Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

VOL. XIII.-NO. 88.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 20, 1903.

The Worker.

FOR FREE SPEECH.

History and Present Status of the Turner Case.

Under New "Anti-Anarchist Law" Allens Can Be Deported by Administrative Process for Their "Bellefs"-Free Speech League Appeals for Funds to Resist Insidious Attack on Constitutional Liberties.

The attention of all persons who be lieve in free speech and freedom of belief is asked to the principles in-volved in the case of John Turner. The facts, and the law under which he was arrested and is still confined pending appeal, together with the constitutional questions involved, are as

John Turner, an English labor or ganizer and social reformer, while ad dressing a meeting in New York City Oct. 23, was arrested by federal officers upon a warrant issued by Secre tary of Commerce Cortelyou, and taken immediately to Ellis Island. The next meaning he was taken before a Board of Inquiry and tried without counsel or witnesses in a se-cret session. The board reported that Torner was an "anarchist" and had been here less than three years, and Secretary Cortelyou ordered that he

be deported to England.

It is a mistake to assume that the Anti-Anarchist Law applies only to persons advocating violence or assassi nation—though this impression was given out when the law was enacted.

A writ of habeas corpus was ob tained and the case argued before Judge Lacombe of the United States Circuit Court. Then it was found that the government rested its case primar ily upon so much of Section 38 of the immigration law (as amended March 3, 1965) as reads: "That no person who dishelieves in or who is opposed to all organized government, or who is a member of or affliated with any organization entertaining or teaching such disbelief in or opposition to all organized government . . . shall be permitted to enter the United States.

The charge before the board was that Turner was an "anarchist," and therefore excluded under section 2. which among other classes, excludes: "Polygamists, anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the gov ent of the United States or all ernment of the United States or all government." Compact for Turner contended that the word "anarchist" in this section was not defined, but that if it was held by the court to be defined by the clause following it. Turper should be allowed to prove that he did not advocate violence. Govern-ment counsel admitted that the word "anarchist" was either defined by the clause following it, or else was sy-nonymous with the clause in section as excluding the "person who disbe lieves in all organized government."

The only utterance of Turner quoted in the government argument was this extenct from his speech of October 23;

the entire industrial world.

Everywhere the employers are organizing, and to me, at any rate, as an anarchist, as one who believes that the people must emancipate themselves, I look forward to this struggle as an opportunity for the workers to assert the power that is really theirs. The trade unions have been growing, and have now reached big preportions. The sole question at issue is the two properties of the sole question at issue is the two properties. power that is really theirs. The trade unions have been growing, and have new reached big proportions. The inevitable outcome is a struggle between the two, and the general strike offers to advert the structure of the structure the two, and the general strike offers to advanced people an opportunity to demonstrate their power, and to us, who belong to the advanced move ment, an opportunity to help the workers to gain in audacity and courage, and thus determine as quickly as possible their emancipation.

"From these remarks it is apparen that this alien regards a 'general strike' as a means to an end, to wit: the overthrow of all government Even small strikes are usually accomby violence and a general would certainly involve great social disorder and confusion. If anarchy ever comes about; even for a short time, it will no doubt be through the disorder and violence of a general strike, A general strike, therefore, cannot be regarded as a penceful means of establishing anarchy."

This comment is given here to show attitude of the officials towards labor agitation, but it is not material to the case from a legal standpoint; the extract from Turner's speech was only introduced as a secondary argu-ment in case the court declared so much of section 38 as related to "per tional. But the court upheld the en-

Judge Lacombe, in deciding against Turner, held that as the acts excluding allens for insanity or contagious ases or other physical causes had been declared constitutional, "it is not perceived why the principles laid down in a long line of decisons do not apply equally to a person who is dif-ferentiated by the possession or advo-cacy of specific beliefs as to the con-

duct and regulation of society."

As to the contention that the law violated the First Amendment to the Constitution, Judge Lacombe held that the "exclusion of an alien who is an free exercise of religion, and "as to abridgment of the freedom of speech, that clause deals with the speech of persons in the United States and has no bearing upon the question of what person shall be allowed to enter therein." sharchist" is not a prohibition of the

was necessary that this appeal should act as a stay of deportation, for if Tur-ner had gong back to England the mat-ter could not have been brought before the court. Ball was refused, so that to test the constitutionality of the lav he has to stay in prison on Ellis Island, not being allowed to see friends or his counsel except in the presence of officials, who make notes of the conversation. He is kept in a little cell except when allowed daily exercise in the company of guards, and unless his friends continue to sup-ply him with money to purchase food, he will be on a diet of bread and coffee

and soup, and not much of these.

If this law is sustained, an order of arrest can be issued by the Secretary of Commerce against any allen who has not seen here for three years. The person arrested can be taken from any part of the country to Eillis Island: be part of the country to Eilis Island; be there examined secretly without wit-nesses or counsel, by three men whose positions depend upon the favor of the Secretary issuing the warrant, and if two of them report to this cabinet offi-cer that they believe the arrested man "disbelieves in all organized govern-ment," the Secretary can send him back to the country of his birth without allowing him to see his family or to settle his business affairs. From this decision there is no appeal to any court or jury. The practical result will be to put every alien who may take part in political or trade union agitation against the policy of the ad ministration at the mercy of the Secretary of Commerce for three years after his arrival. And it will open a wide door to blackmail by federal offi

As the Chicago "Public" comments "When the President can arbitrarily arrest and deport, any alien of not more than three years' residence... how long before he will be able arbit rarily to arrest citizens and deport of incarcerate them at his own pleas ure?"

Turner is charged with no offence except "disbelieving;" the meeting he addressed was peaceful and violated no law of the State of New York; h is not accused of advocating assassina-tion (nor of advocating violence except upon the flimsy ground of approv-ing of labor unions and strikes); he has been president and is now general or gaulzer of the Shop Assistants (Reta Clerks) Union of Great Britain, and conference at Brussels as a delegat from his union; he toured this countr in 1896, speaking in the principal cities without molestation, and it twenty years of public speaking and labor organizing work in England, he has never even been arrested.

It has been reserved for free Americans and the condemned criminal condemned criminal condemned criminal condemned criminal condemned criminal criminal condemned criminal condemned criminal criminal condemned criminal crimina

ica to treat as a condemped crimina a man who in a European country has never concealed his opinions and has never been molested for expressin them.

Unless protest is made against this new alien law, it is extremely likely to be followed by a sedition act for the benefit of such native citizens as may be in disagreement with the tration. Tyranny always begins wit

Speech League has taken charge of Turner's case, in order that the con-stitutionality of the law may be propstitutionality of the law may be prop-erly tested. Funds are needed for this purpose, and in order that Turner shall not want for food nor his family suffer during his incarceration. If he is willing to submit to several months' imprisonment in order that Americans Upon this extract the government lawyer commented as follows:

Impresonment in duction in the put analyses the law, he should not be put to any suffering that can be avoided.

Nor should the case be allowed to drop from public notice, Subscriptions for the Turner Fund should be sent to Dr. E. B. Foote, Jr., Treasurer, 120 Lexington avenue, New

FREE SPEECH LEAGUE,

175 Broadway, New York. E. W. Chamberialn, President, 111 W. Forty-second street, N. Y.; A. C. Pieydell, Secretary, 175 Brondway, N. Y. Committee-E. C. Walker, Geo. E. Macdonald, Benj, R. Tucker, Jos. Barondess, D. Rousseau, W. F. Doll, Alexander Jonas, Herman Schlueter, Dr. J. A. Maryson, Moses Oppenhelmer, H. Gaylord Wilshire, Charles Oberwager, William Graven, Algernon Lee, Peter E. Burrowes, Dr. E. B.

"ACADEMIC FREEDOM."

Socialist Club in a Kansas College Ordered by Faculty to Disband.

An Associated Press dispatch from Topeka, Kas., under date Dec. 12, says: "The Faculty of Washburn College to-day e-dered that the Socialist Club of the College discontinue its

meetings. "It is said to be the result of letters being received from Eastern financial supporters of the college saying they would withdraw aid unless the club was suppressed.
"The organization was formed by

some of the admirers of the Rev. Charles M. Sheldon, and was conducted according to his ideas. Some of the leading students of the college were

Just what kind of "Socialists" they no bearing upon the question of what person shall be allowed to enter therein."

From this decision an appeal has been taken to the Supreme Court. It

NEW YORK VOTE.

Social Democratic Party Gains Ten Thousand.

The Official Count Gives 33,389 Votes for Matchett - S. L. P. Loses Over · Five Thousand.

ALBANY, N. Y., Dec. 15.-The State Board of Canvassers has completed its work and announced the full results of the state election held on Nov. 3. The figures for the candidates of the locial Democratic Party and of the S. L. P., respectively, for Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals, the only state office voted for, are shown in the subjoined table:

0	Cou	S CP	Dani S.	Ben S.	Daniel S. L.
t	ntie	B. H.	12	U H	FE
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n	Albany	609	278	123	441
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t	Cattaraugus	126	34	17	, 53
n	Cavnea	106	63	30	192
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8	Chenango	87	33	41	45
n	Cunton	18	14	5 19	16 18
1-	Cortland	25	5	5	7
:	Delaware	23	200 E 200 E 200	2	14
y	Dutchess	118	48	14	1,031
t	Erie Essex	47	680	506 68	29
i	Franklin	40	28	8	18
10	Fulton	403 125	109	465	172 43
S-	Genessee			74	25
•	Hamilton	6	1	1	1
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d	Jefferson	5,217	1,645	4,381	2,869
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e	Onelda	586	149		181
y	Onondaga Ontario	57	223 20	367 16	456 25
al n	Orange	250	117	142	187
d		77 95	44.		26 56
ie	Oswego Otsego	91	26		
r-	Putnam	12	0	14	. 7
nl	Queens Rensselaer .	1,110	206 169	1,037	370 489
18	Richmond		89	129	123
g	Rockland			40	23
	St. Lawr'ce Saratoga	54 85	S1 66	13 43	97
is	Schenectacy	432	203	136	187
ie	Schoharie	13	11	5 2	4
2	Schuyler Seneca	63	5 42		5 28
h	Steuben	226	56	185	105
d	Suffolk	150	46		61
0	Sullivan	22 19			6 11
id ie	Tompkins	105	10	34	19
e-	Ulster	68 47	37	39 50	
it	Warren, Washington	109	20	117	55
of	Wayne	60	15	20	29
	Westchester	761	302	700 6	557
III	Wyoming Yates			4	0
30	1 1 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	4 5 5 5	-	5000	

Total. . . . 33.399 10.677 23.400 15.886 Denis O'Brien, the joint candidate of he Republican and Democratic par

ties, received 13,498 less votes than did the heads of the state tickets of those two parties last year. The Prohibi tionists lost 1,143.

DEFEND FREE SPEECH.

Alabama Socialists Make a Test and Jury Sustains Them Against Hostile Judge.

State Secretary Waldhorst of Als

ama reports the acquittal of J. L. Me Guire on a charge of obstructing the streets Comrade McGuire was ar Socialist street meeting in Birming ham. The case was tried before a jury in the Criminal Court of that city on Dec. 3 and the jury brought in verdict of not guilty. The Prosecuting rubbish barrels, in an effort to make ase against McGuire. The Judge's the jury contained son charge to sweeping statements, which cause the Socialist's attorney to protest vig-orously and make the Judge give the vital points of his charge in writing. Comrade Waldherst says the local S cialists are jubilant, as the acquittal of McGuire establishes their right to the use of the public streets for mee

EMINENTLY RESPECTABLE

Uncle George:-"I don't like to say anything, Carrie, against your Firsting. He appears to be a nice sort of chap, and there's no denying that he's got lots of money, but how does he get it? They do say his ancestor ere no better than pirates."

Carrie:-"And left him the money Oh, I'm so glad! I was afraid yo father worked for a living, or some disgraceful thing like that."—Bostor

"If our combination is illegal," said the capitalist, "I suppose we will have to change it." "Wouldn't it be easier to change the law?" asked his assection.

SOCIALISTS IN THE REICHSTAG.

rnment Supporter Calls for Dis franchisement-Socialists Force Gov-

ernment to Act on Army Outrages BERLIN, Dec. 11.-In the course o discussion on the maltreatment b rivate soldiers in the army in the private soldlers in the army in the Reichstag to-day Baron von Kardonf alluded to the enormous increase in the German Socialist vote. He said he would not assert that the army had grown untrustworthy, but he declared that its ranks were filled with Socia

ists, who were increasing in numbers with the growth of their party. "My opinion," said Baron von Kar dorff, "is that we are on an express train which is rolling with wind veloc-ity into the Socialized state of the future. At any rate, something must be done to prevent the growth of the Social Democracy, and the most ef-fective means to this end would be to withdraw the suffrage for five years utionists or republicans."

This statement was greeted with t laughter Continuing, the Baron said: "The

Government must do everything in its power, for if nothing happens a revo-lution is coming with certainty."

The speaker pointed out that it would be impossible to suppress So-cialism with intellectual weapons, and he urged Catholics and Protestants to conclude a truce in order that they might jointly combat this new danger. "It will then," said he, "be easy to

lead a struggle against Socialism to a

The Socialist members have at last succeeded in forcing the government to acknowledge and take action upon the shameful brutalities prevailing in the army. It has in the past been pos-sible for the officers to inflict all imaginable indignities and outrages upon the private soldiers with prac-tical impunity; even the most coldblooded murders, committed "in de-fense of an officer's honor," have been condened if not approved by the authorities. The Social Democrats, while condemning the whole system of militarism, have made a special pro-test against these abuses; and the increase of the Social Democratic vote has given weight to their words. Sev-eral officers are now being prosecuted

for brutality to privates. Paul Göhre, formerly a clergyman, who joined the Social Democratic Party some four or five years ago and who was elected to the Reichstag Inst June, resigned since the Dresden con-gress. Office was a Revisionist and naturely smarted under the rebuke which the compromising tendencies re-coved at Dresden. The party in his district—the fifteenth Saxon—chose Comrade Schöpflin, a tried and true veteran, as their candidate in his stead

and easily elected him.

At the municipal elections in Berlin the Social Democrats won all their old seats and five more; the Liberals re tained two; for another there is a sec ond bailot between Liberal and Social ists, and for the remaining seat a sec-ond ballot takes place between an anti-Semite and a Liberal. Comrades Singer, Stadthagen, and Antrick were ng the elected.

At the municipal elections at Char lottenburg our comrades got six out of the eight seats to be filled up. This is a useful set-off to the Prussian Landtag elections, where our comrades, despite numerical superiority, are excluded by a class suffrage fro all representation.

ANOTHER BIG CUT IN WAGES.

