting of the City Council introduced two measures, for the relief of the unemployed, in addition to the measures for their employment, which are already pending. The resolutions introduced by Comrade Melms is as follows:

"Whereas, There are in existence laws which make it a misdemeanor to be without employment or have no visible means of support; and

"Whereas, The present industrial crisis has reached a situation under which thousands of our fellow citizens are unable to get work, strive as they may; and

"Whereas, These fellow citizens, the working class, are in no wise responsible for the present conditions, and yet under the law can be punished for lacking the means of support; therefore be it

"Resolved, That from and after this date and until further notice, all vagrancy laws be and hereby are suspended."

Comrade Busch introduced the other resolution, which reads:

"Whereas, A great deal of suffering is now forced upon the many working people in this city, because of the lack of employment due to the industrial crisis, many of them are rendered homeless, and reduced to destitution, therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Board of Public Works be and hereby is empowered to secure the use of suitable buildings of a sufficient number, and to equip the same as free municipal lodging houses for a period of not less than one year, under suitable and proper regulations, to be approved by this council; and

"Resolved, That said municipal lodging houses shall be equipped to furnish daily a bed and simple but substantial breakfast and supper and also a bath free of charge to all those who may apply for same."

Both resolutions were greeted with derisive laughter by some of the old-party Aldermen, to whom the sufferings of the unemployed are simply a matter of jest. But when the votes are counted next Election Day, they will find the subject more serious.

A SOCIALIST CITY PLATFORM.

Socialists of York, Pa., Reaffirm National and State Platforms and Formulate Municipal Demands.

The Socialists of York, Pa., have begun an energetic city campaign. Their ticket is headed by Warren A. Glatfelter for Mayor, with Henry C. Wuerntler as candidate for Treasurer, F. D. Glingerich for Controller, Robert B. Flick for Assessor, and Wm. Kelly and H. E. Myers for members of the Select Council from the Fifth and Ninth Wards.

The party headquarters are at Amalgamation Hall, 223 W. Market street. Free lectures are given every Sunday evening. All comers are welcome. The following is the city platform:

"We, the organized Socialists of York City, in convention assembled, hereby reaffirm our loyalty to our state and national platforms.

BIG SIX LATEST VICTIM.

Typographical Union Officers Sentenced to Jail and Fine.

State Supreme Court Holds That Union Officers May Be Punished for Unlawful Acts of Individual Union Members, Though Committed without Their Knowledge or Consent.

Typographical Union No. 6—"Big Six", as it is often called—came in for its share of the judicial assault this week.

On Tuesday Justice Bischoff of the New York Supreme Court sentenced President Patrick H. McCormick and Organizers George W. Jackson and Vincent J. Costello to serve 20 days in prison and pay a fine of \$250 each and fined Wm. J. S. Anderson and Thos. Bennett \$100 each.

The heinous crime for which these men are punished is contempt of court—alleged contempt of courts which certainly are fast earning the contempt of all thinking workmen.

On March 2, 1906, at the plea of the Typothetae or organization of master printers, which was resisting the demand of the workmen for an eight-hour day, Justice Blanchard issued a sweeping injunction to prohibit the union and its officers and members

from "interfering" with non-union men employed in Typothetae shops.

On April 26, 1906, four officers and 12 members of the union were arrested on the charge of using abusive and threatening language to scabs. On trial, only two of these—Anderson and Bennett—could be convicted on the evidence.

Nevertheless the officers were proceeded against for contempt of court and are now fined and imprisoned for not having prevented the alleged unlawful acts of the two members in question.

The case will be carried to the Appellate Division, and it remains to be seen whether that court will sustain Justice Bischoff in holding union officers criminally responsible for the acts of individual members committed without the consent and contrary to the instructions of the officers.

It may be noted that Justice Blanchard is a Republican and Justice Bischoff a Democrat.

NEVADA'S "COSSACK BILL"

Establishes State Constabulary Independent of the Courts.

Officers Responsible Only to Governor May Arrest Miners without Warrant and Deport Them from State Without Trial—Moral Record of Prominent Advocate of Cossack "Law and Order."

The bargaining of President Roosevelt with Governor Sparks of Nevada to retain troops in Goldfield till the legislature could pass a police measure for the mine owners, has borne fruit in the passage of the "Cossack Bill". The bill is thus named by the miners as it legalizes capitalist kidnapping of mine workers. Under its provisions the usual legal procedure of warrants, arrests, arraignment and trial by jury are dispensed with and brute force is substituted.

