

The Worker

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CALIFORNIA'S ORANGE CRISIS.

Middle Class Fruit Growers Are Completely at Mercy of Railroad King

An Illustration of the Way Competition Ends in Monopoly—Small Business Men Deliberately Ruined—Must Look to Socialism if They Want Freedom.

BY W. A. COREY.

The people of Southern California do not live by bread alone. And they do not even breathe entirely, as has been sarcastically intimated, upon climate and tenderfeet. They raise oranges to sell—though they do not always sell them. Sometimes the fruit rots in the orchard; sometimes it rots in the cars in transit to market and is unconsciously dumped on the ground at some wayside station, and sometimes it arrives at its destination owing to delay in an unsealable condition.

The recent crisis in the orange industry in this section fully illustrates the workings of capitalism, and is worth a brief survey. But before taking up the "crisis" proper a few preliminary remarks should be made.

Orange and lemon growing is the most important industry of Southern California, and the crop of 1901 has been the largest ever produced here. About 20,000 carloads, or between seven and eight million boxes have been produced this year. The producers are nearly all middle class business men. It is a middle class industry. The market for the product is in the states east of the mountains, so that the distance from market and the absence of competition in transportation puts the industry at the mercy of the railroads.

There is practically only one railroad here since the Santa Fe have "agreed" as to freight rates and general attitude toward industry and section in general.

THE POWER OF THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC.

The Southern Pacific, starting with the prestige of having opened up the first transcontinental line, principally through government aid, has for thirty years acted on the assumption that the state of California belonged to it in fee simple, to have and to hold for all time. There has never been a better example of the brazen and brutal tyranny of private capital than for a generation has been practiced by the Southern Railroad Company on California and the southwest. It has defrauded state politics and never bothered to ask the people what they would do about it. By "charging the traffic all it would bear" it has held the business of the state within its grasp and fattened upon the people's industry. By discriminating in freight rates between different cities and sections it has rewarded servility and punished disobedience on a scale never dreamed of by any tyrant of ancient times. It has lent itself to rival sections, serving the strong and crushing the weak.

DISAPPOINTING COMPETITION.

The Southern Pacific built to Los Angeles in 1876. It immediately began to lighten the scales and the business men began to cry, "Give us a competing road." In a few years the Santa Fe reached here. Did the coveted "competition" arrive the same day? By no means. I never arrived. The two roads "held a consultation." They divided the traffic between them, and resumed business as if the old standstill had never been broken. These middle class orange growers really went to fight for a "competing" road to Salt Lake. They are simply trying to get a share of the Santa Fe's franchise at Senator Clark's hand and imploring him to hurry up new road and are holding their noses for fear something will happen. These middle class orange growers had other problems besides the roads. There are, for instance, the question and the water question.

LAND AND WATER MONOPOLY.

Land here was originally taken from the Indians by the Spanish government and given, in immense tracts, to the Catholic missions and to individuals of the church. Thus there about a class of landed grandees kept their cattle and sheep upon vast lands and who, with their vassals, lived a life with few cares. Only the "Americans" or "Gringos" along. He usually showed up at such house in the guise of a young looking for work. He could throw a "just" a bronco, and speak a few words of Spanish. He was given employment and became one of the "old man" on taffy made love to the daughter of the owner. Finally he joined the church as a suitable case and in good stead acquired title to a few thousand acres of the paternal estate and lovely scholas was thrown in for measure.

On other smart "Americans" along to invade the city of other the paper with other square of land and other lovely sonnet and the story was repeated many times.

BOILING THE TENDERFOOT.

Boiling of trade was organized. organization sent East cards printed matter in respect to California's north and sea and the "struggle for existence." It told the "invaders" Easterners, and other things, that with ten of orange less, he would be good "competitor for life." The Easterners believed it. So the old homestead that he and

his father and grandfather had toiled away their lives upon, bid good-bye to the old neighbors and started for "California." Arriving in "our Italy" he made two discoveries (at least two). The first one was that the very best he could do for orange land was about \$500 per acre—from that to \$2,500 and he nearly fainted. The latter figure was nearly all the old farm brought after three generations of toil.

Then, second, he learned that his land would be worthless without water and that he would have to buy his water of a private company who held a cast iron monopoly. And he also learned that it would cost him \$1,200 to prepare ten acres of land, and bring it, in three years, to a bearing condition.

He was discouraged. But he had learned his bridges behind him and he began the orange struggle. In one direction was the grasping landowner, in another direction was the pitiless water-company. In still another was the bank that held a mortgage on his little ranch, while yonder loomed the sinister tyrannical railroad that would not let him call his life his own.

THE PRESENT CRISIS.

Now, regarding the present crisis, which is only the administration of a long period of wild abuse of power on the part of the railroads. The railroads knew that the present orange crop would greatly exceed any previous crop, but they made no adequate provision in the way of cars to move it to market. The result was that hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of fruit rotted in the orchards or were dried and used for fuel or plowed under as a fertilizer.

When the Northern Pacific attempted to meet the emergency by means of a steamship line to a nearby seaport, the local roads "charged" such an excessive rate to this seaport that the use of this new outlet was prevented, thus throwing the whole burden of loss back on the growers. When a four-legged hog gets enough he will lie in the stable and give other hogs a chance; but the human hog is not built that way. If he cannot drink all the milk he can get he will kill the rest of the herd.

What is the animus of this "outrageous" attitude of the railroads? It is a blow at Southern in favor of Northern California. The railroads have consistently discriminated against the southern part of the state. For instance, the town of Bakersfield is 145 miles nearer to Los Angeles than to San Francisco, yet the freight rate is the same. There is twenty miles nearer to Los Angeles than to San Francisco, yet the rate is \$5.40 more per ton to the former city than to the latter. Under Socialism a railroad would serve the whole people. In the most economical manner and not be used as a club by one interest to beat another.

THE FAILURE OF VOLUNTARY CO-OPERATION.

The bright idea of co-operating dawned upon the minds of the growers a few years ago and local associations for the more economical marketing of the product were formed. These associations, which never included more than half of the orange growers, were affiliated under the "Southern California Fruit Exchange." This organization, while permitting a few individuals to steal several hundreds of money, has illustrated to some extent the power of co-operation, but, as against the railroads, it is like a little child in the hands of a giant. The much vaunted Dixieley bill, even, with its act of one cent a pound, could not save the child from the giant.

The attitude of Socialists on co-operation, class-consciousness, and other points was clearly outlined and interpreted with applause. The final words were of thanks to those who had attended the series of their encouragement, and contained a solemn appeal to all who believed in Socialism to go out that night prepared to work and give of their best ability to advancing the cause.

There were "three cheers for Herron" and three cheers more for the Social Revolution given at the close with a will by the audience, and the meeting was over.

Afterwards a large number of Socialists and friends of Dr. Herron crossed and returned to the "Commonwealth" office on Lafayette Place, and enjoyed an informal reception, through the kindness of C. P. Somerville. A pleasant couple of hours were spent and all went home at last satisfied with the events of the evening.

AT JERSEY CITY.

On Wednesday evening of last week Comrade Herron spoke in Jersey City, Phillips' Hall was crowded to hear him. The address was evidently appreciated as the audience was enthusiastic and liberally applauded. A considerable quantity of literature was sold. The usual personal attacks appeared in the local press, although fair reports of the lecture were given. All the papers agreed that the hall was half filled, that many left early and only Socialists remained. We owe a debt of gratitude to these falsehoods.

ELIZABETH.

The meeting in Elizabeth on Thursday evening was not so well attended. On account of bad weather and other reasons, it was held in Jacobs' Theater, and those who gathered there warmly appreciated Comrade Herron's lecture. Elizabeth is not at all awake to Socialism, but the comrades there are determined to build up a movement. The Elizabeth "Journal" gave a fair report of the meeting, but the report of the "Times," a new Democratic evening paper, was scurrilous in the extreme.

Friday evening's meeting in Trenton was highly successful, the hall being packed and the address received with enthusiasm.

Park Theater, Brooklyn, was well filled on Sunday evening to hear the final lectures, "The Economic Goal," and Comrade Herron received a warm reception on that evening. On Monday evening he spoke on the East Side for the first time, and was greeted by a large audience in New Irving Hall.

The dates of the Social Crusades in the State are reported elsewhere.

AN OVATION

Given to Comrade Herron at His Last Lecture.

A Splendid Reception Accorded to a Splendid Lecture on "Socialism and Liberty."

The series of lectures by George D. Herron in Cooper Union came to an end last Tuesday evening in a most fitting manner. Instead of the regular lecture, "The Economic Goal," Comrade Herron, by request, spoke on "Socialism and Liberty." It was a speech that will not be soon forgotten by those who heard it.

There was a splendid audience present, splendid in more than numbers—an audience that showed itself from the beginning of the meeting until the close, in strong sympathy with the speaker. His enthusiasm was genuine and spontaneous. Every point in the discourse was taken up and approved with salvos of applause.

There was a good reason for this enthusiasm, Comrade Herron was at his best. He spoke extempore and the sincerity of his convictions was affame in every word.

It was several minutes before Comrade Herron could begin to speak after he had advanced to the front of the platform. The welcome he received same not alone as a tribute to the man who has been on the firing line of the Social Revolution for several weeks, the victim of a pitiless persecution by an unscrupulous enemy, but also as an endorsement of the principles for the promulgation of which he has undoubtedly been made to suffer. It was a welcome from the hearts of Socialists. It was not a leader, but a comrade, who was about to speak.

It is impossible to do justice to Comrade Herron's speech, and space would forbid it if we could. The truth was spoken with a passion and intensity that could be born only of a devotion to exalted ideals and noble principles. It was as if the speaker was pouring forth his soul into a thousand people, not only against the monstrous evil of the time, "a protest that is also a prophecy,"—for the closing words were indeed a prophecy of the coming Social Revolution, which the hand of man cannot stay.

If any man present doubted before the meeting that Comrade Herron understood scientific Socialism, his doubts must have been completely dispelled. There was no equivocation in the presentation of the claims of the Socialist movement. There would be no compromise, no "reconciling" with anything but the capitalist system. The movement would not tolerate patching up a bad system, that was wrong in its essence and its foundations. When Comrade Herron summed up the case in these terse words: "We want to reform anything; we want to revolutionize everything," he received his answer in a shout of approval from his listeners.

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PUBLIC OPINION.

How much do the railroads care for "the people" or their "welfare"? The people, under capitalism, are very small potatoes.

The "Times" (ultra capitalist) of April 14, said: "Either the railroad syndicate must own the country or the country must own the railroads. If the syndicate is wise it will reflect."

