

We Demand the Collective Ownership of all the Means of Production and Distribution

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The Climax of Capitalism.

By Eugene V. Debs.

At the present rate of industrial and commercial concentration it will not be long before competition in the realm of production will practically be a thing of the past. The great capitalists of the world, through their agents and promoters, are engineering gigantic deals and schemes to absorb or crush out all competition, thus giving them substantial and undisputed control of the situation, and enabling them to exploit the people at their own sweet will and exercise despotic authority over their countless victims. So completely are these capitalists absorbed in their manipulations that it is doubtful if a single one of them realizes that they are working with might and main for their own financial undoing and that at the climax of capitalism they will be "hoist by their own petard," and Socialism, which they affect to despise and dread, will relieve them of their crowns and sceptres, abolish their despotic functions and give them equal opportunities with others to earn an honest living and enjoy "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

When that glorious day dawns the capitalists will work for what they get and the workers will get what they work for. The hideous inequalities which, now mock civilization and deform society will be known no more forever, except in the historic annals of the "dark ages" of the past. In this terrific rush toward the climax, which may be spelled cataclysm, Andrew Carnegie, whose income is a million a month, is having a desperate time resisting the surplus value that is forced upon and threatens to engulf him. The other day he made a gift of four millions in charities for the benefit of his disabled and superannuated employees. He scatters libraries as the wind scatters leaves in autumn. It may be that the Scotch-American multimillionaire sees some writing on the wall, or that in his advancing years, as the horrors of Homestead come back to his memory, and he sees the streets slipping under his feet, he thinks of the men he robbed and then hired Pinkerton thugs to murder, his conscience festers with accusation and he hopes to blot out the awful tragedy by tapping the vast reservoir of blood which his cupidity prompted him to drain by force and crime from the veins of his helpless wage-slaves.

The tragedy of Homestead is fresh in our memory. The wound in the body of labor, "poor dumb mouth," is mutely crying for vengeance. Carnegie the philanthropist, who went to Europe, and left Frick, the instigator, in charge, cannot escape responsibility for the infamous crimes of the three hundred Pinkerton thugs who murdered his workmen in 1892. He was dead to every appeal, and upon his soul the blood-stains are as ineffaceable as the spots on the skin of a leopard, and though he build ten thousand libraries, the ghosts of his victims will surmount them all and point their fleshless fingers of guilt at the rankest Pharisee in Christendom.

The days in which we live are indeed pregnant with great possibilities. The working-class is charged with the gravest responsibility of the ages, and the day of action draweth nigh. What a privilege to have in the clear air of this stupendous drama! The slavery of all centuries is to be blotted from the earth forever, and it is for this sublimest of achievements that the Socialists of all lands are marshalling their hosts to do and to dare until capitalism is overthrown and the working-class seizes the sceptre of authority and rules the world.

Workingmen do not forget for an instant that the great struggle in which you are engaged is a class-conflict, and that the lines must be sharply drawn in every battle, whether on the economic or the political field. The slavery of your class is responsible for your chains, rags and crusts, and until your entire class is emancipated can you escape from the iron grasp of your capitalistic masters.

So far as this struggle is concerned, there is no good capitalist and no bad workingman. Every capitalist is your enemy and every workingman is your friend. You have got to stand and act as one. Solidarity is your salvation, and Socialism points unerringly the way.

Day by day the class-conscious Socialist movement increases in power. It scorns all compromise. It firmly holds every inch it conquers. It cannot be intimidated by frowns nor frightened by threats. It pursues its historic course and come what may, it will press on and on until the goal is reached and labor rules the world.

The marble mines of Vermont are uniting. A \$1,500,000 pulverized fuel trust has been incorporated. The manufacturers are going to stick together in a trust.

Arkansas comes forward with a \$2,225,000 sugar trust. About \$225,000,000 of capital was trustified during the month of March.

All the wire gas concerns have trustified, and all but two of the plants will be closed to curtail production.

The two soft coal trusts and many independent companies are being combined by Morgan and capitalization will be upward of \$10,000,000. The cigar trust has absorbed the \$10,000,000 Havana-American combine, which controls seven big plants in New York, New Orleans, Chicago, Tampa and Key West.

All the gas and electric lighting combines in Greater New York are about to be merged into a \$300,000,000 trust. The Standard Oil people are engineering the trust.

The linen and yarn manufacturers of Austria, Germany and Belgium are combining into a gigantic trust.

Labor's Marseillaise.

Ye sons of toil, awake to glory!
Hark! Hark! what myriads bid you rise!
Your children, wives and grandires hoarse!
Behold their tears and hear their cries!
Behold their fears and hear their cries!
Behold their tears and hear their cries!
With firing-bells, a ruffian band,
Affright and desolate the land
While peace and liberty lie bleeding?
To arms, to arms, ye brave!
The avenging sword unsheath!
March on, march on! all hearts resolved
On victory or death!

With luxury and pride surrounded,
The vile, insatiate despots dare
Their lust of power and gold unbounded
To mete and vend the light and air,
Like beasts of burden they load us;
Like gods would bid their slaves adore;
But man is man, and who is more?
Then shall they longer lash and goad us?
Oh, Liberty, can man resign thee,
Once having felt thy generous flame?
Can dungeons, bolts or bars confine thee?
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?
Too long the world has wept, bewailing
That falsehood's dagger tyrants wield;
But Freedom is our sword and shield,
And all their arts are unavailing:
To arms, to arms, ye brave!
The avenging sword unsheath!
March on! march on! All hearts resolved
On Victory or Death!

Socialist Propaganda

By Job Harriman.

Your correspondent has kindly asked me for an article on "Propaganda in the East." But since we are always hunting for new worlds to conquer, I will strike out "in the East" and instead of a descriptive article, will state, what seems to me, are the necessary elements of a successful Socialist propaganda.

For the past fifteen years of our agitation in this country we have had much to say of the class-struggle, and it is right that we should so continue. Much energy and time has been expended telling how the capitalist gormands have gorged themselves and their coffers, and how they have lived lives of sumptuous luxury in their ill-gotten palaces, and neither should our energies abate in this direction, for the hall has not been told.

We have portrayed the awful physical, moral and intellectual agony of the oppressed, nor yet should this work be diminished, for neither tongue nor pen can paint the pictures of the hovels and sweat shops, about the mines and the factories as black and lurid as they are.

We have told of the irresistible power in the hands of the down-trodden, and our efforts in this direction will increase with years, even though our voice has scarcely been heard, nor have the oppressed been aroused.

We have told of the Co-operative Commonwealth—the advantages it affords, the opportunities, the delights. We have shown that life need not be a burden, nor a battle for existence; that food and clothing, luxuries and fowers, parks, palaces, travel and education could be enjoyed by all in this new commonwealth man's heaven on earth; and yet, in every city, great masses of these very sufferers have nodded their assent and turned away with a faint gleam of hope lingering for a moment in their hearts when they again resign themselves to their accustomed tasks, apparently content.

Shall we say that they have not suffered enough? Shall we continue to tantalize them by telling them more of the luxuries of the rich, with the hope that this will arouse them? Is it sufficient to continue to uncover their bleeding hearts and running sores before their very eyes? Can we expect to inspire a living hope and a militant activity by painting a beautiful picture of a possible condition which seems to them far away, and which is immediately dimmed by their tears and privations?

A heaven on earth that is out of sight is worth no more, nor will be a no more potent inspiration to the masses of the oppressed than is any other heaven that lies beyond the grave. Heaven must be in sight to be effective nowadays. The fumes of hell have frightened and the Jasper walls and pearly gates and golden streets of the mystic heaven have dazzled the mind's eye and absorbed public attention, while those more indifferent to public welfare took advantage of the occasion and robbed and pillaged the workers.

So we, as Socialists, today, painting pictures of the capitalist Hades, together with the splendors of our coming commonwealth, while the workers' immediate interests are overlooked and the opportunity is taken advantage of by men who are in the pursuit of wealth, and who are indifferent to the public weal. They seize upon the opportunity to take profits, to gain power and to subdue the people.

The working-class has long since deserted the clergy's heaven, and they will be loth to accept ours until they can in some way see it or feel it. Just as great events and their shadows before them, so Socialists must advance some advantages, some material interests of the class they propose to set free, or a deaf ear will be turned to their calling. A mental vision of the possibilities is not sufficient, nor even will the clear,

round voice of an agitator suffice to call them to action or to arouse them from their lethargy. They must see and feel our heaven with their stomachs and their backs.

A hungry man can get a far better focus upon the Co-operative Commonwealth with a beef-steak, than he can with a lecture or a leaflet. The latter given first will drive him mad; given last it will be sauced to his meat. Lasting impressions are made with food and clothing. It seems that the eyes are not for seeing nor the ears for hearing, but they are simply mirrors for reflecting the condition of the back and stomach. Whatever and whoever supplies these wants, these necessities, will get the ear and the heart and the intellect and the energy of the recipient.