Ida Crouch Hazlett, representing the "Socialist" of Seattle and her own paper, the Montana "News", writes from Carson City, Nev., of the scenes during the passage of the bill. She writes that the bill provides for the establishment of a state constabulary clothed with the power to arrest and dismiss. It allows the governor's Cossacks to arrest any person whom they wish "with or without warrant" and makes it mandatory on any railroad employee to transport persons whenever asked to by these legalized thugs without cost and turn in the bill to the state. This deportation is made a legal act by the state, and the state pays for it. The bill also gives the governor power to declare martial law, though this is in plain conflict with a clause of the state constitution.

The only direct representative of the miners present was one named Hamilton, and he was not a Socialist. Some half dozen amendments were offered, but all were defeated. Hamilton made an amendment to have all special authority subordinate to the civil. It was voted down.

There was not an orator on the floor, no one who would say one thing to defend a righteous measure, Mr. Ham-

ilton made as strong an effort against the bill, as he was able to. Hamilton is a member of the Federation of Labor, has always opposed its Socialist tendencies, so that the union men never felt assured of how much confidence they could place in him.

A type of some of the men who urged the passage of the bill is seen in one of the lowest characters that the Nevada mining country has ever known. He was ragged out of the country as an ex-pimp, gambler and saloon proprietor, but he is chairman of the Nevada committee on morals and has been the mine owners' most faithful and willing prostitute. Fessler said now that the bill passed, about twenty of those "dynamiters" would be taken out of camp at once so the deportations will probably commence at once.

In Washington, Nevada has long been known as the "most rotten hole in America". It is controlled by speculators, gamblers and mine owners. The miners are in a majority, but they gave their votes to the enemy and the mine owners now reward them with Cossacks, with the power to patrol the state and deport the miners at will. One Socialist in the legislature would have been a power and a source of strength to the miners. As it is Nevada may be the next scene of a terrible struggle of labor to live unmolessted by legal thugs, to say nothing of winning concessions from the enemy. The times are ripe, and rotten ripe, for a change in Nevada and all other states. The coming elections ought to see scores of Socialist workmen elected to legislatures. Let us hope that will be the result.

"NOT FIT TO PRINT."

Daily Papers Which Always Find Room for Resolutions Booming Old-Party Politicians Could Not Give Space to This Declaration of Switchmen's Union.

Not a single Republican or Democratic daily paper in the land—not even those owned by Mr. Hearst, Friend of Labor—has seen fit to publish the following resolutions adopted and sent to President Roosevelt and to the press by Switchmen's Union, No. 117:

"Whereas, In the midst of seeming prosperity and without any apparent cause, the workers of the world are plunged without a moment's warning into the direst suffering, being denied the right to work, the right to subsistence for themselves and families, and are face to face with starvation; and

"Resolved, That we, in full sympathy with our suffering brothers, and believing it to be the first and supreme duty of our government to protect the lives of its citizens against economic want, do hereby appeal to our government not to use the nation's funds for the building of battleships as a means of giving work to the unemployed; but to be it

"Resolved, That the funds of our government be used instead to build factories, equipped with modern machinery, to be manned and operated by those in need of employment in which shall be produced all the commodities of life, to be sold to the consumer at the actual cost of production, thereby giving to the workers the full value of their labor and abolishing the surplus value that is impoverishing the workers of the world; and be it

"Resolved, That our organization use every means in its power to further this plan of production and distribution, designed to protect the workers against the loss of employment and the loss of every raise in their wages, by a three-fold increase in the cost of life's necessities; and be it further

"Resolved, as amended by the local lodge in session, That under present existing conditions we demand the restriction of foreign immigration

THE WORKER.

Published every Saturday by the Socialist Party of the State of New York...

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

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

THE SOCIALIST VOTE. The Socialist Party has passed thru its third general election. Its growing power is indicated by the increase of its vote...

THE JUDGES AND THE "MOB".

Announcement comes from Washington that the Justices of the United States Supreme Court have taken counsel together regarding present day tendencies so far as these "seem to menace the constitution"...

The Justices are not ignorant of history, but they are only too willing to ignore it. The recent decisions against the working class are not the first court rulings in this country that have brought the courts into contempt...

