

Workingmen
of all
Countries, Unite

LABOR.

You Have Nothing to Lose but your chains, and a World to Gain.

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American Federation of Labor Assists Western Miners.

Roosevelt's Open Shop Decision Causes a Lively Discussion and Creates General Attention—The Important Question Will Come Up Once More in a Later Session—The Struggle of the Tailors' Union—The Boston Socialists Hold Parade and Mass Meetings with A. F. of L. Delegates as Speakers.

The capitalist press has evidently entered into a conspiracy of silence as regards reports on the work of the delegates of the American Federation of Labor convention, in session at Boston, since November 9.

Although the sessions have already covered 11 days, since the announcement of its opening, the daily press have almost entirely ignored the convention. Our readers will find in the reports given below enough to indicate along what lines lie the many problems which the delegates are expected to solve. Some of the incidents noted indicate a prevalence of Socialist sentiment among the delegates, but however welcome a Socialist majority among the delegates of the A. F. of L. may be, let us not forget that resolutions adopted by conventions do not carry the votes of the membership on election day. This lesson was reaffirmed on November 3 last, when only 800 voted the Socialist Party ticket in Colorado, thus giving convincing evidence that we must educate, educate, educate!

ENGLAND'S DELEGATE,

For Political Action, Can Conceive No Identity of Interests Between Capital and Labor.

James O'Grady, general secretary of the English furniture workers, and his colleague, James Simpson, addressed the convention of the A. F. of L., both urging the necessity of independent political action. Unfortunately labor has no daily press, and we are therefore restricted to such reports as the enemy sees fit to print. Mr. O'Grady said in part, as reported by a Boston capitalist paper:

"The trade union movement has made things as different as Heaven and hell," declared he.

The delegates had been very silent and attentive. Now they cheered him.

"But the time has come when we must make a new move. By the union movement adopting political action it will be able to enormously increase its effectiveness."

Great applause by the Socialists who are to be heard along a similar line before the delegates go home.

"More men are killed and injured at work in the English factories in a year than were disposed of in the entire Dutch war. Capital is international, labor must be.

"The Taffe Vale decision was a personal blow to every workman.

"We should discuss Social questions in our branch meetings.

"China is going to be civilized. Just now we are a little jealous and don't want to divide up."

All this and more he drove home.

"But I am not a pessimist," he said.

"As an Irishman I am a natural optimist."

The delegates loudly applauded his declaration that "I CAN NOT CON-

CEIVE ANY IDENTITY OF INTERESTS BETWEEN CAPITALISTS AND LABORERS."

"Go on, go on," cried the delegates when he would have stopped two or three times.

"But one newspaper reader could be seen in the hall while O'Grady talked. There were no caucuses or whispering. Three cheers and a tiger were called for and given with a will when he concluded."

Boston, Mass., Nov. 16, 1903.

On the second day of the American Federation of Labor the resolution on aiding the western miners was introduced by Delegate G. A. Hoehn, of St. Louis. The result is given in full on page 10.

The resolution was referred to the committee on resolutions, which reported unfavorable in Thursday's session. This unfavorable report caused a heated discussion. Delegate Hoehn made a stirring appeal in behalf of the western miners, claiming that the expression of true solidarity on the part of the A. F. of L. convention would do more towards bringing about the unity and harmony between the organized labor in east and west than all harmonizing committees that might be sent out there. Besides, it would be a queer policy to investigate the conditions of labor in the Philippine islands, in China and Japan, while no attention was paid to the struggle in our home states.

Delegate McArthur, of San Francisco, made a plea for the division of the resolution, so that the convention could extend its sympathy, even if it did not vote the \$1,000.

Delegate Craft was not in favor of encouraging any separate organization to hold aloof from the American Federation of Labor, but he still thought that the western federation of miners was entitled to sympathy and support, and he felt certain that before the next convention of the A. F. of L. is held, if this action were taken now the Western Federation of Miners will be a portion of the A. F. of L.

Delegate Max Morris, of Denver, Col., voted the passage of the resolution, and the granting of \$1,000 to the Western Federation of Miners to aid them in their fight.

Delegate Max Morris, of Denver, Col., said that although he had been opposed for re-election in his campaign for the legislature of Colorado by the Federation of Western Miners, and, under the direction of President Roosevelt and Senator Lodge, speakers had been sent into the district to oppose and defeat him, he did not want it telegraphed to Colorado that the A. F. of L. of itself was a reason, he hour day, or would appear to be in favor of disruption and disorganization in the ranks of labor. He moved that the resolution be recommitted.

Delegate Ramsay, of the Telegraphers' union, also favored the convention taking action in support of the western miners. The fact that John Mitchell

was a member and an officer of the A. F. of L. of itself was a reason, he said, why the convention should show that whoever may be jealous of John Mitchell, the A. F. of L. will stand for the laborers against the capitalists anywhere throughout the country.

After the recess, First Vice-President Duncan said that the feeling of the convention had been so strongly expressed on the subject he felt he could say that if the matter was recommitted a different report would be the result.

The report was recommitted by unanimous agreement.

The committee reported again in Saturday's session by recommending the adoption of the following substitute resolution:

"WHEREAS, The metalliferous miners and the smelter employes of Colorado who are members of the Western Federation of Miners are engaged in a contest for the preservation of their organization and the establishment of an eight-hour workday; and

"WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is solicitous for the welfare and the happiness of all workers, regardless of their trade, location or affiliation, and is deeply interested in the successful prosecution and termination of the strike of the metalliferous miners; therefore be it

"RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, tender to the Western Federation of Miners its sympathy and its best wishes for the success of the movement to establish an eight-hour-workday; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That the executive council be authorized to issue a circular to all affiliated organization calling attention to the struggle and to the requirements of the Western Federation of Miners, and asking for financial assistance; the funds resulting therefrom to be sent to the officers of the Western Federation of Miners, to be used for the purpose of assisting in prosecuting to a successful issue the strike for an eight-hour workday."

Delegate Hoehn moved the adoption of the committee's report.

Delegate Grimes spoke against the motion.

Delegate Tanquary said that it should read "Executive Council," instead of "incoming executive council," and the word "incoming" was stricken out.

Delegate McGovern opposed the substitute.

Delegate Kreft moved the following amendment:

"RESOLVED, That the executive council place the sum of \$1,000 at the disposal of the Western Federation of Miners at once.

Delegate Wheeler supported the amendment.

Delegate Fosdick favored the amendment.

Delegate Lennon opposed Delegate Kreft's amendment, and favored the adoption of the committee's report.

Delegates Slayton and Tanquary favored the amendment.

Delegates Tobin and Duncan supported the committee's report.

Delegate Kreft supported his own amendment.

Delegates Vincens, Kelly, Kemper and Morris favored the amendment.

Delegate Barry called for the previous question.