It is evident that capitalists never have got down on their knees and with their hands in their eyes, have implored the railroad lords thus: "Oh, please be good! If not for the sake of these small orange growers, at least for your own sakes. Don't you see where this thing is leading us all to? Don't you see you are playing us all right into the hands of the Easterners?"

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

Carey Roasts Attorney-General for Arguing Against Labor Bill in an Adverse Opinion Rendered.

Recently the attorney-general of Connecticut rendered an opinion upon a labor law pending before the legislature declaring the law would be unconstitutional if enacted. This saved the members of the legislature from going in record for or against labor. Attorney-General Knowlton of Massachusetts took the tip from his Connecticut contemporary and followed suit in an opinion rendered upon a pending bill which provided that all contractors on public work be subject to the same regulations regarding wages and hours of labor as those employed directly by the Commonwealth.

Mr. Knowlton not only rendered an adverse opinion upon the pending bill, declaring it unconstitutional, but also took occasion to present an argument against it, an action which gave rise to a warm debate in the Massachusetts house last week.

Representative Carey, Social Democrat, took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the discussion upon a motion to reconsider an opinion rendered by the attorney-general upon two other bills, to protest against Knowlton's action on the contract labor bill, which, by the way, was being pushed by the Boston Central Labor Union.

Carey said he desired to embrace the opportunity to give his opinion of the attorney-general. Then he charged the attorney-general with exceeding his prerogatives in signing to the house an argument when asked for an opinion of the bill to require contractors on public work to pay the same rate of wages as is paid by state or municipality. Mr. Carey said the attorney-general had gone out of his way to argue against a labor measure.

After a lengthy criticism he ended by saying: "If he (Knowlton) wants to electorally the men now on trial in Cambridge, why all right, but he must not attempt to electorally the rights of the working people."

Representative Newton of Everett defended the attorney-general as an able official and entitled to the confidence of the people. This was applauded.

Carey again spoke on the matter. He said it was crazy for a member of the majority to give an opinion when defending a member of the majority party, "but whatever I said of the attorney-general I will repeat. That opinion was filled with argument rather than with a statement of his opinion on the matter. Under the guise of an opinion he has argued against the bill. I say it is demeaning the dignity of the official and degrading to his office."

Mr. Newton replied and was supported by Representative Saunders of Boston.

It is significant that the only protest against the usurpation of office by the attorney-general came from a Social Democrat.

LABOR BILL VETOED.

Colorado's Fusion Governor Kills Mine Ventilation Bill in Interest of Mine Owners.

Governor Orman of Colorado was elected by a fusion of Bryan Democrats, Populists, Silver Republicans, etc. These are the representatives of the middle class of small capitalists. The mine owners are indignant. Probably these workmen scoffed the notion of there being a class struggle when the Socialists of Colorado tried, in point if not, but Orman is only acting according to his class instincts and class interests. Workmen need expect neither emancipation nor relief from any other class than their own.

Profits of coal operators are more precious than miners' lives, because on account of the scale of their mammoth profits above their own welfare when they go to the ballot box. Whenever workmen vote for a party of small or large capitalists they cheapen their own lives and lower the scale of their mammoth beneath that of slaves. A class-conscious Socialist executive of Colorado would have signed that bill because the interests of his class required it; just as fusion Governor Orman vetoed it because the interests of his class dictated such action.

Workmen, put not your faith in any party that is not organized on the lines of revolutionary, class-conscious Socialism.

ANOTHER POINTER FROM THE COURTS.

Justice McAdam, Democrat, of the New York Supreme Court, has issued an injunction forbidding the members or officers of the Brewery Workers' Union or anyone else in any way to take part in or assist the boycott of the Everard Brewing Company.

This is in line with the acts of other Democratic and Republican judges of this and other states and should help to show the workmen how friendly the two old parties are to Labor's interests.

Order 112 FOR SIXTY at the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York.

INDIANA TO THE FRONT.

Fort Wayne Social Democrats Raise the Vote by 350 Per Cent.

The Social Democratic Party has made another splendid advance at Fort Wayne, Ind. The city election was held on May 7. The Social Democrats were in the field with a ticket upon which both factions were united and for which all worked enthusiastically.

Not until a week later could the returns be prepared. But they were good enough to compensate for the delay. We polled 716 votes, as against the 199 cast in the city last fall. The comrades are delighted with this gain.

BALTIMORE ELECTION.

Social Democrats Increase Their Vote in a Total Decline of 40,000 Under New Ballot Law.

The election for members of the municipal council of Baltimore, Md., took place on Tuesday, May 8, and the results of the Social Democratic Party is gratifying, a good increased vote being polled over that of last November. The municipal council is elected every two years, and is composed of two branches, the first being made up of representatives from each of the twenty-four wards, the second of representatives from four divisions, made up of six wards each.

The Social Democrats had candidates for the first branch in five wards, the Third, Fifth, Seventh, Eighth, and Twenty-fourth. But one candidate was nominated for the second branch, and that was in the fourth division, composed of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-second, Twenty-third, and Twenty-fourth wards.

The vote was as follows in the wards for candidates for the first branch: Third, 346; Fifth, 115; Fifth, Jacobson, 84; Seventh, Dvorak, 85; Eighth, 80; Twenty-fourth, Haritz, 96. This shows a total vote for candidates for the first branch in five wards of 470. Comrade Albert, the candidate for the second branch from the fourth division, polled the following vote in the various wards: Seventeenth, 59; Eighteenth, 59; Twenty-first, 68; Twenty-second, 69; Twenty-third, 49; Twenty-fourth, 94, a total of 398. It should be noted that there was only a difference of two in the vote for Haritz and Albert in the Twenty-fourth ward.

The total vote in only ten wards was 764, whereas the vote in Baltimore altogether for Hahn and Haritz had fallen only 610, a splendid gain. It should be noted also that this was the first election in Baltimore under the new election law of Maryland, which has disfranchised so many white and black workmen. Under this law the Democratic vote fell off 25,640, the Republicans losing 14,805, the latter carrying the city and electing a majority of the council. The Social Democrats are the only ones who increased their vote in a decline of the total vote of over 40,000.

Naturally the comrades are greatly related and will push the campaign for the fall election.

THE MACHINISTS' DEMANDS.

The demands of the International Association of Machinists for a nine-hour day will take final effect on Monday, May 20. Wherever it is not granted, strikes will be resorted to.

The national officers have issued orders to this effect and 150,000 men may be directed to strike indirectly affected through this order.

President O'Connell, in an interview in Washington on Tuesday, said: "The members of our association will not be called out in shops where an agreement for a nine-hour day and a 42% per cent increase in wages has been signed, except in cases where the same firm has shops in different cities and refuses to make the agreement applicable to all their properties."

About one-fifth of the employers, or 200 firms in all, have already signed the required agreements, and additional signatures are being announced. The instructions are that men shall not go to work next Monday in shops where their demands have not been accepted.

Meetings will be held this week in all the local districts of the association, and these will probably result in conferences between the employers and the men. It is possible all will accept the demands, and in such a case a strike would be averted.

Trades dependent upon the machinists will be affected by the strike and must necessarily stop work during its continuation.

"Every effort has been made by our association to avoid a strike, but there can be no further deferment if the men expect to secure their rights. The employers will not submit the matter to arbitration, their only proposition being to permit each firm to act independently. This suggestion is not satisfactory to the association, as a complete settlement of the controversy would not be reached for a long time if ever."

"The railroads are not embraced in the strike order as promulgated. Whether this will be done in the future must await developments."

A conference in Washington attended by officials of the International Association of Allied Metal Mechanics, Pattern Makers' League of North America, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' Union of North America determined upon a concerted action to be followed on or before May 20.

Subscribe for the Socialist Lit-erary—30 cents a year.

THE STRIKE AT ALBANY AND TROY.

Twenty-Third Regiment, with Its Unsavory Record, Sent to Break the Strike.

The Twenty-Third Regiment, Which Bravely Shot Women in the Brooklyn Trolley Strike, but Feared to Face the Spaniards in 1898, Is Now on Hand—History of the Strike Outlined—What Social Democrats in Office Would Do.

This is the dictum of General Manager McNamara of the United Traction Company of Troy and Albany: "We intend to run our cars if it takes the entire National Guard of New York State to protect us."

And it looks as though the whole National Guard would be ready at its service.

On Wednesday, as this paper goes to press, more than two thousand soldiers have been sent to the scene of the strike to "protect" the scabs imported in violation of law, to provoke if possible and intimidate and disorganize the workers, and in every way to assist the company in bringing the men to complete submission.

The Twenty-third Regiment has a long and unsavory record. It is largely composed of the sons of the aristocrats of Brooklyn and New York and is always eager for service which involves little or no danger—especially against strikers.

In 1877 the regiment did good service to the capitalists at Hornsbyville. In 1882 it fired on the striking switchmen at Buffalo.

In the Brooklyn trolley strike of 1891 it shot men, women, and children, possibly poisoning along the streets in its zeal to break the resistance of the workmen.

But when the Spanish war broke out in 1898, this valiant collection of capitalist braves, along with the equally aristocratic Seventh Regiment, refused to go to the service of "our country" under the flag that it had repeatedly stained with workmen's blood.

The cowardice displayed three years ago is now to be atoned for by the shooting—if any pretext can be had—of the defenseless working people of Albany and Troy.

HISTORY OF THE STRIKE OUTLINED.

On Tuesday, May 6, the trolley system operated by the United Traction Company of Albany and Troy was completely tied up. The Albany division struck Monday night, while the Troy division followed suit twenty-four hours later. The trouble had been brewing for a long time and many propositions had been offered tending to its solution, but without avail.

The company showed no disposition to grant any concessions to the men, and a strike was the natural result.

The principal demands of the men were recognition of their union and a uniform wage scale. At conferences held since the strike the company refused to agree to these issues, while conceding the minor demands, such as relate to inspectors, privileges, etc. The company advertised extensively for scabs to take the strikers' places, but finding the supply insufficient to the demand resolved to try other tactics.

ATTEMPTED TRICKERY.

On Sunday, May 11, Labor Commis-

sioner McMackin, together with one H. M. Easley of the Civic Federation, drew up a scheme for an agreement. Instead of submitting this plan to the men concerned, they called up International President Mahon of the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees at Buffalo. After consulting the agreement to him over the telephone he gave his assent to that method of settlement. International Treasurer Orr was then consulted by Messrs. Easley and McMackin. When Mr. Orr learned that the agreement had the approval of the international president he gave his consent also. The agreement was then submitted to the railroad officials, and their approval was obtained, without the knowledge of the employees.