The Supreme Court is rapidly coming to be recognized as an instrument of class power to give legal sanction to capitalist aggression in all its forms. It always has been admirably adapted for that purpose...

This is what the rebel legal lights on the supreme bench fear, so they prepare for the opposition of the "mob". The mob consists of workers who are weary and heart-sick with the legal juggling with their health, hours of labor, and general well being...

After a "labor leader" has been discredited among his own class and is no longer regarded as of any importance, his logical position is to peddle his vanished "influence" before politicians. Therefore Simon Burns, near of the defunct Knights of Labor, is treading the right path when he states in a letter to the New York "World" that "Roosevelt has earned the labor vote"...

THE SOCIALIST INDICTMENT.

The suffering of the workingmen who have no employment is acute enough and volumes could be written to portray the terrible results of the present crisis. Some incidents reported in the daily press are sickening.

what the last moments of some must be who put an end to their existence by suicide. This happens so frequently now that it has become an ordinary item in the news columns. They have no special significance for the editorial writers...

One peculiarly pathetic incident was recently reported in the suicide of a man and his wife and daughter. He had saved one coin to place in a slot to release a flow of gas that would put an end to the sufferings of all three. The atrocious torture this man suffered as he saw the scant supply of food disappear, can only be imagined, not realized...

Yet it is such horrors as these that spur the Socialist on to renewed efforts. He knows that his indictment is real, that it is not based on fantasy. He knows that every social fact and economic tendency of to-day confirms his indictment of capitalist society. He knows also that Socialism gives the working class an ideal and an inspiration to continue the struggle for the liberation of their class from exploitation and the use of industrial resources for the well being of all.

A VULGAR DEFAMER.

"Free Riot Law" is the title of a two column advertisement that recently appeared in capitalist journals from the pen of C. W. Post, manufacturer of non-union food rods at Battle Creek, Mich. It is a general attack on union workmen, ascribing to them all the crimes in the calendar. It is worthy of note that both Republican and democratic journals accepted the advertisement. These same papers will soon be urging workmen to support the parties they represent and to their shame and discredit be it said, many workers with union cards will accept the advice...

TIME TO ACT.

A law prohibiting the employment of children in factories at night is unconstitutional. A law rendering railway corporations liable for damages to workmen injured and to the families of workmen killed in their services is unconstitutional. A labor union is a "labor trust" and may be dissolved by order of a judge. It is unlawful for a labor organization to publish the fact that a non-union firm is a non-union firm. It is unlawful for workingmen to agree not to use goods manufactured by non-union labor. It is lawful for corporations to establish a rule barring from employment workingmen who belong to unions. Officers of a union are responsible and may be punished by fine and imprisonment for the unlawful acts of individual members of the union, although such acts were committed without their knowledge or consent and against their advice and instruction. A union which, by publishing the truth about an anti-union manufacturer, reduces his profit, may be compelled to repay him three times the profits he would have otherwise made, plus costs of suit and attorneys' fees. And, by plain implication, such a manufacturer to collect such damages, may not only levy on the union treasury, but may seize the private property of any individual member of the union.

Such, in brief, are some of the recent decisions of our courts of capitalist injustice, handed down just at the time when the capitalist system has

ployment and is forcing wages down while maintaining rents and food prices, thus causing widespread misery.

It is high time for all workingmen to wake up and think together and act together. It is especially incumbent on the organized workingmen, because they are supposed to be more progressive than their unorganized brothers, and because the obvious effect and intent of these decisions is to paralyze the whole union movement and deliver it over, bound hand and foot, to the capitalists.

Plainly, nothing but independent political action by the working class will meet the emergency. That is what the British labor organizations resorted to, under even less provocation, with the result that they have put thirty of their spokesmen in Parliament and have already forced the reversal of the anti-union policy inaugurated by the courts.

We do need a new party to do this work in the United States? We do not. The Socialist Party is standing in the field, alert and vigorous and aggressive. It has been pointing out the danger for years and predicting the very attacks which have now been made. Already in 1904 more than 400,000 voters had rallied to its standard and if an election were to be held next week the number would be found to have doubled. Here is the nucleus of a powerful movement, with 35,000 of its adherents united in a dues-paying organization to conduct the work, and the number increasing every day.