The Boston Globe reports the proceedings on the miners' resolution as follows:

"The most important question disposed of at the convention of the American Federation of Labor in facial aid to the western miners' association, whose members are now engaged in a labor fight in Colorado.

"The matter had been before the convention two days before, when the committee on resolutions reported adversely on a resolution pledging the sympathy of the convention, and \$2,000 of financial aid to enable the western men to carry on their fight.

"The feeling of the convention at that time was so strong in the direction of aiding the miners that the adverse report of the committee was in danger of being defeated, and the committee requested permission to withdraw the report, promising that a different one would be forthcoming later.

"Yesterday the report came up, but it ignored completely the recommendation that \$1,000 be sent to aid the western miners, and referred that portion of the matter to the executive council, while at the same time expressing the sympathy of the convention with the western miners in their struggle.

"But it was apparent from the beginning that the temper of the convention was against such a line of policy, even although the western miners were outside the A. F. of L., and, according to some of the speakers, had even actively opposed it.

"In the course of the discussion most of the prominent officers, including President Gompers, First Vice-President James Duncan, Vice-President Max Morris, Treasurer John B. Lennon, and many prominent delegates placed themselves on record against giving aid from the funds of the organization to help an outside body.

"The only prominent exception among the officers to this line of policy was the representative of the miners, John Mitchell, who at a critical stage in the voting quietly rose in this place in the convention and cast the vote of that body in favor of appropriating \$1,000 to aid the western men. The casting of Mitchell's vote was followed by the greatest demonstration of approval which the convention had given from the opening, with the possible exception of the outburst which followed the close of the speech of James O'Grady, one of the English fraternal delegates, on Wednesday.

"From the moment Mitchell's vote was cast in favor of the sending of the money to the western miners, it became apparent that the convention would vote in favor of the proposition, although, when President Gompers had

Comrades,

OR! It is Our Most Effective Weapon.

finished speaking, just before the vote was taken, it looked as if the proposition would not go through.

"On a show of hands the proposition was declared defeated, 142 to 145. A roll call was instantly demanded, and during the hour which it consumed there was the greatest anxiety to know how it would result.

"The question was somewhat involved, it coming on an amendment to the report of the committee. Many of the delegates were in doubt whether they should vote yes or no, in order to carry out their views, and it was only after President Gompers had explained the question that they realized that the voting for the amendment they were overruling the report of the committee.

"The roll call finally resulted in a vote of 6,614 for the sending of the \$2,000 and 6,452 against, and the amendment was therefore carried. The result was applauded from the floor and galleries. The general impression was that Mitchell's vote in favor of the appropriation was the deciding factor in the voting."

SUPPORTING THE TAILORS.

The convention concurred in a report of the committee favoring a resolution proposed by John B. Lennon, R. U. Qualey and George Sangster, of the journeymen tailors' organization, calling attention to the lockout of tailors in several cities by the Merchant Tailors' Protective association, backed up by so much of the manufacturers' association as can be influenced by the president, D. M. Parry, who claims that the tailors' union shall be destroyed, no matter at what cost, and declaring that the appeal for help sent out by the tailors be indorsed by the convention, that trades unionists were urged to help the tailors, and that the A. F. of L. pledge its financial support to the tailors.

Delegate Lennon said that more than 100 of the members of the tailors' union have been arrested, and many have been enjoined from their connection with the union.

THE OPEN SHOP QUESTION

was brought up by Delegate G. A. Hoehn offering a resolution, which will also be found in full on page 10.

Concerning the discussion, the daily press reports as follows:

"Thursday's session of the American Federation of Labor convention in Faneuil hall gave rise to several rather interesting debates, although no question of serious importance came up for consideration.

"The most important topic which engaged attention was the resolution dealing with the 'open-shop' question, as affected by the Miller controversy. Although only the fringe of the question was touched, the merits of the point at issue not being discussed, sufficient was said to indicate that when it comes up for consideration some breezy passages are likely to result.

"One of the delegates, in discussing the recommendation that the resolution be recommitted, declared that he saw no difference between a non-union shop run by President Parry, of the manufacturers' association, and one run under the patronage of the government by President Roosevelt, or with his consent, and the applause which rolled up from the convention in an answering chorus was a plain indication that the great majority of the delegates shared his views.

"A delegate who followed said he hoped the speaker would have the courage to emphasize his views by voting against President Roosevelt when opportunity offered, and the delegate nodded affirmatively.

"G. A. Hoehn, of St. Louis, said the question of the open shop was a most important one, and he thought it had not been treated properly, either in the report of President Gompers or the executive council. He said he could see no reason why a non-union shop run by President Roosevelt was any better than a similar one run by President Parry, of the manufacturers' association.

"J. M. Barnes, of the cigarmakers'

union, Philadelphia, aroused great enthusiasm by saying that he thought the convention ought to lose no time in letting President Roosevelt know that the A. F. of L. was 'on to his curves,' and realize the sagacity of his position where he says that in private concerns he can not interfere any more than he could in private shops.

"That means that where he is not in control and where he has no power he will do nothing," said Mr. Barnes, but we realize that where he has the power or a voice he slaps us in the face and says that the government which he controls will not interfere with these shops, whether they are scab shops or open shops."

The matter was finally referred back to the committee on resolutions for action, together with several other resolutions dealing with the same subject, a motion that it be sent to the committee on the report of executive council not being persisted in.

Next to this the most important question debated during the day was on the protest from Cleveland against seating two additional delegates of the Bakers' and Confectioners' union of that city, Mathew Steels and John Guild. After a prolonged debate, the report of the committee, excluding the delegates, was indorsed by a vote representing 6,001 votes for exclusion to 5,554 against. Schaefer, of San Francisco, is the seated delegate of the bakers, and casts the entire vote of the union.

The remainder of the day was devoted mainly to the discussion of the other resolutions which had been reported by the committee, their recommendations in nearly every instance being concurred in by the convention.

The open shop question will come up again at a later session, and another lively debate is expected. The discussion of Socialism may take up considerable time, as about a dozen resolutions favoring political action have been introduced, and it is expected that the committee will submit an unfavorable report, thus provoking the debate.

NO CHARTER FOR INSURANCE AGENTS.

The question of granting a national charter to the insurance agents caused a heated debate in last Monday's session. The matter of granting charters to the insurance agents, who claim to be eligible as wage earners, was recommended for reference to the executive council. Delegate Mahoney, of the state branch of the federation, spoke in favor of the resolve.

Delegate Lavin asked the chair to give his decision whether a worker whose wages added to the cost of an article without adding anything to its value is a wage earner.

President Gompers declared that such a man is not a wage earner.

"I don't think there is a gang of men going around the country who are doing a greater 'grafter' business than the insurance agents," said Delegates James F. O'Connell, of the machinists' union, in opposition to the resolve. "These men will go into the home of a union workman and prevail on his wife to insure his 14 or 15 children, and by this means take nearly every dollar of his wages to keep up the policies."