When this "settlement" was announced the men were naturally very indignant. Many declared that Mr. Orr played Judas to the strikers, while others thought that he had allowed himself to be trapped and used as a tool where he ought to have known better. Orr was roundly denounced and one strike sympathizer struck him in the face.

The "agreement" was, of course, repudiated and a statement was issued, giving the reasons. The first objection is that the plan had never been submitted to the men. Further, it provided for the men, returning to work, the questions at issue to be arbitrated afterward by a board consisting of one representative from each side and a third chosen by these two. The men point out that either arbitrator could indefinitely delay the decision by failing to agree upon the third man. They offered two amendments: First, that the matter be arbitrated before the men returned to work; or that the third arbitrator be chosen before they returned. Both propositions were refused by the company.

On Monday's conference President Bryn of the company exclaimed: "If it takes a million dollars we will run this road." He then held a conference with Chief of Police Foster, at the close of which Foster declared that police would put on the cars to be run by scabs.

An ordinance is still in force that was passed by the common council at the instigation of the mayor, Daniel E. Conway, upon the occasion of a former strike by the Troy division, about fifteen months ago. The "progressive" mayor was pointed out as a friend of the laboring man, and his action was loudly praised by the unions. It was not taken into consideration at that time he was bitterly disposed towards the controlling interests of the corporation, inasmuch as a company in which he was interested was defeated by them in its attempts to secure the valuable franchise that the company then operated. But Mr. Conway is seeking the nominal

control of the street car system and operate it for the public good—with an eight-hour day, union wages, and fair treatment for the employees.

A Social Democratic governor would support the local authorities and would call out the troops, if needed, to enforce such action.

"And Social Democratic judges would declare the course of the Socialist council and the Socialist governor unconstitutional."

Next Wednesday there will be a chance for the workmen of Troy and Albany and of the whole state to say whether they prefer the puerile course of the capitalist parties or the revolutionary policy of a party founded solely on the interests of the working class.

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ation for mayor again, and as he will be the compromise candidate of the kickers and the Republicans against the big Democrats, he considers it less harmful politically to antagonize the workers than it would be to incur the displeasure of the corporations. The ordinance, according to best legal counsel, is still in effect, and under its provisions the company may be considered to have forfeited its franchises, but the city government is in no humor to enforce it, and meanwhile the strike leaders have had their eyes open to the true state of affairs: they have come to the conclusion that the dominant political parties are only milstones upon their neck and they are fighting their own battles, bravely and skillfully.

WHAT WOULD THE S. D. P. DO?

The workmen of Albany, Troy, and vicinity are learning what the "love for labor" of the Republican and Democratic governments means.

When it is a question of labor laws, it means the defeat of bills in the legislature or their amendment into laws injurious to labor—as in the case of the employers' liability bill; and it means the dispatch of courts that any law favorable to labor is unconstitutional or void—as in the case of the prevailing rate of wages law.

When it is a question of the intervention of city and state governments in labor disputes, it means the issuance of injunctions against strikers, the non-enforcement of ordinances forbidding the importation of scabs and of ordinances under which corporations have forfeited their charters, and then calling out of police and soldiers, to protect the employees in their lawless career and to club and shoot the workers.

A Social Democratic city council would appropriate money to aid the strikers, if needed—as Socialist city councils have done in France.

It would forbid the importation of scabs and use the police to enforce the provision.

It would, when the company's franchise was legally forfeited, take possession of the street car system and operate it for the public good—with an eight-hour day, union wages, and fair treatment for the employees.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Table with 2 columns: Year and Socialist Vote. Includes data for 1888, 1890, 1892, 1894, 1896, 1898, 1900.



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

Only those who profit by a bad system need fear the establishment of a good one.

With his present income there is no reason why Mr. Rockefeller should favor Socialism.

An easy way to stop the conflict between capital and labor would be for labor to own the capital.

Contentment with present conditions is the bane of the workers. Wake them up by circulating The Worker among them.

Shipping subsidies should receive a boon on both sides of the Atlantic since the formation of the international steamship trust.

Some of those who suffered in the squeeze in Wall Street last week will now be able to appreciate what investing the laborer means.

Mark Hanna says he doesn't want the Republican nomination for the presidency in 1904. Evidently he prefers to be the power behind the throne.

Since General Gull reports that the state of vice in Manila will compare favorably with any city in the United States, we are ready to believe everything bad that has been said about Manila.

The legislature has increased the salaries of Judges of the New York Court of General Sessions to \$12,000, which is the prevailing rate of wages of capitalist Judges. No danger of that act being declared unconstitutional.

Congressman Dick of Ohio is out for government ownership of all means of communication. Dick is one of Hanna's men. It will be a profitable thing for the capitalist class to have government ownership while the capitalist owns the government.

This talk of harmony between capital and labor reminds one of the prophecy about the lion lying down with the lamb. In real life, the lion lies down with the lamb inside. If workers would be less sheepish capital could not play the part of the lion.

According to the Baltimore returns, all the illiterates voted against Socialism in that city last November. It is worth considering that under a new election law with a severe educational test, the Social Democratic Party is the only one that polled an increased vote.

The Standard Oil Company declares a dividend of 12 per cent—divides \$12,000,000 of the wealth created by its employees. Think of that, you who make the dividends that these useless capitalists receive, and make up your

minds to work a vote for the overthrow of the system which gives the product of your labor to others.

REGGING POLICY FAILS AGAIN.

Governor Odell has vetoed the Employer Liability Bill passed by the legislature. Now it will be in order for those unionists who are in the habit of thanking every politician who refrains from slapping them in the face to pass resolutions of gratitude to Mr. Odell. It will also be in order for all workmen to do a little thinking.

Some weeks ago The Worker predicted that the attempt to get a good employers' liability bill from the capitalist state government would be a failure. The prediction is verified—and would have been verified if Odell had signed the Costello bill. The story is an interesting one.

Governor Odell recommended the passage of an employers' liability bill. The trade unionists, without waiting to see what the outcome would be, thanked him for the recommendation.

A bill which, it seems, would really have been of some advantage to the workers was introduced. The capitalist saw that there was danger of its being passed. So they got the bill amended in such a way as to make it infinitely cheaper than it now is for employers to maim and slaughter their employees for gain.

The result was that the unions, after lobbying for the original bill, had to turn around and lobby against it as amended. It was passed, nevertheless, and then they had to petition the governor to veto it. This he did, evidently not daring to go quite the length of signing so infamous a measure.

Thus all the workers have got out of their vigorous and "practical" begging is represented by a big round zero.

It is now in order to ask: Why was not Governor Odell, who has shown himself able to dictate to the legislature on any matter valuable to business interests, able also to dictate to them on this matter? Why could he not get the bill acted on before the closing days of the session, so that the infamy of the legislature's action could be exposed in time to get it remedied?

But the one really practical question is: Will the organized workmen continue to vote for their enemies and then spend their energies in fruitless begging for favors? Or will they resolve to vote for the only party which is unqualifiedly pledged to Labor's interests?

OUR WARNING WAS TOO PREVIOUS.

It will be remembered that in our last two issues we have commented upon the appointment by the Republican mayor of Battle Creek, Mich., of Comrade L. C. Rogers to the board of public works of that city—which was announced in such a way that we naturally inferred that the appointment had been accepted.

We are pleased to be able to inform the readers of The Worker that Comrade Rogers promptly declines the offer of appointment—and that without waiting for the party press to pass judgment. We regret that we were led into an injustice to Comrade Rogers, and we rejoice that the Battle Creek Social Democrats have thus given a good example to the working men of their city—not to take favors from the enemy.

The Saginaw "Exponent," on being apprised of the true state of the affair, says: "Comrades in Battle Creek are to be congratulated in having to the line. No compromise is the watchword there, as everywhere, and if indications are not deceptive, they will soon have forced a combination of the capitalist parties. When that point is reached there will no longer be doubt in the minds of the working class as to where their political interests lie."

To which The Worker responds with a hearty "Amen!"

THE PLEASURES OF THE POOR.

We publish elsewhere an address on "The Pleasures of the Poor," by a clergyman of Troy, N. Y. To our Socialist readers what is there said may seem neither new enough nor radical enough to call for special notice. We think it worthy of publication, however, for two reasons: First, that it may have its effect upon the many who are not yet Socialists to whom this paper goes, call their attention to existing evils, and arouse them to a sense of their duty in the matter; second, as indicating the ferment of ideas which is going on in society to-day, when, in quite unlooked-for places, men of independent mind are awakening to the exigencies of our rapidly changing social condition and seeking a cure for our growing social evils.

The Worker has sometimes been charged with being intolerant and "catering to class prejudice" because it holds firmly to the position that the foundation of the Socialist movement, it is to accomplish its ends, must be laid in the class struggle, in the interests, the aspirations, the upward efforts of the working class. We do hold firmly to that position. But that does not prevent us from giving due credit to every other tendency which comes to the aid of the working class, or from welcoming every man from outside our class who, from whatever motives or scientific thought or human sympathy

chooses to throw in his lot with the struggling proletariat—the expropriated producers of to-day, the destined and rightful inheritors of to-morrow.

We welcome Mr. Greaves, as we have welcomed others like him in the past. We welcome him as a comrade, and he will not take it amiss if we think it necessary to emphasize certain points, on which, as we think, he has too lightly touched, and to speak somewhat strongly on the method by which his work and the work of men like him must be guided if it is to be of any avail.

Mr. Greaves rightly says of the average man of the upper classes that he will admit that existing conditions are shameful and ought to be remedied, and then he turns his attention to something else and the poor may go to the devil for all that most of his class will do to right their wrongs. This is an unpleasant thing to say, but it is the plain truth and it must be faced. Not only is it true, but it is exactly what we ought to expect. The man who has never had to work ten or twelve hours a day, week in and week out, to earn a bare and comfortable living, who has never had to tramp the streets, ragged and hungry and cold, begging for permission to work, who has never heard his family crying out for bread, who has never met these so common facts of our life either in his own experience or in that of his friends, but knows them only by common report as prevailing somewhere, he knows not just where that man cannot reasonably be expected to realize what the words "overwork," "unemployment," "want," and "despair" actually mean.

Those four bitter words run through all the warp and woof of the daily life of the working class. Even the most fortunate workman has at some time met those facts face to face, if not in his personal experience then in that of men whom he counts his friends and equals. The working class knows the labor problem in precise better than any man of the "upper classes" can know it in theory.