The British Labor Party tried, in consideration of the conservative tendencies of a part of the workers, to avoid a plain declaration for Socialism. Experience has shown it the mistake, and last month it clearly declared itself a Socialist Party. Boldness, not caution, is the important thing in such a crisis.

Any new "Independent labor party" which might be launched in the United States at this time would pretty certainly prove to neither truly independent, nor truly a labor party, nor truly a party at all. Any alleged independent labor party backed by Roosevelt and Taft influences or by Hearst influences or by Bryan influences would be only an annex to one or the other of the old parties, both of which are equally concerned in the campaign against labor. It might serve to "boom" this or that politician and to land this or that misleader in a comfortable job; but it would almost certainly be quite impotent to do anything for the working class as a whole or even for organized labor as a whole.

Brothers in the unions, the doors of the Socialist Party are open to you. We do not only invite you to become Socialist voters, we invite you to become organized party members and take your part in guiding the policy of the Socialist Party. We do not ask you to come as followers; we bid you join us as comrades. Bring the numbers of our organized party membership from 35,000 up to 100,000, and you will see a vote polled that it will take seven figures to express, a vote that will put representatives of the working class in the Legislatures and in Congress and that will induce even the Supreme Court to take a second thought about what it calls "government by the mob".

A TRAITOR'S SLANDER.

It is a matter of almost common knowledge, that the man who has acquired some prominence in the world by reason of his connection with the labor movement, will prove the most virulent defamer of his class, should he go over to the enemy. There are some who have betrayed their fellows after securing positions of ease, and yet have refrained from adding insult to their treachery. With such there must still linger some recollection of what they owe to the class whose struggles made them prominent, and they at least make no public attack on the working class.

Robert Watchorn, Commissioner of Immigration, has not that redeeming quality. We note in a speech last week he referred to the attitude of "unreasonable organizations which attempt to throttle the spirit of independence, initiative and equal opportunity which has made this country great." Then the Commissioner illustrated:

BRIEF HINTS FOR THE WORKERS.

Young Quentin Roosevelt took the part of a clown in a Washington entertainment just to show that he is a true son of his father.

A Hearst editorial advises everybody to keep warm. That should be a good suggestion to those who have foolishly stood in the bread lines of late.

Roosevelt's coming message on labor should be accompanied with a history of his official acts during the Croton Dam strike.

Col. Bacon is of the opinion that Roosevelt never attacked a Spaniard when he was down. Our recollection is that Haywood is an American.

The man out of work has now a chance to figure out how much he would lose by the Socialists dividing up.

The very critics who charge that Socialism would make everybody dependent upon the government seem to think it all right to make a lot of people dependent upon private charity.

We do not expect capitalists to like Socialism any more than we like capitalism.

If capital is "timid" and seeks the bank vaults it isn't afraid to exploit child labor when it is profitable.

There are two ways to become respectable. One is to get money. The other is to get more.

Senator Foraker will quarrel with President Roosevelt about everything except the latter's attacks upon organized labor.

Socialism will destroy individuality—the sort of individuality that flourishes upon the poverty and suffering of the working class.

A Hungarian noble was discovered to be working as a porter in a New York hotel. It was so unusual to find an aristocrat doing useful labor that several of the papers got out special editorials about it.

The capitalists do not believe the workers are entitled to all they produce.

heard of him as a public man unless he remained true to his class and became prominent as an officer of his union. Watchorn is an example, of a poor one, of the falsity of his assertion that membership in a union throttlies "initiative and equal opportunity." The regrettable feature is that he is of a type in the ranks of organized labor that used the opportunity against the movement, that raised him from obscurity. A more shameless exhibition of ingratitude than this is hardly possible.

THE EXPLOIT OF NASIR-EDDIN-KHODJA.

By Tom Selby. Where'er I hear the politician claim How that his Party saved the ship of State. I think of Khodja the of Eastern fame Who saved the Moon. The tale I now relate: As Khodja sailed forth one night to draw A pikin of cool water, it befel That, stooping o'er the parapet, he saw Fair Luna shining in the placid well. "By all the bearded Prophets, 'tis the moon!" Quoth eager Khodja, and, with joyous cries, He hastened to the house, returning soon, With rope and hook to land the gleaming prize. Then, bending low, he gave the line full play And tugged upon it stoutly, but alas! The hook caught on a stone, the rope gave way, And Khodja landed prone upon his back. "By Allah!" murmured he with puffed brow, As Cynthia shone upon his upturned face: "I didn't get the moon, but, anyhow, I jerked her back into her proper place!"