Delegate Hoehn, of St. Louis, said unions were organized for the express purpose to improve the conditions of the working class. The moment the insurance agents would or could show any desire of efforts to induce or force their employers to grant better conditions; i. e., better pay and less work, a charter could be granted. But experience has demonstrated the fact that the existing insurance agents' unions had but one object in view, namely: To make every union man take out an insurance policy, thereby exploiting Labor for the benefit of the grafting corporations.

Delegate Dan W. Richmond, of the Railway Clerks, general organizer of the A. F. of L., said that he had been an insurance agent and believed that he had been as much of a wage earner as anyone else.

Delegate M. T. Daly, of Bristol, Conn., said to President Gompers: "If you receive the report of your committee you repudiate your secretary, your clerical force, and even yourself, Mr. President, because you don't produce anything."

Several delegates spoke bitterly against certain insurance companies, while others declared that many times blacklisted union men were obliged to become solicitors to keep from starving. "Their only hope, sometimes, is to become either an insurance agent or a politician," said one.

Aldermanic Candidate Fred J. Kneeland, of Boston, delegates of the painters and decorators, said that he might be said under the president's ruling, not to be a wage earner, as his work produces nothing but effect, but he insisted that he was a wage worker as much as anyone else.

Socialist Delegate James F. Carey, of Haverhill, made his first speech on the floor of the convention, in favor of the resolution. "If the insurance agent is excluded from the trades union movement, then we should exclude every man whose labor is non-productive, and there are many in the American federation," said he.

President Gompers was recognized by Treasurer Lennon, who was called to the chair.

"I do not intend to reflect upon any man who has been or is now an insurance agent. I submit, however, as a general proposition, taking the cue from the remarks of Delegate Kreft, that the American Federation of Labor is the greatest insurance agency that ever was. There is a great difference even among the unproductive workers—those who work and produce nothing, and those who work and are parasitical in their occupations, and live upon the labor of the working people, among the working people.

"It may have been technically correct when, while occupying the chair, I said that the insurance agent is not a wage earner. What I did not mean to say was a rejoinder to the remark that he is not a wealth producer.

"While I have no objections to the insurance company, and I have no insurance on my life other than that which my union gives me, I believe that if the working people to-day paid more attention to the improvement of their conditions and the condition of little less after they are dead, we their families while they live, and a should all be better off.

"If the textile workers of New England had paid a quarter as much as they now pay to these companies into the union of their trade, you can rely on it that they would not to-day have this ten-per-cent. reduction staring them in the face.

"I am opposed to following the lines of our friends who call themselves radicals. I am rather cleaner cut than that. I don't have anything to do with the capitalists or their institutions except through trades union lines. I want to live a life of consistency in having the unions clean cut and establish these things rather than encourage the issuance of charters to the insurance men."

The report of the committee was then accepted by a vote of 171 to 74.

POLITICS AND SOCIALISM DISCUSSED.

The Boston papers of Tuesday, November 17, publish the following report:

The committee on the report of the president reported itself thoroughly in accord with the recommendations made by President Gompers. It recommended that President Gompers visit Porto Rico soon, and expressed regret that the department of labor had been incorporated with the new department of commerce.

Treasurer Lennon, in talking on a motion to concur in the report of the committee, said that he differed with the president in the statement that a time of depression is near.

G. A. Hoehn, a Socialist delegate from St. Louis, took the floor to express views contrary to those of Mr. Lennon. He declared that there

pression coming, due to the political power in control, and that it may be necessary for the workingmen to band together not only into trades unions, but a political organization. Hoehn's remarks caused great applause.

Delegate Denis A. Hayes, of the glass blowers, of Pittsburg, declared that talk of political organization was nonsense. "I come from Pennsylvania, and I know all about political organizations," he said. "The rottenest political organizations in this country are supported by the reformers who go to the labor conventions."

When he had concluded Max S. Hayes poured hot shot into the ranks of those who would not agree to recognize political power, which he said could be exercised by the organization.

"The president of this convention is right in pointing out the coming industrial depression," said Mr. Hayes. "I have listened to statements made here, among others by Delegate Lennon, but I think we must recognize that if a panic is coming the purely industrial form of organization can not prevent the coming of a panic. It was insinuated here that by reason of the fact that because of certain political views which we may hold we are not good trade unionists, but I would say to you that the delegates who come here with an expectation of a feeling of making it possible to build up a political movement such as our fellow-trades unionists are doing all over the world, do not give solutions for industrial panics.

"Let me say that there is not a man who gets out at night, year in and year out, and fights for the upbuilding of the trades union movement in this country, who is more consistent than the Socialist delegate. He fights with the strike and the boycott 365 days in the year, and on the 365th day he goes and votes against them. (Applause.)

"Now, I don't know whether or not there is a panic coming, but if there is it can't be prevented by a resolution. (Laughter and applause.) A panic will come because it is natural. Resolutions won't prevent it. It is the capitalistic system which prevails that brings about panics, because if the full value of the laborer's toil was given to the laborer there would be no panic in the United States."

Mr. Hayes then went on to point out that if the producers of wealth were given their fair share of the world's products there would be no trouble from panics which need concern anybody.

Delegate Lavin, of Wilkesbarre, made a warm speech in favor of the ideas presented by Mr. Hayes. He said that those who were opposed to political action ought to be pleased with the outcome of the Pennsylvania election, when there was a majority of 275,000 for a party that would hardly suit the views of dissenting delegates.

Mr. Slayton, of Newcastle, Pa., added a few words on the question of panics, and then Andrew Furuseth, of San Francisco, delegates of the Pacific coast seamen, took the platform. Before he had got through the chairman rapped his gavel and said that time was up. Meanwhile Mr. Furuseth had said that there were evidences enough that a panic is coming, and he went on to enunciate them. He said that practically every newspaper has something to say about men being out of work, about banks failing, about the water being squeezed out of big corporations, and from his own personal experience he knew that something like 100 vessels were lying idle in San Francisco within the last year, while the volume of business of the railroads was also going down. He thought that was pretty fair evidence and that the president was right in taking cognizance of the conditions.

Delegate Ramsey added a few words, and then the convention, by an overwhelming vote, adopted the report of the committee and indorsed the suggestions of the president.

It is significant that while the clearest needs in the labor movement at

...are trying to convince their fellow-delegates of the need of Socialist political action, the capitalist politicians at Washington are working overtime at their old farce—labor laws. Representative Sulzer, of New York, has introduced an eight-hour bill in the house, and it is understood that Representative Gardner, of New Jersey, will present one as soon as the house committee on labor is appointed, of which he will again be chairman. Senator Comas, chairman of the senate committee on education and labor, has also presented a bill, and will work actively in behalf of the same."