What follows from this? There is only one reasonable inference: That the main burden of the emancipation of Labor must rest upon Labor itself; that the workmen must not look to reformers or philanthropists from above to help them, but must earnestly think together and feel together and act together to help themselves. If allies come from the ranks of the capitalist class or from those who do not feel themselves definitely to belong to either class, well and good. We need them. We welcome them. But we must not wait for them. We must not depend upon them to do our work. And we must not modify our legitimate methods to attract or conciliate them.

Again, Mr. Greaves has rightly pointed out the great crying need, the needs which are infinitely more pressing than the demand for libraries or parks or "social halls" such as are now being planned by some New York philanthropists. These needs, he says, are: First, the assurance of a chance to work; second, decent wages and reasonable hours of labor; third, decent housing.

Let no one suppose that the Social Democratic Party desires to see these needs go unattended in order that the "working people may the sooner become desperate and ready for revolution. There are ignorant or designing people who say this of us, but it is a most unqualified falsehood. We shall rejoice in any measure, by whomsoever taken, that really betters the condition of the working class.

"Immediate relief?" Yes, by all means. But the question is: How are we to get real and effective immediate relief? Assuredly not by depending upon the philanthropy of individuals or the lukewarm efforts of dilettante reformers. We have had enough experience to teach us that whatever little good a few individual capitalists may do by their sincere but spasmodic and unguided philanthropies and reforms, the capitalist class, as an employing and a ruling class, counterbalances with evil a hundred fold.

Employment can be guaranteed only by collective action—by the city, the state, the nation. Hours of labor can be effectively regulated only by the power of the law. The proper housing of the working people can be provided for only by that same public power. These steps—only partial steps, as they are, in the process of Labor's emancipation—are too great to be taken by philanthropy; and they are too radical to fall of danger to capitalist privilege, to be seriously thought of by any more reformers in politics. Only a revolutionary labor party such as the Social Democratic Party will earnestly undertake such tasks; and only such a movement will be able to carry them through to success.

The Social Democratic Party stands for the complete overthrow of capitalism, the complete emancipation of the working class. It keeps that goal constantly in mind, and is ready for every forward step toward it. We therefore call on all who hear the bitter cry of suffering and oppression about them, and who recognize their duty to work for the relief of that suffering, the ending of that oppression—we call on them to fall in line with the militant workmen, to take their places as

comrades in the ranks, under the red flag of human brotherhood, "to fight in the only battle wherein no man can fall."

We are glad to be able to add, from later information, that Mr. Greaves is in hearty sympathy with the Social Democratic Party and that he says: "My position will be better understood when it is known that my first vote" (Mr. Greaves is an Englishman and has had as yet no chance to vote) "will be cast for the S. D. P., for the simple reason that I have come to regard it as a crime for me, either by action or in action, to refuse to do my best to bring about the only state of society in which it is possible for men either to be honest or to love their neighbors as themselves."

We extend our fraternal greeting to Comrade Greaves and say, "May there be many more like him!"

The Appellate Court of Illinois is not to be outdone by its contemporaries in other states. As an earnest of its intention to fully merit the friendship of the capitalists, a decision was handed down in Chicago the other day denying the right of striking workmen to "picket" a shop for the purpose of dissuading others from entering the works. This decision was given on appeal from Judge Holden's court, in contempt proceedings against strikers who had violated an injunction prohibiting them from "picketing" during the strike two years ago. The trade unionists have been advertising Judge Holden's favorable ruling as an instance of the awakening of the courts to Labor's right. By and by trade unionists will learn that only the capitalists have rights that the capitalist courts are bound to respect. That's what capitalist judges are for, and the votes of workmen elect them.

SAYS THE "NATIONAL LABOR TRIBUNE" OF PITTSBURGH.

Laboring men get the worst of it at Harrisburg right along. The passage of the anti-oleomargarine bill in the house last Friday was in the face of protests from all the labor unions in Pennsylvania. The bill increases the cost of "oleo" by taxing it until it will be as dear as butter. It is certainly an outrageous performance.

When did the laboring men ever fail to get the worst of it at Harrisburg or any other state legislature? Every state in the union presents the identical situation prevailing in Pennsylvania. And there will be no change while the laboring men continue to elect representatives of the capitalist class to make laws for the working class. The situation would be radically changed if it were not absolutely tragic when one considers how much there is at stake; how the workers suffer while the capitalist class callously pursues its blood-strewn profit grabbing course. The capitalist class never sends class-conscious workmen to the legislative halls to represent capital.

HE WILL NOT BE EXPELLED.

Dr. Edward S. Meade, an instructor in the Wharton School of Finance and Economics of Pennsylvania University, has come out with rather startling frankness as an ultra-expansionist. He uses such language as this: "The great financiers practically control this government, and as a consequence the time will soon come when they will step in and assume control over those governments. If this will conduce to the economic welfare of their countries and ours, there are no moral or political reasons which should restrain us. Of course, we must find some euphemistic way to accomplish this. IT MAY VIOLATE SOME OF OUR IDEAS AND PRECEDENTS, BUT OUR TRADE DEMANDS IT. WE ARE NOT PROHIBITED, BECAUSE OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, FROM RHETORICAL PHRASES, AND WAS MADE FOR ANOTHER TIME THAN OURS."

And again, in explanation of his utterances, he said: "I mean that people have a right to live their own lives in their own way, so long as they do not interfere with the economic progress of the rest of the world. If they interfere with the development of their natural resources which are necessary to the rest of the world, there is no injustice in establishing enough control over them TO SECURE THE INVESTMENTS OF FOREIGN CAPITAL."

Now it will be in order to ask: Why is not Dr. Meade driven from his professorial chair, as other professors have been, for expressing what were alleged to be "revolutionary" sentiments on matters of current politics? Dr. Meade openly says that the principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Monroe Doctrine, and other "sacred" paraphernalia of our political campaigns are so much worn-out rubbish to be thrown to the winds in the chase for foreign markets. The idea that "government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed" is, according to him, an exploded fallacy which should be relegated to some museum of antiquities; in its place should be set up the idea that it is the function of government to secure the investments of capitalists.

Will Dr. Meade share the fate of Professor Ross? Not, a bit of it. And why? Because, although his utterances are far more revolutionary than those of the Stanford man, they are in harmony with the interests of the ruling class.

Certainly we should be sorry to see Dr. Meade driven out of the faculty—and that for two reasons. First, we believe in the utmost freedom of teaching. Truth is to be guarded, not by the censorship of constituted authorities, but by zealous investigation and free discussion.

In the second place, Dr. Meade is so far right, that he is clearly and frankly expressing the tendencies of the present time. Socialists can cheerfully agree with him that the political theories of 1776 are now antiquated and unworkable. Reverence for established institutions, veneration for old ideas because they are old, is the greatest obstacle to social progress.

"New occasions teach new duties, 'Time makes ancient good uncouth.' Let Mr. Meade and his like go on, in the service of the great financiers, destroying the outgrown prejudices and political superstitions, which no longer serve any good purpose, but keep so many men's attention fixed on false and impossible ideals and so prevent them from arraying their lives uncompromisingly on the two sides of the great question of the present day—Socialism versus Capitalism. The sooner these inherited ideas are overthrown, the sooner will the present problems be clearly understood. We repeat the prayer of Ajax—not for help, but only for light, that we may see our enemy face to face. And so, when men like Dr. Meade come out boldly on the capitalist side, we rejoice only a little less than if they came out on the Socialist side. Better a friend than a foe; but better an open foe than a waverer neutral standing between the lines.

There is no occasion for much comment on the Stock-Exchange panic. Why any honest man should pity the speculators who lost is beyond our powers of understanding. Not one of the participants in the whole affair was there for any good purpose. Not one was a producer. They were all exploiters of labor, gambling for the wealth that labor creates. The working class neither loses nor gains by what happens in Wall Street, any more than by the manipulations of policy, roulette or faro in the acknowledged gambling halls.

There is only one aspect of the affair in which we have much interest. It is worth while to note that the losers were not the Morgans, Rockefellers, Hills, or other really great capitalists, but the small fry in the exploiting class. Many of these, who hoped to reach a position of security, where they and their heirs forever might live in idle luxury, have been completely stripped of their wealth. We, who stand for the working class and the working class alone, can view with entire satisfaction the expropriation of the small capitalists, by the big ones. The sooner the line is clearly drawn between the trust kings and the industrial serfs, the better for the serfs.

But let the producers not imagine that this process is going to work out, their emancipation automatically. Capitalism, by its own development, concentrating wealth and crushing out the middle class, creates our opportunity by organizing the workers, educating them to a knowledge of their rights and of the way of attaining them, and inspiring them with a firm resolution to emancipate themselves.

The "Times" reports Mr. Harriman and Mr. Hill for having demoralized the stock market and ruined many smaller capitalists in their struggle for control of the Northern Pacific. "The pillory of public censure," says the "Times," "is the just penalty of their abuse of power." Much Harriman or Hill care for the "pillory of public censure?" Censure is above the law. These men move in a public quite apart from ours. The ill opinion of the ordinary public annoys them no more than the buzzing of a mosquito on the other side of the globe.

President Hadley's naive plan of "social ostracism" will not touch them. As well advise the down-trodden millions of Russia to "ostracize" the Tsar. The thing to do in Russia is to put an end to tsarism. The thing to do in America and all the world is to put an end to capitalism—not to waste breath in trying to distinguish between good capitalists and bad ones, to praise the good and "censure" the bad.

It is said that when the Kentucky colonel heard some one speak of bad whiskey he exclaimed: "Sir, there is no such thing as bad whiskey. Some whiskey is better than other whiskey." So we say: There is no such thing as a good king or a good capitalist. Some kings and some capitalists are worse than others, but all are bad; all must be abolished.

President Schwab of the Steel Trust tells young men that they do not need college education, that manual and industrial training is enough. This is getting to be a popular opinion among the capitalists—as applied to the workers. They wish to have the masses trained into efficient working men—without further more. Social Democrats think differently. We would have every man given the opportunity—not

only the legal right, but the practical opportunity—for such an integral training—physical, manual, scientific and literary—as would develop all his powers of mind and body and enable him, not only to produce the good things of life, but also to enjoy them to the utmost. And when we say "every man" we include the women in this phrase. We will get such really practical universal education only when the Socialist movement brings in a just and fraternal organization of society.

THE PRICE OF SUCCESS.

Mr. Charles M. Schwab has been telling the youngsters how to succeed and some day draw a salary of a million dollars a year. Our industrial captives are nothing if not encouraging. They are not too great to tell the boys how fame and fortune is the reward of application, frugality, industry, and all the rest of it. All this is laudable indeed, but Mr. Schwab apparently fails to see that he gets the enormous salary he does because there are many other employees of the steel trust who get very little.