Any movement for a better condition which does not touch, at least to some extent, the immediate interests of the masses will never weld them by any theory or idea, however beautiful or true, into a great mass movement. The sufferer must be touched, not only in theory, but in fact; not tomorrow with prospects, but today with things.

Shall we cease holding meetings and speaking and teaching and agitating? No, that we should do less of these, but that it is imperative that we take more vigorous action in practical affairs.

How can the Socialists be instrumental in rendering immediate pecuniary advantages to the working-class is the problem to be solved and put in execution. Until we do this our principle will not be heard by the masses, and will be understood, and, on the contrary, opposing doctrines will be taught, believed and followed.

Can we, an organization without means, render pecuniary assistance to the hordes of organized and unorganized workers? Can we enter the economic field and cope with the billion-dollar capitalist combination? With the press, the schools, the public libraries, the political machinery, and the machinery of production in their hands, can a small and poor organization make its efforts felt in a pecuniary way upon the unnumbered hosts of workers?

These are the difficulties before us, the obstacles we must surmount. The bridges are burned behind us, retreat is impossible, and the war is on. In order to share in the glories of the victory we must share the hardships of the battle. It accordingly becomes imperative for the Socialists in every industrial center to hold a council of war, and therein devise ways and means of delivering pecuniary advantages to the working-class, without supplying the cash from their own purses.

To this task the Socialists alone can respond. They above all others know the interests of the working-class and the adverse interests of the capitalist class. They know why capital grows and poverty increases; why capital is covetous and when it is timid; why wages go down and profits go up; why manufacturers organize and trades unions appear; why lockouts come and strikes develop; why the workers persist and the militia shoots; how the strikes are broken, the few capitalists rejoice and the many workers mourn; in short, they know better than all others the elements entering into the political and industrial class war, and how to work to the end that the workers' interests will be conserved.

They know that when work is flush wages may be raised, and that when work is slack it is the best time to argue for shortening the hours. They know that a strike, whether local or general, is more easily won before than after an election; they know that an attack at the capitalists' political machine is a strike at its purse; they know that the capitalist is fully aware of this and will take pains to keep the public ignorant that if a strike is precipitated immediately before an election, that all the class feeling and interests manifest in the industrial field will become also the potent factor in the political field; they know that when the workers use their political power with the same solidarity as they now use their industrial organization. They know best the dangers in the industrial strike, the advantages in the political, the conflicting interests and the safeguards. They, above all, are best able to determine when the chances are favorable to, and when they are against the working-class. By experience they have learned the necessity of discipline, of courage and of decision.

Hence it remains for the Socialists to apply their knowledge to the daily affairs of the working-class— to common sense in their strikes, to point out their strong and their weak positions; to stand in the thick of the battle; to thus become an important factor in causing to be delivered, immediate pecuniary interests to the working-class from the capitalist class.

This can only be done in the economic field, where, by reason of service to the workers, the Socialist influence will spread, and they can then move on with the mass of workers to the political field. Our work in the political field has and will find but little response among the working-class previous to work in the economic field.

Whenever a Socialist is instrumental in shortening the hours of labor, or increasing the wages, or adding any other advantage to the working-class, to that extent he places, as it were, a telescope before their eyes, which brings the Socialist commonwealth within the range of the workers' vision. They begin to feel the benefits. By showing them how to apply their power and thereby gain immediate advantages, he makes his opportunity to show them how to apply the same power in the same or different ways and gain more remote advantages.

By such means only can we turn the working-class from POLITICS to WORKING-CLASS POLITICS. In this way only can we convince them that class politics has all the elements of the industrial struggle and the solidarity of the economic organization will be increased by class political action.

We must remember that we do not reach men's stomachs through their intelligence, but we reach their intelligence through their stomachs. Hence we must touch the interests of men in order to reach their ears. And it is right that it should be so. We will not be known by our words but by our works.

Why should the working class, who has made no study of our principles accept our words and make a plunge in the dark and to them along untrodden paths? Only by making every succeeding step easier and smoother and by different fire will burn in adding victory to victory, will we be able to dispel their prejudice, their suspicion and their hatred toward all extraneous influences and principles, and to open up their minds to that flood of light and hope which the philosophy of Socialism brings to the working-class. This done, an entirely different fire will burn in the heart of the labor movement; a different courage will crown their efforts; a different hope will inspire their actions. The discouragement that now follows a defeated strike, tending to the disintegration and downfall of the unions, would not develop. Having changed their goal from the mere raising of wages and shortening of hours, to the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, the wages and hours would be only incidents in their fight, and though failures should come their hope and determination to win the new goal will hold them together and bear them on to victory. Hence the work of the Socialists in the economic domain, will not only hold together the present members in the economic organizations, but it will be the means of gathering an infinitely larger number into the organizations which could not otherwise be reached. Socialism in the labor organization is a cement as well as a magnet, and its power increases with amount.

The essential elements of a successful Socialist propaganda are not only the teaching of the class-struggle and the picturing of the present hell and a future heaven on earth, but we must enter into the struggle itself; we must help plant the campaign; we must take our stand in the front ranks of the battle.

A successful propaganda does not mean alone to philosophize about the class-struggle, but it means to live it, to taste it, to feel it, and to act it.

Victory arises, not out of principles in books, but from principles put to the test in life's battles.

Action, well defined, wisely planned and carried out, will find a rich soil in the hearts and minds of the working-class, in which our principles may be planted with our deeds; and the tears flowing from the oppression of capitalism will not then drown them out, but they will come as spring showers to the seed of our propaganda. Knowledge of the working-class will expand into a full comprehension of the Socialist Commonwealth, and all it has in store for them, as well as a comprehension of their rights, their power, and their duty.

Socialism vs. Individualism.

By Rev. Charles H. Vail.

The individualist method of abolishing social evils begins with the individual. The individualist sees that people are actuated by selfish motives, and so concludes that the social evils from which we suffer are due to the "ever selfish human heart." The theory is a rule belong to this class. They seldom if ever really inquire as to the cause of selfishness, much less take the time and study necessary to analyze present industrial conditions. They rather fall into the trap of the theory; that is, they are inclined to accept the present system as final, and observing that their precepts are seldom practiced, they usually ascribe the cause to the perversity of human nature. It rarely occurs to a member of this class that there are environments which nullify all his efforts, or that being familiar with the economic question, he naturally traces all social evils to man's selfishness, and his remedy, of course, is to preach and awaken the conscience and inculcate the desire for better things. This is well as far as it goes, but if sermons and lectures are the only way to elevate society, it would have been accomplished long ago. We have had over eighteen hundred years of this method, and it is no wonder that our friends talk of the ever selfish human heart, for their method seems largely ineffective, in even bettering the individual, to say nothing about society. The failure of the remedy to abolish social evils ought to suggest to them that there is something lacking in their method, and that possibly by beginning at the other end of the problem they might create conditions wherein their preaching might be more effective. A man may go to church and listen to a fine sermon, and under the law of service and be moved to help his fellows, but he goes out into a world of competitive strife and is obliged to take advantage of those he comes in contact with or suffer failure himself.

The fact is, the "ever selfish human heart" is chiefly due to an ever selfish economic system. Under all forms of industry in the past individuals have been arrayed against each other, but in no system have the antagonisms been more pronounced than in the present order. There is scarcely a field today where selfish interests, begotten by a selfish system, do not dominate. Just so long as it is to be so, the more dishonest and selfish, we need expect no improvement. There is no use lamenting this condition so long as we retain a false organization of society. We ought not to expect the law of love to be practiced under an environment of the law of strife. Sermons will not extirpate the evils; they are too deep rooted; they inhere in the system itself. We may preach brotherly love, but let us not be so foolish as to expect it to be practiced to any extent under the present order.

Socialism would abolish all these evils by removing the cause. Selfishness is only possible when one man can gain at the expense of another. Under Socialism no one could thus gain, for the interests of every man would be identical with the interests of every other man. No one could serve his own interests without

The Trust.

By Thomas J. Morgan.

Are you discontented? Are you interested in the trust question?

"I should think I am! When that rascal Armour, with all his millions, commences making mince-meat and takes away the trade I have worked up during the last ten years, I should think it was time to get interested."

"When he began to take my biggest customers away, I wrote him and asked him to stop; but he would how hard I had worked and how he was hurting me; but he took no notice of my letters. Then he started to get my smaller customers, and again I wrote him requesting him to keep the big customers, but to leave me the little ones, but he would not stop. Then I got out a lot of circulars denouncing him; but he is going right along and my business is destroyed. That is why I am interested!"

"This protest may amuse other Socialists as it did me when I heard it; and yet the speaker was the 'stuff' that the average business man and citizen is made of, and as he talked, I wondered if he would ever be able to see the cause which produced the effect that had killed him as a business man and landed him in the great field of discontent in which Socialists make converts."