Thirty Thousand - Pennsylvania Coke Workers Get 30 per Cent Reduction. CONNELLSVILLE, Pa., Dec. 15 .cent, and affecting 30,000 men in the Connellsville coke region was anunced to-day. The H. C. Frick Coke Company takes the initiative in this, the first reduction since the great strike of the early nineties, and to-day

nouncing the reductions. The cut in wages was a smaller cut in the selling price of coke. This means that other coke plants in various parts of the country will have to educe wages or shut down.

posted notices at all their plants an

PITTSBURG, Dec. 11.-The special nvention of the Sheet Steel Workers of the Amalgamated Association of fron, Steel, and Tin Workers, to consider the propositions of the manufaceel, and Tin Workers, to c turers to remove the restrictive clan as to output of the mills, and that the men accept a reduction of wages, ad-journed to-night after having practically acceded to the removal of the the question of wage reduction to a referendum vote of the lodges. The manufacturers say the wage re

fuction is as necessary as the ren are to compete with the non-union. So runs the dispatch. In other words, the union is called upon to con ent to a system under which the est men will set the standard of wages and others will be leveled down to their scale.

MANY FAILURES LAST WEEK. Bradstreet's reports 241 failures in the United States during the week against 259 for the previous week, and 247, 233, 247, and 223 for the corre-sponding weeks of 1902 to 1890. About 81 per cent. of the total number of concerns failing had capital of \$5,000 or less, and 10 per cent. had from \$5,000 to \$20,000 capital.

Buy Union Label Goods

UNION FINED.

First Case of Collective Penalty for Conspiracy.

Franklin Press Feeders' Union of Chicago Fined \$1,000 for Alleged Conspiracy to Commit Unlawful Acts In Strike and Boycott.

CHICAGO, Dec. 12-A fine of CHICAGO, Dec. 12.—A fine of \$1,000 for illegal acts was imposed upon Franklin Union No. 4, Press Freders, by Judge Holdom to-day. The Court found the union as a corporation guilty of contempt of court for violating an injunction restraining it as an organization from interfering with the business or employees of ten printing firms, members of the Chi-

cago Typothetic.

Judge Holdom's action creates a nistory of trades unionism in this country that a court has fined a union as a corporation. With his decision Judge Holdom has handed down an opinion in which he severely condemns the acts of pickets and union members following the press feeders' strike.

"Such warfare cannot and will not be tolerated by the courts in a land of be tolerated by the courts in a man or peace where people are governed by law," said Judge Holdom; "and the law would be lacking in one of its most necessary attributes if it was impotent to punish for such violation." The case will be carried to a higher

It was alleged that members of the union were guilty of acts of violence against scabs, and Judge Holdom dwelt upon these in his opinion, but the significance of the case as a conviction of a union for "conspiracy" is shown by the following passage from the judge's opinion:

"Bearing in mand that the charge in the bill is that of conspiracy and that the acts enjoined were those used in furtherance of such conspiracy, it would seem from the evidential facts that the actions of the union at the meeting of Sept. 27, in the establishment of the strike headquarters in Custom House Court, the assault and intimidation by Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms Kavanaugh and by Visiting Committeeman Hagberg, the payment of strike benefits at the strike headquarters by the union treasurer with the union money, and the fact that no discrimination was made against the members of the union known to be guilty of acts in themselves criminal guilty of acts in themselves criminal, establish the union as a conspirator with its offending members, party and privy to the violations of the injunc-tion of which some of its members stand convicted, and therefore guilty of violation of the injunction and amenable to discipline of such violation, providing it can be so disciplined under the law."

It may be noted that this union is one of the few incorporated under state laws. It was as an incorporated body that it was proceeded against in

FLEECING INVENTORS.

Federal Courts Sustain Contracts by Which Employers Claim Sole Right to inventions Made by Their Employees.

The United States courts have, by recent decision (Thibodean vs. Hildreth, 124 Fed. Rep. 892) held that a contract between employer and em ployee by which the latter, as a condi-tion of getting employment, agrees that the employer shall have the benefit and enjoyment of all those inventions and improvements relating to machines used in his business which the employee may make while there employed and agrees further, if he ceases to be employed there, to keep secret forever all inventions he may have made during the term of such employment, leaving them to the sole use and profit of that employer, is not an unconscionable agreement as against the employer nor contrary to public policy and that the employee is

forever bound by it. The practise which the Federal in mon one. In many large machine manufacturing, chemical and other sorts of works where inventions are likely to be made by the workmen there is a clause in the regular em pleyment contract by which the man who is fortunate enough to get a job transfers to the proprietor in advance all rights in any invention or discov nected with the industry which ery connected with the industry which he, the employee, may make. It is a well-known fact that men of inventive genius, like artists, are generally lack-ing in the selfish cunning that wins business success, that in their en-thusiasm over their ideas they often deny themselves bodily comforts in order to study and develop those ideas, and that consequently such men are and that consequently such men are often in hard straits. A man of this practically at the mercy of the few men who control the opportunities of employment in his particular trade the capitalists' terms, however hard, and risking destitution and utter fail

That even under such conditions of contract slavery men will labor on in-ventions from which they can expect neither riches nor fame, is one of the most conclusive replies to the "incentive of hunger" argument so commonly urged against Socialism. Socialism would assure every man a country work, to receive the full value of his work, to receive the full value of his product, and to enjoy more leisure than now into the sor of any out the rich. Can any sane man really be-lieve that such conditions would dis-courage invention and scientific re-search or that such conditions as this capitalist court decision upholds tends

THE HESSIANS OF COLORADO

Mine Owners Pay State for Use of Troops.

Brutal General in Command Is a Pet of Roosevelt's-"Sun" Predicts that Federal Troops Will Be Sent-The Lynch-Law "Citizens."

In the eighteenth century some he petty princes of Germany used to swell their revenues by hiring out regments of their subjects to fight for England, for France, or whoever paid the best price.

The state of Colorado has beat the

record of the Hessians. The Colorado militia is frankly hired out to wealthy citizens of that state, to help them in their conflict with the citizens who made them wealthy-to the mine owning companies, to help them in their conflict with the striking min

That we may not be suspected of drawing upon our imagination for this asionishing statement, we quote the words of the New York "Sun," an un-impeachable capitalist authority. The following is from the "Sun" dispatch:

"DENVER, Col., Dec. 12.-Gov. Per body continues to reply to all persons who urge him to withdraw the military forces of the state of Colorado from the mining districts that he will keep the soldiers actively employed there until peace and good order are established. Yet as the days go by conditions grow worse. It is an ur equal contest which is waged, and the Governor seems without wise advisers and short of resources.

"The state treasury was in no con dition to meet the heavy drain caus by the active military operations. The state's credit has been at a low ebb for a number of years. Four years ago Gov. Thomas had to obtain the consent of the Denver clearing house to a loan without legal security in or-der to keep the charitable and educational institutions open. By the tacit consent of the judiciary this loan was made good by the last Legislature by an appropriation to cover the clearing certificates.

two years ago brought promise of a better financial condition, but after the floating debt was met and the de layed needs of the state providlast winter, the treasury was again de pleted. Now, with the loss of reve nucs, due to many causes, the outlook

for next year is exceedingly dark.

"The military fund was very low at the outset of the present trouble, and there was some doubt of the ability of the state to defray the expenses of the military forces in active service.
At this functure THE WEALTHY MINE OWNERS AND CORPORA-TION MANAGERS, who for so many years had groaned under the tyranny of the Western Federation of Miners and its alifed labor organizations OFFERED TO ADVANCE TO GOV. PEABODY THE FUNDS NECES-SARY TO WAGE THE CAMPAIGN personally directed, by the labor lead-

"It is DUE TO THIS SUPPORT that there is a contest between the state militia and the strikers in Cripple Creek, in Telluride and, this week, in the coal camps in the vicinity of Trin-idad. How long the Governor can keep his soldiers in the field depends upon the support given to him by the combination of mine owners and al-Hed corporations.'

The militin in the strike field is under the command of Adjutant-General Bell, of whom the "Sun" gives the fol-

"Bell is a young man and first came to public notice when Roosevelt wrote confidently on another full dividend about the Rough Riders who fought in from the Steel Trust, fear it will be

the Cuban war. "After the war, Bell went to Crippl Creek and obtained employment as a special watchman about the big Later, when things becam ome in the district. Bell was holding a comfortable post at a good salary when, to the surprise of the public, Gov. Peabody appointed him THE STATE. nade a mine superintendent. He was Adintant-General. It was at once asserted by the labor leaders that he was appointed for the sole purpose of doing the bidding of the mine operators, and that his salary would be con-tinued by the Mine Operators' Asso ciation despite the fact that his salary as Adjutant-General, as provided by

"Bell was hardly put in office be fore he became so self-assertive and so arbitrary that the Governor was alost daily annoyed by the trouble that ensued. The new Adjutant-Gen-eral was so full of fight when the militia went down to Colorado Springs last winter that in a few days Gov. Peabody had to call him back to Den ver and assign other officers in the guard to the field command. No one could muzzle Bell, however, and his ill-advised utterances were published daily in the local press, to the delight of the labor leaders.
"But Gov. Peabody has not yet sup

pressed his Adjutant-General, and th daily utterances of Bell make capital for the labor leaders. Neither has Bell hesitated to intimate that he has t 'pull' which even Gov. Peabody ares not oppose."
Bell's "pull," of course, is in the

White House. President Roosevelt is the backer of this truculent com-mander of mercenaries, who puts a censorship on the press and threatens to hang men by court-martial for "un-armed resistance" to his will. We guots further from the "Sun" armed resistance" to his will.

We quote further from the "Sun"

dispatch:

"Members of the Mine Owners' Association, feeling assured that Goy,

"Yep. It's a wonder somebody didn't sell a lot of two-cent stamps at three cents aplece."—Puck

ON MR. MORGAN'S AUTHORITY.

many others only a little less distinguished, appears at the foot of an appeal for charity in which attention is called to the special distress which is likely to obtain among the working class this winter.

Distress is no new thing. Not among the WORKING class. Winter always brings special distress. Of course. But this winter brings VERY special distress, as even Mr. Morgan knows, And why? Because Capitalism (perfect system, ordained by God for special benefit of God-fearing Christian gentlemen), is having one of its periodical breakdowns.

Morgan and his confederates own he means of production, the things that the propertiless tollers must have access to in order to work. They allow the toilers to work only on such ers, to live in luxury without work. The system which gives to a few more wealth than they can consume and to the many wages insufficient to buy more than the bare necessities of life, eads inevitably to a periodic glut of the market, a production of more goods than can be sold at a profit to the capitalists. The capitalists then discharge a part of the workers (forbid them to use the means of production they have made) and reduce the wages of the rest-in order to save their own profits from being reduced. Then they sit down in their warm nomes, between a good dinner and an evening at the opera, and think about the sufferings of the poor and thank the Devil they are not as other men, hungry and cold, and write a touching appeal for charity.

The man who has "made" a million in the just year will write his check for a hundred or two to provide soup and barrack lodgings and plous tract for the poor wretches from whose weary toil he "made" it. The man whose lawful loot runs into the tens of millions may even give a thousand or two. The newspapers will chron icle his "princely generosity." The pulpit will praise his Christian charity. ("But the Son of Man had not where to lay his head.") The police will keep impudent beggars from noying him with the tight of their misery-let them go to the soup kitchens if they are hungry, or to the station house, or to the river, or to Hell. His conscience is free. He has given to charity-the tithe of the tithe of the tithe of that he has lawfully taken from the totlers.

Times are hard. Mr. Morgan will not buy so many ten-thousand-dollar pictures (which he hasn't brains to appreciate) this year. Times are hard. Mr. Rockefeller will not build another palace this year. Perhaps he will not even give the usual bribe to his university professors. (Poor President Harper! Let us hope he will not turn pessimist.) Times are hard. Mr. Carnegle will not endow so many libraries this year. (A pity, too-for so many people have too much leisure now, and might like to sit in a warm library and read.) Times are hard. Eminent gentlemen, who had counted

Peabody will not change in his policy

to keep the state on a war basis until lawlessness shall cease, openly assert that the strike troubles will not end

until the Western Federation of Min

"There is yet another feature in the

unfortunate situation in this state, and

that is the so-called 'Citizens' Alli-

ance, a secret organization of leading business men in a number of cities

and towns which is pledged to fight,

selves. This developed into the meth-ods of a vigilance committee in the Idaho Springs case, last July, when

members of the Miners' Union there were driven out of the camp and warned not to come back."

It will be remembered that the capi

talist press, especially the representa-tive New York "Times," openly ap

proved this lawless conduct of the self-

"Unless there shall soon come

truce, or an expressed willingness of the opposing leaders, the mine opera-

tors and corporation managers on the

one side, and the officials of the West

ern Federation of Miners and the coa

mine leaders on the other, there will

be nothing left but FOR THE FED-

ERAL GOVERNMENT TO STEP IN AND CONTROL THE SITUATION."

Cleveland sent United States troop to break the A. R. U. strike in 189

"Why, they've been selling the post office all sorts of things at all sorts of prices."

sevelt send them against the

Will Ro

A. F. of M. now?

Finally, the "Sun" says:

J. Pierpont Morgan's name, with | cut. (Can't buy dukes for their poor daughters if Steel dividend goes down. Weep for the daughters-and the

PRICE 2 CENTS.

Times are hard. You carpenter, locked out three months last summer and new laid off, what say you? Wife won't get that new qoat she ought to have had a year ago. You steel worker, cut ten per cent., what say you? Mortgage fulling due; life insurance must be met; forty years old, used up and down and out pretty soon; big chance of accident, too; have to economize on children's Christmas. You textile mill "hands" (not supposed to have hearts or brains), lucky if you get seven a week when you work; cut ten per cent. now, and likely to be laid off pretty soon (laid on the shelf, like a lifeless tool-or thrown in the scrapheap, like a worn-out tool), what say terms as shall enable them, the own- | you? Landlord wants his rent; didn't lay a brick or drive a nail in building the house, but WANTS HIS RENT. (Do you hear?) Cold weather, this, to be wicted. Also, grocer and butcher want cash; sorry, but Meat Trust and Grocery Trust will evict HIM if he hasn't cash. (Grocer and butcher are Republicans, believe in legitimate business enterprise and Teddy and the Canal.) You weave cloth. Of course, you have warm clothes, at least. No? Children shivering? ("The poor ye have always with you." Wonderful are the dispensations of Providenceand Morgan.)

Well, what are you going to DO about it? Shiver? And beg? And truckle to your boss? (You truckled to him before, and this is what you get.) And kow-tow to Mr. Hanna, the Brazen Image of Prosperity?

OUIT IT. Quit begging and truckling. The beggar gets the kicks that he invites. Quit bowing and salaaming. The man that prostrates himself before another gets trampled on, of course.

Stand up straight like men that you were born to be. Tell Mr. Morgan you want more than free soup. Tell the Masters of Bread that the tithe of the tithe of the tithe of what they have lawfully fleeced from you, given back in insolent charity, doesn't at all fill the bill. Tell them (and mean it) that you propose to change the law, to throw the Sacred Rights of Property into the ash-barrel along with the Divine Right of Kings.

Tell them, in language so plain and strong that they shall bear and believe (the devils believed and trembled, you remember), that-

You propose to vote, next chance on get, that the people who do the work shall OWN THE THINGS THEY WORK WITH and get the FULL value of the things they make -which is Socialism.