If all the workers for the trust got what they should then Mr. Schwab would be receiving much less than he now does. It is not clear, therefore, how every boy could succeed in finally being in a position to draw one million dollars a year. A few men receive large incomes because others get only enough to live upon. Success and a million dollars cannot come to every one. In order that Mr. Schwab should receive his present salary thousands of workmen must be robbed of the fruits of their labor. This is harsh, but it is true. Our Schwabs and Carnegies and Morgans are successful because myriads of their fellow-men are failures—and failures not of their own volition, but because the industrial system demands failures so that a few men can be exalted.

The prosperity of trust kings is built upon the toil and sweat, the blood and agony and soul torture of fellow human beings. They are fortunate because others are unfortunate. The only excuse for such a condition is that all men are not equal, that some are born to suffer so that others can live easy, care free lives and that the desires and luxuries of the few men are more precious than the happiness and freedom of the many. The present condition of society can and no other justification than that, but such a belief belongs to a past age, not to this one.

Socialists believe that all men are born equal, and that they are entitled to equality of opportunity in the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness. If they are denied equality of opportunity now it is because the means by which men live are in the possession of a small class that corners opportunity for its own profit. Humanity will be able to live freely and nobly when access to the things which make life worth living are free to all whose labor creates them.

The Schwabs and Morgans may be useful in a way, but the price paid for their usefulness is too high: There are too many tears shed, too much blood shed to pay it and too costly. In the coming time, when society owns society's means of livelihood, the managers of our industries will ask and expect no more than what their services and justice demand. They will consider the confidence and good will of their fellows the greatest reward that their work for society can bring them. And their lives and the lives of those around them will be the sweeter and more useful for it.

There is little or no comment upon the fact that everything used by President McKinley and his party in their present trip is supplied free to them by the railroad corporations. The Pullman Company furnishes the cars, while the railroads haul them and furnish the meals. This amounts to no small item, but the corporations know upon whom they are lavishing their gifts. They are not in the habit of bestowing favors upon their enemies. The peculiar feature about it is that the mass of the people accept this proceeding as quite the proper thing. Nobody attempts to disguise it any more. Everybody recognizes that the administration is one that represents the wealth of the country, and the people acquiescent to be allowed to gaze upon their "servant," and how their lungs out at him. No king or emperor ever had the snap that McKinley has.

The "Times" publishes figures showing the rapid industrial development of the South. The production of raw cotton has doubled in forty years, in spite of the long interruption caused by the Civil War and Reconstruction difficulties. At the close of the war there was no cotton, nothing in the South; in 1885 Southern cotton mills run 2,432,000 spindles, as against only 137,000 in the North—five years later, in 1890, the South had 4,540,000, a gain of about 45 per cent, while the North had 14,000,000, a gain of only 3 per cent. In the forty years since 1850 the railroad mileage of the South grew from 9,553 to 48,738. Evidently the South is undergoing a wonderful change. It is significant that trade unionism is beginning to show considerable strength and that the Social Democratic Party broke the ground in several Southern states last fall.

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Current Literature

All books and pamphlets mentioned in this column may be obtained through the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York.

HOW IT CAN BE DONE. By John Richardson. London, Twentieth Century Tramp, Cloth, \$1.

All down the paths of the ages are the footprints of those who have built imaginative Utopias—beautiful islands in resplendent seas. Plato, More, Bellamy, and Morris—who that has read the descriptions of the "Ideal Commonwealths" of these dreamers has not asked himself: "How can it be done?" To every Socialist the question has been put: "How can Socialism be accomplished?" and the replies, generally, if not by confessed, have been an unsatisfactory as that of the author of "Merric England," who said: "I confess that I approach this question with great reluctance; the establishment and organization of a socialist state are the two phases of the subject to which I have given least attention."

The title of this book, "How It Can Be Done" implies that, in the author's opinion, Socialism is not only practicable, but that he is able to show HOW it may be attained. The book is, therefore, not so much an attempt to teach what Socialism is, as to show a natural and easy way of putting its principles into practice. The author, Mr. John Richardson, is a distinguished engineer, a member of the British Institute of Civil Engineers, and a very successful man of business; and he brings to the question a technical knowledge and experience of industrial affairs, that cannot be overlooked.

Mr. Richardson begins with the child, and advocates a more rational system of education. He sketches a curriculum that would delight the educationalist, and viewed merely as a book on educational reform, "How It Can Be Done" would be a really valuable work. From their earliest days, all children should be taken in charge by the state, which should educate, feed, and clothe them, and, where necessary, house them as well. Under the system which he sketches, the children would first spend some years in the "first grade schools," which would be founded upon the most approved kindergarten principles. From this school they would pass into the "second grade schools," in which the curriculum provides for manual instruction in all branches of industry upon a productive and profitable scale, and so with the "continuation schools" and universities, in which every student would have to devote a certain number of hours each week to productive employment. Their educational course completed, all the students would have to serve four years in the National Workshops as a return to the state for the cost expended upon them. From this stage on to the state organization of industry is an easy transition. All this Mr. Richardson believes, is possible even with the present methods of production, and in a chapter on "Cost," he shows a satisfactory balance in favor of the state.

In the second portion of the book he considers a number of alternative proposals such as, e. g., the Single Tax, Bimetallism, Land Reform, etc., and points out where they fall when considered as solutions of the social problem. Quoting from Mr. John Morley, that "The grandest moral movement, if they have any practical or political side at all must all end in a bill," the author has, in one of the appended chapters, given us a draft bill ready for presentation to the British House of Commons, embodying his proposals.

There are, of course, some things in Mr. Richardson's book with which we do not quite agree, but on the whole, we regard it as a great book, and in some ways as an epoch-making book in the Socialist movement. "How It Can Be Done" has had a big sale in England, and we think that an American edition, with annotations giving the statistics for America, which correspond with those for England given in this text, and reducing all money to American terms, would be a most worthy addition to our literary propaganda forces. No Socialist propagandist can afford to miss reading "How It Can Be Done."

J. S.

THE POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY. By Karl Marx. Translated by H. Quichel. London, Twentieth Century Press, Cloth, \$1.

The appearance for the first time in English of the work by Marx is an event of more than ordinary importance to English-speaking Socialists. Especially is that true of this first English edition of his famous and epoch-making "Misere de la Philosophie." The author, altogether apart, this book is a remarkable work, and ranks high as a brilliant literary classic of polemic literature. For this is a refutation of the "lies" of the infamous Proudhon, as his disciples have to call him. Proudhon published a work "La Philosophie de la Misere" and Marx refuted it with the work the title of which was a clever and characteristic play upon that of the anarchist. This is the book which has been translated by our good comrade, Quichel, the editor of the London "Justice," and this given for the first time in the English reading public. The book is of great interest from several points of view; it shows how Marx already indicated the groundwork of those theories which he elaborated twenty years later in "Das Kapital." It shows the formidable power of Marx as an antagonist and that truly wonderful erudition which marks his greater work.

There probably was never a more consummate master of all the weapons of controversy that Marx. He snipes poor Proudhon hip and thigh and spares not. Ridiculous, sarcastic, irresistible logic, and tormental eloquence, these are the weapons with which he overcomes his antagonist, of whom, by the way, he speaks somewhat disdainfully. The spirit in which he entered into the arena of debate with Proudhon may be gathered from this couplet from Georges Sand with which he ends his attack: "Combat or death; bloody struggle or extinction. 'Tis thus that the question is irresolvably put."

Not less interesting than the book itself is the preface by Engels, who discusses at considerable length the charge that has often been leveled at Marx by his opponents, that he pillaged his ideas from another German economist, Rodbertus. Engels calls this "a calumny which is only to be explained by the natural ill-humor of a man who expounds his life narrative of everything occurring outside of Prussia, and notably of Socialist and economic literature." Proudhon, it seems, had accused Marx of pillaging from HIM, a charge to which Marx replied by pointing out that the very ideas for which Proudhon claimed originality had long been expressed by English writers from whom he quotes. "The same," says Engels, "is true of Rodbertus." Not only does he never present anything which has not been at least well known to him, but his expounds his life narrative of everything occurring outside of Prussia, and notably of Socialist and economic literature." Proudhon, it seems, had accused Marx of pillaging from HIM, a charge to which Marx replied by pointing out that the very ideas for which Proudhon claimed originality had long been expressed by English writers from whom he quotes. "The same," says Engels, "is true of Rodbertus." Not only does he never present anything which has not been at least well known to him, but his expounds his life narrative of everything occurring outside of Prussia, and notably of Socialist and economic literature." Proudhon, it seems, had accused Marx of pillaging from HIM, a charge to which Marx replied by pointing out that the very ideas for which Proudhon claimed originality had long been expressed by English writers from whom he quotes. "The same," says Engels, "is true of Rodbertus." Not only does he never present anything which has not been at least well known to him, but his expounds his life narrative of everything occurring outside of Prussia, and notably of Socialist and economic literature."

Our comrade Quichel is to be congratulated upon the excellence of his translation of this remarkable book, for which we predict and hope success in this country. J. S.

Every local or subdivision of the S. D. P. in the state of New York should make use of the little pamphlet issued by the State Committee, "Why Workmen of New York Should Join the Social Democratic Party." It is a sixteen-page pamphlet, of convenient size for pocket or envelope, containing the party platform, the "immediate demands" for the state of New York, a statement of the general purposes of the party and of its attitude toward trade unions, instructions for organizing locals, table of the vote and other valuable information. Every comrade should carry a few in his pocket, to give to his neighbors, who may meet in workshop or union hall. In order to make it possible for the pamphlet to be widely circulated, the price has been put so low as barely to cover cost of printing and mailing. Single, 2 cents; 25 copies, 20 cents; 50 copies, 35 cents; 100 copies, 60 cents; 1,000 copies, \$3. Send cash with all orders to H. Reich, 184 William Street, New York.

Our Esteemed Contemporaries

Omaha Workers' Gazette. The monopolists must now kill off Prof. George D. Herron, if they have to dig into his private family relations and tear out the broken heart of an innocent woman. Jesus! but the truth about the legalized robbers of his day, and he was condemned for working on Sunday. Herron is telling the truth about the legalized robbers of this day, and he must be condemned for not being conjunctly adapted to his wife.

Over the Water

The Federation of Workmen's Associations has been holding its annual meeting at Helsinki, Finland. It represents about forty associations, and has 1,000 members, of whom 300 are women. The associations publish a newspaper and are going to build a house for meetings, etc., at Helsinki.

The Norwegian trade unions have been holding their annual meeting at Christiania.