The right to buy, to manufacture and sell, to have and to hold all things which all must have, and to make a profit out of the necessities of those who must have them, is not questioned. Only when in this holding and buying and selling, one hurts the other's chance to do the same is a protest heard, and then only against the personal pressure, and for the chance for the squarer to join again in the profit-mongering business of private production, ownership and exchange."

The average worker's protest is the same, in substance. He says: Give me a few cents more a week, month or year, a few minutes less labor a day; this is all I ask as my right. I do not question your right to the field, the mine, the factory or the tools, or your right to discriminate and to refuse to work for me; but my wage should be raised from \$250 to \$253 a year; I think I have a right to the extra \$3. Concede that, and I declare my strike off."

The average business man says: Yes, competition is the life of trade, production and distribution for only makes the piano, but it sells it also. Brains are not required to either produce, sell or deliver the products of a trust; the automatic machine, partly inanimate and partly human, does it all. The trust has come to turn our thoughts from the low animal plane of competitive production and distribution—a mere dog-fight over a bone with but little meat on it—to the consideration of a corporation banquet of all the natural and intellectual products of all the ages, an everlasting feast, to which all the children of men are to be invited and to be seated. Then speed the trust. On with the monopoly of "mince-meat" and other businesses. On with the automatic machine. On with the destruction of all reverence and respect for private property. On with the evolution with revolutionary speed. On, though it jars, and stamps, and squeezes and hurts, physically and mentally, this mankind becomes "interested" and the world's thought moves on.

The Socialist alone traces all the varying effects down to the root-cause, from which the individual, the firm, the corporation, pool, combine, syndicate and trust, will derive their power of monopoly. This cause is the principle and institution of private property.

The Socialist knows that all discussion which fails to reach this fundamental depth is superficial, no matter how eloquent or distinguished the participants in the discussion may be.

But fundamental discussion is so disturbing, that not only will very few business men permit it, but the organized wage workers as a rule exclude it from their gatherings, while those who officially support organized labor, almost without exception, emphatically support the principle and institution of private property, though it compels every man they represent to take off his hat and bend his head, and beg to be permitted to use a tool, a machine, or to cultivate the earth or to extract its treasures, and to thus be enabled to do so.

In doing this they bend their heads and give their hearts and minds to pagan worship, the most degrading idolatry known to man, the worship of private property; the curse of the past and present, the blind, ignorant fetish of unenlightened men, the thing which was teaching, the future owners and rulers of the British Empire, expressed himself thus:

"There is nothing which so generally strikes the imagination, and engages the affections of mankind, as the right of property, or that sole and exclusive use of a thing which one man claims, and exercises over the external things of the world, in total exclusion of the right of any other individual in the universe. And yet there are very few that will give themselves the trouble to consider the origin and foundation of this right. Pleased as we are with the possession, we seem afraid to look back to the means by which it was acquired, as if fearful of some defect in our title, or at best we rest satisfied with the decision of the laws in our favor, without examining the reason or authority upon which those laws have been built. We think it enough that our title is derived by the grant of the former proprietor, by descent from our ancestors, or by the law of the land, and the testament of the dying owner; not caring to reflect that (accurately and strictly speaking) there is no foundation in nature or in natural law, why a set of words upon parchment should convey the dominion of land; why the son should have a right to exclude his father from a determinate spot of ground, because his father had done so before him, or why the occupier of a particular field or jewel, when lying on his death-bed, and no longer able to maintain possession, should be entitled to tell the rest of the world who of them should enjoy it after him. These enquiries, it must be avowed, would be * * * trouble, and in common life. It is well if the mass of mankind will obey the laws when made, without scrutinizing too nicely into the reasons for making them."

"But when the law is to be considered not only as a matter of practice, but also as a rational science, it is vain to impose oneself with the examination of the rudiments and grounds of these positive constitutions of society."

"In the beginning of the world * * * all the bountiful Creator gave man 'dominion over the earth; and over the fish of the sea, and fowls of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the face of the earth."

"This is the only true and solid foundation of man's dominion over external things, whatever airy metaphysical notions may have been started by fanciful writers upon the subject."

"The earth, therefore, and all things therein, are

the general property of mankind."

"Neither slaves nor serfs were capable of understanding this common right of all to all."

It has remained for the twentieth century, with its labor-saving machines, railroads, steamships, electric current, wide diffusion of ideas, mingling of nations and races, to bring this comprehension not alone to the masses, but to the masses, who, as they realize it, turn in thought away from the past, and in the future see the principle and institution of private property so identified with the trust, that all the reverence and idolatry of this most ancient basis of civilization will disappear before the open-eyed reason of the twentieth century.

In the trust private property loses all its personal and individual character, which, as Blackstone says, so strikes the imagination and engages the affections of mankind.

The word "mine" is lost in the trust ownership, is merged in the indistinct word "stock," whose intangible form floats on the stock market and passes hither and thither with the rush and swirl of the shifting currents of speculation.

The trust organized in distribution or production, eliminates all the personal relations so intimately connected with individual business.

The president of the trust, its managers, superintendents and other underlings may be changed a dozen times a year, without the slightest effect on the organized machinery which includes as so many cogs reduced to mere numbers which are checked off by other cogs of the same great machine, in which skill and chance have no further place as individual factors.

The trust not only annihilates the principle and institution of personal, private property, with all its ancient attraction for the individual possessor, but it also eliminates production and distribution from the position of first importance in human life, by making it a mere mechanical operation and calculation which frees mankind from all kinds of animal drudgery. As the trust develops it casts out from the field of manual labor the vast numbers in the ranks of the unemployed; next, thousands of small "mince-meat" men, and last the intellectual classes, whose education, culture, artistic accomplishments, are not required in the "swift-whirring, trustified machine."

"Ah," said a sociological professor a few years ago, "I have had a brain that takes brains to sell it." But with the coming of the trust the machine not only makes the piano, but it sells it also. Brains are not required to either produce, sell or deliver the products of a trust; the automatic machine, partly inanimate and partly human, does it all.

The trust has come to turn our thoughts from the low animal plane of competitive production and distribution—a mere dog-fight over a bone with but little meat on it—to the consideration of a corporation banquet of all the natural and intellectual products of all the ages, an everlasting feast, to which all the children of men are to be invited and to be seated. Then speed the trust. On with the monopoly of "mince-meat" and other businesses. On with the automatic machine. On with the destruction of all reverence and respect for private property. On with the evolution with revolutionary speed. On, though it jars, and stamps, and squeezes and hurts, physically and mentally, this mankind becomes "interested" and the world's thought moves on.

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN NEW YORK.

By Leonard D. Abbott.

It is natural enough that the eyes of Socialists all over the country should be turned toward New York. The great Eastern metropolis is the centre of most of America's activities; it is the place where we touch the pulse of the nation. Above all, it is the stronghold of Socialist thought. Upward of 17,000 votes were cast for William D. Greener, New York's last Governor, and they represent a body of men who are pledged, steadfastly to the fundamental principles of Socialism, even though they are not agreed as to Socialist methods and tactics. There are today no less than four Socialist daily papers in New York—the Social Democratic, "Volkszeitung," the Jewish "Forward," and the two De Leon organs, the "Daily People" and Jewish "Abendblatt"; and this in itself bears striking testimony of the strength of the Socialist sentiment in New York.

The pioneers of Socialism in New York (and, we may say, in America) have been the Germans and the Jews, and it is these two nationalities which still furnish the majority of the rank and file of the Socialist movement in New York. The two races are essentially unlike in their characteristics. The German approaches Socialism from the economic, the analytical point of view, while the Jew is emotional and idealistic. The Hebrew characteristic is generally supposed to be that of greed and money-grubbing; yet it cannot be forgotten that the race that is credited with producing a Shylock has also evolved a Jesus; and in many Jews the bump of altruism and generosity seems to be very much more strongly developed than is the bump of acquisition. From the Jewish race have come, and come today, many of the most active comrades in our ranks.

The Socialist movement on the East side of New York is a fast stirring and a very varied one, and here, from the young man ablaze with his first social idealism to the "war-horse" grown old, and, perchance, pessimistic, in the movement. Here is one who has become a Socialist because he believed in the teaching of Christ; there is another whose Socialism is rooted in its evidence at all times, but his activities become more apparent around election time, when the street-organizer orator and the brass bands and transparencies parade before Socialism upon the attention of even the most lethargic. All the year round, however, the Socialist propaganda in New York is going on. In dingy halls, in Masonic meeting places, over and behind closed doors, public meetings are held week in and week out. But a handful can be induced, as a rule, to come to these meetings (the greatest hindrance in our movement is the problem of how to reach the people), and they listen intently, almost greedily, to the new gospel of industrial emancipation. It is strange, yet true, that a big hall can be filled easier than a small one; for it is a fact that a meeting in the green room of the York auditorium, the Cooper Union, is seldom a failure.

The East-siders are hero-worshippers, and they flock out by the hundred to the Debs, or a Harriman, or a Herron, in Cooper Union.