Comrade Starck Dead.

Many comrades, especially those familiar with the Russian movement in New York, will be grieved to learn of the death of Vladimir R. Stolechukoff, otherwise known as Starck, which took place suddenly on Jan. 17, at Mobile, Ala., where he had been living recently. Comrade Starck was about 61 years of age. He belonged to an upper-class family in Russia, but became devoted to the revolutionary movement about 30 years ago, which cut him off from old associates. After some years he had to take refuge in this country from police persecution and continued his activity here.

Hearst and the Newsboys.

The Hearst newspapers in Boston are engaged in a war with the children who distribute the papers upon the streets. In Chicago they hired a gang of sluggers to beat up their rivals and then raised prices and reduced returns in combination with the other capitalist newspapers. These "friends of labor" always break down when friendship and unity come into conflict.

duce because the workers themselves do not claim it.

A nation cannot be free where the means of life are not free to all.

When "Big Bill" Taft spoke in New York recently he did nothing but explain to the working class. When Big Bill Haywood spoke in New York later he had nothing to explain to the working class. That's the difference between a counterfeit Bill and a genuine Bill—one is a capitalist lackey, the other a proletarian spokesman.

If the capitalists did not own the machinery of production and distribution they could not appropriate the wealth created by the labor of the working class.

Many people are so accustomed to dirt under capitalism that they can hardly imagine getting along without dirt under Socialism.

The waste of men is less important to capitalists than the loss of profits.

The morals of the working class are always of great concern to the class whose morals are reflected in the Thaw and other cases.

The longer the bread line the lower the wage rate.

Poverty is a crime when there is plenty for all—and the working class are the guilty ones, for they support the system that makes poverty possible.

A census of all the standing timber in America is to be taken but it does not necessarily include the amount Senator Borah got away with.

Republican workmen out of work can at least find some consolation in the belief that the tariff affords them "protection."

You may believe all men have equal opportunities but the belief will not bring you up to the food standard enjoyed by a rich banker's poodle.

He who steals the worker's purse to-day will get stung.

Current Literature

A new book by George Bernard Shaw, entitled "The Sanity of Art," is about to appear. In 1895, Mr. Shaw wrote a review of Max Nordau's "Degeneration", in the form of an open letter to Benj. R. Tucker, editor of "Liberty", in which periodical the review was printed. It has never been included in any edition of Mr. Shaw's works, tho it is one of the most searching pieces of art criticism ever penned. The author has revised it and made a few additions, besides writing a characteristic Shaw preface. Preface and review together make a book of more than 100 pages, which will be published in the United States by Benj. R. Tucker, of New York City. It is to appear also in England and in Germany.

He who attempts to be a Plato in the twentieth century challenges comparisons. "The Republic," by N. P. Andersen (Chas. H. Kerr & Co., \$1), resembles its namesake book of twenty-three hundred years ago in that it takes the form of a dialog concerning political and economic questions, in which one of the interlocutors convinces the others, at least to his own satisfaction, of the desirability and practicability of the transformation of our existing capitalist order into a co-operative commonwealth. If we find in it little of the poetry and eloquence which give Plato's "Republic" a charm out of proportion to its substantial worth, we can find other points of resemblance with which we would willingly dispense—such as the utopian constitution-making which plans the distribution of the people into a hierarchy of six grades or circles, beginning with the agriculturists and ending with the philosophers, from which last circle only the executive functionaries are to be chosen; and the misleading pseudo-science which assures the reader that "the law of progress is a natural law, which operates incessantly thruout all nature, and which prohibits any relapse or retrogression."

In the "International Socialist Review" for February, John Spargo writes of "Woman and the Socialist Movement", Arthur Morow Lewis, discusses "Benjamin Kidd's Religious Interpretation of History" and J. M. Robbins "The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem", while L. B. Boudin has an article on "Immigration at Stuttgart."

The table of contents of the "Neue Zeit" for Jan. 31 comprises "Taktisches zur Blockpolitik", dealing with the Prussian electoral question; "Das politische System der Sozialdemokratie", by Anton Pannekoek; "Methoden der Kolonialverwaltung", by Karl Kautsky; "Zwei Schriften über Moral" (reviewing Kropotkin's "Mutual Aid as a Factor in Evolution" and Sutherland's "Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct"), by G. Eckstein; "Das argentinische Arbeiter", by Germain Aré Landelle; and other valuable articles.