Tell them that through the press through your unions, through public meetings, through processions and demonstrations-any way, so you tell them loud enough.

Tell them that and make them beleve it (and it must be true), and they'll melt their plate and sell the jewels from their wives' necks to satisfy you, lest you carry out the threat. THEN CARRY IT OUT.

STRIKERS JAILED AS "VAGRANTS."

One of the Tricks Used by the Capital ist Authorities in Colorado.

Colorado writes to the National Secretary of the Socialist Party com Telluride, in the miners' strike .egion, under date Dec. 8: "We are having bound over to court on a pretended charge of conspiracy, and without a particle of proof. The other morning the soldiers went around and picked up over thirty workingmen and took them before the Police Magistrate, who found most of them guilty of vagrancy. He gave them two days to leave town or go to work, although not one had asked anyone for enything. They refused to leave or go to work are working the streets under a mili tary guard."

THE GROWTH OF PATRIOTISM. The Professor of History:-"In the great rebellion, how many soldiers

ought on the Union side?" The Pupil:-"About 15,000,000," "Great Scott, man! You must have got your information from the pension lists!"-Life.

BUILDING UP A FORTUNE.

Young man, do not be afraid to burn fre midnight oil. If you do you will pile up a great fortune. John D. Rockefeller receives his fourth quar terly dividend of \$4,800,000 Dec. 15, Never mind whose fortune.—The St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

-The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe

associate.—Chicago Evening Post.

National Committeeman Floaten of

The Worker. AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY wn in New York State as the Social Democratic Party.)

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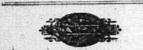
Address all business communications, and make money orders chome and drafts paycommunications. Considering approximate the cultorial department of the saper should be addressed to the Létter of The Worker. Communications for the Violksreiting" or the State Secretary of the St D. P. should always be separately sideressed. smed.

Acknowledgment is made by flag the number of the wrapper, the finisher on the wrapper, the finisher on the wrapper, the finisher of the wrapper, the finisher of the written like and on one slide on written like and on one slide of the property of the written was about on the above of the written like and on one slide of weeky letter of the written was the waste of the written with the written was the waste of the written with the waste was

be disregarded. Rejected manuscripts we not be rectimed unless stamps are neclesed. As The Werker goes to press on Wednesday, correspondents sending the properties of the paper should be a treased to the Beard of Directors, Social Desperation of the paper should be a treased to the Beard of Directors, Social Desperative Publishing Association. By William street, New York.

Entered as second-class matter at the

e Socialist Party (the Social Democratic y of New Yorki has passed through its all general election. Its growing power ultented and its speedy victory for-owed by the great increase of its vote sown in these figures:



PERHAPS TIMELY.

We wish to say now and to say it with all possible emphasis that, realizing well the terrible stress of the hard noting well the policy of reaction and blood-and-iron repression that the capi talist class and its political agent seem resolved to follow, we yet hole that any man who, at this critical time, may counsel the abandonment of the methods of education, organization, and pelitical action followed by the Socialist Party or the adoption of physical force is to be regarded as an enemy of the Socialist movement and a dangerous misleader of the working class, even if he be not suspected a a secret agent of capitalism. This statement may prove timely or may not. In anticipation of things that may be done or said in the name of chuse, we make it now and events will show whether it was needful.

IN THE DAYS OF DEFEAT.

Had there been no election of 1902 with its upexampled Socialist gains in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, the states, as compared with that of 1901 or any preceding year, would have rightly so-and the loss of our two in Haverhill and Brockton would have made all over the country and especthe partial reverses of this fall as at all discouraging. The line of progress always wavy or zig-zag, now rising slowly, now taking a sudden upward leap, now falling as suddenly, now slowly or quickly recovering its uphas been the experience of our party. From 125,000 votes in 1871 we rose to 350,000 in '74 and to almost half a million in '77; in the following year we 312,000; not until 1884 did we make a new high record and that surpassed only did we begin to gain steadily as ago the word went out that Socialism had received its death-blow in the German Empire; to-day, German capitalit has yet to fight a losing battle against the hosts that advance under the Red Flag. Nor will it be different in the United States. Though Hanna prove as strong and as relentless as the Iron Chancellor, he has every likelihood of living to acknowledge his can survive a whole series of "deathblows" such as it has received in the last two months in Massachusetts and | White House by equivocation; and | their constitu

Pennsylvania-survive them and profit by them.

And profit by them. How to profit by them? That is the question. It is ot enough that we assure each othe that we are not much hurt by our little knock-down, not enough that we proclaim our faith in the destined victory of our cause. By faith it is said men have waxed valiant in fight and turned to flight the armies of the aliens, but it was not without deeds to justify their faith. If we have the faith that avails anything, we will show it most in the days of temporary defeat. The same considerations that assure us of our ultimate victory will enable us to momentary failures, if those causes lie with us, and to see and use the means to overcome them, if they lie without our ranks.

After such extraordinary advance as we made inst year—especially when, as then, they were partly "thrust upon" us rather than "achieved"-we are always likely to grow flushed with confidence and either by rashness or by pegligence or both to throw away the opportunity of following up our victory and even to leave our own lines exposed. This is a common human fault, but it is a fault and should be guarded against.

Aside from mere neglect, mere falling asleep on our laurels, the mistake we are most likely to make at such times is that of overestimating the importance of the political side of our work as compared with the work of education and organization-of so fix ing our attention on quantitative respits as to perject the quality of our movement. Now in ours, as in every really great movement, quality is everything. The greatness of the German Social Democracy has been shown this year, not so much in its million added votes as in its sturdy refusal to swerve by the fraction of an inch from its strict line of pelicy in order to appease the clamors of "revisionists" within or to meet the friendly advances of "radicals" without; and if the party had not been of the stalwart quality that it showed at Dresden in September, it would hardly have enined the million votes in June

What we have ever to bear in mind.

in-times of triumph and of defeat, is that our task is to make Socialists, not only to get votes for Socialism; that we cannot make Socialists by such means as suffice for old-party or "reform" or "independent labor" politics; that things which others may do with impunity or even with advantage it may be all but criminal for Socialists to do and that Socialists must do many things that seem utter folly in oth eyes. To the Socialist who is worthy of the name the fidelity of the party to its rigid principles and high ideals is as sucred as to the virgin her maiden honor-not only a thing that must not be grossly sold, but that must not be sullied by light words or equivocal manners or touched with the "that high light whereby the world is saved" whenever and wherever we seek to please or to avoid displeasing that vague phantom called "the public" by any the least departure fro the letter or the spirit of our party law. Socialism is a law unto itself and we owe first and undivided allegiance to it; if our allegiance to other laws or customs conflict therewith, so much the worse for them. And well it is, as true it is, that whenever we for a moment are false to this im perious law, we are quickly and inexorably punished and set right.

In Massachusetts and in Pennsylvania this year-not to speak now of have had examples of such laxity. It been heralded as a great triumph-and | was but a little fault they committed at Wilkes-Barre and a little one at Waltham-little in themselves, in th intention, and their immediate effect, made but little impression. When, in and not to be wondered at, consider addition, we bear in mind the constant ling the great influx of new and inexand streamous efforts that have been perienced men and the intoxicating influence of a tripled or quadrupled vote. ially in Massachusetts during the last | But such faults are like "the little year to turn back the rising tide of So- bitted speck in garnered fruit" and cialism, we have no reason to regard | have a marvelous evil power of growth and infection. It is good to find that the State Committees did not at all is never a steadily ascending one, but | hesitate, for any fear of censure, to demand the righting of the wrongs done the cause or to cut off the recalcitrant offenders; and it is to be hoped that the rank and file throughout each ward trend. Even in Germany, such state will actively sustain the State Committee in its vigerous action and will, moreover, guard against the repetition of such lamentable errors by turning all their energies to the maklost 60,000 votes and in 1881 we fell to | ing of truly revolutionary Socialists, not lip-servants of the Revolution, but men who will hate capitalism and the vote of '77 by only 57,000; then every form of capitalist politics and love and cherish the noble traditions of our cause with all the fervor of their being and who will be worthy to say with proud defiance before the world and with modest pride among comrades, "I am a Socialist." A party that has no apologies to make, that is not afraid lest it give offense, that is no respecter of persons, that is right and knows itself right and goes by the pa ty at large, it would of straight forward toward its goal-that is the sort of party that, though it should not so much as elect a village they do, separate and very unequal constable, will do more ultimately and immediately to serve the working class

than a party that should capture the

what is more, that is the sort of So cialist party and the only sort that will make permanent gains even at the polls.

When the Massachusetts Socialists ost this year eight thousand out of the twenty-two thousand new votes that they had gained last year, the capitalist press. Republican and Democratic alike, thought the news worthy of big about the great Socialist defeat, When the Socialists of New York made a gain this year of ten thousand on top of a gain of ten thousand last year, the capitalist press, Republican and Democratic alike, said not a word about it. Comment is unnecessary.

"PLUBAL VOTING."

Local Louisville, Ky., In a statement sent out to the Socialist press, makes an excellent reply to a circular issued by Local Butte, Mont., against the proposed amendment to the national party constitution and in favor of another amendment, which Local Butte hopes to get to general vote, providing that "In all conventions, committee or other deliberations of the Socialist Party one vote for one member pres ent shall be the rule and proxies shall not be used nor permitted nor plural voting allowed."

The proposition now before , the party provides that National Commitcemen shall have a voting power proportionate to the membership they represent. The Butte circular, in some what confused language attacks this proposed plan, as "prexy voting" or "plural voting." The Louisville comrades point out that it is certainly not plural voting and can be described as proxy voting only in a very strained ense of the phrase.

In a certain sense, every representa tive or delegate may be described as holding a proxy for his constituents. But certainly the Butte comrades do not propose to abolish proxy voting in this sense, for that would be to abolish both committees and conventions.

Properly speaking, a proxy is used only when one person entitled under the rules to vote, whether in a primary oody or as a delegate, temperarily en trusts his voting power to another member of the same primary or delegate body. It is a method that has its excuses, but is subject to great abuse.

Voting by representative or delegate s quite a different thing. Where many matters are to be taken up in a course of continuous action, and where a large number of persons are interested and entitled to participate in their decision, it is found advisable to have many of these things decided by the vote of certain chosen representa tives of the primary Lody, rather than to have the trouble and delay of a primary or general vote on each. These representatives in this case the Na tional Committeemen-are supposed to vote according to the will of their respective constituencies, or the majority thereof, as nearly as they know it and in this case, by annual elections and the power of recall (as well as of appeal to the general vote) we make pretty certain that a National Conmitteeman cannot misrepresent his constituency if that constituency has any will or opinion on the matters he is called upon to help decide.

The vote which Morris Hillouit or Walter Thomas Mills casts in the National Committee is the vote of the comrades of New York or of Kansas. Each of these comrades has been elected with special reference to his ideas of party policies as representing the general ideas of the majority of the party in his state; each of them is subject to instructions and is in communication with the State Committee and the locals in his state; each of comrades of his state think he has ceased represent them. It is their

vote, accordingly, that he casts, as their delegate. If anyone chooses to say he is their proxy, he is free to do so: but that is not what we commonly

mean by proxy. Now as to plural voting. Under the present system, the thirty-five comrades of Vermont cast, through their National Committeeman one delegate vote; so do the eighty-two of Idaho or the ninety-four of North Dakota or South Dakota; so de the 1,636 of New York or the 1418 of Illipois or the 1.246 of Massachusetts. Each com rade in Vermont has one thirty-fifth of a vote in the National Committee; each comende in New York has on sixteen-hundredth of a vote in the Na tional Committee; and so forth. If the proposed amendment is carried, each state will have a voting power proportional to its membership; in other words, every comrade will have equa voting power. Where does the "plura voting" argument come in? Obviously against the present plan and in favor of the amendment now before the party.

If the National Committee were body of men elected by the party a large and responsible to and removable course follow that they should all have equal voting power. Representing, as portions of the party membership, i is just and reasonable that they should have voting power proportioned

A GROTESQUE JUMBLE OF FALSEH

Our attention is called to an article stitled "Socialism at Barre" in the October issue of "Stone," the trade ing and stone-cutting industry. The article is a grotesque jumble of inconsistent falseboods. The writer begins by stating that Barre, Vt., next to Paterson, N. J., is the principal stronghold of Socialism in the United States follows this with a reference to the shooting allray which occurred at Barre in September, and proceeds with an appeal to the granite manufacturers to unite to blacklist the "agita tors" to "keep Anarchists and Socialists from association with honest workingmen." and to "drive these vermin to their holes,"

If the motive were not so evident, we might nut down to ignorance the ridiculous statement that Barre and Paterson are strongholds of Socialism -Barre with its two or three hundred and Paterson with its four or five hundred Socialist votes-as compared with the dozen or score of cities that have contributed from 1,600 to 20,000 each to the total of about 300, 000 cast in the whole country last year. Every one who knows anything about the movement in these two cities know that there is a constant and acute conflict there between Socialism and Anarchism and that this struggle has greatly handicapped the Socialist movement in both places. Further than this, it has been made clear by correspondence in The Worker that the Anarchist movement in Rorra is disgraced by an alliance of at least some of its leaders with the middleclass business men and Republican politicians to drive out the Socialists, that the crime to which "Stone" refers was the direct outcome of this affigure. and that the actual victim. Certi. was himself an Anarchist, and the intended victim, Serrati, a Socialist.

We are not surprised at the com plete misrepresentation of the facts in "Stone," and we are rather pleased than slarmed by the threat of a blacklist; for, if carried out, it will simply result in hastening the awakening of the working class from their condition of "honest" decility and uniting them for the overthrow of capitalism. Bring on your blacklist, gentlemen.

A PERSONAL NOTE.

My attention has been called to statement made by National Com statement made by National Commit-teeman Mills of Kansas in a circular issued by him, which would imply that I am still drawing a salary as a member of the Fellowship of the Socialist Spirit. I wish to say that I am not drawing a salary from the Fellow ship. My salary as a member of the ellowship ceased as soon as arrange-nents could be made to meet the changed conditions brought about by my unexpected election to the office of

National Secretary.

The press is requested to publish this note, as the circular in ng the party membership. Fraternally submitted.

WILLIAM MAILLY. Omaha, Neb., Dec. 11.

ANOTHER LETTER TO C. WRADE MILLS.

W. T. Mills, Kunsas City, Mo.: Dear Comrade:-In an eight-page leadet, addressed to the "Dear Com-

rades in the State of Kansas," you make the following statement about me which I feel it my duty to correct; in the National Secretary's office, and many others, attempted to organize in Kansas and elsewhere, a secret society in the interest of the Socialist movement, I actively opposed the proposal. who were in the movement, although at that time living in Girard and on the best of terms with the 'Appeal.' * * * After I had secured the at its headquarters, W. E. Clark, now in the National Office, continued to maintain his branch of the secret orgenigation in Kansas City for some time, in direct opposition to the known

I never had anything to do with the organization of any movement in the state of Kansas. I was never a member of any organization in Kansas except the Typographical Union. I never knew anything about the secret organ-ization, referred to by you, until I was informed from the Appeal office that you were one of the executive officers

wishes of the Kansas City Local."