A feature of the Socialist movement in New York that would be tragic, if it were not so ridiculous, is the intensely bitter feeling existing between the S. D. P. and the S. L. P. A well-known comrade, who has recently come into the movement, told me another day that during his lifetime he had run up against every kind of bitterness, including the bitterness of the ecclesiastic and heretic-hunter and the bitterness of the capitalist whose economic position is threatened; but he had never yet experienced anything that could even begin to compare with the bitterness displayed between Socialists! That eventful Tenth of July, now almost two years ago, when the flames of revolt against De Leon's suicidal policy finally broke out, bred hatreds that will probably last as long as life itself. The "revolutionary patriots" who outlined that course have begun to compare with the bitterness displayed between Socialists! 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The May Day Questioner.

With Answers.

By Peter E. Burrows.

What would you do?
I would restore to the despoiled and enervated laborers; and to the much fearing manhood of all the submerged multitudes whose names are not written in the bank's books of life, some of that courage to fight in their own lives which history ascribes to them. When the command of the dollar they make war, they must stand themselves on the economic fields, the battle works and the battlefields of the world.

What would you do?
I would establish one democracy in the United States to succeed the present venal monarchies, and I would extend the privileges and blessings of labor to every citizen. On this basis of citizen-service I would invite the capitalists to come in and serve, and if they declined, I would send them a notice to quit on the ground that the race has outgrown them; that the usurpation of government by a private organization of capitalists is no longer endurable. I would take the brain of the private profit-monger and so shriveled to wield the mighty forces of the twentieth century I would kick them out—that's what I'd do.

What would you do?
I would establish an economic system by which we would exchange products for products only, and not producers for products, by which a man might get a loaf to put under his waistcoat without giving the entire contents of his whole suit of clothes for what should be so small a matter in our times. I would attach assets' tails and ears to the statesmen whose working people were not assured of the means of providing themselves with the necessities of life; they should be banished as traitors or despised as fools or as frauds, who are not able to solve the bread problem in the twentieth century.

What would you do?
I would restore to the world's workers the world's instruments of working, to all crafts and professions I would restore their tools, and as the race skill and the race work became less personally and locally divided, and more nationally organic, I would retrace the policy of the nation to accord with the chief activity of the nation, and so transform the modern Kaiser and McKinley state to an industrial commonwealth—that is, I would begin to vote for Socialism at once, as all things are now ready.

What would you do?
I would endow and restore the lost virtue of public spirit which we read about in pagan authors, such as Plutarch, or I would compel every profit-monger in the land to shut up shop three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, as an act of public mourning over the lost virtue of patriotism, until he found it, where he had hidden it away, under his private fortune. And then reward him according to his patriotic services, that is, his labor; and I would teach him the meaning of "the country"—a name which the sacrilegious lips of the exploiting commercialists so long have desecrated.

What would you do?
I would so order it that instead of one select class of inside gentlemen swiping away to themselves all the proceeds of modern invention and progress, the rest of the nation would be also permitted to share civilization with them; and share it in a natural and equitable ratio with the producer of his product. This right I would make inalienable; and as all production is now rapidly becoming national, the private owner who stops the wheels of progress I would soon grind out of the way.

What would you do?
I would give the producers the right of way in the public service. They having been trained in the work, and the conduct of it, I would seek my new statesmen among the labor organizations of the country, and I would give to the present capitalistic politicians what they never gave to me—getting out of the way until they learned to do something).

What would you do?
I would make war, for, and rent for money as unnecessary and foolish as it would have been for the Jews to fight for, or rent the manna dew in the wilderness, for, I would take away all fear of poverty by giving the right of work to all, and thus break the sceptre of the money king and of the devil. By destroying that social gulf of the pauper-proletaire, I would remove all terror, hatred and strife from our communities; the miser would put on a clean shirt and come out laughing, scolding the winds his fear-borne bonds and mortgages. The fiends of competition, which now scourge the human race with whips of mad fear to escape from poverty, or to obtain greater mastery over the poor, would languish and die. Sin would disappear from the earth and there would be no more talk of hell.

What would you do?
Teach the working man that as a producer it is his happy privilege to have been depersonalized; that the magnificently organized industry of the world is not wiped him out individually, but that it is the work of the new interest and identify which he has thus obtained with the race. I would show how this economic disintegration of him down to a helpless atom was the process necessarily preceding the moral and social reconstruction of society.

What would you do?
I would extract from our daily papers and the daily doings of our legislators that the right of a dollar to endure can endure no other right; that it is its nature to translate every human interest into terms of itself—into fractions of itself, and as such to destroy them by competition; that all morals, religion, art, poetry and learning must in time succumb to this process of pricing, and once priced must pass under the yoke and sceptre of the profit-monger.

What would you do?
I would certainly see to it that our greatest achievements could not become our greatest curses; that internationalism could not be a slice gate through which the moralization, deterioration, cheapness, idleness and despair come upon the hapless working people of each nation, taken by itself. I would see that the world market, was not turned into an international club to beat down separately the life of every man.

What would you do?
I would advise you to tell every one of your labor-

ing comrades, and to tell them every day in the year and all day Sunday, that private capitalism is the enemy of labor. I would advise you to hinder it, to expose and indict it, as the enemy of man, the modern Antichrist, the black pilot which is steering the nations of the world to barbarism and anarchy.

What would you do?
Teach my children to be among the first of the new intellects to rise out of those tombs of the profit-monger, the modern factories. I would be among the first to roll away the stone for those that are not alive enough to roll it away for themselves. I would teach every laborer the sanctity of his private property in the ball.

What would you do?
I would set up a great Socialist oven in which I would sterilize every dollar in the land; so that no idler could live a barren life upon the wealth of all those little money out at interest. I would cut off all those little tentacles from the dollar by which it always lays hold upon something for its owner more than its owner laid down.

What would you do?
I would so raise the tone of property morals that I would be ashamed to possess anything for which he had not rendered adequate service, so that property based upon the gift of a bad past, or as the unavoidable gift of death, would lift its voice upon the street and ask for opportunity to justify itself in the service of the present and the future. Having obtained public credentials to its right, the arbitrary and demoralizing nature of private property through gift, theft or inheritance would be taken away and it would become possible for a man to be both rich and honorable.

What would you do?
I would establish a professional chair in all the colleges, from Stanford to Yale, where there should be demonstrations given of the fact that profit is not the mere innocent exchange of one sum of money for another larger sum of money; but that it is an art of so placing a piece of coin in the pocket of the poor, and hungered man, that in his effort to obtain it, he is brought to the power of getting bread, he parts with that portion of primitive value residing in labor, as is expressed in the difference between the sum laid down and the sum taken up by the profit-monger. I would do this if the colleges would let me; but would they?

What would you do?
I would obtain permission to go through every factory in the country to address the people working there, in order to show them that profit is a guilty theft between one branch of the monarchy and another branch of it, made over the head of the bound laborer who obtained public credentials to his inability to resist the crime, and made upon the compulsion under which he lives to work, and to pay out of his hide all balances; and that he cannot, or will not, resist. Then I would take dinner with the boss if he asked me; but would he?

What would you do?
I would go my part to show that we are not kicking against the intercourse of nations which capitalism has brought about; but against the superficiality, the mere commercialism of that intercourse, and I would gladly acknowledge that commercialism is a necessary evil, and that the claws are extracted and the individualistic poison is purged out of it, will have proved a good schoolmaster for leading the nations away from competitive private property, into the light, liberty and equality of socialism.

What would you do?
I would while admitting the exchange of commodities between nations and persons to be always natural, just and necessary, most energetically deny that it is either natural, just or necessary that such exchange should always result in making one of the parties poorer and the other richer; and I would keep before the public mind this fact, that the two principles in all the complexities of modern trade are the class producing and the class buying; that the consumers are only the field upon which trade is a prolonged battle between capital and labor, arrayed in classes against each other, and would transform the struggle to the political field—that's what I'd do.

What would you do?
I would accept nearly all the facts accomplished by capitalism as good and useful facts for mankind to absorb, and since the capitalist has established the law that a man cannot derive a profit out of himself, but that he must derive it out of others if he is to have it, I would commend that lesson to all the purshers of really good things and show that the good of each is derived only by contributing to the greater good of all. In fact, I would show what an excellent thing capitalism is when viewed from the inside.

What would you do?
I would write it deep on the memory of man, what a cruel, savage principle that of profit-hunting is. I would enshrine, if it were possible, the rotten corpse of capitalism, so that future times might see it with minds unpolished by its demoralizing effects and never forget. I would put on record the hired cynicism of the pulpit towards the poor and concurred laborers. I would immortalize the brutalities of our great editorial leading articles on questions pending between labor and capital. I would put on a high gibbet half of the resolutions passed in the Congressional Record, so that generations to come, who would not read them, might at least smell them and flee; and I would preserve the evidences now multiplying around us that the profit-monger is a traitor to every principle, obligation and government that does not mean his own private democracy, and nothing else triumphant.