IBSEN'S "GHOSTS."

People's Free Theater Presents Powerful Drama at the German Theater.

By William Maily.

Before an audience which filled every seat in the German Theater the regular stock company gave a performance of Henrik Ibsen's "Ghosts" for the People's Free Theater (Freie Volkabühne) on Monday evening, Jan. 27. The occasion was a highly successful one and the organization has every reason to feel gratified at its accomplishment.

The play of "Ghosts" deserves special consideration from progressive thinkers. In its depiction of specific social phenomena compressed within a limited area it is nothing short of tremendous. The action takes place within twenty-four hours, within one room and with but five characters and yet the entire lives of these characters are revealed to us. What is more, the principal actor in the tragedy does not appear at all—he is, indeed, dead when the curtain rises.

It would be a mistake to assume from this that there is anything strained or artificial about "Ghosts". On the contrary its structure is so perfect and its dialog so simple that the play is naturalness itself. It was the gift of Ibsen—his genius, in fact—to have the characters in his plays use only ordinary language to express the most striking and searching thoughts. It is in this that he is the most difficult to imitate. His technical prowess in construction might some say be equalled but the ability to project with terrific force a luminous idea in the simplest terms, and that without effort or striving for effect, will probably never be successfully rivaled.

This is particularly true of "Ghosts". In the hands of anyone but Ibsen the job might have been bungled. But he achieves his purpose surely and directly. Every word is essential; there is nothing superfluous. The characters speak and act spontaneously, the situations follow one another sternly and logically. The result is that from the beginning of the play the auditor feels himself carried along toward the climax with a fascinated interest which becomes painful in its intensity. Once the start is made there is no turning back; one must see it out to the end, just as if one were being whirled toward a fate from which there is no escape.

As for the theme of the play, Bernard Shaw has related it in his "Quintessence of Ibsenism" so much better than I could possibly do that I quote what he says:

"Ghosts" . . . is the story of a woman who has faithfully acted as a model wife and mother, sacrificing herself at every point with selfless thoroughness. Her husband is a man with a huge capacity and appetite for strenuous enjoyment. Society, prescribing ideal duties and not enjoyment for him, drives him to enjoy himself in unwholesome and illicit ways. When he marries his model wife, her devotion to duty only makes life harder for him; and he at last takes refuge in the caresses of an undutiful but pleasure-loving housemaid, and leaves his wife to satisfy her conscience by managing his business affairs whilst he satisfies his craving as best he can by reading novels, drinking, and flirting, as aforesaid, with the servants.

"Mrs. Alving feels that her place is by her husband for better—for worse, and by her child. Now the ideal of wifely and womanly duty which demands this from her also demands that she should regard herself as an outraged wife, and her husband as a scoundrel. The family ideal requires that she should suffer in silence, and, for her son's sake, never shatter his faith in the purity of home life by letting him know the truth about his father. It is her duty to conceal that truth from the world and from him.

"In this she only falters for one moment. Her marriage has not been a love match; she has, in pursuance of her duty as a daughter, contracted it for the sake of her family, altho her heart inclined to a highly respectable clergyman, a professor of her own idealism, named Manders. In the humiliation of her first discovery of her husband's infidelity, she leaves the house and takes refuge with Manders; but he at once leads her back to the path of duty, from which she does not again swerve.

"With the utmost devotion she now carries out a tremendous scheme of lying and imposture. She so manages her husband's affairs and so shields his good name that everybody believes him to be a public-spirited citizen of the strictest conformity to current ideals of respectability and family life. She sits up of night listening to his lewd and silly conversation, and even drinking with him, to keep him from going into the streets and betraying what she considers his vices. "She provides for the servant he has seduced, and brings up his illegitimate daughter as a maid in her own household. And as a crowning sacrifice she sends her son away to Paris to be educated there, knowing that if he stays at home the shattering of his ideals must come sooner or later. Her work is crowned with success. She gains the esteem of her old love, the clergyman, who is never tired of holding up her household as a beautiful realization.

"Her own martyrdom is brought to an end at last by the death of her husband in the odor of a most sanctified reputation, leaving her free to recall her son from Paris and enjoy his society, and his love and gratitude, in

the flower of his early manhood. But when he comes home, the facts refuse as obstinately as ever to correspond to her ideals.