I did help organize the "Appeal to Reason Club" of Kansas City, Mo., whose only purpose was to distribute the "Appeal to Reason" and other Socialist literature. It was organized, or rather six of us agreed to contribute a regular sum for sending the "Appeal' to addresses, and I was chosen secre tary, on the 14th of July, 1901, with the knowledge of Comrade George H. the knowledge of Commade George H. Turner, member of the Local, and National Committeeman from Missouri. We pever had any public meetings and never attempted to do anything but distribute literature.

I never had anything to do with the second society known as the "L A V".

ecret society known as the "L. A. V." in any other place except Kansas City. And the plan had been dropped at Girard before we decided to call our club by that name, which, by the way, was never put into effect. I was at Girard the first of September, I think it was, and talked with the secretary it was, and talked with the secretary about becoming an organizer, but did not accept the proposition. A meeting was held that night, at which you were expected to be present. Your name was mentioned as a member of the executive committee. The secre-tary mentioned a letter that condemn-ed the society, and I insisted on its be-

If the Party were opposed to the or-

maisation it ought to be abandoned. Reburning to Kansas City that same night. I went on distributing the "Ap-peal," and working with the Local whenever I could. (No less than ten active members of the Kansas City Local made frequent contributions to the "Appeal to Reason Club.") I was appointed on various committees of the Local during the time of my con-nection with the club; and at the very next election I was the nominee of the Local for Mayor, being nominated

I have other evidence to prove that was not in opposition to the "known dshes of the Kansas City Local." I met Commade Turner a day or two after we had changed the name of the the to "I. A. V.", and when he told ne that the Party was opposed to it. I fold him that we would have nothing nore to do with the name, but would een. That was in the early part of October, and about the time I was netified that the "I. A. V." had been

So please note that our club in Kansas City was never an organic part of the secret society, of which you were reported to be an executive officer. and that therefore I could not have ed a branch in oppo the known wishes of Local Knusas City for the reason that it was not a

So much for the "secret society." But, with my present understanding wing that the Party organization is of far more importance than an meliscriminate distribution of literature. I would not think ill of the Comrades nor accuse them of trying to deprive me of my liberty if they had opposed me then. The organisation of the Socialist Party is of greater value to the Socialist movement than any man in it. It is dangerous to obstruct its progress. These daring to try have been crushed by its reientless

Next, let me consider why you false ly accuse me to the Comrades of Kansus and elsewhere.

You have reiterated the fact of my presence in the "National Secretary's office" and in the "National Office." How did I happen to be in the "Na-

ienal Secretary's office?"
Why, and by whem, was I sont to the "National office?"

I went to St. Louis to attend the inst annual meeting of the National Committee a friend and admirer of you Knowing you had grievous faults, I overlooked them for what I thought to be the good of the movement.

With others, you made me believe he "Eastern Comrades" were trying to do something dastardly to the Party. Labering under that impressien, I eagerly accepted a temporary position in the national office to assist n moving the office fixtures from St. Louis to Omaha, and to "use the wire f necessary" to inform National Cominkteeman and Quarum Member Tur her in the event of any attempt on Mailly's part to thwart the will of the

National Committee.

I came to Omaha a firm believer in this: Publicity is the breath of Socialism, and I promised Comrade Turper that I would see to it that absoutely nothing was done that did not get to the National Committee.

When National Secretary Mailly cause, he at once took steps to keep the entire membership informed by sending all reports to the National Committee, State Secretaries, Locals in unorganized states and the Socialisi

Then I notified Comrade Turner that Cemrade Mailly would not atknowledge of the entire National Con-

After that, I had nothing to report, and the National Secretary kept me in the office because of my ability to do the work he had for me to do. And because I had nothing to report, I suppose you have concluded that I, too, had joined hands with the "Eastern ades" to get control of the Party. Right here, I want to say that the

only National Committee only National Committeemen who have written threatening letters to the National Secretary, or who have in any way attempted to interfere with the regular work of the office, or to dictate the policy of the National Office, have been men in sympathy with you. The other Comrades have gone with their own work, recognizing the fact that not the National Committee, but the membership is the Party.

In view of this, and other facts, of rhich I have not written, I am convinced that you had only one object in trying to bring discredit on me, and that was to bring discredit on the 'National Secretary's office" and on the "National Office." I have no personal fight against von.

That is what you say. THE FACTS With me the party is everything. With you, judging from the way you have ignored the national office, as soon as you found out that you could not dominate it, I am convinced that you would attempt to rain the character of any one in the Party, if by so doing you thought you could elevate yourself.

Yet, as strongly as I believe this to be true of you, I would not even mention it now were it not for the fact that my silence might cause some to think that you had told the truth about me, and because of the injury that your falsehoods might do the national I say to the Comrades in Kansas

and everywhere in the Party, do not hitch your wagon to a "star." No matter how beautifully a self-chosen leader talks, nor bow saintly he looks. Every member of the Party has an equal right with every other. If any man wants to serve the party, let him first recognize the fact that he is not greater than the Party. If you do not demand your rights, as me abers, and compel every official and speaker to abide by the will of the Party, the capitalist class will, if necessary, turn all sorts of speakers into the field during the next empaign and simply wrock the movement. All I want is this, that the party membership shall control the Party, and as long as I am in the movement, I shall insist on all the nesablership being kept informed about everything that is going on within the movement.

In closing, I wish to say that whenever I have anything for publication compel every official and speaker to

ever I have anything for publication | age the affairs satisfactorily, also that that centains anything against you, I it would be an experiment and power

shall not be so indecent and unfair as

you a copy.

Copies of this have been sent to the Socialist press. Fraternally yours, t press. Fraternally yours, W. E. CLARK. Omaha, Neb., Dec. 10.

THE RACE QUESTION.

To the Editor of The Worker:--Ver reinctantly, I feel compelled to criti-cize the general tenor of your editorial on the "Race Question in the Party." You, of course, recognize the ing incongruity of such a plank in any Socialist platform as the Louisiana "Socialists" have proposed. So far, s good. But you immediately proceed t imply, on a basis of racial or class dis tinction, first-that the negro is admittedly an "inferior race;" that being "inferior," It is desirable t belid up barriers against him, or, to use your more academic expression "to segregate him," but that this de sirable "segregation" cannot be obtained under a capitalistic reg may be obtained under a Socialist one; thirdly, that it is the duty of the 'superior" race to adopt a benevo lent polley toward the weaker ra and charitably upliff it! Since when, may I ask, have you, a Socialist, be-come converted to the doctrine of "benevolence"as a working force to bring about the reign of truth and jus-

Not only as a Socialist, but simply as a fellow human being to the negro. as a renow numan being to the negro, do I maintain that no race can be classified as "inferior" that rises to the measure of its opportunities. The Angle-Saxon race has done no more than this, and has done it only in spots and sections. Innumerable individuals, fortunately situated, have benefited by their epportunities and have achieved great results and produced Shak speares and Miltons-warriors and statesmen whom the world is satisfied to call great. But vast masses of Apgle-Saxon population-having no faverable environment—have remained sunk in ignorance and poverty, producing nothing but profits for their masters. Judged by the masses whom Jack London describes as the "Pro-ple of the Abyss," the Anglo-Saxon race is, indeed an "inferior race!

The se-called "negro race" of America-for the majority of its race are not "negroes" at all, but half breeds and other mixtures of various nationto the measure of its opportunitites. Where the environment has been faworking class population, tooly in a few decades, an astonishingly large number of educated, refixed, self-controlled and gifted men and women, who, in obscurity, and often poverty, are leading blameless and useful lives as teachers, professors, clergymen, writers and artists—not to speak of the still larger class who are producing wealth for their masters as peasants and laborers, and whose so-called "degradation" is certianly not greater than that of the despised peasants and laborers of Russia, Italy and other Eurepean countries.

Have we, as Socialists, any right to held out to the white Southerner the attractive balt of future "negre segregation" as an inducement to his acceptance of Socialism? Is it not on par with our telling the Irishman that his hated "Dago" rival is to be "segregated" under Socialism—or, as he un-derstands the phrase, to be simply "kicked out?" What an attractive program might we not thus offer to the Christian who objects to the Jews, to the American who objects to the

Chinese, and so on! if we believe in international So cialism, we cannot judge any race by its progress in what is called "civiliza-Our civilization must first be cured and purified before we can learned to wallow in the foul depths of our ewn hypocrisy and corruption CAROLINE PEMBERTON.

THE STATE REFERENDUM.

To the Editor of The Worker:-In regard to the referendum vote on state headquarters, I will state a few reasons why Local Syracuse endorsed the proposal to remove headquarters. In the early part of last campaign we wrote to the State Committee offering \$25 towards sending a good and we never received a reply. The same happened when we later wrote inquiring about the addre ron, Brown and Vail. Chas. Ufert was to speak here for a week. After baving all arrangements made we were notified that the State Secretary had taken Comrade Ufert semewhere else, and he would be with us the last week before campaign closed. When this week came we received notice this week came from Comrade Ufert that the State Secretary wanted him to go to some other county, and he hoped it would be satisfactory to us. As we had not made any arrangements, we did not care. By this time it was plain to the ampaign Committee that, to be of having a speaker, we must wait till be was here. A few days before Labor during the Letter Carriers' convention, but we have not seen him up to date.

Again we received notice that Comrade Spargo would speak here. Abou three days before the date set, when Comrade Spargo came here, we spoke to him about this, and he told us that he was informed four days earlier

We had, in conjunction with Rock ester, engaged Comrade Hagerty. Later we had with us Comrade Herren. This is only to show that a city like Rochester can well look after the welfare of the state. We have no per-sonal axe to grind, but we like to see a State Committee which will act in a

businesslike way.

We will admit the State Secretary had lots of work, but why then not give him an assistant or two, if neces sary? We admit the State Committee has done as well as they know how but as next year is presidential elec-tion, we desire to do more, and this alone should be one of the reasons for

comrades to vote for Rochester.

The reasons brought forward that Local Rochester would weaken its local and would not be able to manage the affairs satisfactorily, also that

THE CLEARING OF THE FOG.

By Franklin H. Wentworth.

Parkman B. Flanders and Charles | H. Coulter, Socialists, citizens of the world, have been defeated for re-elec-tion to the office of Mayor in the cities of Haverhill and Brockton, Massa-

The capitalist newspapers are pro-

daiming the Republican victory. But the victory is not a Republican victory; it is a Socialist victory, be-cause, in stringing its bow with the shaft which struck down Flanders and Coulter, Capitalism has lost from its quiver its arrow of supreme When Republicanism is so hard

pressed as to be willing to win its vic tories with Democratic votes, it is it elf letting down the drawbridge that is the strategic defense of the castle of plutocracy.

What Socialism most desires is the

elimination of the Democratic party-that fog bank in the channel; and plutocracy, in a disconcerted attempt o recover its outposts, is clearing the here for its own undolne

At every point at which the two old parties seek fusion to accomplish Socialist defeat, the Democratic organization at that point is weakened, if not disrupted, and real democratic spirits are thereby driven to open their minds to the claims of Socialism. It is risky business for capitalism.

It is proof of the Socialist's political neumen that he has correctly di-vined the purposes of the Democratic organisation, predicted its action, and published its hypocrisies. goes to the service of its plutocratic masters it is doing just what the Socialist expected it to do. If, in abanconing its organization and fusing with the Republican party, it helps to win an election, such an election is no victory; it is a flight to cover.

Fusion is weakness, an indication of

low vitality where parties are honest In this case it is an indication of

Every plutecratic victory won by fusion publishes to the world the truth which the Socialist has struggled so persistently to make clear; that the pocket of the plutocratic coat, secretly repleuished from the same source as the Republican party, while professing principles of difference.

When the Democracy goes crawling on all fours into the Republican camp as it did at Haverhill and Brockton, it blackens with infamy its whole his tory, and uncovers the fact so long real friend of the workingman, but a mere stalking-horse, prostituted for hire, to politically mislead him. With the Democratic party have

been voting men who are naturally slacere friends of the working clas because they, themselves, are of the working class. Organized labor has long been casting its vote for this sham democracy as for a liberator. These men, honest themselves, are louth to believe that their professed friends have been betraying them.

In Haverbill and in Brockton they

now may see ft. Few of the workingmen who voted he Democratic ticket in 1900 knew then, or knew now, that of the money which went to elect Mr. McKinley Mr. Lanca get more in Massachusetts from men calling themselves Demo-erats than be got from men calling

The Democratic party, even in its birth, never really representing any-thing but Bourbon greed and discon-tent, has, since its logical death, been

If has been kept alive as a vehicle simil be Mayors upon which to hang just radical shall be for them.

They can bide galvanized by plutecratic money. nergy of the workers.

placed in a few hands, also not being

able to write leaflets. Did our present

State Committee print leaflets for the state? No. We were informed they

had no money. Of course the com-rades of the state did not feel like

donating towards a committee which

Comrades, it has always been the

trouble with the committee located in New York City. Let us make a

change. Read your voting blank carefully, and then if you are impartial, you will find that it is a great improve-

believe there is not a single comrade who will claim Rochester will not do

chosen as headquarters, will go to

and result in bringing forward our

Ormnizer of Local Syracuse.

We have also a letter from Edward

S. Bock of New York, who urges the

removal of the headquarters on the

ground that the present State Commit-

tee was delinquent in the Wood affair

N. S. Reichenthal of New York

writes in protest against the local

meeting of Dec. 6 and the "stringent

and drastic measures' taken there, arguing that the Executive Committee had no right to call the meeting, that

power being reserved to the General Committee; that, no quorum being present, the meeting had no right to take action and that its action should

have no weight; that only in dan-

gerous emergencies should such action be taken and that no such emergency now exists; and that the effect of such

action must be to cause suspicion and

tary of the New York City Campaign Committee, writes to protest against the reflection upon that body in a let-

of Dec. 6. He states that the Cam-

CAMPAIGN SURPLUS.

ade Sprenger, Fluanciai Secre-

NEW YORK CITY'S

R. BAEDER,

acted as stated above.

ent over the old

great movement.

of the state.

When, under the pressure of "hard times," working class discontent has grown too great in volume coldly to ignore, certain planks have been put into the Democratic platform, which have had the sound of sincers utter-ance; but the men selected for candidates have been "safe" men-men like Grover Cleveland, who could be de-pended upon when in office to nullify reactionary, tendencies.