The London Express announces that electrical printing, without the use of ink, is a success. The inventor has secured patents. Printing can be done on web presses.

J. P. Morgan has secured control of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton railway, paying \$5,000,000 for it, and J. J. Hill has grabbed the Lake Superior road and the O. & S.

The billion-dollar steel combine has absorbed more independent mines in the Lake Superior region, capitalized at \$2,000,000, and has gobbled the American Sheet Co. of Pennsylvania.

It is almost settled that the pet project of Morgan will soon be accomplished by the absorption of the bridge trust, and the possibility of Rockefeller mitral railroad, and the possibility of the additions of the latter to the latter of a billion to the present capital stock of the United States Steel Corporation.

Socialism in Chicago

By Laura Willard Taft.

Chicago Socialists were much encouraged by the results of the recent city election. John Collins, the candidate of the Socialist party for mayor, received 5,384 votes, the Social Democratic candidate reports 2,043, while the candidate of the Socialist Labor Party received 679 votes, making a total for Socialism of 8,106, or the four-fold that for Comrade Collins in the last Chicago vote for Debs and Harriman last November, and of more than 3,000 over the Socialist vote of a year ago, when there was but one Socialist ticket in the field. Indeed, the Socialist Party alone shows an increase of nearly 400 votes over the entire Socialist vote of a year ago, while the Comrade Collins is now the four-fold that for Comrade Klenke at the last mayoral election two years ago, when our ticket was in the field under the name of Socialist Labor Party.

The present Socialist Party of Chicago represents the united Socialist movement in this city. Throughout the last twenty years (1870) the Chicago Socialists remained practically united. During the fall and winter of that year, the desire for a union of all Socialists steadily increased, and the action of the Rochester and Indianapolis conventions was heartily endorsed. In common with many other sections of the Socialist Labor Party throughout the country, this desire for harmony and unity led the party in Chicago to vote almost unanimously for the name Social Democratic for the united party, in spite of the personal preference of a majority of the Chicago membership for a name which should include the word "Socialist."

Although this desire for union was for the time defeated, the party continued to increase rapidly in membership and effectiveness, twenty-five open-air meetings being held weekly throughout the summer of 1900. As the time for the presidential election approached, independent Socialist bodies, particularly the Federation of Social Justice, the Social Crusade, became increasingly influential, and aided by the urgency, which had always been in favor of union, a representative convention of all Socialist bodies in the city was held in September, at which a basis of union for the fall campaign was agreed upon and the national convention would be favored by all present, and as early a date as possible in 1901.

After the close of the fall campaign, two-thirds of the membership of the joint campaign committee, backed by an overwhelming majority of the Socialists of Chicago, desired to continue the local union. A national unity convention could be held. None present will be able to forget the magnificent mass concert held for unity held in Brand's Hall on November 18th, when, in spite of an all-day rain, morning, afternoon and evening sessions were held, the two last being frequently interrupted with applause the splendid appeal to the united Socialist movement made by the comrades, W. Mills, Stitt Wilson and Herron. Readers of the ADVANCE have doubtless already read the resolutions favoring a National Unity Convention drawn up by the Committee of Fifteen. At this meeting, and unanimously adopted by the audience of the evening. These resolutions were sent to the national Socialist boards and were furnished to the Socialist press.

It is needless to go into details regarding the subsequent events in local Socialist history. Indeed, the movement has been so rapid that it would be difficult to describe it fully in the limits of a single article. Suffice it to say that the party having headquarters at Washington street thought it best not to join the effort for union, and finally nominated a separate city ticket. Before this had been done, however, one more effort was made by the majority of Chicago Socialists in the direction of honest union, and a delegate convention was convened, five hundred and thirty-three members assembled in December in Uhlisch's Hall, parties lines not being drawn, all Socialists having been invited to the preceding ward conventions, which were called by the joint campaign committee. It was here decided to take the name Socialist Party in the spring campaign, and a strategy platform was drawn up.

Collins of the Machinists' Union was nominated for mayor at the head of a full city ticket.

The campaign just closed has been carried on with earnestness and enthusiasm. The comrades entered strenuously on the difficult work of securing petitions, 13,000 names being finally handed in—an excess of nearly 5,000 over another request by the same party. The names were nominated, and aldermanic tickets in nearly all the wards, the Socialist Party being the only one of the seven parties in the field, outside the Democrats and Republicans, of which this can be said. Large public meetings were held each week in every part of the city, practically all of the speakers who aided last fall in the campaign for Debs and Harriman, in addition to many new recruits, working now for the Socialist Party. In these meetings factious discourtesy was absolutely excluded, arguments being directed solely to the merits of Socialism as compared with capitalism of the present society. In this connection a caption should be made of the splendid aid given by Comrade C. H. Vail of New Jersey, during the four days he spent in Chicago, and to the preparatory and educational work done by Comrade George D. Herron in his Sunday afternoon addresses at Central and Civic Hall, from January to March inclusive, and by Comrade W. T. Mills, in his Night School of Social Economics.

During the last week of the campaign forty-two public meetings were held, and in addition Comrades Collins, Berlyn, Morgan and Mills spoke before twenty-two different local trade unions on the subject of Socialism. These were distributed in Chicago alone 20,000 copies of the illustrated campaign edition of the "Workers' Call," 50,000 pink stickers containing the Socialist Party name and a picture of John Collins, and 100,000 copies of Comrade Collins' letter of acceptance. In addition, thousands of handbills and posters were printed and distributed by the comrades of the various ward branches, announcing the local meetings.

The Socialist movement in Chicago has never been in so prosperous a condition as now. During the past year the membership has more than doubled, now numbering over 10,000 members. In addition to the affiliated branches of the Poles and Lithuanians, making a total of nearly 1,500. Not only this, but the spirit of friendliness and harmony and mutual toler-

tion has greatly increased, while at the same time the education of the comrades in the fundamental principles of Socialism was never so rapid as now, nor the individual earnestness of the membership greater than at present. Permanent headquarters have been established in several of the city wards, notably at the Socialist Temple on Western Avenue, where a Socialist meeting in some form is held on nearly every day of the week, in addition to three Sunday meetings, and at "Socialist Hall," in the northwest section of the city, in the spirit of the club, the meetings are already being made for open-air meetings, which will be held from May to October on some prominent corner in each of the wards of the city.

In all public meetings more and more attention is being paid to Socialist songs, the recently issued Socialist song book being a great help in this respect. Comrade Strickland, the West division organizer, being in frequent demand as conductor.

For more effective propaganda, the city has recently been divided into four organization districts, each electing a paid organizer, who will devote his entire time to the work. The General Committee of the Socialist Party now meets but once each month, thus securing a full attendance at each meeting. This committee is composed of two members from each of the thirty-four ward branches, with one additional delegate for each twenty ward members over a minimum of twenty. Routine business for the city is conducted by an executive committee of seven, meeting each Monday night at 36 N. Clark street.

The last meeting of the General Committee was of particular interest, owing to the unanimous decision reached to affiliate with the Springfield Committee while retaining the present local name of Socialist Party, the party having been independent of all national boards since the city convention held in December. It is of interest to note that the motion for affiliation with Springfield came from Comrade Strickland, the secretary last year of the Indianapolis convention. As to the party name, the party is in the almost unanimous sentiment of Chicago Socialists that the ultimate name for the party which will unite the Socialists of America must be one which will stand plainly and simply for SOCIALISM, without danger of confusion with any capitalist party, and this name "Socialist Party" is the only one which can be played by the "Workers' Call" as an educator and organizer. Owing to the growth of the Socialist press in other parts of the country, the "Call" is a local organ more and more prominent, and has steadily increased in value and influence. Recently its cartoons have been a feature of new influence. The two years of its existence have been distinctively the years of greatest growth of Socialism in Chicago.

Chicago, April 19, 1901.

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN MICHIGAN.

By George A. Eastman, Detroit, Mich.

What can I write from Michigan that will at once be of interest to Socialists and instructive to those wage-workers not yet aware of what Socialism is? This is the question that perplexes me in my attempt to write an article for the May-day number of the ADVANCE.

The first thing that occurs to me is to advise here to subscribe for this worthy paper; and if, at the end of the year, the Socialists do not find in it anything of interest, and the others nothing in it instructive to me, I think the Socialists had to please, and the wage-workers very well indeed.

The next thing that occurs to me is, that in 1896 the total Socialist vote in Michigan was less than 300; this spring's election we polled 925 votes in Saginaw county alone, 300 in Flint, about 500 in Detroit, 67 in the little town of St. Clair, 125 in Ann Arbor, and other cities and towns throughout the State in like proportion; and, although the total vote is not all in it will exceed that of two years ago, which was 3,190, by many thousands. This is a story in itself. The wage-worker, who cannot gather from this instruction as to his place in politics, or at least set him to studying the question of Socialism, cannot be too much interested, even though they be wage-slaves; the most appropriate title for such as they would be simply "It." In fact, were it not for the power they wield against the interests of the working-class by the misuse of the ballot, they could be considered nonentities.