"Oswald, the son, has inherited his father's love of enjoyment; and when, in dull rainy weather, he returns from Paris to the solemn, strictly-ordered house, where virtue and duty have had their temple for so many years, his mother sees him first show the unmistakable signs of boredom with which she is so miserably familiar from of old; then sit after dinner killing time over the bottle; and finally—the climax of anguish—begin to flirt with the maid who, as the mother alone knows, is his own father's daughter.

"But there is this world-wide difference in her insight to the cases of the father and the son. She did not love the father; she loves the son with the intensity of a heart-starved woman who has nothing left to love. Instead of recollecting from him with pious disgust and Pharisaical consciousness of moral superiority, she sees at once that he has a right to be happy in his own way, and that she has no right to force him to be dutiful and wretched in hers. She sees, too, her injustice to the unfortunate father, and the iniquity of the monstrous fabric of lies and false appearances which she has wasted her life in manufacturing.

"She resolves that her son's life, at least, shall not be sacrificed to joyless and unnatural ideals. But she soon finds that the work of the ideals is not to be undone quite so easily. In driving the father to seek his pleasures in secrecy and squalor, they had brought upon him the diseases bred by such conditions; and her son now tells her that those diseases have left their mark upon him, and that he carries poison in his pocket against the time, foretold to him by a Parisian surgeon, when he shall be struck down with softening of the brain.

"In desperation she turns to the task of rescuing him from this horrible apprehension by making his life happy. The house shall be made as bright as Paris for him; he shall have as much champagne as he wishes until he is no longer driven to that dangerous resource by the dullness of his life with her; if he loves the girl he shall marry her; if she were fifty times his half-sister. But the half-sister, on learning the state of his health, leaves the house; for she, too, is her father's daughter, and is not going to sacrifice her life in devotion to an invalid.

"When the mother and son are left alone in their dreary home, with the rain still falling outside, all she can do for him is to promise that if his doom overtakes him before he can poison himself, she will make a final sacrifice of her natural feelings by performing that dreadful duty, the first of all her duties that has any real basis.

"Then the weather clears up at last; and the sun, which the young man has so longed to see, appears. He asks her to give it to him to play with; and a glance at him shows her that the ideals have claimed their victim, and that the time has come for her to save him from a real horror by sending him from her out of the world, just as she saved him from an imaginary one years before by sending him out of Norway."

So much for Shaw. I may supplement this with the following conclusions of my own which have appeared elsewhere:

"Ghosts" goes to the heart of existing social morality and lays bare the wickedness and horror which lie beneath the surface of the prevailing code of ethics and morals. It is a striking indictment of the social conditions which dwarf and cripple noble nature; that seek a legitimate outlet for their instinctive passions and ambitions. The gloom that surrounds Mrs. Alving's home and which drove Captain Alving to excess and brutality, his son to madness and Regina to prostitution, is the gloom that ancient customs and traditions throw around youth, depriving it of joy and hope and driving it to physical and moral degradation.

"Ghosts" was denounced as "immoral" and "indecent" when it was first produced. It is called that yet by the bourgeois moralists who see, but who will not admit, that "Ghosts" is but the logical summing-up of their own doctrines and who are made to realize that it is their own standards of life which are immoral and indecent as well as demoralizing.

The German Theater company presented "Ghosts" very effectively. Eugen Burg deserves praise for his natural and touching impersonation of Oswald. Herr Burg is an exceptionally versatile and satisfying actor. Ernst Sauermann made Engstrand a delicious old scoundrel, revealing the hypocrisy of the character with deft touches of business which were never false nor exaggerated. Heinrich Marlowe was not at home as Pastor Manders, making him too fussy and child-like, instead of the severe, self-centered, bigoted, shallow cleric that Ibsen intended. Hedwig Reicher was strikingly realistic as young Regina, a most unpleasant character. Elizabeth Arriens hardly met requirements as Mrs. Alving, failing to convey the sense of long-sustained suffering and repressed emotion which Mrs. Shaw so subtly suggested with unforgettable effect when I saw her in the part. Perhaps the comparison is not fair, as Mrs. Arriens was sincere and capable enough, but to have seen Mrs. Shaw as Mrs. Alving is one of the rare treats of the American stage.