SOCIALIST PARADE AND MASS MEETINGS IN BOSTON.

The Socialists of Boston, aided by some of the labor leaders attending the sessions of the A. F. of L., held two rallies in the city last Friday evening, which were preceded by a torchlight procession. The procession started from Faneuil hall at 7:15, and wound up at the Dudley street opera-house, where a large crowd had assembled. The other meeting was at the People's temple, Columbus avenue. The procession went up Washington street about 7:30 o'clock, and attracted considerable attention. At intervals in the parade there were placards bearing such words as: "We Will Galvanize Boston," "Mayor Collins Loves Labor Just Before Election," "The Socialist Republic is Coming," "A Socialist is a

Union Man 365 Days in the Year," "Socialist Vote in 1901, 10,671; in 1903, 25,000."

Dr. George W. Galvin, the Socialist candidate for mayor, presided at the People's temple, and explained what Socialism is to a good-sized audience. He spoke of the coming municipal campaign, and said that if elected mayor he would turn the Boston city hospital into a sanitarium for the poor. Dr. Galvin had many references during the evening to his own profession. Max Hayes, of Cleveland, made a stirring speech, in which he pointed out that all the working class of this country has secured or still retain has not been gained with the consent of either the republican or democratic party, but in spite of them. "All we have secured in the workshop and mines," said he, "has been due to standing together in strikes or boycott."

Then followed earnest addresses by Comrade O'Grady, from England; Comrade Silver, of New Zealand, and G. A. Hoehn, of St. Louis. J. Mahlon Barnes said the great question of the day is: "Who shall own this earth?" He explained that by "who" he meant what class. He then showed how the laboring class, the producing class, deserved to own it. Representative James F. Carey was given a very enthusiastic reception. Referring to his defeat at the last election, he said: "I have no fault to find. I never before held a job so long without going on strike."

...in a manner satisfactory to the unions which were involved in them. Of the others, 25 were compromised and 24 were lost. The total number of persons involved in strikes was 30,049. The total amount expended by the organizations in support of strikes during the year was \$45,711.10. The estimated amount of wages lost to the members of these organizations through strikes during the year reached \$142,844.35. Seventy unions report increase in wages. Thirty-four report a reduction in the hours of labor. Seventy unions made appeal for arbitration and fifty-nine of these appeals were so settled. The total number of accidents reported for 1902 was 1,494, of which number 144 were fatal.

WE NEVER FORGET.

Wendell Phillips Advice to Bacon.

This is the advice that Wendell Phillips, after he had fought the good fight for the abolition of chattel slavery and taken up the battle against wage slavery, gave to the workingmen of Massachusetts and of America: "If you want power in this country; if you want to make yourselves felt; if you do not want your children to wait long years before they have the bread on the table they ought to have, the leisure in their lives they ought to have, the opportunities in life they ought to have; if you do not want to wait yourselves—write on your banner so that every politician, no matter how short-sighted he may be, can read it: 'WE NEVER FORGET! If you launch the arrow of sarcasm at Labor, we never forget; if there is a division in congress, and you throw your vote in the wrong scale, we never forget! You may go down on your knees and say: 'I am sorry I did the act;' and we will say: 'Repentance may avail you in Heaven, but on this side of the grave, never!' So that a man, in taking up the labor question, will know he is dealing with a hair-trigger pistol, and will say: 'I am to be true to justice and to man; otherwise, I am a dead duck.'"

Boot and Shoe Worker's Controversy.

The following resolution was submitted by Delegate Hoehn to the A. F. of L. convention: WHEREAS, There exists a controversy between the Boot and Shoe Workers' unions of St. Louis and the general officers of the Boot and Shoe Workers' union, which has resulted in the revocation of the charters of all the St. Louis local unions, nine in number, involving over 1,900 members; WHEREAS, The Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, by almost unanimous vote, has gone on record that this controversy should be settled at the special convention of the Boot and Shoe Workers' union, to be held in January, 1904; WHEREAS, This controversy will, if continued, work irreparable injury, not only to the shoe workers, but to the entire trades union movement in St. Louis; therefore be it RESOLVED, That a committee of five be appointed by this convention to use their good offices to bring about a cessation of hostility and a permanent solution by amicable settlement of the controversy.

A comrade, who renews his subscription for one year, writing under a Philadelphia postmark, expresses disappointment at our failure to chronicle "the happy settlement of the strike in the Appeal to Reason office. Our omission was not intentional. The absence of Editor Hoehn at the A. F. of L. convention must be the acting editor's apology for this, and many other omissions and commissions. We must, however, add that private ownership of our Socialist press is a standing and constantly growing menace—growing in due proportion to the growth of our movement.

We present this week on another page, together with the resolution of our party on "Socialism and the negro," a most interesting letter by Na-

tional Committeeman Kerrigan of Texas. The fact that the Democrats are expected to make a national issue of the "race question" in 1904 should stimulate our comrades to obtain an intelligent understanding of our party's position in relation to the negro.

Comrade Kerrigan's letter conveniently skips the interim between the present and that day when, "The Independence which Socialism promises will make it absolutely the prerogative of every human being to associate with those only who are agreeable to him." There is no "sweet bye and bye" for the Socialist Party on any question, and least of all, the negro question. Space prevents extended comment at this time. The following is the disputed clause in the Louisiana state platform: "The separation of the black and white races into separate communities, each race to have charge of its own affairs." It will be seen that this declaration also belongs to the "sweet bye and bye." The negro wage slave needs the white wage slave, and vice versa. And they need one another to-day while the struggle is on.

Pertinent Paragraphs.

(By W. W. Baker.)

- Socialism will abolish child labor.
- Charity is an insult to a self-respecting man.
- There will be no necessity for charity under Socialism.
- Socialism will give every man an opportunity to work.
- Do not throw your vote away by voting against your class interests.
- The place to defeat the enemies of organized labor is at the ballot box.
- The capitalists do not want the workers to believe there is a class struggle.
- When you vote for the Republican or Democratic candidates you help the Parrys.
- The labor leaders who are approved by the capitalists should be carefully watched.
- Before you vote try to ascertain which political party will represent your class interests.
- Men are dishonest because the system presents innumerable temptations to profit dishonestly.
- To abolish corruption it is necessary to first abolish the causes that are responsible for corruption.
- Prejudice is a wall built up in the mind by false education, which marks the boundary between slavery and freedom.
- The light of knowledge will dispel the darkness of ignorance. Intelligent observation and study will result in acquiring useful knowledge.
- Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been contributed by capitalists to fight Socialism and trades unionism. Does this not prove that the two wings of the labor movement are inseparable?
- The power of the capitalists come through their control of the functions of government. When the workers realize this they will capture the government and use the power thus gained to protect the interests of their class.
- A battle between the capitalist class and the working class is being fought out in Chicago. As usual, the capitalists are aided in every conceivable manner by the city authorities, who hold their position by reason of working class votes.
- The value of the libraries donated by Carnegie was confiscated from the products of labor.