By keeping before the people a sham radical party, a party of mere noisy opposition, designed to carry of discontent into innocuous channels, has long forestalled the inlation of a real radical party. Frence it pays for its long intu development of a party which

For a party has now entered the arena which declines to accept pluto-cratic money, which develops its resources from within, which neks no ndvice from experts, which creates its own servants and representatives by referendum expression. Already plan torracy has attempted to sow disco. I in this party by using for the purpose wenk and selfish members of the organization, but such persons are quie. ly discovered and forced out of party into the public service of Capi-talism. This has been done in the talism. This has been done in the chusetts, and other, similar, cases may reasonably be expected to develo, ach people can be effective in a false party, initiated and maintained for purposes of confusion, but the revolu-tionary initiative unerringly finds

them and brands them. When plutocracy begins to wipe out its stalking-horse to strengthen its own position, it is a confession foexpressibly cheering to the Socialist heart. It is a confession, first, that plutocracy fears that the Socialis. povement cannot be successfully coupted; and, second, that the Socialit plutocracy empot longer spare vo.e. from its camp with which to galvanize its stalking-horse. It must perforce carry all its ears in one bashet.

In other words, it is being forced out into the daylight, out of the shadow of secretiveness, where it can no longer bide behind the bray of its long-eared fuithful.

It must at last recognize the class struggle, which it has labored so crar. ily to obscure. It must at last to forced to meet the arguments which it knows it cannot meet without coming into the light branded with its age long infamy.
Once the issue is clearly made, with

no long-eared influence to bray the people into apathy, the principles of Socialism will spread like a prairie

There will be work enough and ser vice enough in the future for Park-man B. Fianders and Charles H. Coul-

They can bide their time. They are citizens of the world; they are battling not for themselves, but for their cause. They know that their racy dear-so dear that the working class has won by it. They are glad to lose a single battle in the van, which serves to throw far forward the who e line, which helps the winning of the ultimate victory. Their little p

shock a false lighthouse has crumbled Thus the Great Ship is safer They are overthrown, but they are

not beaten. They have been Mayors when their Councils were against them; they shall be Mayors when their Conneils

They can bide their time; there is work enough to do.

Editor, having accepted responsibility, feels it necessary to apologize for hav-ing inadvertently allowed a criticism of a party committee to appear amony-

money contributed therefrom. The

SHAFFER AND OTHERS.

To the Editor of The Worker;-1 might add something to your reply to "Steel Worker" of Ashinid, Ky., in your issue of Dec. 6, regarding T. J. Schaffer, President of the Iron and Steel Workers.

our party affairs in this state, and I year, President Scho report stated that he "wanted it understood that he favored Socialism its duty toward our movement. We rightly advocated and understood.' know that Local Rochester, when This is not literally, but in substance what he stated. He followed it with work fully able and will bring encour- a condemnation of some vague form agement to the hearts of all comrades, of "violent" course, exists only in the imagination.

It might be well to state that Gom pers is still following his line of tac-tics which he pursued years ago. It is a well-known fact that Gomper a used to proclaim himself a Socialist, but was afraid we were pushing it too fast. Some may think that because of his recent declaration he has given up these tactics, but the writer knows that less than four months ago Gom-pers, while at Kendallville, this state, told a comrade that he was a Socialist, but, as on former occasions, stated w. were "pushing it too fast." These tas-tics are, I believe, pursued only in the small towns where the Socialist movement is growing among the rank and file, and where the latter have little knowledge of the "diplomacy" of the "leaders." This secures the support of the ill-informed among the Socialis

Thos. Kidd, another shining light and close confidant of the administration, once claimed himself a Socialist and delivered a fairly good Socialist speech in this city on Labor Day two years ago. He it was that denounced Gompers in the most vigorous terms as being trencherous, when Gomper, refused to go to Chicago during the A. R. U. strike. He has since been emasculated by "pure and simpledom." This list might be continued indefin-

The question arises, what "lost utionary sentiment among the lead ers? The rank and file piene will some time answer

paign Committee was but following the instructions of the city convention in holding for each local a half of the Terre Haute, Ind., Dec. &

PARTY NEWS.

ing held Nov. 14, 15, 16, have been sent out to all the state secretaries for dis-tribution among the locals, and to all locals in unorganized states. As the work of the Quorum was important, all locals should receive a copy, and secretaries should read same at the

first meeting held.

The omission of the class struggle clause from application cards recently issued by the national office has cre ated some comment and discussion among comrades in different parts of the country, and the National Secredesires to explain as follows: National Committee, at its meet ing in January last, instructed the National Secretary to get out an appli-cation eard providing for filing with the state committees. This card was bis. Bristol. Fort Worth. Cleburne modeled on one gotten out by the Oido State Committee, In the rush incident upon first entering the office and get-ting affairs into shape, the National Secretary did not stop to examine the pledge upon the Ohio card, which he gave to the printer to get the new ones struck off, assuming the pledge was the same as that upon the application card then being issued by the National Nor was the difference noted Jon called attention to it, several onths after the new cards had been as formerly, 1. e., including the class

nitted to the National Committee the application of Carl D. Thompson to be which involves the question of the national organization appointing for work in any state men unsatisfactory to the state organization. A summary of the correspondence will be pre-sented next, week.

National Organizing Fund,

The following contributions have been made to the National Organizing Fund since last report: J. W. Vincent, Murray, Edaho, \$1; Jas. Twegood, Ma-con, Ga., 25 cents; A. L., New York City. 25 cents: Lettle Rogavin, St. Louis, Mo., \$1; Otto Kaemmerer, St Louis, Mo., \$1; Local Bevier, Mo \$4.55; Miss Mathilde Weil, Philadel phia, per The Worker and "N. Y. Volkszeitung." 812.50; H. Kunza Clin. Volkszeitung," \$12.50; H. Kunze, Cin-ton, Ind., \$1; P. Rieger, Stonington, Conn. 50 cents: M. Spssi, Newark, N. J., \$1: John Barsad, Macon, Ga., 25 cents. Total to noon Dec. 12, \$23.30. Previously reported, \$2,222:56. Total,

November Report.

National Secretary Mailly's financial report for November shows receipts of \$1,060.54; expenditures, 1,572.59; balance Nov. 1, \$677.42; balance Dec. 1, \$165.35.

Receipts for dues amounted to Chas. C. Chas. Chas. Chas. C. Chas. Iowa, \$25; Kansas, \$3.90; Kentucky, \$20; Massachusetts, \$110.05; Michigan, \$15; Minnesota, \$25; Montana, \$15; Nebraska, \$25; New Jersey, \$50; New York, \$100; Ohio, \$25; Oklahoma, \$14.80; Oregon, \$17.05; Pennsylvania, \$50; South Dakota, \$11.10; Texas, \$15; Washington, \$85.40; Wisconsin, \$25; from locals in unorganized states—District of Columbia, \$2; Georgia, \$1,80; Indian Territory, \$6.20; Louisiana, \$1.30; Maryland, \$1,50; North Caro-lina, 50 cents; Rhode Island, \$15; South Carolina, \$1; Tennessee, \$8.20; Virginia, \$4.8e; Wyoming, \$10.70.

The largest items of expense were: Salaries, \$165.50; office help, \$159; agitation and organization, \$491.70; Lec-ture Burenu, \$135; Quarum meeting,

\$124.05; printing, \$204.50. The amount of dues is the highest ever received in any mouth except-October of this year.

The National Organizers

With the approach of the holicay eason, nearly all of the organizers who have been for several months working ardiously to hasten the com-ing of the time when "Peace on earth ing of the time when "Peace on earth and good will to men" will be something more than a phrase, will return dinary success of Comrade McKee. to their homes for a rest before again taking the field against capitalism. That they have earned and deserve a rest no one can gainsay. There are few barder worked men in the Socialist Party than those who have been acting as national organizers. How true this is can be appreciated when it is remembered that the territory worked this tear has been worked this year has been almost en-tirely new, virgin soil, but not barren by any means. The results that are bound to follow will testify to the value of the labor performed more than it is possible to estimate now.

It would require too much space to rive more than a brief summary of the work of the organizers during the past mouth. It is to be regretted that the organizers' reports to the national office cannot be printed in full, as they make very interesting reading. The letters from comrades at different places visited are also interesting, the feature of these reports being the har organizer who had visited that particular place was "the right man in the right place."

From Nov. 9 to Dec. 1 John W. Bennett visited Hecla and Britton, S. D., and Ledgerwood, Fairmont, Wahpeton, Christine, Fargo, Mapleton, Casselton, Hunter, Larimore, Grand Forks, and Buxton, N. D. New locals were or-ganized at Hecia, Hatton, and Buxton. A miscarriage of mails caused Bennett to lose several days. From among the many letters of commendation of Ben-uett's work received, the following many letters of commendation of Bennett's work received, the following words from National Committeeman Massey of North Dakota are quoted: "Comrade Remett gave a splendid falk on The Philosophy of Socialism' to a crawded house. Everybody present was deligated with the way he handled his subject, and many expressed the wish that he would return in the near future, when a larger andience was piedged, although our large hall was filled yesterday, every seat will cover six weeks at least. Many

sing becapied and many standing." Bennett will close his tour Dec. 22. From Nev. 9 to Dec. 4 Geo. E. Bigslow has addressed meetings in Arkansas, at Hot Springs (where twelve new members joined the local after his meeting), Huntington, Montreal, Jenny Lind, Bonanza, and Gwynne; in the Indian Territory at Wilburton, Hartsorne, Krebs, McAlester, Ada, Roff, and Tyrola; in Oklaboupa at Choctaw City, Jones, Chandler, Balston, Black-burn, Valley, and Pawnee. During November Bigelow spoke thirty-eight times. National Committeeman Hal-brooks writes from Oklahoma: "Com-rade Bigelow is the best species to rade Rigelow is the best speaker to talk to the farmers we have ever had in the territory. We hope to secure his services again." close his tour Dec. 22 in Kansas.

literature at no expense to the party.

He writes hopefully of the outlook in Texas. Goebel began in Louisiana

Nov. 26. He will fill dates at Mobile

and Birmingham, Ala., and Nashville and Knoxville, Tenn., on his home-

ward trip, closing at the latter place

Georgia Nov. 29 and returned home

via Birmingham. During his tour, which began Nov. 2, he spoke in Ten-

nessee at Manchester, Chattanooga,

and Soddy, organizing a good local at

In Georgia he visited Dalton, Atlanta,

and Columbus, staying in Atlanta nine

days. He addressed twenty-one meetings in all and got seventy-two sub-

scriptions to Socialist papers. The

weather was exceedingly unfavorable, too cold to hold outdoor meetings. Comrade McKnight of Dalton writes

that Ray made a splendid impression

P. J. Hyland concluded his work in

Wyoming under the direction of the national office on Nov. 23, at Buffalo.

After leaving Cheyenne, Dec. 9, he visited Wheatland, Douglas, Casper, Cambria, Sheridan, Dietz, Monarch,

and Buffalo. New locals were organ-

ized at Green River, Rambler, Dietz.

that the territory he covered is hard to

work, but the coal camps offer a good field for propaganda. His work has made toward the early formation of a

state organization.

Chas. G. Towner entered Virginia after the election was over in Mary-

Waynesboro, Shenandoah, *Luray, Manasass, Warrenton, Culpepper, Charlottesville, Louisa, Richmond, Lynchburg, and Pulaski, and Mid-

dieboro, Ky., closing his four at the latter place Dec. 2. Towner got many

subscriptions for Socialist papers. He

ner reports about Virginia that in no other state he has visited have things

appeared so unfavorable. "The negro

is the borrey mun that the old-narry

Chappell writes enthusiastically of

Towner, and declares him the most suitable man for the South that he has

seen, without attempting to belittle

other organizers who have visited

Harry M. McKee is now at work in

Northern California. His tour of Art-zona was unique, insenuch as he cleared all expenses on the rip, with

a balance over of \$10. Territorial See

retary Albert Ryan, in an appreciativ letter on McKee's work, says: "I d

recid explanation of the doctrine of economic determinism that even the duliest can understand and appreciate

it. The comrade's presence in our lo-cals has greatly stimulated their zeal

and developed their sense of class-

Winfield R. Gaylord begins in Flor-

idn Dec. 15 for a stay of several weeks.

M. W. Wilkins is still at work in
Montana. He reports having met with

an accident at Columbia Falls on Nov.

12, but went on filling dates, until he

ined by doctors on Nov. 22, and was

found to laive a cracked rib and frac

arm in a sling for a week, but only

missed one date through the necident.

The National Lecturers.

Arrangements for James F. Carey's

dates in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana will be in the hands of

the respective state secretaries. In Missouri, Iowa and Kentucky dates will be made direct from the national

headquarters. Locals desiring Carey's

will fill several dates in Illinois at the

services should gove a themselves ac-cordingly and make early application. Franklin and Marion Wentworth

politician is constantly holding up fore the working class." Comm

highly pleased.

John M. Ray closed his work in

John W. Brown began his tour of Culifornia Dec. 10 at Redlands, and Geo. H. Goebel makes a lengthy re port of his work in Texas since Nov will fill dates in that state until nearly the close of January, when he will en ter Oregon for at least fifteen dates 1, having held meetings as follows: Dallas, Kaufman, Eimo, Grand, Sabeginning a thirty or forty days' stay in Washington. line, Mineola, Alba, Emory, Green-ville, Tyler, Chandler, Corsicana, Eu-Waco, Houston, Beaumont. At Green-ville a lawyer tried to disturb the af-National Locture Bureau ternoon meeting, but Goebel gave him The following letters have been exthe platform, and after the lawyer had finished trying to arouse prejudice against Goebel by calling him a

changed between Thos. J. Hagerty, one of the two Catholic priests who have been lecturing for the Socialist "Northern nigger-lover, trying to de-stroy the Democratic party," Goebel opened up on him, with the result that movement, and the National Secretars there was a lerger crowd at the night meeting. During a total of fifty-four "Dear Comrade:-The National Que days in Texas, Goebel spoke seventy-one times, organized six locals, took about 200 yearly subscriptions to Sorun, at its meeting held Nov. 14, 15 and 16, adopted the following motion: cialist papers, and put out much other

"That the National Secretary be instructed to communicate with all well-known members throughout the country relative to acting as lecturers and organizers, under the direction of the national office, and that they be requested to state their terms and furnish other information required.'
"It is intended, in the interest of

andatory letters about Bro

Denver, writes;—"Since Comrade Brown was here I have wanted to

write you how well pleased we were with his address. He is forceful and effective, an ideal Socialist speaker. Too many of our lecturers are afraid

of their audiences intelluctually. They

should understand that Socialist audi ences are hungry for the solid ment of

our philosophy. They can arraign coditions for themselves and picture their own Utopias; what they demand is scientific doctrine undiluted. Com-

rade Brown uses no big words, but he

drives home and clinche

the comrades keep him busy."

Denver.