Michigan is decidedly the home of the middle class, being, as it is, made up largely of small farmers, or rather farmers operating small farms, and industries which have, for the most part, as yet not developed into trusts; and is, for that reason, one of the hardest fields for propaganda in the Union—at least, that is what we think who have to face middle-class egotistic philosophy in all its pomposity, and only win our progress towards enlightenment and freedom of the wage-slave by fighting for every inch of the ground gained.

We have with us also the "humane" employer, who has large, well-ventilated work-rooms for "his" employees; which are considered an offset for the small wages he pays, as well as the reason they should continue to vote him or his class into public office—as to reduce the fares to three cents in order that they may more fully enjoy the nice work-rooms and less pay.

The "labor leader," who knows about as much of political economy as the devil does of holy water, yet, from his activity and shrewdness in the trades union movement becomes a prominent figure in the public eye as one who has the interests of the workers at one or the other of the old-party tickets, as a bait to catch the votes of trades unionists for one of those parties who stand for the protection of the bosses and the subjection of the union, is another quite dangerous weed—or rather last-bred volunteer, that Michigan Socialists, as well as members of other sections, should be on their guard against.

Then there is the "friends of labor"; the one plank directs the legislator; the single taxer; the double taxer; the equal taxer; the Christian Socialists; the Utopian Socialists; the philosophical anarchist; and, but not least, the Socialist—al ranting and ranting over the horror and injustice of the existing conditions; but, when asked for a remedy, advise the workers to vote for either the Democrat or Republican party, "in order to have their votes count"; that it may be said that "your party won" none of that.

Continued on Page 6.

ADVANCE

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TO OUR COMRADES AND FRIENDS:

ADVANCE gives you fraternal greetings. Europe, America, Australasia, Asia and Africa join hands in a cordial hand-clasp around the world.

The Socialist Commonwealth looms up nearer, brighter and better than our fondest hopes had pictured. Rejoice! Our victory is sure.

Thomas A. Hickey has been declared "Un-constituted."

The rumors of a ship-building trust are evolving into well-founded reports. Well, why not?

The man that works himself will find his life bounded in the shallows and miseries of poverty. To get rich you must work others. Carnegie vouches for this, and who should know better?

Don't forget our dance at Turn Verein Hall, Saturday evening, May 4th. Aside from the good to the party, you should attend for the good to yourself.

The John Wanamaker has changed his mind. A year ago he thought there was nothing discreditible in the trusts. Now, since Morgan has gone into the dry goods business, he thinks that perhaps...

The Tuesday evening "Bulletin" had two suggestive headings on its first page. The first was, "The President Pardons a Bank-wrecker."

Pettigrew is said to have made nearly a million dollars in stock speculations recently. The dispatch announcing this states that Pettigrew will try for re-election to the Senate, and naively adds, "It is thought that his chances are much improved over last fall."

Our May Day celebration will surpass anything of recent years. The speakers are among the best in the party.

Don't forget. Wednesday, May 1st, at Metropolitan Temple, Fifth street. Bring a friend; if possible, bring two.

A capitalist sheet of San Francisco indulged itself in an underhanded, insinuating attack on the character and integrity of the Mayor.

Next week the official organ of our party in New York will come out under the heading, "The Worker." Under the old familiar title of "The People," it did valiant service in the cause of the worker of this country.

Benjamin Ide Wheeler, president of the University of California, in a speech to the students of that institution, commended the act of Stanford students in ducking M'Intgomery, who had been the hand of freedom.

HURRAH FOR THE FIRST OF MAY!

"A nation is known by its holidays," says an old writer. If this be so, the international holiday of Labor will be its glory.

May-day, the first of May, celebrated by the people from time immemorial, a day of rejoicing, of dancing, of merriment. On this day the ancient Romans sacrificed to Maia, the "fruitful mother."

The working-class could not have hit upon a happier day than this when it declared the First of May the International Labor Day, and called upon the toilers of the earth to hold a festival and make a demonstration of their multitudinous numbers and their fraternal sympathies.

But a new significance is added to it now. The changes of the times have brought new duties and inspired the proletariat with higher hopes and more glorious ideals than ever yet have pulsed in the hearts and brains of men.

The centuries of labor have gone to make the multimillionaire. But to create him, it has had to first build up a mighty industrial organization, the like of which, in breadth of scope, productiveness and perfection the world has never seen.

Labor Day—what hope is in the term! Its institution proclaims at last the consciousness of labor of its common interest the world around. It proclaims that organization of Labor, for Labor's welfare is its claim.

competition! Labor will desire co-operation to secure the most productive results. No more war! Labor desires only peace, to prosper. The sword and torch are useful to those only who seek to enslave and impoverish themselves to labor slavery!

Peace and Plenty, Equality and Justice, Liberty and Fraternity—these are the things of which the International Labor Day is significant.

A WORKINGMAN COMMITS SUICIDE AND SELLS HIS BONES TO FEED HIS FAMILY.

A machinist out of work committed suicide Tuesday in this city, and bequeathed his body to a medical institution that would give his wife and children food for a month.

They say the dead do not feel, neither do they think. Yet even if dust and no more than dust, the man who once possessed the life who now lies in the cold earth, would feel the surging of the blood through his veins at a glimpse of the sea, who could walk bare of head beneath the stars, who could commune with nature and hear her whisperings, who could know the kindness of a father and the true greatness of a friend.

It is one of the saddest possible commentaries on our civilization that a man willing to work, strong and capable, should be compelled to lay down his life. The time is fast approaching when any man, no matter what his position in society may be, who demands work, will have it furnished.

LETTER BOX

Inquirer, N. Y.—Defalcation is a noun, derived from the Latin defalco, "to destroy." It applies to the laborer who surrenders those franchises in trades unions and Socialist organizations which, by sowing suspicion and discord, destroy solidarity and disrupt the society.

"Kangaroo," Oakland.—I, yes. Thomas Ananias Asinine Hickey has been expelled. E. T. Kingsley has been expelled. Spies and other scoundrels out of the Union.

S. D. P. City.—"Should Socialists oppose the tendency of public ownership of the public franchises in municipalities where the working class is not in control of the public powers, though in possession of the elective franchise?"

The two cereal trusts, one having played "independent" to get opposition concerns in line, will now unite with \$40,000,000 capital.

\$15,000,000 stock box trust is being formed.

Trading and transportation concerns of Alaska trustified and capitalized at \$10,125,000.

The two cereal trusts, one having played "independent" to get opposition concerns in line, will now unite with \$40,000,000 capital.

IN THE Industrial Arena

BY JOE J. NUEL

Work groups, who belong to any trade that is not yet organized should at their annual and address to the "Labor Editor," have their own organizations.

Divested of all sentiment, removed from all conceptions of abstract right and wrong, the irrepressible conflict between capital and labor presents evidence of a force it could well be pause and consider. Without sympathy for one side or the other, an appreciation of their relations will bring forth much that will astonish the average man outside of the Socialist ranks.

Combination by the capitalists is an accepted fact. There may not be a firm, oath-bound organization of the owners of the means of production and distribution, for the purpose of bringing co-operation among themselves into being, nevertheless, the co-operation is here.

Side by side, almost step by step with these combinations of capital, however, has labor made progress in combination. The laborer has been a leader in labor is even more conservative than the capitalist. It is laborable and is cohesive only under stress.

The sullen growls preceding the compromise between the Amalgamated Trades Unions and the steel trust, give a hint of the fierceness of the battle when it occurs. Two hundred thousand men were arrayed against Schwab and his associates.

But back of Schwab is the whole system of government. Through idiocy the workmen have held themselves aloof from the government so long that it is entirely in the hands of the capitalist class.

Through idiocy the workmen have held themselves aloof from the government so long that it is entirely in the hands of the capitalist class. And being so, it has become an instrument for the undoing of the workers. That is why Schwab, who gets a million dollars a year, can dare to force two hundred thousand of our fellow creatures to the verge of starvation, if he so wills.

Progress in Denmark

"Social-Demokraten," official organ of the Danish Social-Democratic party and leading Danish daily comments on the passing of the old year as follows: "In the year just passed away we have seen on the one side conservatism and reaction make a last desperate stand, which only resulted in the breaking up of the Conservative party; and on the other side we have seen the Social-Democratic party more firmly established, conquering one position after another. One ministry laid to rest, and Mr. Estrup, the Danish Crispien, was again called into power and named by the King as a member of the lands-thing. The Crown Prince appeared in public on three different occasions, and defended the tactics of the government party and appealed to the people to be patriotic, to stand by the King and the country, which he said was one and the same thing.