Sale of "Recommendations" by United States Senators.

A republican United States senator from Nebraska is indicted for accepting a bribe of \$1,300. The "service" rendered by the senator was the giving of a "recommendation," by which means a postmastership was obtained for the bribe-giver.

This is one case come to light out of tens of thousands which remain in the dark. The nine thousands nine hundred and ninety-nine never do come to light, for the simple reason that the business of selling appointive offices through "recommendations" is long established, the wires are well known and no spoils politician or place hunter considers it a crime. In fact, they don't consider anything a crime, nor any politician a criminal until the culprit is behind prison walls, and then only yielding to the thing they call public sentiment. It would be interesting to know just how high up the bribe reaches.

To whom are the "recommendations" made, to a mythical, ethereal being unable to comprehend or appreciate the dollars and cents value attached to that recommendation? Is it not the snewdest and most "practical" man, as his party is pleased to call him, who becomes the national head of the government with his party's national success?

Would it not be absurd to charge such a national head with being ignorant of the dollars and cents value which he and he only can bestow upon those tens of thousands of "recommendations"? Let him say "nay" and the value leaves the "recommendation" like a pricked bubble. Let him say "yea" and the "recommendation" is immediately worth "all the traffic will bear." His power to say "yea" is like the magic power of a wand to conjure up untold wealth. The dispatches which inform us of the indictment of the Nebraska senator attribute the indictment to "spite-work." Will some politician's spite in the near future lead to information which will indict a grafter higher up than a governor, a United States senator, or will "spite-work" stop short of the "exalted" precincts of the supreme and final sayer of "yea" to "recommendations"? It is

not any more a question whether corruption, bribery and graft lurks in high places; the question is simply how soon will come the leak bringing proof of its existence in the highest places.

We know that the very foundation of the present social order is sapped by corruption; all its institutions—church, school and state—are poisoned and polluted by a wrong economic system, prolific in its production of human vipers; no place is too high, no place so low; the hand of corruption is there. Is it any wonder the vipers breathe easier when the temporary blindness of the proletariat keeps their only scourge, a Socialist legislator, like Carey in Massachusetts, out of the legislative halls? But the scourge of Socialism will not down. It must rise as the structure of capitalistic society crumbles and falls, marking a mere epoch in the onward march of the race to a higher, more glorious civilization.

Statistics of Labor in Missouri.

Some interesting information concerning labor unions in this state are furnished by advance sheets taken from the forthcoming report of State Labor Commissioner William Anderson for the year 1902. Among other data, these sheets show that the total membership of the 636 unions of the state is 79,443. Of this number only 2,835 are females. The increase the unions made in membership during the year is shown to be 28,852. The report shows that in the organized trades and occupations 80.56 per cent. of the persons employed therein are members of organizations. The report shows that a gradual reduction in the hours constituting a workday is taking place. In 1901 the average number of hours constituting a day's work was 9.5, while in 1902 they were 9.26. The rate of wages, it is shown, has increased from an average of 25.39 cents per hour in the 1901 to 27.77 in 1902. During the year 1902 the labor organizations of the state expended in "out of work," "sick," "death," "strike" and "accident" benefits \$185,081.50. During that year there were 159 strikes and lockouts, and of these 110 were set-

A Southern Comrade on the Negro.

(Letter from National Committeeman Kerrigan of Texas to Acting Secretary, Molyneaux of Louisiana.)

Dallas, Tex., Oct. 29, 1903.

P. Aloysius Molyneaux, New Orleans, La.:

Dear Comrade—As I am responsible, I suppose, for having the charter for the state organization, Socialist Party, for Louisiana, held up, I thought best that I write you and present personally what it was that lead me to object. You will see from the editorial I enclose taken from the Dallas News of September 26 what use can be made of this declaration of the Louisiana Socialists.

I also enclose you a slip that sets forth the position of the party on the negro question. You will see from it that the party is not committed to RACE EQUALITY, Socialism stands only for ECONOMIC EQUALITY. When you have examined the literature of Socialism dealing with the race problem, it will be clear to you that the so-called race problem, like so many others that worry humanity at this time, is simply an outgrowth of capitalism, and when private capital is transformed into Socialist capital under the co-operative commonwealth, such questions as the so-called race problem will adjust themselves automatically. We don't at this time object to the negro on the public highways that we use, or the streets of our cities or the mercantile houses where we get our supplies, or the barber shops, or the hotels. Nor do we object to him handling our food as cooks, or washing our person and handling our bodies as attendants in bath rooms. You will notice that the only objection that is raised now is SOCIAL EQUALITY and I think that when you have examined the Socialist position more critically you will find that not only is there nothing therein that would promise to the negro the right to force his society on those that objected to him, BUT ON THE CONTRARY THE INDEPENDENCE THAT SOCIALISM PROMISES WILL MAKE IT ABSOLUTE THE PREROGATIVE OF EVERY HUMAN BEING TO ASSOCIATE WITH THOSE ONLY WHO ARE AGREEABLE TO HIM. Can this be said at this time? You know that capitalism never examines the color of the skin when it buys labor power and I have seen white men working in the streets of the city of Dallas side by side with negroes when the heat of summer was such that if the negro could ever be offensive to a white man he must have been then. Moreover I have seen WHITE and BLACK working thus under A NEGRO FOREMAN. I have not the least doubt that you have seen the same in New Orleans. More than this I can show you whites and blacks of the working class FORCED INTO BEING NEXT DOOR NEIGHBORS. Why? Because capitalism had forced exactly the same conditions of work and wages upon them and they could not help themselves, although I know personally that the black people objected to it as strongly as the white people, for they said the poor white trash was forever nagging them.

I have been in the south for 25 years. I came here with a deep prejudice against the black man. My people were so-called northern copperheads. But I was not long in learning that the black man in the south corresponded in every economic detail with the poor white man in the north. The meanest and vilest portions of subsistence only was his.

I have talked with intelligent negroes on this subject. My business has brought me into contact with school teachers and others of that class, and it is the common sentiment among them that if there is any desire on the part of the negro to mingle with the whites it is because the conditions under which the white man lives is so much better than the black man. They all agreed that if the black man had as good houses to live in, as good clothes to wear, and as good food to eat, and

as good opportunities to get education and recreation, they would PREFER to mingle ONLY with black men, as they understood each other better and that subtle attraction of race that makes Jewish quarters and Irish quarters and German quarters and Swedish quarters, etc. etc., in all our large cities would draw them together.

If they imitate and copy the white man now, it is because they see in the white man an ideal they long for, in living, dress and manners. Let him have those things, we Socialists say, they are his by right as is his portion of the highway or the street, then let him seek those to whom he is agreeable. Under Socialism he will have no power to force himself either in the ECONOMIC or SOCIAL field on those to whom he is not agreeable.