Mila Tupper Maynard, of

system and co-operation, and so as to provide the growing number of organ ized states with the best speakers whenever desired, that the Nationa Lecture Bureau assume charge of such speakers. By this means it is expect ed that the increasing demands for So challst speakers from all parts of the country can be met and satisfied while same time offering speakers who wish to work continuously in the field the opportunity to do so. The systematic method of routing and dat ing speakers be adopted. In conformity with the Quorum's instructions I shall be gald to open negotiation with you with a view to your becom-ing attached to the National Lecture Bureau, and trust you will inform me of your terms, length of time you are at liberty to fill engagements, territory you would prefer to cover, and such other information as will assist us in arriving at a definite and mutual agreement. tion will in turn be submitted to the Quorum for its consideration and acect to the approval of the National Committee. "Hoping for an early reply, I am,

fraternally yours, "WILLIAM MAILIA", "National Secretary."
"Chicago, Ill., Nov. 28, 1968.
"Wm. Mailly, National Secretary, So-

cialist Party: "My Dear Comrade:-Your letter of the 24th inst, was delivered to me on my return to Chicago inst night. Permit me to thank you for the offer to epen negotiations anent my coming in-to the National Lecture Bureau. Just at present the ill-feeling, as narrow as it is unreasenable, against so-called "high-priced speakers," is so rampant in our party, that I do not care further to expose myself to it by placing my-selt in as it were, a public pillory, as

an object for its unrestrained attack."
"I am getting all engagements which I can till at my own regular which I can fill at my own regular terms, which, in all probability, are considerably in excess of what the Na tional Lecture Bureau could afford to offer. If, at any future time, I should have any open dates, not in conflict with the fixed amount of time which I set aside for my studies, I should be glad to give them to you at mutually satisfactory terms.

"Fraternally yours,
"THOS. J. HAGERTY"

From Comrade McGrady. The following letter is self-explana

"Mr. William Mailly, Omaha, Neb :

"Dear Co He never fulls to give such a clear and munication of the 24th ult. received. In reply, I regret to say that it will be impossible for me at the present time to accept the invitation of the National Quorum to affiliate with the Nation with the work that I have planned for the future. Later on I will gladly em-brace the opportunity to serve the Se-cialist Party through the agency of the National Lecture Bureau.

"The question of terms cannot be considered, as it would depreciate my ability and destroy my efficiency on the rostrum to necept a price that would be satisfactory to all the com rades. Therefore, I wish to say that am in a position to respond to the lavitation of the locals. I cannot give you tation of the locals. I cannot give you much of my time in the near future, but when I shall have completed my course of law studies I intend to devote all my energies to the cause of Socialism. Fraternally,

"T. McGRADY.

"Bellevne, Ky., Dec. 2."

New York City. The William Morris Educational So of Friday evening lectures at Tobac's Hall, Thatford and Pitkin avenues, Brooklyn. This Friday, Dec. 18, John Spargo will speak on "The Moral chusetts are in the hands of the respective state secretaries. In Illinois the National Secretary will make the National Secretary will make the Christmas night, the society will hold Christmas night, the society will hold

at any time. Literature Agent Gacket beiner reported a discrepancy in the number of leaflets he received and those he is charged with by the Camgates of the Campaign Committee for settlement. Board of Organizers rec-ommends semi-annual meetings with report of its work to the County Committee. Cards to be used in visiting enrolled voters were distributed among the delegates. Organizer asks among the delegates. Organizer asks comrades to assist him in securing speakers for the winter agriation, especially such as will speak at trade union meetings. Comrades Holzer, Fraser, and Lackenmacher were elected as committee on revision of by-laws. Financial secretary reported; Balance on hand at last meeting, \$194.75, heaves, \$2,000. \$124.75; income, \$38.02; expenditures \$48.06; balance on hand, \$115.31. Sub divisions were instructed to send in semi-annual report as soon as they gested that they use the leaflet "Why Socialists Pay Dues" as a means collecting dues from members in ar rears. It was decided to call a bor ough meeting of all party members for the third week in January to elect County Organizer, discuss the by-

The attendance at the Colonial Hall lectures this season has been so great that the small hall has proven inadequate. Last Sunday evening standing room was at a premium. The commit-tee in charge had to arrange for the large hall for next Sunday, when De Geo. D. Herren will again be the speaker. At each lecture many strangers have been present, and a cousid their attendance. From the number of pertinent questions they ask, and their inquiries regarding party affairs, it is very evident that Socialism is being seriously considered on the upper West Side.

The 6th and 10th A. D. will meet on Friday evening, Dec. 18, in the Labor Lyceum. Officers for the ensuing term will be elected and other important

An entertainment and dance will be given by the comraces of Van Nest on Saturday at Bachmann's Casino, Unionport Read, Van Nest. George Finger will be the speaker of the even-ing. The singing society "Unter Uns" as well as the Misses Jeanette and Elizabeth Cremond and several other comrades, will entertain the con and music will be furnished by Local 310 of the Musicians' Union. Comrades and sympathizers everywhere are cordially invited to spend a few pleasant hours with this new branch. and at the same time belo made by the district during the recent campaign. The following officers have been elected for the ensuing six months: Secretary and Literature Agent, Chas. F. Hohmann: Financia retary, Otto Wittekind; Organiz and Delegate to the General Commit tee, Chas. J. Fuhrit; second delegate to the General Committee, Richard Heppe; Treasurer, Jacob H. Klinge; and a compaign committee composed of the following energetic comrades Jacob Kohlmann, George Gilleth, Ja-cob H. Klinge, Bichard Hoppe, Chas J. Fubst and Chas. F. Hohmann.

At the last meeting of the City Com mittee of Jersey City a lecture com mittee was elected to work in con cted to work in con junction with Eleventh Ward Brauch honse. Next local meeting will be held at headquarters on Jan 10. Next meeting of the City Committee will be conflict with entertainment of the Free German Schools, Comrades holding punch eards for Daily Globe are requested to turn same in as soon as

The Workingmen's Educational Club 20, at 8 p. m., at 431 Seventh street. ers should attend, as the iness to bring before the meeting After the reguly business a general discussion will take place. The recommendation of the commit-

ter elected at the recent mass convenof the State Committee, and about the first half were adopted, with some al-terations, while the rest were laid over to the next meeting. Delegate Krafft listen to reports of visits to pleasure at the careless methods of Local Essex, and in a lesser degree of other locals. He pointed out in drastic language that a body of men denouncing the mismanagement and corruntism of Republican and Democratic administrations should at least be able to prove that they can manage their own party affairs properly. He thereupon moved that all locals failing to fill out the report blanks in preper shape for thre es shall forfeit their charter. This was carried, after Sec-retary Kearns had stated that he could not send in a correct report of the standing of New Jersey as to membership and finances because of the condition of affairs censured by

New England.

The Massachusetts Executive Committee has issued a statement disclaiming all responsibility for any act of the Waltham Club. This club was suspended by the committee on Nov. 2 for placing in nomination as a candidate for the Legislature a comrade who is a member of the militia, and refusing to allow him to withdraw or request him to withdraw when ordered to do so by the Committee.

The State Executive Committee has

also taken action on an editorial in a recent number of the "New Conn wealth," a privately owned paper sup-porting the Socialist Party in general in which the "non-pertisen" Public School Association of Boston was praised, and that body was declared to be "an ally" which "should command the respect and interest of every So-cialist." The Executive Committee cialist." The Executive Committee wrote to the publishers of the paper in

"The Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Socialist Clubs hereby and the poor in winter. That's the enters its protest against the endorsement you practically give the Public School Association of Beston on the Crusader.

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conimition as the one in question, with

its makeshift policy of supporting 'the

their political affiliations, could ever win the goal of their ostensible effort,

to say nothing of their being considered in any sense an ally of a revolu-

tionary, class-conscious movement like

690 Washington street, on Tuesday evening, Dec. 22. Matters of import-

ance will be acted upon, and all mem-

bers are earnestly requested to be

Pennsylvania.

At the meeting of the State Com-

mittee held Dec. 14 a charter was

granted to Local Homestead, Alle-

theny County.
York, York County, will place

ticket in the field for the February

Charlerol, Washington County, will

nominate officers for the spring elec-

Locals in New Castle and Meadville

will make a date for Comrade Carey.

Arrangements are being made by Local Reading for a series of lectures

by some of the leading lecturers in the

below Dickinson, in the evening at

p. m., on "Brotherhood: The Hope and

Contribution to help pay off the

Robraska.

A preposition will be submitted at the next meeting of the City Central Committee of Local Omaha for the

local to take up the study of Socialist history, using Comrade Hillquit's "History of Socialism in the United

The financial reports of the three

organizers who have been working

nder the direction of the State Quo

rum have been submitted by Secretary Labilie of the State Lecture Bureau.

The reports show that the organizers simply received expenses for their work. They also illustrate the fact

that a workingman is not a success at extracting large donations from his

expenses in taking them the message

of Socialism. In some places the Joys hesitated to accept a cent, knowing

that it was coming from the over-worked and underpaid members of

their own class.

The Revision Committee has com-

pleted its work and submitted the

proposed constitution to the locals of the state for their consideration and

Much has been said recently about

the good work that the women

Omaha are doing for the cause of So

cialism. Too much cannot be said. It

kinds of weather to distribute cards

advertising Socialist meetings, and to

factories, where the women and girl

wage-slaves of Omaha are wearing out their lives to maintain a miserable ex-istence. But the most inspiring of all

their work is that of their children's

schools. In these schools children are taught about the methods of produc

ing and distributing the necessities of

sold to the wearer by a tired and

poorly paid clerk. They teach from

interest is manifested by the growing

classes. When these children grow up

terpretation of history. They will be

socialists who cannot be moved a

The Minneapolis "Journal" of Dec. 7 says: "The labor organizations of

Minneapolis are considering a proposi-

tion to incerporate several strong So-cialistic sections in the constitution of the State Federation. The activity and apparent necendency of the So-cialist element in local labor circles is

cialist element in local labor circles is a surprise, we have no doubt, to the general public." The "Journal" read-ers should not be surprised at the tendency, if they read the following

news item in the same issue of the same paper: "The office of the Asscinted Charities was througed yeste

day with men and women looking for

employment. At one time there were thirty-five persons in the office, and every one had a very hard-luck story

to tell. Many of the applicants wer given work as soon as possible, but during the day there were ten appli-

cants for every position at the dis-

bair's breadth out of the revolutio

way.

life from the beginning to the time when, fer instance, a pair of shoes is

as a text book.

John Sparge of New York will speak

ocialist movement.

state debt, \$1.

the Socialist Party."

econd page of your last issue. The | LECTURE CALENDAR Committee is surprised that you should entertain the fallacy that such an or-

FOR NEW YORK Lectures for the week under the

nuspices of the Social Democratic Party and nuxillary organizations. whether by Socialist or non-Socialis speakers, and by Socialist speakers be fore other organizations, are listed be-low. Unless otherwise stated, lectures are called for 8 p. in. FRIDAY, DEC. 18.

The regular semi-annual joint meeting of the Boston Socialist Clubs will be held at Socialist Hendquariers, West Side Socialist Club, Clark Hall, northwest corner Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, second floor Algernon Lee: "The Socialist Move ment a Product of Capitalism." SUNDAY, DEC. 20.

Colonial Hall, 101st street, near Co lumbus avenue. George D. Herron; "Socialism and Life." Socialist Literary Society, 232 E. Broadway. Courtenay Lemon: "What the Class Struggle Bently is."

Brooklyn. William Morris Educational Society of Brownsville, Tobac's Hall, corne Thatford and Pitkin avenues. John Spargo: "The Moral Value of Econ

SUNDAY, DEC. 20. Warzier's Hall, 315 Washington street. Henry L. Slobodin: "The Ideal Commonwealth."

Buffulo Hall, Fulton street and Buf-

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DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY OF NEW YORK meets first Sunday of every month, 19:30 a. m., in Link's Hall, 235 E. 38th street, New York. All Scandinavians are welcome. Agitation meetings every third Sunday, at 7 p. m. Secretary, G. Sjoholm, 321 E. Ninth street, New York.

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THE BELGIAN CITY ELECTIONS.

American Press Reports of Socialist Defeats Highly Misleading - Local Reverses More than Balanced by General Gans.

Several capitalist newspapers in the United States have given prominent to accounts of alleged reverses of the Socialists in the Belgian municipa elections, held on Oct. 18. The readers have been given to understand that these reverses have been general and crushing, and that they were due to the gross incompetence of the Socialists who were in office. It is not to be denied that we have lost some impor tant seats; nor need it be denied that some of the Socialist officials may have proven incompetent, though this is not very clearly proven. But it is necessary to insist that the general re-sult of the elections was a decided victory for the Socialist forces, not a de-feat, the losses in some cities having been more than balanced by gains in others of which the explicits papers have not a word to say; and further, that the actual losses are very easily 1:plained by circumstances which throw no discredit upon our party, but rather demonstrate its fidelity to the

working class.

One of these causes was the unprecedently vigorous campaigu agaist So cialism waged by the capitalist classespecially by the owners of the coa mines and the factories, in which the larger part of the Belgian people are employed. In many places, during the week before election, the offices of the industrial companies were practically deserted, the superintendents, fore-men, clerks, and other confidential employees being kept out electioneering for the bourgeois candidates. Socialists were openly threatened with dis charge and in many cases the threat was carried out.

The motive for this extraordinary campaign is not far to seek. Socialist administrations had found it necessary to increase the municipal revenues in order to carry out their many projects for the improvement of the conditions of the workers. They had raised the needed funds by levying heavier taxes on the corporation property, which and heretofore got off very lightly. Another cause for such losses as we sustained is to be found in the resi-

dence qualification for voting. It is necessary for a man to have lived three or sometimes even four years in the same city in order to vote in the city election. There, as here, working men have to move oftener than do business and professional men, in search of employment or to escape the raising of rents. For some years there has been a steady advance of rents in the large cities, especially in Brussels, and a corresponding exodus of the workers into the faubourgs, or suburban towns, outside the city limits. This move ment has been hastened by three The enforced destruction of causes: The enforced destruction of many of the poorest city tenements to make way for new streets, parks, etc.; the steady extension of trolley lines into the surrounding districts; and the action of the workingmen's co-opera-tive societies, which have helped many of the city tokes, or get homes for themselves outside but near to the cities. Several thousand working-men have noved from Brussels into the neighboring faubourgs during the last three or four years and have thus lost their votes, In spite of all this, the Socialists

held their former strength, both in the popular vote and in the number of councillors elected in the city of Brus sels, while gaining several hundred

votes in the faubourgs.

It is to be remembered also that under the Belgian law, while practically every man has a vote (provided he has lived long enough in the town), the propertied and professional classes have plural votes; the holders of diplomas-including the lawyers, doctors, clergymen, and many teachers-have each an extra vote, and the possession of certain property entitles the owner to one or two extra votes, so that men of the "upper classes" have generally from two to four votes each, . More over, in each city council, in addition to the members elected in the ordinary way, there are a number of "supplementary councillors" half of them elected by the employers and the other elected by the employers and the other half by the wage-workers.