The Serbian Socialist Party was much persecuted by King Milan's government, but recently there have not been so many persecutions. A newspaper, the workmen's paper, "Radnicki List," has just been founded and is doing well. Still now the movement has been confined to Belgrade, but it is now spreading in the agricultural districts.

The seventh annual conference of the Social Democratic Party of Holland was held at Utrecht, commencing on Easter Sunday and lasting two days. Fifty-eight branches were represented. Comrade Henry Polak presided. The party has over 4,000 members, but influences 40,000 people. This is represented by the socialist parties. The conference decided that in the general election candidates should be rich independently of the other parties, and in the second ballot the candidates supported who favor the revision of the constitution to clear the way to universal suffrage. A committee was appointed to make a report upon a colonial program to be published before the next conference to be held at Groningen. Sympathy was expressed with the anti-militarist propaganda in the "class struggle" and that they should work together more and more so as to arrive at a lasting alliance. A long election program was approved. The agrarian question was debated, and it was resolved that the subject receive careful attention during the next year. Comrade Troetska was again appointed chief editor of the daily "Het Volk."

A congress of the Socialist Party of Saxony was held at Chemnitz, and was attended by fifty delegates. Comrade Gieseler gave an account of the position of the party in Saxony. He said there were at the present time 25,000 Socialists belonging to political groups, and the party had obtained 200,000 votes at the general election in 1898. Questions of organization were discussed at length, and with regard to tactics it was decided that there was no need in Saxony for political opposition.

MAY DAY.
How It Was Observed by the Class-Conscious Workers of the United States.
Reports from different parts of the country where Socialists are strongest show that May Day was celebrated on a larger scale than ever before. Recognition of this day as the international holiday of the workers is becoming more widespread in the United States as the Socialist propaganda and the class-conscious spirit become increased among the working classes. Before we give these demonstrations of the universal solidarity of labor as much attention, and more, as the meetings of our European comrades receive.

THE RUSSIAN OUTRAGES.

Address of the International Socialist Bureau on the Subject.

The International Socialist Bureau at Brussels has addressed the following circular to the Socialist and labor parties of the world:

To the Labor Parties of All Countries:
It is unnecessary to recount in detail the important events which are now taking place in Russia. Our comrades have learned the facts through the reports given by the press and through the communications of our Russian brothers in the Socialist parties.

As the Russian delegates to the International Socialist Committee have written, the events of the last few months mark a turning point in the history of the revolution of the East. The troubles which began in the universities have developed into deep and serious troubles which agitate all Russia, which call in question the very foundations of Russian society, which unite the intellectuals of the cities with the proletariat of the industrial centers in a long and difficult, yet hopeful, struggle against the brutal forces of tsarism.

There in Russia the thousands of workmen in the factories and workshops and thousands of citizens of all classes are full of courage in the great task they have before them and full of confidence in the solidarity of their brothers in Europe, in America, in Australia, and in Asia, because they know that in battling against capitalism and against Russian despotism they are fighting for the emancipation of the workers—the common cause of the Socialist parties of the world.

Already in France public meetings have been held for the purpose of raising public opinion to the revolutionary situation in Russia. In Belgium meetings are being organized. It is hoped that the Socialist parties of England, Germany, Austria, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, the United States, and all other countries will follow this example, in order that the international proletariat may be guaranteed in its protest against the realities of tsarism.

We urge that, in all large cities, industrial centers, and university circles, meetings be organized, and that resolutions of protest be submitted to the vote of the audience and, if practically possible, such resolutions be circulated for signature. We propose to run the following form of resolution to be ratified by such meetings:

"The citizens assembled in mass meetings at _____ extend their greetings to the Russian proletariat. We recognize our solidarity with the workmen and intellectuals in their conflict with the coalition of capitalism and tsarism. We express our sympathy with the Russian revolutionists and encourage them to continue the battle to a victorious end."

In this matter and to transmit to 50 copies of the resolutions adopted in order that we may organize the movement of condemnation against the acts of an odious and barbaric government.

"Fraternally,
"THE INT. SOCIALIST BUREAU,
"VICTOR SELWY, Secretary."
"Brussels, April 21, 1901."

CALIFORNIA.
(Continued from page 1.)
hands of those disreputable Socialists? Don't you see you are putting stones in their hands to throw at us? Oh, please reflect."

To their credit it must be admitted that many business men have not only seen the light but have not hesitated to see their high state. It has been an object lesson not only to those immediately interested, but to the whole country. Recently Hugh Craig, a prominent San Francisco merchant, speaking before the Oakland board of trade, said:

"Let me call your attention to another case in which the people were bamboozled. The San Francisco and San Joaquin Valley Railroad was built to aid the people of the Central and Southern parts of the state. It was sold and controlled because the property of the Santa Fe, Southern Pacific and Santa Fe charges. However, are now the same through the San Joaquin Valley. There is absolutely no competition. The people lost again.

"I do not claim to be a pessimist, but this sort of thing is not right. The people should nationalize the railroads and run them just as they report of the address says: 'The speaker was repeatedly interrupted by applause.' But Hugh Craig and the Oakland board of trade can afford to speak their minds, for they are not being plucked. The orange growers and newspapers of the South are being plucked, and it is their precious business interests which 'doth make cowards of them all.' They are showing the groveling spirit which middle class men generally show when their interests are menaced.

On April 23 Presidents Hays, of the Southern Pacific, and Ripley of the Santa Fe happened to visit Los Angeles at the same time. They were visited by a committee of the Fruit Exchange and they both expressed contrition and promised to 'be good' in the future. And the papers the next day were full of such expressions as 'comforting assurances,' 'gratifying promises,' etc. When these railroad lords meet the representatives of San Francisco business interests they continue to promise to 'be good' to them also. And all the while they will continue to 'be good' to themselves without any string.

Los Angeles, May 4.

Social Democratic Women Society, Branch 13, Philadelphia. Accepted eight new members at its last meeting. A committee of three was elected for the purpose of cooperating with the staff-committee in establishing headquarters with a reading room. Comrade Johanna Grele, addressed the meeting on the subject: "The Raising of Our Children." The next meeting of the society will be held on the 26 of June.

Social Democratic Women Society, Branch 3, Morrisania, N. Y. Will hold an agitation meeting on the 6th of June at the club house, No. 3308 Third Avenue. The speaker for the evening will be Comrade Johanna Grele, and her subject: "The Attitude of Women Towards Socialism." The women Socialists living in this vicinity are requested to be present and to do all they can to make it a success.

The 21st A. D. will hold its meetings hereafter at C. H. Hall, East 42nd Street and Tenth Street, next meeting on Fifth Avenue. The next meeting will take place on Friday, May 17, at 8 p. m.

Socialistic Ledertafel, Jersey City, Heights. has arranged a summer night's festival and fair dedication to take place on June 23 in Union Hill Schiltzen Park.

New York Socialist Literary Society held its semi-annual election of officers on Sunday last at the club house. The meeting was presided over by Comrade J. Grumbler. Three new members were enrolled. New officers elected are as follows: Phillip Lane, financial secretary and treasurer; William Krollman, recording secretary; J. Grumbler, corresponding secretary.

Social Democratic Women Society, Branch 1, Long Island City. has an entertainment for Saturday, May 18, at Hettinger's Broadway Hall on Seventh Avenue, Long Island City, L. I. Admission free.

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PARTY NOTES.

The Socialist paper formerly known as "Farmer's Review" is now issued under the name of "The Social Economist." It remains under the editorship of Comrade W. E. Farmer, and is published by Comrades A. J. Hampton and Farmer. The editorial page is invariably good, and as the big state of Texas undoubtedly needs a Socialist paper we wish "The Social Economist" success.

J. B. Cameron of Lawrence and A. E. Dugan, secretary of Local No. 83, L. A. of M., have articles in favor of Socialism in the recent issue of the "Carriage and Wagon Workers' Journal." This sort of work is well worth doing. The trade union hall and the trade union journal are good fields for Socialist propaganda.

The Cleveland "Citizen" has got the inside track of the Combination Leaders Union, and is publishing regular reports of its meetings. Has Max Hayes got spies in the enemies camp?

George B. Kline, M. D., of Siles, Pa., is writing interesting letters on Socialism for the "National Labor Tribune," Pittsburg.

The fourth lecture of the series held by the 21st A. D. at Colonial Hall, corner One Hundred and First Street and Columbus Avenue, will be held on Sunday evening, May 19. Jas. Alton will speak on "Democracy versus Plutocracy." Algoton Lee will speak on May 26. All are invited.

Comrade O. L. Richardson of Alpena writes the "Exponent" that the cause is making good headway in that county, and that even numbers sometimes speak of it in a respectful manner. The comrades are distributing literature and agitating continuously, the result of their efforts being an increase in the vote from 80 last fall to 148 this spring for the state ticket—Saginaw, Mich., Exponent.

Calhoun County, Michigan, including Battle Creek, gives 853 votes for the Social Democratic Party and 157 for the S. L. P.

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The Economic Struggle.

Striking textile workers at Danville, Va., have issued an appeal for aid, endorsed by the A. F. of L. This is the first instance of any textile workers in the Southern states, striking for a shorter workday. Henry Walker, P. O. Box 216, Danville, Va., receives contributions.

American Federation of Labor issued chapters during March to one state branch, five central bodies and seventy-seven local unions.

The "Midland Mechanic" trade union paper of Kansas City, Mo., has suspended. It was twelve years old.

It is said that the bricklayers and masons have an eight-hour day in 153 cities in the United States.

Job printers of Utica, N. Y., won strike last week for increase in wages.

Railroad officials in Chicago have received information that an attempt is being made to revive the American Railway Union, according to the "Times-Herald," under the name of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, and to make it even stronger than the Pullman strike. Great secrecy is maintained concerning the movement, both by the men supposed to be engineering it and by the railroad officials. So far as could be learned, the movement originated with the employees of the Southern Pacific and the telegraphers are thought to be the moving spirit. All classes of railway workers are to be brought into the organization—Cleveland, Ohio.

The strike of 2,000 textile workers for shorter hours continues in Danville, Va.

Daniel McLaughlin, formerly of Illinois, and one of the pioneer agitators for the miners, died of cancer in a Chicago hospital three weeks ago.

The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen is a dozen years old, has a membership of 43,288, and last year paid its members \$1,410,828.42.

The Western Labor Union, Dan J. McDonald, president, which was formed in 1898 in order to more completely organize the workers west of the Rocky Mountains, reports increasing membership and the formation of many local unions. Annual convention in Denver on May 27. Western Federation of Miners, Ed. Boyce, president, meets same place, same date.