I regard it as unfortunate that you raised this question in Louisiana. We here in Texas have had the question up in our conventions, brought up by some one who was not clear on the Socialist position, but fortunately it was always thoroughly thrashed out, and everyone became clear. We have never touched upon it in our public declarations, knowing that when a man became a well-informed Socialist he would be able to settle this question for himself. We did not feel like placing in the hands of the enemy any weapon that we could keep out of them.

I do not see how, under the circumstances, Louisiana could be admitted to the party with this declaration standing for Socialism, would mean quite a different thing there than in any other part of the world, and you know that the boast of Socialism is that whether it be in Dallas, Tex., or St. Petersburg, Russia, Socialism is Socialism.

I am certain that the resolution passed at your convention was a result of a misunderstanding on your part, and the proper steps to take will be to get the exact Socialist position before the party membership, and have the objectionable resolution stricken from the records by a vote of all the branches in the state. I would be very much pleased to hear from you on this subject, and I am anxious to have Louisiana counted as one of the organized states, and will do anything in my power consistent with my convictions to help accomplish this end. Fraternally,

JOHN KERRIGAN,

National Committeeman for Texas.

FORECAST.

By J. UNO.

Before another year is out there will be weeping and wailing in these United States, and it will not be Rachel weeping for her children. The financial condition of the country makes it inevitable. For years past factories and work shops have been running full blast, and the workers have received what are called good wages, but the cost of living has been such that very little could be saved. All this while a surplus of manufactures has been accumulating, and now the glut of the market calls a halt. Factories, work shops, mines, railroad construction shut down. People out of work receive no wages and can not buy. Merchants with goods on shelf can not pay for the same. Bank deposits are scant. The circulation of money is suspended. A general stringency results. This is one part of the picture. Another is that during this period of so-called prosperity values have been inflated and stocks watered. The banks have loaned hundreds of millions of dollars on fictitious securities, on which they are now unable to realize, because the value is not there. To illustrate: You lend me \$10,000 on a house and lot worth only \$4,000. Evidently there are \$6,000 of your money with no security. Now I get into trouble and can not pay. The property goes into the hands of the sheriff; times are hard and money tight, so it sells for \$3,000. You may buy it in, but it makes no difference whether you take the property or \$3,000

in money—in either case you have lost \$7,000 on the deal, and are now, we will say, unable to meet your obligations, and you go to the wall. My failure has caused yours, yours causes some other, and so they go like a row of bricks. Of course a private individual can not borrow on any such inadequate security; that is the exclusive privilege of the big corporations. For instance: In 1901-2 the St. Louis street railroads had a valuation of \$21,000,000, but were stocked and bonded to the amount of \$93,000,000—\$72,000,000 right there, with nothing behind it but wind. So my case of borrowing \$10,000 on a \$4,000 house is a correct illustration. In 1896 Wm. J. Bryan, speaking here in St. Louis about this inflation, said: "Squeeze the water out." But he did not tell how to do it. Why? Because he knew no feasible way. We have had the flush times, for which the "G. O. P." claims the credit, now we must have the depression, and it is likely to be the worst we have had for a long time, because the conditions are more extreme. Who will take the blame? In a report recently published, the secretary of Missouri states that while the banks of the state have liabilities to the amount of \$180,000,000, they have cash on hand to the amount of only \$18,000,000—ten cents on the dollar. Of course they have other paper assets, but they are unavailable on short notice, and who knows what they are worth? Such is the present state of affairs, and these seasons of depressions are recurring, and must, in the nature of things, continue to recur, with ever increasing frequency and force. What are we to do about it? It is all nonsense to talk about the workers getting a larger share of what they produce. They should get it ALL, and the way to get it is just simply to take it, which they have the power to do, and will do some day. As long as one man can make one iota of profit off of another man's labor, just so long will these seasons of depression recur, because that profit, large or small, is an unconsumed surplus which, gradually accumulating, finally causes a glut. The working man has made everything of value in the world. They are his by right of production. They have been filched from him by man-made laws. Go back over the centuries as far as history reaches you, and you will find that, in the last analysis, the "rights of property," so-called, rest upon a foundation of man-made law, and what the law bestows the law can reclaim. In all countries, in all times, the ruling classes have made and manipulated the laws for their own advantage. They have been rich because they have legislated the property, the products of labor, into their own possession. Now let the laborers take possession of the government, and legislate this property, which they have produced by their own labor, back to themselves. In this contest, comrades, let us not neglect our negro brother. We have enough to do to fight capitalism; it is not wise to invite unnecessary antagonism. Remember the resolution adopted by the Indianapolis convention, and act fully up to it. The negro is a working man, like the white man. The interests of both are identical. He will, sooner or later, learn this fact and join forces with us if we let him, but if we repel him he will make a splendid capitalist soldier to hold us as well as himself on subjection. It therefore behooves us to educate him along these lines as quickly and as thoroughly as possible.

I. UNO.

TRADES UNIONS

- Foster education and uproot ignorance.
- Shorten hours and lengthen life.
- Raise wages and lower usury.
- Increase independence and decrease dependence.
- Develop manhood and balk tyranny.
- Establish fraternity and discourage selfishness.
- Reduce prejudice and induce liberality.

Enlarge society and eliminate classes.

Create rights and abolish wrongs.
Lighten toil and brighten man.
Cheer the home and fireside and

Our Duties Towards the Socialist Press.

Every comrade, every advocate of Socialism and every supporter of the general labor movement should at once take hold of the task of introducing our new 16-page LABOR to their fellow workers. Men and women, boys and girls, can all contribute their efforts. The best results will be obtained by personal solicitation. Come to the office, or send for as many copies at two cents per copy as you can afford, and canvas your fellow working men and women for subscriptions. Don't be disappointed if you approach many who will refuse to subscribe the first time you mention LABOR to them. Leave a copy with them anyway, with a promise to return within a week, and if you don't secure their subscription then remember that you have helped the cause by introducing LABOR to a stranger. Don't forget this "stranger" and try him again next month with another copy. Another plan which some comrades have adopted is to pay for sending LABOR to a list of their fellow workers and friends for one month through the mail and have comrades from the office call on them to solicit their subscription. Try either one of these two plans and keep as large a list going as you can afford. Let us make a supreme effort and a united pull to push LABOR up to a position of influence from which it will be of great service and a great power to the working class in its coming critical struggle against organized capitalism, in the trade union battles as well as the political battles of the wage earners against capitalism.

If Baer had a divine right to the mines, it logically follows that he has a divine right to the lives of the miners who work in them, as the mines would be useless without miners.