"The year 1900 was an election year. It began with city and town elections, and ended with the government party (the right party), no longer has a majority in the city councils throughout the land. Out of 401 seats the government party only obtained 192, while 209 fell into the hands of the opposition. The Social-Democrats were victorious in all large cities and in quite a number of small ones. Fifty-six Social-Democrats were elected and received 24,303 votes, as against 10 Social Democrats elected by 9,999 votes, at the last election in 1894.

"At the election in Copenhagen, which took place in the month of March, the Social Democratic party polled 15,000 votes, as against 11,000 for the government party, and re-elected one candidate and elected four new members of the city administration.

"At elections held in several towns, in the months of August and September, the Social Democratic party polled a big vote and elected 74 representatives for minor offices.

"In the last quarter of the year elections were held in half of the villages throughout the country, and the result, 170 Social Democrats elected, against 30 in 1894. This goes to prove that socialism has taken hold of the rural population.

"The Social Democrats held at the beginning of the year 1900 10 communal mandates, and at the close of the year had increased the number to 556.

"A compulsory arbitration law has been passed, and the state has been forced to recognize the trade union as the representative organ of the working class. In Copenhagen is now established communal labor bureaus.

"The party was fully represented at the International Congress held in Paris last summer, and the program and resolutions adopted there shows accordance with the tactics of the Danish Socialists.

"The party press has made great progress during the year. "Social-Demokraten," the party's leading organ, has, since March 24th, issued special editions with offices in the towns of Lyngby, Helsingor, Roskilde, Holbeck, Nakskov and Ronee.

"Since July 1st new papers have appeared in the towns of Silkeborg and Kinkjoling.

"Besides "Social-Demokraten" the party now publishes 14 papers in the provinces, and it is estimated that 80,000 copies of the Danish Social Democratic press is issued daily.

"The party has lately obtained its own building, in Norrefarimaget street, in Copenhagen, where "Social-Demokraten" is issued from its own printing press.

"During the year several buildings have been obtained for meeting places in many cities. A co-operative meat market has been established in the city of Aarhus, and in Fredericia a park has been bought for picnics and for holding open meetings. In Falkets Hus, one of the party's buildings in Copenhagen, theatrical performances are now held several times a week.

"Several red flags have been dedicated during the year, and hundreds of Socialist meetings have been carried on in country districts. One hundred thousand sand workers took part in the First of May demonstration.

"Dr. Gustav Bang has lately given a series of lectures on Socialism in the University of Copenhagen, which have been well attended.

"All in all, the year has accomplished that the Socialist movement in Denmark through the past year has proved to be on a sound and solid basis."

THE MOVEMENT

IN MICHIGAN

recognize the economic and political struggle between the working-class and the capitalists' class. Not one of them know what capital is, nor do they realize the necessity of this knowledge before we can intelligently throw off the power of capitalism. Not one of them understands that the wage-slave of today must become the dominant class tomorrow, not dominant over men nor over mankind, but over the tools and necessary means of production. Not one understands that the advent of the working-class into political power means the termination of this class struggle over the products of labor, by the introduction of co-operative commonwealth, where each will not only be protected in an opportunity to produce the wealth upon which they must subsist, but protected in their right to own and use it for the individual satisfaction of their material wants. Not one of these know that, freedom from wage-slavery, it must build its own political organization upon a platform that demands the overthrow of the capitalists' system of production. In order to do this they must understand the capitalists' system, and to understand that they must study Socialist literature; and that the working-class will not be fooled if it did, tell the truth about the system they use to such good advantage in subjecting the working-class to its exploitation.

We in Michigan are doing all in our power to clear away the confusion caused by these different biased hooks thrown out by the capitalists' class will not be fooled. The enormous gains for the Social Democratic Party here is proof that our efforts are not without results. Our greatest success comes from teaching the trade-unions that they are organized to fight capitalism instead of capitalists. This leads them to study what is really in it; then they discover the conflicting interests between capital and labor. Then they at once recognize what is meant by the class struggle; which side in this struggle they should take and how to take it; in fact, know that

this struggle is no longer a physical but a mental battle; since the ballot takes the place of the bludgeon in settling the question of rulers—at least, that is for what it is intended. And although the present legislature has been fondly caressing the many disfranchisement bills already in the field, they have done nothing more than abolish the regular election in municipalities the coming fall; allowing the present officials to hold office over a year longer than they were elected for. The Michigan Socialists send greetings to all comrades, with the assurance that whenever or how ever the capitalists' class fix the elections, we will meet them with an ever-increasing vote for the complete overthrow of their power over wage-workers. We will establish of equity and justice to all mankind—but, first of all, freedom for the wage-slave.

Labor's Political Struggle

NOTES INDICATING THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD'S SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

GERMANY. The Minister of War has instituted proceedings against "Vorwärts" for publishing letters from China in which the atrocities committed by the troops at the instigation of "God's faithful ally" are related. But there are judges in Berlin, and the result of the trial will probably make the Government regret their action.

DENMARK. The municipal elections have been held at Copenhagen. The Liberals and Social Democrats ran a joint list of candidates and returned these by 15,700 votes against 10,400 to the conservative candidates.

Elections for Parliament have been held in Denmark. The Conservative party, has been nearly wiped off the earth, securing only eight seats out of 110. The Social Democrats captured 14 seats, a gain of two, and stand a good chance of winning several more on the second ballot. The Liberal and Radicals control 88 seats. It is only fair to say that the latter promised to introduce many popular reforms that are demanded by the labor organizations, and quite a few claim to favor Socialism.

AUSTRIA. One of the deputies elected to the Reichrath is a school master, working under the Vienna Communal Council—which is the school authority. Herr Lueber, the latter promised to introduce many popular reforms that are demanded by the labor organizations, and quite a few claim to favor Socialism.

Belgium Social Democrats are preparing for a general strike and a policy of obstruction in the chamber.

Socialist deputies are trying to secure better wages and conditions for the postmen, but so far have not succeeded. The postmen now get only two shillings a day.

An indictment has been brought before the jury of the Assizes against our contemporary, "The Worker." The accusation is that it used too strong language in reference to the last dockers' strike, in one of its numbers.

The Socialist members have made in Parliament a strong protest against a scandal at Antwerp, in giving the tram-way monopoly to a syndicate of capitalists. The Socialist representative of Antwerp, Comrade Terwagne, showed that they simply bought the press to work on their behalf. The Government did nothing to prevent it.

HOLLAND. The Liberal Party in Holland is disintegrating. The executive committee has resigned and the Radical members left the party en masse. Attempts are being made to organize a new party.

In the election on the second ballot for member of Parliament in Holland, Comrade Polak received 1,583 votes, against 1,876 given to the re-elected Liberal candidate. Clericals, Liberals, Radicals are united against the Social Democrats, again proving that the manifestations of class-conscious political action for Socialism by the proletariat always raises the enemies of labor into one opposing camp.

GREAT BRITAIN. Latest returns from England state that Social Democrats won seats in Edmontop, Burnley, Lynn, and Rockdale at local elections.

FRANCE. Municipal election at Puteaux, near Paris, resulted in Socialists defeating the Nationalists by 1,457 to 642 votes.

The city of Marseilles voted \$10,000 for the assistance of the striking dock workers in their struggle with the dock companies. The municipality is controlled by Socialists.

SPAIN. The anniversary of the proclamation of the Commune was celebrated in several Spanish towns. Pablo Iglesias in "El Socialista" draws attention to the importance of the event in the history of the proletariat.

Reports from Spain are to the effect that the cry of "Down with the Jesuits!" is giving place to strikes of railway and textile workers and other laborers, and a cry of "Success to the Social Revolution!" is raised.

CANADA. The Labor party of Winnipeg, which elected A. W. Putter to Parliament, is discussing the advisability of adopting the name of Social Democratic party.

AUSTRALIA. Trenwith, a prominent labor agitator of Australia, has been appointed as a member of the Cabinet of Victoria. He is a member of the Labor party, and has publicly declared that any time when he commits an act not in harmony with the views of organized labor he is willing to step down and out.

ITALY. In Suzzara (electoral district of Gonzaga that elected Enrico Ferri) the administration has been in the hands of the Socialists for a long time. "The transition of administrative control from the hands of the moderates" into those of the Socialists was not only accomplished without a revolution, but has even terminated the personal feuds that ruined the country. The Socialists, by ceaseless agitation for improvements in the municipality, have completely changed Suzzara

within twenty years. A new town hall, the most magnificent hospital in the province, many new buildings and model schools have been erected. The industries have flourished splendidly. The level of general education is very high, thanks to the industrial school, having classes in physics, chemistry, mechanics and agriculture. * * * Elections are held in perfect order. * * * The administration distributes 200 tickets to farmers and poor people when the theatre is open. The children receive meals in school, assisted by a small family tax.

RUSSIA.