J. R. Novyville has become editor of the "Idaho State Tribune" again.

Wm. Hawksworth of Brooklyn has been elected by the American Canadian Council of the Amalgamated Association of Engineers to represent them at the annual convention of the general society, which meets at Manchester, Eng., May 27.

Two thousand cigarmakers in the United States and Canada are either on strike or awaiting permission to quit work for an increase in wages. Eight cities are affected—Montreal, where 600 are out; Philadelphia, Wilkes Barre, Ottawa, Ill., Buffalo, Utica, N. Y., and Nashua, N. H. President George W. Perkins of the International Union announced recently that there are more strikes on and contemplated in the trade than at any time since 1891.

KRANKEN KASSE CONVENTION.
The national Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States (Arbeiter Kranken und Sterbe Kasse) was opened at the Labor Lyceum, Wednesday forenoon. Delegates were present from all parts of the country.

The organization had 170 branches in nineteen states at the time when the report of the executive committee was drawn, March 5, and has since organized a branch in Washington, D. C. The report shows a membership of about 20,000.

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THE PLEASURES OF THE POOR.

The Workers Robbed of Their Right to Human Life—False Philanthropy and Futile Efforts at Reform.

BY R. H. GREAVES.

The following address was delivered by Rev. R. H. Greaves of the First Unitarian Society of Troy, N. Y. We content upon it elsewhere.

Last Monday night at about 9 o'clock I was disturbed in my reading by the sound of many voices and much laughter in the streets. I went out to see what the cause of such a commotion, and found a crowd of at least a hundred strong watching with interest and applause the antics of two tiny girls from one of Troy's alleys who were dancing to the music of a street organ. It was a real treat, both for the crowd and for my heart as I reflected upon the wretchedness of the wretchedness of humanity who were performing when they ought to have been asleep; but my heart was saddened as I looked and then turned slowly towards the room that I had left, for I felt most keenly the difference between the pleasures of these children of the people and those of other children I had known. It was not their fault that they were born in hovels, and not in palaces; and being human, it seemed as if a condemnation and a reprobation were resting upon my head as a member of society for the awful disparities that we have forced upon the all but helpless world. "Why," said a voice as persistent as that of the daemon of Socrates, "why should your father's child have pleasures and privileges that are denied to these? Why should the children of one man have all that the world can give to make life pleasant, and the children of another, and perhaps a better, have almost nothing? Why should you have such precious pleasures or amusements in which to dissipate their lives, while another—equally the child of the Eternal—has nothing but the street?"

It was then that I knew what must be our subject for to-day—"The Pleasures of the Poor."

DO THEY HAVE ANY?
I came across an old man whose head was bald with thinking, and who had shared the bread of poverty for over seventy years, and I said to him: "I want to speak about the pleasures of the poor. Tell me, what are they?" His eyes opened wide with astonishment at such a foolish question, as he answered slowly and it seemed to me almost painfully. "The pleasures of the poor? The pleasures of the POOR? Why, Mr. Greaves, they DON'T HAVE ANY." Then his thoughts wandered back through the years to a time when he was a young man, whose arms were strong and his back not yet bowed, and he said to me: "Yes, they do have a little pleasure, some of them; in their families, but that is all. And even while he spoke I was thinking of the many homes into which I had gone where abject poverty made even such pleasures an impossibility.

In an article on "The Pleasures of Poverty," recently published in a denominational paper, the writer says: "The wife came with empty hands to a husband who had no money to give her, but while she sat and wept and saved, and he sat and idled, and denied the consciousness of doing it for the other's sake, a happiness nothing can equal." It sounds well; but the only thing that is amiss with it is that it positively is not true of those who can rightly be called poor—and I think that I can speak from a deeper experience than any man who so lightly talks of the blessings of poverty. It is true that there is no greater source of true happiness than self-sacrifice; but when self-sacrifice itself is powerless to provide those whom we love with even so much as will barely supply their needs it is madness to talk of happiness.

Only a few short months ago one of the New York Journals published an article on the sweating system, in which we were told that "A man, prematurely aged, working with a swarm of squallid men and women and hopeless little children in a dingy, close, and where disease and crime arise from filth and reeking human kind, looked up from his never-ending work and cried out to the protesting health officer: 'Don't talk to us about disease. It's bread we're after—bread.' Last June in the great metropolises of this land of plenty and prosperity a broken-hearted mother literally sold her baby that she might save it from the starvation that threatened the whole family. Less than three months ago the papers were telling us that another, crazed by destitution, had murdered her six children by drowning them in a well; and so we might go on, giving instance after instance to show that there are many thousands of the poor, in our own country, so utterly and helplessly destitute that love for husband, wife, or children but adds to the misery in which they live; and their only hope for even a passing happiness is in moments when a continuous suffering has caused the mind to wander, or when reason has been dethroned, or hardship has reduced the sufferer to a state beneath the level of the brute.

WHAT KIND OF PLEASURES!
To be honest, as a class, they have; but they are generally of a kind to make one shudder and be moved to pity. We have seen their children dancing on the streets hard by their miserable tenements, to the music of the barrel organ. We have seen them enthusiastic over a game of baseball the ball a tin can picked from some one's ash barrel. We have seen them take pleasure in all forms of mischief, from comparatively innocent fun, to stealing and throwing stones at windows; and far worse than all else, we have seen them when not more than six years old taking the first steps in the way of the rake and the prostitute—an almost inevitable result of the way in which our Christian civilization compels them to live; and we have never been surprised when we have read, as we sometimes do in the daily papers, of some little girl of thirteen or fourteen who has been "on the rack" for years, a hardened apprentice to the most shameful of all trades.

And when these children grow up there is practically no pleasure whatever in life for them; and if they be women, for many of them there is absolutely none. They are a little more free and more favored, they can leave the women in their squalid rooms or cellars, and if they have had work and are not compelled to keep at it until tired out, they can go off to engage in delating sports, in licentiousness, in drunkenness, or at the best, they can find their way to some park on Sunday, and get a breath of fresh air, and a slight of green grass, and in countries where they are not always obliged to work so hard for a living as in very poor do have, they may perhaps have energy enough to go over to some drug shop, where they can enjoy a "Free-and-Easy" and smoke and drink and gossip to their hearts' content, forgetting all their cares under the influence of the weed; or, in places where such things are provided, they may possibly find their way to some "Mechanics' Institute," where the influences, that will be brought to bear upon them will be fairly good.

Having said this much, we have about exhausted all the sources of what may perhaps by courtesy be called the "pleasures" of the poor; and every one of us whose conscience is not case-hardened is asking himself if it can possibly be right that there should be such a difference between us and our brother men, and if there is anything that we can do to make their lot more tolerable.

Looking at the matter from what is so far as society as a whole is concerned, a selfish standpoint, we note that the laborer needs pleasurable recreation that he may be fitted for efficient labor, and also that pleasurable recreation is almost impossible to a man who has to be continually worrying because he cannot make decent money for his family. Every one who knows what it is to work, knows how absolutely essential recreation is to his successful accomplishment. Remembering that the word means, literally, a re-creation, we cannot but have noticed the intimate connection that there is between health of body and any form of work whatever, and how can a body be healthy or even a mind, for that matter—if the worker is gradually committing suicide either by his own neglect, or through stress of circumstances over which he has practically no control?

But it is not merely necessary, in order that a man may give the best service of which he is capable, that he should have a sound body; his work must—use the words of another—"retain the characteristics of play"; in other words he must enjoy it. Now think of the girls in Chicago, who are making overalls, all but the cutting out, at 80 cent a dozen, those who work ten hours a day making coats at \$3.50 a week, or those who, in our own city, stand behind the counter all day long for \$3 a week, and ask yourself what sense of enjoyment, or of anything else but loathing that can get out of the work that they have to do.

INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL INTERESTS.
As we have said, it is only so far as society as a whole is concerned, that it says to see that the worker is not deprived of necessary recreation. It is not so, so far as the individual employer is concerned; and it is because, in our lame short-sightedness, we consider the interests of the individual employer rather than those of the community as a whole, that recreation is a thing unknown among those who are really poor. In the individualistic anarchy under which we are all struggling to "survive," the power of endurance of the worker is generally of but little moment to the employer. A skilled workman who cannot easily be replaced must be an object of more or less consideration; but as to unskilled labor, it is easy enough to get all the workers one wants from the teeming thousands of the starving, despairing poor, and so long as a man is dishonest enough to pay less than a living wage to those whom he employs, it is of no consequence to him what happens to the white slaves in his sweat shops so long as they can be replaced. And the result is that many of the "pillars of the churches" are to-day compelling thousands of better men and women than themselves to submit themselves to be murdered for the sake of gain as surely as if they forced them to take a daily dose of arsenic; and it is worse than useless for us to say that they should not submit, there is no course open to them, in by far the greater number of cases, but submission, or suicide, or worse.

The people must have leisure, time for recreation and for culture, before they can possibly serve their generation to the best advantage; and yet so low has humanity sunk in the mire of selfish competition that even with most of those of us who cannot be ranked among the poor the main thing in life has come to be to "get a living"—the very phrase we use bearing an implication that we do not expect to get more than that, and having in the mouth of the poor, a meaning so full of hardship and of heartache as to make us bow our heads in shame, and almost wish that we had never been born. "Tell me," says Blatchford, "why should not the best that art, and science, and literature and music, and poetry, and the drama can do be placed at the disposal of the humblest work-er?" and our own consciences answer "Why?" We know the needs of human nature. We know that the harder and the more disagreeable the task the more the worker needs change, and rest, and pleasure. And in our loneliness we allow him to have a run shop in which to get drunk and a miserable hotel in which to sleep, and, alas, to bring into the world a family of unhealthy little urchins, most of whom must suffer as their parents have suffered before them. And yet some of us have the hardness to talk

of the greatness of our "Christian Civilization."

THE RIGHT TO PLEASURE.
It is the special boast of the two great Anglo-Saxon races that they love justice; and we Americans have even put ourselves formally on record as believing that all men are created free and equal. We can hardly, then, escape the question as to whether the poor have not a RIGHT to recreative pleasures. That they have, none but a human fiend will ever question though it seems to us that society, while acknowledging the right, has deliberately refused to grant the opportunity. It is an unequivocal dictate of the moral law, as written indelibly on every conscience, that every man has a right of the welfare of his body or his mind, and the right is based simply upon the fact of his oneness with the race. We do not say that there may not be circumstances under which he may forfeit that right; but we do say that every child that society allows to be born—and we know well enough that we have in this country an innumerable law, framed by those who are interested in keeping the number of the homeless poor as high as possible—DEMANDS that tens of thousands, shall be born each year who never ought to be even thought of—every child that society allows to be born is entitled to as thorough an education and as good a chance in life as every other child. But not only is this demanded by the moral law, it is being practically recognized in the spasmodic charities with which we insult those who are less fortunate than we; and a still more powerful acknowledgment seems to us to be deducible from existing legislation. We are continually making laws regarding tenement houses, hours of labor, conditions of labor in sweating establishments, the employment of women and children, and other such things, which show that the social conscience is awakening. It is true that such legislation only touches the outer edge, as it were, of the great social disaster from which we suffer. It is only a sort of external application which may, for a time, serve to remove the most apparent signs of the wretched condition of society's life-blood; but it is a beginning, and we have hopes for the future.