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"THE TOILER" ON GOMPERS VS. DEBS

In commenting on Samuel Gompers' attack on Debs, the Herald, of Milwaukee, remarks that Gompers' attack on Debs brings up memories that Gompers might better not arouse. To which we add the following, which, if incorrect, we will be glad to acknowledge:

Debs took part in the West Virginia strike at the request of the miners themselves. All the "conservative leaders" fought shy of work in that state because of the danger involved. At a conference held in Wheeling, which the conservatives attended with reluctance, P. H. Morrissey, of the trainmen, opposed Debs on the grounds that all the corporations and officials of the law were hostile to him, to which the Gompers element assented. In other words, it was a confession that they desired men in conduct of the strike who could be "handled" by the capitalistic class. Debs continued his work in face of threats of his life, while the conservatives played the part of feather-bed soldiers." (Debs worked so intensely during the strike that he suffered a sunstroke.—(Ed. Labor.)

Debs, while lecturing in the south, organized more unions in that section than any organizer of the A. F. of L.,

notwithstanding the assertion of Gompers that "Debs had no use for the trades union movement."

During the A. R. U. strike, affiliated organizations of the A. F. of L. in Chicago requested the presence of Gompers on the ground to assist. He dishonored the request made till they threatened to impeach him. Then he decided to come. On leaving the east, a paper quoted him as saying that he was "going to attend a labor funeral." We leave our readers to guess what was implied in that remark. All this is a question of veracity between Gompers and Debs, and we consider it of sufficient importance to present it to our readers. As stated, last week, we are confident that Debs will be more than willing to meet the issue involved in the controversy, in a public discussion, and if Gompers is equally sincere and honest in his position, he will not avoid such a meeting.

If Gompers is correct, Debs is not entitled to the confidence of the organized workers, and, if not, then the former owes an explanation for using the official magazine of the federation as a vehicle for personal attacks on a man whose devotion to the working class is unquestioned, however much some may disagree with his views.

of 1105 Clinton street, is held at the North Market street police station on the charge of being a deserter from the United States navy. ship for this," said the young seaman, "but I would as soon spend that six months on the prison ship as on the second-class cruiser Prairie, to which I was assigned. I couldn't stand the grub there. It can't be any worse in prison."

Stalzel's mother, Mrs. S. Burkhardt, took him a steaming breakfast from home Wednesday morning, and he ate it with great relish.

THE WORK FOR LABOR.

How to Build Up Our Socialist Press,

What have you done since the last copy of LABOR reached you? Have you secured a new reader, or have you not tried? Failed to try because you thought it would be done by someone else? The men or women who labor at your side must be reached by you. No one else can do that so well as you. Don't wait till someone else takes up the subscribers in your pathway. Don't think it is someone else's special duty to get the people, whom you know, to subscribe. That is your business, and unless you attend to it, maybe no one else will. In this work rests the growth and permanency of our movement. Neglect this and you neglect the most vital work connected with the movement. Agitate and push the circulation of our local press and the growth of our organization will be apace and, above all things, permanent. Let us not be aimless, either, in this work for our press. Our aim is to increase the power and influence of our paper until we can wield them against the entire array of corrupt, commercialized, capitalist journals. This can and will be done. It will be done in due proportion as you bring in the readers. Get readers for your press—get them in sufficient numbers, and you will have created a weapon for the working class which it can pit successfully against the ghoulish daily press of to-day. That is the aim we should keep in mind. As the lines are drawn clearer between labor and capital, the wage earner sees the treachery and misrepresentation of his daily paper and realizes the need of an organ representing labor's interest. He and thousands of others need the weekly LABOR for its encouraging comments on the struggles of labor from week to week—he and hundreds of thousands will a short time hence need a daily LABOR, and will get it, just as we got our eight-page LABOR and now our 16-page LABOR, namely, by determined, persistent and steady efforts. By carrying our propaganda into the home, the shop and social gatherings, 16-page LABOR may now attract those with whom you failed before. Try again, and, always remember, it is you who gather in the new readers, who are doing the constructive work, building the foundation for a powerful press for our cause.

Boycott the Scab Cigar Firm.

The following circular has been issued by the cigar makers: To the Public:

Your attention is called to the unscrupulous attempt of the Globe Cigar Co. (Isaac Tocker, proprietor), located at 1241 South Broadway, in endeavoring to impress upon the smoking public that they are operating a union shop by virtue of the fact that they are displaying a few boxes of union cigars, while in reality they are operating a non-union factory, and are employing non-union people, boys and girls who are not practical cigar makers, and who in most instances should be in attendance at school.

If you favor a shorter workday and a fair day's wages, we are convinced you will refuse to in any manner patronize this concern. Don't patronize

the unfair firm known as the Globe Cigar Co., 1241 South Broadway. Refuse to smoke any cigar where the box does not bear the Blue Union Label. Hand this circular to your neighbor.

By order of
JOINT CIGAR MAKERS' UNIONS
44 and 281.

Result of Raffle.

At the request of Comrade Leonard Stoll we announce the result of the raffle, arranged recently for his benefit. Comrade Stoll is still confined to his bed due to blood poisoning, the result of a gun shot wound received accidentally while shooting at a target last Fourth of July. The article raffled was a bicycle and No. 163 was the winning number.

LABOR in POLITICS

Call to Action for the Presidential Campaign in 1904. Address delivered by E. V. Debs at the Gross' Park Picnic of the St. Louis Socialists has been published in a splendid pamphlet in English and German, together with the Socialist Platform, Trades Union Resolutions, etc. Price, 5c a copy. Every Union Man should read it. 100 copies \$3.00. Order at the LABOR office.

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An Endless Campaign

By EUGENE V. DEBS

The old parties open and close their office-seeking campaigns with spectacular demonstrations, inspired chiefly by vapid oratory and cheap whisky.

There is no principle involved. It is simply a question of capturing the offices, of getting the spoils.

The plans are laid long in advance and in due time the campaign is "opened" in the same old way.

The spread-eagle orator rides in advance of the procession in a decorated carriage, while the dupes bring up the rear a-foot and shout themselves hoarse in seeming exultation over their degeneracy.

The same old speech is made and cheered again and again as the orator points to the "old flag" and warns his listeners that it must be saved from the desecration of the enemy.

The "issues" of the campaign, having been brushed up and polished, are thoroughly ventilated, and the crowd, having been duly inspired by the parade and harangue, are now launched upon "the most important campaign" in all history.

The "keynote" speech has been delivered and the "vital issues" are before the people.

Whether the party is Republican or Democratic, it is all the same.

The platforms are all bombastic and meaningless. Between the lines they all read precisely alike: LOAVES AND FISHES.

They will declare in favor of anything, or launch their patriotic wrath upon anything if it promises to give them an extra vote.

...at any workman should be stupid enough to serve as cat's-paw in such a performance would be strange enough, but when we see large

numbers of them doing service in that degenerate role we get some idea of the extent to which they have been debased in the capitalist system.

Contrast with the capitalist campaign and the essentially corrupt chase for spoils, the educational campaign of the Socialists.