A Vienna paper gives some interesting details of the alliance between the working-classes and the Russian students. It says that in October, 1900, a manifesto was issued announcing a fusion among the different factory committees, and advocating political action. Demonstrations were recommended as an effective means of promoting the objects in view. When, in November, 1900, the students of Kieff University issued a protest against the interference of General Demidoff with the affairs of the university, which led to wholesale arrests, the Central Committee of the Russian students held a secret meeting at Moscow. Resolutions were adopted declaring that as the students were not by themselves able to enforce their demands and to safeguard their academic rights, they were to give their action a political character. The manifesto concluded with the first verse of the "Russian Song of Labor." These documents were scattered broadcast in Russia. The result is a strong political movement of a distinctly revolutionary character. As part of the factory operatives are peasants, who spend a part of the year in agricultural labor and the other part in the factories, the agitation of the student revolutionists among the operatives is spread from the cities into all the rural communes. This is a deliberate policy of the Russian Socialists and is working very successfully.

UNITED STATES.

Holland Social Democrats in Chicago are making efforts to start a paper in the Dutch language.

"Public Ownership," of Erie, Pa., has temporarily suspended, but will probably be re-issued by a stock company.

Rich Hill, Mo., re-elected a Socialist police judge, Conrad Wright, and elected a Socialist alderman, Laurence Griffith.

"The Appeal to Reason" says the Social Democrats of Texas polled over 8,000 votes, which were returned in the "scattering" column.

An audience of about 800 gathered in Poli's Theatre, New Haven, to hear Comrade Harriman. The address was well received.

The German Socialists of Providence, R. I., who have remained unaffiliated since July, 1899, decided to take a charter as a local of the Social Democratic party.

Ralph Beaumont, a People's party orator of national reputation, is now publishing the "Tribune" at Newcastle, Pennsylvania. He is now a Socialist and student of the Star Line Debs in the last campaign.

Richard Buck, author of "The Emancipation of the Workers," antagonistic to Socialism, has come out in an open letter stating that he has destroyed the plates of his book and turned Socialist.

President Naiziger, of the Fourth National Bank, of Wichita, Kan., said in an interview that the country is Socialism, or public ownership of all public utilities, faster than all the other associations that ever existed." He adds that "Carnegie said the handwriting on the wall and pulled out in time to escape the coming storm."

The "Liberator" is the title of a breezy little publication that hails from Sedalia, Mo., and is published by the Socialists of that town.

Judge Doster, of the Kansas Supreme Court, says: "Young man, Socialism is the coming power. Make your peace with it. It is an oncoming tide which will sweep over this and every other civilized land in the next twenty-five years and drown every party and politician that tries to impede its flow."

The Social Democrats of Mt. Olive, Ill., made splendid gains in the municipal election on April 16th. In November their vote was only 43. This time their lowest vote was 76 and their highest 138. The strength of the Socialists is shown by comparing the vote received by Comrade Hubert, 138, with that received by his opponents: Democratic, 107; "Citizens," 231.

The Social Democratic vote at the municipal election in Portsmouth, O., was as follows: Mayor, W. Babby, 148; marshal, C. Reinhard, 134; solicitor, H. C. Edwards, 123; street commissioner, W. H. Howe, 136; water works trustee, W. H. Braunlin, 118; cemetery trustee, Jacob Imm, 135. Debs and Harriman polled 100 votes last fall.

San Diego, April 20th.—An election was held in this city today on the question of issuing \$600,000 in bonds, the proceeds to be used for the purchase of the plants of the United Water Supply Company and the San Diego Water Company. The proposition was carried almost unanimously, the vote standing for the bonds at 356 to 142.

Social Democrats are active. Prof. Heron is speaking in New York and New England, Com. Vail is in Iowa, J. Stitt Wilson is taking a trip toward the Pacific, "Mother" Jones is again in Pennsylvania, James F. Carey keeps going in Massachusetts, Frank Gessner in Pennsylvania, and Job Harriman and Nick Gessner in Pennsylvania, and Father McGrady has been lecturing in Ohio, and B. F. Wilson and W. H. Wise, were active in Indiana, Illinois and Michigan, and Com. Bigelow in New York.

Calhoun county, Michigan, which includes the city of Battle Creek, gave 900 votes for the Social Democratic Party, and a little over 100 for the S. L. P.—1,020 Socialists in all, as against 337 last year. The city of Battle Creek gave 474 for the S. D. P. State ticket and 97 for the S. L. P. Last fall the city gave 192 for our national ticket. On the Monday following election the comrades organized a propaganda

club, and started to push educational work, which they expect to keep up steadily.

The S. D. P. organization in Paterson, N. J., is getting well under way. Lectures are held in German and in English. An English branch has recently been organized with twenty-six members, mostly young men. DeLeonard is dying, especially since the withdrawal of Maguire, its former leading representative, and Paterson bids fair to regain the grand position it once held, as the banner city of New Jersey in the Socialist movement.

Labor's Economic Struggle

NOTES SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF THE ORGANIZED LABOR AND CAPITALISM.

GERMANY. On top of the news that nearly a hundred thousand iron and steel workers of Germany have been thrown out of employment comes the report that thousands of building craftsmen, wood-workers and other craftsmen have also been forced into the idle army.

A recent article in the "Tagblatt" takes a gloomy view of industrial conditions in Germany, which, it says, are so bad that charitable efforts aren't powerful to cope with the situation. Reduced production and the consequent dismissal of working people are so general as no longer to attract notice. The writer declares that it is safe to say that twenty-five per cent of the working classes are either idle or insufficiently employed.

BELGIUM.

A correspondent of "Le Peuple" draws attention to the way in which the law forbidding the employment of young children in factories is evaded. Instead of the children working in a factory, they work at home, and under those circumstances the law does not apply. The men and women working at home receive in many cases only one franc (20c) a day. It would be advisable to prohibit home work, as it leads to a great deal of sweating and the work is often carried on under very insanitary conditions.

AUSTRIA.

The Austrian Government is seeking to allay the discontent among the working people by inaugurating public works on a large scale. The plans involve railway costing about \$100,000,000, and a canal costing from \$100,000,000 to \$140,000,000. The construction of the railways thus planned is to be spread over a period of five or six years and that of the canals over what is an equitable arrangement, will be entered into.

HUNGARY.

A terrible account is given in the "Pech Fegyelo" of the condition of Hungarian agricultural laborers. They have no day rest; they begin work at 3 a. m., and do not leave off till 10 p. m.; three or four families herd together in one room, and their food is often nothing but bread and bacon.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Miners and iron workers by the hundreds of thousands are having wages reduced in England. Cause: Can't compete with American "pauper" labor.

Thirty thousand miners and engineers are on strike in Lanarkshire, for an eight-hour day. As a result furnaces and mills are closing down and a general depression is expected.

A dispatch from Middleborough states that the wages of the blast furnace men will be reduced twenty-one per cent for three months and that the wages of the Northumberland miners will be reduced thirteen and three-quarters per cent.

A cable dispatch reports that the London County Council has decided to erect 225 acres of land, on which to build workmen's houses to accommodate 42,000 persons. The cost will be \$7,500,000. But why should workmen have to depend upon the municipality to have decent homes?

The Lancashire Master Cotton Spinners, who have about 440,000,000 capital in the industry, have, it is reported, decided to lock themselves with five per cent profit. The men are to be asked to accept wages which will allow this profit and no more to be made and if they agree, what appears on the surface of the French miners vote in favor of a strike.

Six thousand miners on strike in Wales, two thousand quarries on strike at Buxton, five hundred laborers on strike at Buxton, four thousand Fenryn quarries on strike, two thousand Glasgow joiners resisting a threatened reduction of wages from 10 to 9d per hour—such are a few of the cheerful indications of prosperity with which the laboring classes begin the new century, says the "London Labor Leader." Scottish iron workers have had to accept a ten per cent reduction, and the unemployed list is daily growing larger.

FRANCE.

At Chateau Thierry a workman was dismissed by his employer for belonging to a trade union. An action was brought, and the man succeeded in obtaining compensation.

A cable dispatch from Lens, Department of Pas-de-Calais, reports that the Miners' Congress has voted in favor of a general strike if the men locked out at Montceau-les-Mines (Department of Saone-et-Loire) are not reinstated within ten days, provided a majority ten or fifteen.

The congress also adopted a resolution declaring that if the Government did not agree, within six months, to the eight-hour day and the old-age pensions a general strike would be declared after a referendum.

"Jacques Bonhomme," writing in London "Justice," says that the reports from the Marseilles strike are exaggerated, and "as far as I can judge, there has not been anything like the disorder or the riots which our yellow press has talked about."

ITALY.

In Mantua, 17,000 farm laborers have recently organized into one provincial union, representing 116 different unions.

At a meeting of the ship-owners, held at Genoa, it was decided that the owners preferred to lay up their vessels rather than yield to the demands of the strikers.

SPAIN.

Strikes have occurred in Catalonia because the employers do not carry out the provisions of the last law relating to the employment of women and children.

SOUTH AMERICA.

The breadmakers' strike in Lima, Peru, continues, and only five bakeries are in operation. Bread is selling for double its former price.