Again we may notice that the poor have a right to the good things of this life that is based directly upon a law in which, periodically, we do not, or ought not, to believe—the law of inheritance. It is claimed that the children or the relations of a man who has succeeded in amassing wealth, are entitled to inherit the fruits of his labor, for the sake of argument, that we allow the claim to pass unchallenged, and see how this law affects the poor.

THE SOCIAL INHERITANCE.
No man can ever attain success in life without the aid of other. This successful capitalist may, perhaps, be a skillful manufacturer of labor, but apart from the laborer he would be as helpless as a naked savage. The successful inventor owes his success to perhaps tens of thousands of men who produce what he has invented—for he is entirely dependent upon the miner, the moulder, and the men of all the different trades that are needed before the finished invention can be put upon the market; but he is also indebted to the inventors, the scientists, the laborers of long ago, who were the fathers of his success. It is true, that an Edison would be a great man in any and among any people; and perhaps also a successful man; but his greatness and his success are increased a thousand-fold by reason of his indebtedness to others. Now if it be true that our law of inheritance is founded in righteousness, it must also be true that the men whose fathers were the chief instruments in building up the fortunes of others are also entitled to inherit the fruits of their labor—and to the laborer he owes the inheritance of the masses ought to be the greater part of that which is inherited. Yet they get absolutely nothing—nothing but the right to earn a scanty subsistence by increasing the privations of the capitalist class, and that only so long as they appear to be of more use to the employer than those who are even more unfortunate than they.

It is impossible that we should be able to discuss the subject at the present moment; but whether our conclusions on this matter agree or not, we cannot but be agreed that as a class, the poor are entitled to at least such recreation as will keep them in perfect health, both of body and of mind. And we are further agreed that they do not get it.

"That is true," says the impracticable philanthropist of the present day, "but their condition is improved, all the more, as we are constantly providing fresh means of recreation," and he tells us of the parks that have been laid out at both public and private expense, of the outdoor recreation leagues and their noble work, of the great libraries that are being built expressly for the toilers, of mechanics' institutes, institutional churches, boys' clubs and other such sporadic proofs of the cooling reign of love. And we are thankful for these things, and welcome them as heralds of a glorious spring-time when "the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose."

BEGINNING AT THE WRONG END.
By all means let such works go on, and let us not be said against them; but let us not hide from ourselves the fact that so far as recreation is concerned, the results for the masses, and any results at all for the people who must need our sympathy and help, such philanthropists are beginning at the wrong end. What is the use of a park or a library to a man who has to work night and day, or at least until he is too tired to care for anything at all save sleep, in order to eke out the scantiest livelihood? "In all our great cities," says the "Sunday School Times," "there are babies dying of starvation at this very moment. While the children of the rich are fancifully picking at the dainty dishes provided for them at the utmost expense and care, hundreds of little ones are wandering about with the neglected cats and dogs of the city, picking rotten fruit and stale fragments out of the ash barrels, and consider themselves most fortunate when they find enough of such refuse to still the awful gnawings of hunger."

We know that the picture is not over-drawn—and those of us who do not, ought to know it—and yet we talk of parks and libraries and open-air concerts. What infamy of the poor need most of all is WORK. Work that will enable them to live without having to eat the part of the loaf, and that will keep body and soul together without the aid of alms.

When we read, as we often do, of scores of people of all ages and both sexes, "making a living" on the dump heaps of our great cities, of women whose babies are but a few hours old being turned out into the streets in the depth of winter because their husbands cannot possibly get steady work, or work of any kind, enough to pay the rent, of men and women being found dead in their little hovels, starved to death in the midst of a land of plenty, and in a city in which good fruit had but a little while been ruthlessly destroyed because the owners could not get the price they wanted; and when we read of many other things of a like import, it makes one wonder if the average philanthropist is not one of the most foolish of men; and we instinctively compare his crazy schemes for social amelioration with the common-sense methods adopted by General Booth and the Salvation Army, who, from actual observation and experience, know that the first step in true philanthropy is the providing of work for those who cannot find it for themselves.

The next step in philanthropy is the ensuring that every worker shall have decent wages and reasonable hours of labor. Montague Williams, a police magistrate, who has proved himself a friend to many of the friendless, describes a cheerless room in London for "four men and his wife, who work where a man and his wife would work in their respective occupations, while the youngest of the six children dozed away the minutes in a corner, and the older ones were silently 'helping father.' The woman was making button-holes in a heap of waistcoats, and the husband bent over a bench, stitching uppers to boots.

No one spoke, no one looked up even for a glance from the window, and after standing some time in silence the visitor ventured to address some cheerful-looking man who spoke now moved an eyebrow. The remark was repeated, but still there was no answer. Mr. Williams, believing the man to be deaf and dumb, turned an inquiring look on the wife.

"What is the matter?" he asked.

"Oh," said she, "he's got no time to talk. Every minute is precious to him. All that lot of uppers has got to be finished by 10 o'clock, and took back, and then he'll bring me and the baby, and then he'll go to bed. He's been at work five minutes to jaw, maybe he'll be too late to deliver the work, and we'll have nothing to eat to-morrow, unless I take half of my work back."

She spoke uncomplainingly, as if such a state of things were quite to be expected. When her own sewing was hurriedly finished she drew a quick breath of relief, wrapped the waistcoats in a ragged bit of paper, slipped an old shawl over her head and hastened out, still in silence, to carry home her work.

This is not an isolated case. Our great cities are full of them. But even if it were, a very little consideration of the lot of the "upper ten" among the poor is quite enough to prove the necessity for a universal movement in the direction of the bettering of their conditions. It is no excuse for us to say, as some of us do, that we often work as much as fourteen or fifteen hours a day ourselves. If we do, we are better paid for it than they, we do largely the kind of work we want to do, and we are not crowded together in the same circumstances forced us to do, and we are not obliged to work so hard by reason of necessity. The only answer that any man who cares whether he is called honest or not can afford to make to a plain statement of the facts concerning the wages and the hours of labor of the poor is that it is a shame, and that it ought to be remedied; and then he turns his attention to something else, and the poor may go to the devil for all that most of his class will do to right their wrongs. But they claim to justice is not violated by the selfish indolence of the men who do not know the meaning of poverty and hardship, and who are more inclined to make their burdens greater than to reduce them; and to-day the voice of the eternal law demands more persistently than ever before, that every man shall recognize the inalienable rights of every other member of the human family, and shall seek in every possible way to bring about the things which all economic questions—and the question of wages and hours of labor among them—shall be decided by a rational and fraternal interpretation of the Golden Rule.

THE "WOMES" OF THE POOR.
A third step in true philanthropy consists in the providing of decent homes for the poor; homes in which they will not be crowded together, in which they will not be all but compelled to grow up into "vicious" men and women by reason of the most disgusting overcrowding. The rector of Spitalfields wrote to the London "Times" a few years ago an article in which he said that there were there "23,000 souls upon seventy-four acres of ground," an average of 311 per acre. And let us not be told that some of the people, their "homes" and all, are "better off," he said: "Ill-born, ill-fed, ill-clothed, many of them at least are poor animals and 'indefatigable' by birth or degeneration. The conditions under which they are herded together make innocence, decency, chastity, almost impossible. Children gaze upon the brutal fight and the bruised face without emotion; and I have seen a child at play upon a floor still red with its mother's mother's blood. Yells and cursing that would horrify most men and women would disturb the children at this very moment. While the children of the rich are fancifully picking at the dainty dishes provided for them at the utmost expense and care, hundreds of little ones are wandering about with the neglected cats and dogs of the city, picking rotten fruit and stale

stars and landings used as sleeping places by men, women and children; the reigning squall on every hand; the shifting character of the people; these are things that baffle and perplex us at every turn.

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NOTICE: For technical reasons, no Party notices will be put in this issue but in this issue by Tuesday, 3 p. m.

MASSACHUSETTS. At a meeting of Local Boston, S. D. P. held at the headquarters, 165 Washington Street, on Saturday, May 5, 1901, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That a copy of the report of the Local Boston, S. D. P., for the month of April, 1901, be forwarded to the Executive Committee of the S. D. P., New York, for their consideration and approval.

NEW YORK. PRIMARIES. To the Subdivisions of Local New York, S. D. P. Please take notice that the primaries to elect delegates to the City Convention, borough assembly, and chairman of the Executive Committee, will be held on Saturday, May 12, 1901, at 10 o'clock a. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 61 E. Fourth Street, New York.

CITY CONVENTION. To the Local of the Social Democratic Party in the City of New York. Consider: Please take notice that the City Convention for the election of 1901 will be held on Saturday, May 12, 1901, at 10 o'clock a. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 61 E. Fourth Street, New York.

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE. This League, which was organized three months ago by the comrades of the S. D. P., has done splendid work for Socialism. Our comrades, however, have been somewhat inadequate, and have taken larger rooms at 312 E. Fifth Street, New York.

WORKERS' CONFERENCE. A regular meeting of the Workers' Conference will be held Sunday evening, May 13, at 8 o'clock p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 61 E. Fourth Street, New York.

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Don't write on both sides of paper. CORRESPONDENCE Don't send anonymous letters. Playing With Edged Tools.

Editor of The Worker. The meeting at the Chamber of Commerce of the National Civic Federation would be amusing if it were not insidious.

The city capitalists see in the disintegration of the Social Democratic Party and in dread fear hold out the trembling hand of make-believe conciliation to labor.

Now long is it going to take you to discover the product of the labor of brain and hand? The Socialists will play god and go on!

That ALL capital which implies all the tools of production and all the wealth of the world is in the hands of a few exploited laborers and present from the present society was first originated to the present day.

What a splendid game of bluff was played by the Socialists! When brains are sucked dry and you begin to feel the capital passes you on for the next sucker.

What a spectacular game of bluff was played by the Socialists! When brains are sucked dry and you begin to feel the capital passes you on for the next sucker.

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Communist should have done and accepted the Socialists' method of action as a principle, offered by a honest and practical of a Tammany politician in order to place the Socialists in the hands of the masses.

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