In Schaerbeck and some other towns it was alert to foresee and able to half by the many courseless in their fear of a Clerhalf by the wage-workers.

our comrades, in their fear of a Cler-leal Conservative victory, made an alli-new countries. Vast tracts of Austra-th ance with the Liberals; they learned their mistake when they saw that the Liberal candidates of the coalition went in and the Socialist candidates In some twenty communes, mostly

gained a majority in the last election (1899), we have lost votes and kept only a minority in the councils. The charges of general incompetence seem to be based on two lustances-those of Quaregnon and Heristal; at least those are the only cases that are definitely cited. In the former place it is said that the Socialist administration left the city treasury bankrupt. In Heristal it is alleged that eight of the nine Socialist councillors "did not possess the rudiments of education." Considof age and that popular
Beiglum is a thing of the
amount to be taken by each purchaser education in Belgium is a thing of the last few years, wrested from the rulclass by the aggressive action of dence and improvement (regulations Socialists, it is not surprising if similar, in a general way, to those many of the Socialist connections so evaded as persistently), need not con-cern us here. Of the methods adopted with the land question, howessarily discreditable to our party, es-pecially since it is not denied that the Socialist councillors, however ill edu-eated themselves have used all their cated themselves, have used all their power to extend and improve the

If we have lost the majority in some twenty councils, these are but one-fifth of the hundred that we carried in 1890, and the loss is partly bananced by our conquest of several communes in the agricultural and heretofore large estates. The Victorian law (1877) and that of South Australia (1886) are half-hearted measures, how-ever, and have failed even to check In still more places we have elected one or more connelliors where we were before altogether unrepres-ented. Four years ago we elected about 800 councillors in less than 200 municipalities. This year we have won about 1,200 seats in over 350 mu-

Current # # Literature

graduated tax on all estates worth

and. Absentees pay 20 per cent, more

than do residents. So far, the reduc-tion in the number and acreage of very

arge estates is slight, though notice

Land repurchase laws have been

adopted in all the colonies except Tas

mania, beginning with New Zealand in 1892 and South Wales coming last

in 1901. The New Zealand law authorizes the Ministry of Lands to borrow up to £500,000 a year, at an interest

ate not above 4 per cent., and spend

it in repurchasing private lands; land

ment or by compulsory process com-pulsorily only in the case of large

tracts. Lands purchased by the gov-ernment under this law must be cut

up into allotments of not more than

40 acres of first-class land or 2 000 of

inferior land and leased in perpetuity,

preference being given to landless applicants, at an unchangeable yearly

rental of 5 per cent. on an initial valu-ation, which must be high enough that

the rental will cover the interest paid

transferred or mortgaged, like other estates. Under this law, in the nine

years ending in March, 1902, one hun-

lred and seven estates, aggregating

448,349 acres, had been bought, at a cost of £2,230,000; of this, 387,000 acres had been let to 2,033 tenants and the

revenue was more than covering the cost to the government. The Austra-

lian repurchase laws are conservative

compared with those of New Zealand

In none of the Australian states has

the government the power of compul

sory purchase; in Queensland, Western Australia, and Victoria the repur

chased lands are sold in small allot

ments, under certain requirements as

South Australia they are leased in per-

petulty, as in New Zealand; in New

South Wales they are leased for nine ty-nine years, with a revision of the rental every twenty years.

As we have said, there is little con

sistency in this whole body of agrarian legislation. Colonies that are yearly

borrowing money for the repurchase of large estates to be divided up and

elling large tracts from the public

seld by one owner. The only cou

of capitalist development by maintain

or leased are simultaneously

to residence and improvement;

bought by friendly arrange-

There is also a graduated in-

able.

TRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND By William Pember Reeves. Two vols., 391 and 367 pp.; maps and index. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1903. Price, \$7.50.

It is to be regretted that the price f these volumes renders them com-aratively inaccessible to most readers, for Mr. Reeves has given us the clearest, fullest, fairest, and most readable account of what is one of the most interesting subjects in recent politico-economic history. His book, we feel, requires notice somewhat be-yond the ordinary limit of reviews in this paper.

The development of the Australa sian colonies cannot but be interesting, on account of certain peculiar conditions—their geographical apartness, their characteristics of soil and eli-mate, the almost exclusively British origin of this population, and, especinily, the recency of their settlement.
If the word "experiment" can ever be justly applied to new political or social institutions, it is applicable to these faraway lands, full of vast natural opportunities and even more remark able natural difficulties, in which an "Anglo-Saxon" population has estab-lished itself, not by the slow process which prevailed in North America, but rapidly and with little opposition from aborigines, carrying with it into that new environment the arts and habit and thoughts of a highly developed capitalist state. If their contemporar history cannot but be interesting an suggestive to us, on the other hand the greatest caution should be exercised in inferring from Australasian experienc conclusions to be applied to the solu tion of American or European problems. The differences between Australiasia and America are far greater than those between America and Europe Political methods and institutions which work well in the one region might be very ill adapted to the others. We have still to see whether the meas ures adopted in Australia and New Zealand will sucgeed in permanently and materially modifying the develop ment of the capitalist system there away from the line of its normal de velopment in other countries; and if they do, the question still remains whether similar methods and measurcs here would have similar effectsor, rather, the presumption remains that they would not, and the question, differ.

lands in fee simple, without even ef-fectively limiting the amount to be how far and in what way they would Mr. Reeves devotes his first fifty-eight pages to a vivid description of "A Continent and Some Islands," the sistent purpose through it all has been to encourage subdivision and occupa-tion, and this has been effected only field of the state experiments, and the forty-four following to a brief characto a small extent. So far as the land legislation is concerned, it is ridiculous to point to the Antipodes for examples terization of the methods and spirit of the Progressive movement—a move-ment thoroughly English (or thoroughof "practical Socialism." On the con trary, it is distinctly remedial legisla tion, intended to modify the tendencie ly petit bourgeois) in its indefinitenes and its empiricism, setting up expe-diency as its chief ideal and uncompromisingly adhering to the rule of coming or bringing into existence a middle class of independent individual producers and small capitalists. The one promise. The rest of the work is given to an account of the several "experi-ments" of the past quarter-century. partial exception is the New South Wales law, which, we may note, is among the latest of the "experiments" Space compels us to pass over the chapters on Australian federation, women's suffrage, preferential voting liquor laws, and immigration laws, and devote our attention to the eco "experiments" which have attracted so much attention to the Anti-

and energy than money had little or no opportunity to establish themselves as independent proprietors.

The agrarian legislation which has

been called forth by this overwhelm

ing land monopoly is not a consistent system, but a mass of various and

often contradictory makeshifts. The

adopted in the United States-and

perpetual lease.

Land taxes are levied in all the

colonies except Queensland and West-ern Australia, but those of New South Wales and Tasmania are merely

revenue measures, while in the other

three colonies they have also the avowed purpose of breaking up the

and requiring some minimum

and is limited in its scope.

Remembering the smallness of th population of Australasia, we should expect the chapter on the labor ques tion there to read like the far podes and which fall mostly under three heads—the land laws, the old-age chapter on the snakes of Ireland. So far is this from being the case that pensions, and the labor laws. almost the whole of Mr. Reeves' sec The seven colonies have an area of ond volume is given to an account of over 3,000,000 square miles and a population of less than 5,000,000. Conthe factory laws, minimum-wage and arbitration laws, and other labor legis sidering only that third of the area which is not difficult to settlement, the population is less than five to the lation; with the connected subject o old age pensions. square mile, hardly one-fifth as dense is that of the United States to-day barely denser than that of the United States in 1780. Yet the land question

False as is the inference the Single Taxers draw from the fact, it is a fac that monopoly of land generally pre-cedes and gives birth to monopoly of other means of production and the capitalist antagonisms arising there-from, and this has clearly been the is an old one, a source of strife almost from the earliest days of the colonies' growth. This seeming anomaly is ac case in Australasia. A fourth of the counted for by the fact that the raise people of New Zealand live in four ing of sheep and cattle was, owing to climatic conditions, the first great incities, nearly half the Victorians in three cities, a third of the people of New South Wales in one city, over a third of the South Australians in one dustry to arise, together with the fact that before Australian history had got well under way-say by 1851, when nearly a fourth of the Queenslander in one; the sweatshop was quite in vogue already fifteen years ago; the army of the unemployed has for many gold was discovered and rapid immiyears been a chronic feature of Austra-lasian society, and an alarming one in the periodic crises which come there lasian land were granted, freely or for as in the older countries; and there nominal considerations, to whoever have been many strikes and lockout as bitter and proportionately even had influence with the governments more extensive than any the United by "squatters" who, with the growth States has seen. of the country, became giant pastoral laudlords. The land so acquired was generally, of course, that of the best quality, and the gradually expanding

The labor parties of the coloni-(under various names) though tinetured with Socialist ideas, have not until within very recent years (and agriculture of the country soon found itself hemmed in and oppressed, while the immigrants who had more strength now only on a small scale), approached the definiteness of aim, the closeness of organization, or the intransigeant policy of the working-class parties of the Continent, of the United States, or even of Great Britain. "One ste at a time" has generally been their motto and bargaining with other elements their method. Despite the may be seriously doubted whether, in the remarkable body of social and enough of good to make the game worth the candle and still more se riously doubted whether the good they have got is not closely combined with losses that they will have to strucely hard to recoup. Our author is as ayowed, though a very modest, cham pion of the legislation in question, hav ing had a considerable hand in it making; but putting his account to gether with the most recent news, our oubts are rather strengthened that

allayed. The Old Age Pensions law of Nev Zealand (1898) commands warm, if no unqualified, admiration as a measure for mitigating one of the most heinous evil effects of capitalism. Every needy person over sixty-five years old who has been living in the colony for twenty-five years (excepting allens the growth of land monopoly. The New Zealand law of 1893 is more drastic and a little more effective. Personal property and improvements are exempt; so are ground values up to 6500; above this, the tax is a penny

other income over £34, a pound is de-ducted from the pension claimable. The rules in regard to examination of claims seem to be as free from red-tape and humiliating conditions as is consistent with the practical adminis-tration of any relief measures of the in the pound, or about two-fifths of one per cent.; in addition, there is a graduated tax on an estates worth more than £5,000, ranging from one-eighth of a penny up to two pence in the pound on estates worth over £210,-000. Thus the richest landholders pay a total of about one and one-fifth per cent, on the unimproved value of their land. Absentees not 20 per cent more tration of any relief measures of the sort. During the first three years of the operation of the law, 14.413 pensions were granted; 2008 ceased, fou fifths of them through death; at the end of that time, of the \$40,000 people in New Zealand, 31,353 of whom were over sixty-fire years old, 12,405 were receiving pensions, over 10,000 the full f18 a year. That, even in a new country like New Zealand, two-fifths of the sixty-five, be in such poverty as to come within the provisions of this law is a terrible enough answer to the thrift-and-industry cant commonly preached to the working class. It can not be doubted that in the United States the proportion is still greater. Within two years, New South Wales adopted a law modeled on that of New Zealand, but a little more liberal in some of its provisions. About the

same time, Victoria adopted a similar plan. We may now turn to the Australa sian labor laws, strictly so called—to us far the most interesting of all the "state experiments." The laws regulating sanitary conditions and guard ing of machinery and restricting the working hours of women and children are not very different in principle from by the government on the money bor-rowed for the purchase and other ex-penses. These leaseholds may be those of our various states; nor, with some exceptions, are they more string ent than the best of ours. The same may be said of the provisions for early closing of shops and the employer the state employment offices, the laws to prevent withholding of wages or payment in "truck" by contractors, and the limitation of working hours in the mines are a little better that anything in force in the United States hough not ahead of some laws enacted in some of our states and declared un constitutional by the courts-a trick th Australasian courts do not seem to indulge in. The colonies have done more to provide work for the unemployed than has been done in the United States, but the unemployment problem still exists, even in prosperous times. But all these are minor matters compared with the Wage Roard system of Victoria (1896) and South Australia (1900) and the Compulsory Arbitration system of New Zealand (1894), New South Wales (1901), and Western Aus.ralia (1902).

The enactment of the Victorian law followed upon an investigation of the sweating system, which had shown the existence of a large number of frightfully overtasked and undernald workers. It provided that for six specified and for such other trades or ndustrial processes (with a few specified exceptions) as the executive the consent of one legislative branch, might see fit subsequently to bring under the operations of the law-there should be set up permanent trade boards, each consisting of from two to five representatives elected for a term of two years by the employers of larly elected by the employees, with a chairman agreed upon by them; if either stile refuses or falls to elect rep. resentatives or if the representatives fall to agree on a chairman, the Gov-ernor appoints. The board has power to fix minimum time wages (defining the standard work day and the rate for overtime) and plece rates and to fix the maximum proportion of apprentices to be allowed. Up to the time of Mr. Reeves' writing (Septem ber, 1902), some thirty-eight boards had, been established for as many trades. The law does not forbid e than the wage specified in the de termination of their Wage Board; it does forbid the employer to pay less, even by the consent of his employees. All the employers and employees of a regulated shop may participate in the election of their respective representa-tives, regardless whether or not they are organized. The government does not have to wait for an application from one side or the other nor even for a dispute, but may act on its own ini-tiative in bringing any trade under the

law. The South Australian law is a

close copy of the Victorian.

The New Zealand law,* the occasion which was a series of violent strikes and lockouts, differs consider ably in its method and is more ex-tended in scope, but is not dissimilar n its general divided into districts in each of which a Board of Conciliation may, on petition, be set up, composed of equal numbers of representatives of employ-ers and employees, elected by the members of registered (virtually incorporated) employers' and trade unions in the district, with an impartial chairman. Any party to an industrial dispute may appeal to the Board, which has power similar to nesses. The award of the Board of Conciliation has the force of law, by either party may within a mouth ap-peal from it to the Court of Arbitration of the colony. This body consists of a Judge of the Supreme Court designated by the Governor and two representatives elected by the employ-ers' associations and the workers' unions, respectively, all for a term of three years. This Court's award has the force of law for the district whence the case comes or for the whole colony, and there is no appeal. For violation of such an award the aggrieved party can recover damages from the employer or the trade union from the employer or the trade union at fault, in no case of over £500. Nonunion workers are individually respon sible to the extent of £10. In practise, the award is binding on all employers of the trade and district affected whether organized or not, and on all trade unions, whether registered or not. Awards may deal with wages, hours of labor, proportion of apprentices, holidays, the right of employer to refuse to employ unionists or of th latter to refuse to work with non unionists, or any subject, not covered by statute law, on which an industrial

*The text of the New Zealand lav in its present amended form is given in the Bulletin of the United States Rureau of Labor for Nov., 1903, to-gether with an extended report on "Labor Conditions in New Zealand" by Victor S. Clark Victor S. Clark.

ment of union regulations, payment of dues, etc. In many cases the Court has ruled that unionists must be given preference in employment, if equally competent. When an award has been made, for an employer to institute lockout or for a union to strike agains t is a violation for which damage may be recovered. An employer is, of course, free to shut his works wholly er in part. An employer may pay higher wages or grant shorter hours, etc., than those awarded, but the workmen may not concertedly demand and strike for them; he may not pay lower wages or require longer hours than are awarded, even though his em ployees individually consent thereto After three years, either party may apply for revision; otherwise, it re-mains in force. New South Wales and Western Australia have followed the New Zealand law pretty closely.

As to the workings of the scheme it seems that in the majority of case the law has been invoked by the employees and that the majority of the ons have been in their favor, and that it has pretty effectually prevented strikes and lockouts. It must be re nembered, however, that the experi ment was begun at the end of a perior of depression and the beginning of period of prosperity which seems only now to be nearing its close. During this period, wages would certainly have risen and conditions of labor improved without Wage Boards or Courts of Ar bitration, though it must be admitted that strikes and lockouts would have een involved. It remains to be see whether, in the hard times no parently impending, the Wage Boards and Boards of Arbitration will do much to prevent the reduction of wages; and that they can at all prevent the shutting down of works or the laying off of a portion of the work-The compulsory arbitration or legal

minimum wage system is not "le So cialisme sans doctrines" nor any kind of Socialism whatever. It is an absolute recognition of capitalism and an attempt to render it tolerable therefore, impliedly, to perpetuate it) by regulating it. It may be "a step toward Socialism"—but only in the sense that a victorious Socialist party might use it for a purpose contrary to its present function-or it may not. In exactly the same sense, the power of condemning property now used principally to enable railway companies t acquire rights of way, might conceivfiscation for Socialist purposes; or the vagrancy laws, the conspiracy laws, and the power of injunction might prove very useful to a working-class administration in carrying out Social

The advocates of the scheme frankl abandon the free-contract theory which logically and historically be longs to capitalism. They recognize the disruptive tendencies of capital ism, which, growing up by means of free contract, has ended by rendering free contract impossible. The Socialist agrees with them in repudiating the contract theory. But they hark back to a theory of status, belonging to earlier class societies, to find a means of checking these disruptive tendendea. The Socialist, on the other hand holds that the disruptive forces gen erated in the mature development of any economic system are potentially the reconstructive forces that are to the reconstructive forces that a build up the succeeding system.

The closest historic parallel that oc curs to us-and it is a close one-is that of the French situation in 1789 It was hoped, even by many of the bitterest critics of then existing con ditions and most strenuous clamorer for change, that the States-General representing the privileged and the op pressed classes, would be able, by effecting certain compromises, to establish a workable modus vivendi between the classes and perpetuate the old system. It is easy to say that, if the nobles and the clergy had not been quite so stubborn, this hope would have been realized. But it was psychologically impossible for them to be otherwise; and, what is more, it was economically impossible for them to yield anything worth while without ing thereby compelled to yield more being frerely compened to yield more and yet more. Had they been less stubborn, the Revolution would have been less sudden and perhaps quite bloodless, but it would not have been prevented.

So we may say that, if the capitalists are wise e and liberal concessions, it will, while not preventing the social revolution much relieve its asperity—provided those concessions be of such a char-acter as will not only improve the material conditins of the working class, but simultaneously increase its expacity for collective thought and for Durposeful united action. And this is the greatest positive objection that the Socialist will raise against the plan of compulsory arbitration, that it tends to narrow the views and din the collective assertiveness and selfreliance of the working class.

"New Zealandism" is no longer the disturbing fad it was in the American Socialist movement two or three years ago. But it is not unlikely that simifar plans will again come to the front in this country and that the Socialist Party will have to be prepared to them intelligently. Reeves' book will be of the greatest

It is reported that Italy, following the example of France, is about to enter into an important treaty with Great Britain, whereby the two coun-tries shall be at liberty not to go to war with one another should they both be unwilling.-Punch.

"If I had my way," said the man of

high principles, "there would be no money in politics." said Senator Sorghum, you didn't put any money in politics, it isn't likely you could have your way."

—The duty of the Socialist is to make Socialists of other people. One of the best ways to do that is to dis-tribute party papers. Try an occa-sional bundle of The Worker. One

GRAPES OF WRATH.

By Horace Traubel. You are on top, dear masters. You are having a good time. You eat, drink, clothe, travel, swagger, and, of course, die. I say: Have all the fun you can now. The time is soon coming when no man will be able to steal his fun. When every man will have to pay value received for fun. Your extras will all be cut off. You will no longer live on bounties, margins or piracies. You are planting for the harvest. But the harvest will not be the harvest you expect. I am not a prophet of evil. I am a cryer of good Of universal and eternal good. I de not hackblie your surplus. I sympa-thize with the other fellow's shortage. But for his shortage your surplus would be secure. But for your sur-plus his shortage would not exist. The law of the one is the law of the other. The repeal of the one law will wipe out the flood and the drought. There will be plenty of fun left. But it will not be the sort of fun you experience over the prostrate bedy of labor. Eat yourself fat now while you can. Drink yourself druck now while you may. Clothe yourself in the livery of the autocrat now while your rule continues. Palace yourself in arrogant luxury now while the bill re mains unreceipted. You have had the most of your allowance. The rest of your time is short. The curren presses very strongly your way. You think the tide is fixed for you without a turn. Wait till it sweeps back. Then see whose victory is paid most for. See whose victory is most worth having. having. You are so strongly en-trenched you cannot concede any doubt of your ability to stand the siege. And I admit that no casual assault could endanger your estate. But your enemy is no casual enemy. It is history. It is national law. It is the irresistible impetus of the awakened human spirit. Have you supposed things could keep on as they are? Is the tree to be conserved in the foliage instead of at the root? Can the cornic make faces at the foundation? Sup-pose the foundation gets a notion to get out from under? What will your cornice do? You have planted seeds of disintegration. Rebellion has not nade itself. Rebellion is your own offspring. It is your most direct descendant. Every dollar of bandit income in your hand or mine is so much powder constituting the omli collateral of rebellion. Your deeds go o bed with reaction and get up in the morning with revolution. I do not try you by my tests. I try you by your own tests. I quote your own law against you. By your own laws you will be destroyed. I see that your time is near at hand. A few more victories. A few more years of feasts and feathers. You are blind, Appetite is always blind. So is greed. So are good clothes. So is a trip to Europe. So is your sideboard. I do not se how I can give you sight. You insist on keeping your eyes shut. I can only warn you in a loud voice. I can only strike an alarm for you to hear. I can only make you uncomfortable with my reiterated prophecies. And you can

learn to hate me. You can send you

sheriffs to levy on my property. You can send the law with its gag. You

can loose your hounds on my track. But I am never so choked with warning as in the chase. And the more

nearly you run me down the more

ominous the chase becomes for you.

And you take me home in your gamebag. You exhibit me to the ravished

consciousness of your caste. And then

am I more than ever dangerous to you. I follow you now to your dinner, to

your parlor, to your office, and sound

the calm note of my quarrel. You can not go to worship in your church with

out hearing me dissonantly in the

prayer of the priest and the hymn of

the choir. I am the resurrection and the life. You try to kill me. To stop

it is not me you can kill. It is you who are dead already. You walk

about the earth a corpse left over from

a funeral. You are busily at work calling the roll of the dead. What will

you be prepared to do on the day of

judgment? I am a sounder of alarm

cence of guilt. You planted interests

expecting interests eternally to grow. You planted your own private glad-

ness in return. You planted your chil-

dren against the children of the world

And you expected the social compact to make itself whole in the result. But

I tell you no one part of this world

can be successfully planted against any other part of this world. That no

harvest can be successfully the har-

vest of one man or a few men. That no man can successfully plan except for the total good. Any other motive

will poison the vineyard. And the crop of the sower who sows greed is

the crop of anger and desolation. And

bands that gather against the need of

all will find their palms scorched with the sin of the aggressor. That is why

I say your food does not feed you

That your clothes do not clothe you. That your houses do not house you.

That while any man anywhere is with

out food or clothing or shelter your spirit starves and is naked and is

abandoned. And that anything you de

only in your own name is a charge

made against the assets of all the rest And that the feeblest voice you raise

-- A. clairvoyant was fined \$150

yesterday for telling fortunes. Yes President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay are still at large, notwithstanding

the display of second sight that led them to have a naval force all ready for a Panama revolution before it hap-

-Scrialist and Social Democratic

are virtually interchangeable terms

The Social Democratic Party of New York and Wisconsin is identical with the Socialist Party of other states. It

is the party of the working class against all parties of capitalism. Its emblem in New York is the Arm and

copies of The Worker gratis to all who request them. If you know some per-sons who ought to be acquainted with the paper, send in their names and ad-

pened.-New York World.

for all goes straight to the throne.

to gather the naves.
You planted in all the inner Von planted interest

gather the harvest you

my voice. To humble my will

The Sydney (N. S. W.) "Daily Tele graph" says of the movement: is no secret about its objects. are definite and downright. They are aggressive. The main point is the building up of a strong fund for fightbuilding up of a strong total to a sir-ing purposes—in short, for fighting the Socialist Labor Party at the polis when the Federal elections come on. The Employers' Federation of each state proposes to raise a large sum of money for the specific purpose of 'as-sisting present political organizations to band together in opposition to the Socialist Labor Party.' • • • The de-Socialist Labor Party.' * * * The de tails of the fighting platform have no yet been completed, but, roughly speaking, it is intended to assist can didates for the Federal Parliament who subscribe to the platform of this organization to secure election. Mr. R. S. Walpole, Secretary to the Employers' Federation of Victoria says: The Object of the defense fund is to assist present political organizations in banding together in opposition to the Socialist Labor Par

It is intimated that an attack will be made on the arbitration laws already in force in several states and on state interference with private enter prise in any shape or form."

Whatever the immediate result of this move, no doubt its ultimate effect will be to strengthen the definitely class-conscious and independent So cialist movement, which has been growing for some years, in spite of the concessions made in the way of arbitration laws, but which is still comparatively small.

The following table shows the averfor 1902, for the eleven months so far elapsed of the present year, and for the three months ending Nov. 30, 1903. The figures are derived from the National Secretary's reports f dues paid, by dividing the of dues which each organization has paid in each period by the amount of one member's dues for such period-60 cents for a full year, 55 cents for eleven months, or 15 cents for the last three of these months. The table does not include the membership of locals

********************************* PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

All Comrades and Organizations are hereby informed that an

Industrial Labor Exposition and Food Show For the benefit of the Labor Press, "THE WORKER" and the "NEW YORKER VOLKSZEITUNG," is being arranged, and will take place April 23 to May 8, 1904, at the GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, Forty-third and Forty-

Organizations are requested to consider arranging Festivals Accordingly.

FACSIMILE OF TICKET!

THE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE.

ON No. 96449 LABOR DO STO STORE THE PRIL 23 PRIL 23 PRIL 23 Control of the Park St. Lexington Ave. 43d & 44th Sts. Dew York 1904 1904 Lexington Ave. 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 1904 GRAND CTS DMI 10

THE CLASS WAR IN AUSTRALIA.

fourth Streets, New York.

Employers' Federations Raise Funds to Fight Socialism in Federal Elections.

Australian capitalist papers describe formidable movement by federated employers' associations of the Commonwealth to oppose Socialism in the Federal elections, which take place this month. The movement began with the Pastoralists' Union Queensland. ("Pastoralist," it may be explained, is the name given in Australia to the owners of the great cattle and sheep ranches.) At a meeting held at Brisbane in August the plan of uniting all capitalist interests in a campaign against Socialism was commenced and £2,000 subscribed for the purpose. The fund was to be in creased to £10,000 in Queensland alone The Employers' Federation of New South Wales, the next state south of Queensland, immediately took up the plan and undertook to raise a fu from £10,000 to £15,000. ers' Federation of Victoria, it was stated, would raise £20,000.

PARTY MEMBERSHIP.

n some fourteen un	organized	state
and territories.		
	11 mo.,	Las
States. 1902.	1903.	3 m
Alabama 73	130	, 1
Arizona 70	140	1
Arkansas 40	182	22
California1,014	1,091	1.5
Colorado 492	711	-16
Conecticut 268	292	20
Florida 82	149	
daho 91	82	
Ilinois 802	1,418	1.10
ndiana 450	487	53
owa 101	443	51
Cansas 29	263	. 5
Centucky 67	213	30
Inine 220	204	13
Inssachusetts . 639	1.246	1,56
fichigan 127	255	33
linnesota 220	440	50
fissouri 514	498	50
fontana 139	310	19
ebraska 87	209	31
Cw Hampshire 107	142	12
lew Jersey 318	700	1.00
ew York 987	1,636	2,00
orth Dakotn 44	94	
hio 577	873	90
klahoma 75	118	22
regon 172	192	21
ennsylvania 541	700	1,00
outh Dakota 63	94	10
exas 62	106	22
ermont	35	6
404	- meters	400

370

Fiorida and Idaho have paid no dues

SPECIAL NOTICE.

BROOKLYN ORGANIZATIONS, Attention!

For the convenience of the members of the Brooklyn organizations affiliated with the Labor Secretariat, a tranch office has been opened en zenday, Dec. 14th, in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby avenue, office hours are from 2 to 6 p. m. week days. All Brooklyn cases can from now on be submitted at it e above branch.

The Labor Secretariat. H. E. KINTLEIN, Ass't Secretary.

Monster Discussion Meeting,

held by the 30th Assembly District, S. D. P., ihis 3 UNBAY, DEC. 20, at 2 o'clock p-m., in the Clubhouse, 203 E. 86th St. Speaker: J. MAMLON BARNES of Phil-adelphia. Subject—The Cecent Ronven-tion of the A. F. of L. and the Socialist, FREE DISCUSSION.

Entertainment & Dance, given by the

Social Democratic Party, BRANCH 2, VAN NEST, ANNEXED DIST. At BACHMANN'S CASINO.

Unionport Road, Van Nest, Saturday Evening, Dec. 19, 1903. mencing at 8 o'clock. TICKETS, including Hatcheck, ISo. each.



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REVOLUTIONARY ESSAYS It has received many flatter

ing press notices all over the United States, and to énable every Socialist and advanced thinker to own a copy of a lim-ited edition the price has been reduced to \$1.00 per copy, post-paid. The book is elegantly and in cloth, stamped in gold, gilt edge, 320 pp., with portrait of the author.

The Elements of Revolution,

being Chapter XLIII of this book, has been printed as a pamphlet, together with opinions of the press and the chapter head ings of the book. It will make a splendid propaganda pamph-let. Price, single copy, 5 cents: twelve copies for 40 cents; much lower in larger lots. Agents for Write for terms. Address all orders to

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since August; North Dakota has pald

none since July.
It is not pretended, of course, that the figures given are more than ap proximately correct, since in so cases a state organization may in one month buy dues-stamps enough to last for several months and in other cases the state secretary may neglect his duties for some time and members willing to pay dues may consequently have to wait some time for their stamps. The shorter the period of time, the more weight would these aceldental considerations have, since a state in which there is a real working organization would not allow the pay-ing of dues to be neglected for many months and, on the other hand, no state is likely to buy stamps for more than two or three months in advance. at the most. The figures in the first two columns may be taken as pretty accurately showing the average mem-bership for the year 1902 and for the first eleven months of 1903, respectively.

STILL INNOCENT.

"Senator, what was the nearest you ever came to being bribed?" asked the girl who always blurts everything right out.
"It was the time I voted for the

postal box bill and received 7,000 shares of stock in the concern that was to make the boxes when the bill gave it a monopoly on the business."
"I should think that was a clear case

against you."
"No. The measure didn't go through and the stock never amounted to any thing."—Chicago Record-Herald.