It is neither "opened" nor does it close. It is continuous. It does not cease when the polls close, but goes right along as if on the eve of another election.

The Socialist Party is in the field to stay until the enemy is driven from it and the field is won.

This can not be accomplished in a day.

Socialists understand this.

Their patience is equal to their persistence.

They comprehend the nature of the struggle and they know beyond peradventure that the final triumph is but a question of time.

The old labor-fooling mis-named Democratic Party is playing on its last string.

With its capitalist instincts and middle-class interests it is doomed to bankruptcy. As the auctioneer would say: "Going, going and—gone!"

With the Democratic Party the only thing that is left is its appetite.

This party out of the way the field will be clear and the class struggle will blazen forth in bolder relief.

The working class are bound to see it and bound to join the Socialist Party, the only party pledged to their EMANCIPATION FROM WAGE-SLAVERY.

Our continuous campaign will end only in the Socialist Republic.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Austin, Tex.

Arrived at the recruiting station, the wondering eyes of our young patriot can feast themselves upon the gaudy parade uniform of a corporal. This is the final bait for our would-be soldier or sailor. No doubt it is effective, because the gaily-uniformed corporal has become a fixture. Our patriot enlists in the navy, and here is the sequel, as told in one of yesterday's papers:

PRISON CAN'T BE WORSE THAN SHIP.

Andrew J. Stalzel, 22 years old,

WILL "PATRIOTISM" CATCH MANY MORE.

At the old post office annex, located at the southeast corner of Third and Olive streets, the United States has a recruiting station for the army and navy. Our readers are no doubt familiar with the large placards posted at conspicuous places down town directing where to enlist and giving a rosy account of food and clothing provisions, rapid promotion from the ranks, etc., etc.

MY UNCLE BENJAMIN.

By CLAUDE TILLIER.

Translated from the French by Benjamin R. Tucker, with a Sketch of the Author's Life and Works, By LUDWIG PFAU.

HOW MY UNCLE MADE THE MARQUIS KISS HIM.

Benjamin had slept at Corvol.

The next day, as he was leaving the house with M. Minxit, the first person whom they saw was Fata. The latter, who did not feel a clear conscience, would rather have met two big wolves in his path than my uncle and M. Minxit. Still, as he could not run away, he decided to put the best face he could on the matter, and approached my uncle.

"How do you do, Monsieur Rathery? How is your health, honorable Monsieur Minxit? Well, Monsieur Benjamin, how did you get out of your difficulty with our Gessler? I was terribly afraid that he might serve you a bad trick, and I did not close my eyes all night."

"Fata," said M. Minxit, "keep your obsequiousness for the marquis when you shall meet him. Is it true that you told M. de Cambyse that you no longer know Benjamin?"

"I do not remember that, my good Monsieur Minxit."

"Is it true that you told the same marquis that I was not a man to associate with?"

"I could not have said that, my dear Monsieur Minxit; you know how much I esteem you, my friend."

"I affirm on my honor that he said both these things," said my uncle, with the icy sang-froid of a judge.

"Very well," said M. Minxit; "then we will settle his account."

"Fata," said Benjamin, "I warn you that M. Minxit desires to flog you. Here, then, is my switch; for the honor of the profession, defend yourself; a doctor can not allow himself to be beaten like an ass."

"The law is on my side," said Fata; if he strikes me, every blow will cost him dear."

"I sacrifice a thousand francs," said M. Minxit, making his whip whistle in the air; "take that, Fata, faturum, destiny, providence of the ancients! and that, and that, and that, and that!"

The peasants had come to their doorways to see Fata flogged; for—I say it to the shame of our poor humanity—nothing is so dramatic as a man ill-treated.

"Gentlemen," cried Fata, "I place myself under your protection."

But no one left his place. For M. Minxit, through the consideration which he enjoyed, had almost the right of administering petty justice in the village.

"Then," continued the unfortunate Fata, "I call you to witness the violence practiced on my person; I am a doctor of medicine."

"Wait," said M. Minxit, "I will strike harder, in order that those who do not see the blows may hear them, and that you may have some scars to show to the bailiff."

And in fact he did strike harder, ferocious plebian that he was.

"Rest easy, Minxit," said Fata, as he went away, "you will have to deal with M. Cambyse; he will not suffer me to be maltreated because I salute him."

"You will say to Cambyse," said M. Minxit, "that I mock at him, that I have more than he, that my house is more solid than his castle, and that, if he wishes to come to-morrow to the plateau of Fertiant with his people, I am his man."

Let us say directly, to end with this affair, that Fata had M. Minxit cited before the bailiff to answer for the violence committed on his person; but that he could find no witness to tes-

tify to the fact, although the thing had happened in the presence of a hundred individuals.

When my uncle reached Clamecy, his sister handed him a letter postmarked Paris, of the following tenor:

"Monsieur Rathery:

"I have it on good authority that you intend to marry Mlle. Minxit; I expressly forbid you to do so.

"VICOMTE DE PONT-CASSE."

My uncle sent Gaspard to get a sheet of royal writing paper; he took Mache-court's ink-stand, and straightway answered this missive.

"Monsieur Vicomte:

"You may go * * * * *
"Accept the assurance of the respectful sentiments with which I have the honor to be

"Your humble and devoted servant,

"B. RATHERY."

Whither did my uncle wish to send his vicomte? I do not know. I have made useless inquiries to penetrate the mystery of this reticence; but at any rate I have given you an idea of the firmness, clearness, nerve, and precision of his style when he saw fit to take the trouble to write.

Meanwhile, my uncle had not abandoned his idea of revenge; quite the contrary. The following Friday, after having visited his patients, he sharpened his sword and put on Mache-court's overcoat over his red coat. As he did not wish to sacrifice his cue, and as he could not put it in his pocket, he hid it under his old wig, and went thus disguised to watch his marquis. He established his headquarters in a sort of wine-shop situated on the edge of the Clamecy road opposite the castle of M. de Cambyse. The proprietor of the establishment had just broken his leg. My uncle, always prompt to come to the aid of his neighbor when he was fractured, made known his profession and offered the help of his art to the patient. He was authorized by the afflicted family to put back in their proper place the two fragments of the broken shinbone; which he did quickly and to the great admiration of the two grand lackeys in the livery of M. de Cambyse, who were drinking in the wine-shop.

My uncle, when the operation was finished, took up his position in an upper chamber of the tavern, directly above the sign, and began to observe the castle with a spy-glass, which he had borrowed from M. Minxit. He had been waiting there a good hour and had not yet noticed anything by which he could profit, when he saw a lackey of M. de Cambyse descending the hill at full speed. This man came to the door of the wine-shop, and asked if the doctor was still there. Being answered in the affirmative by the servant, he went up to my uncle's room, and, doffing his hat very low, begged him to give attendance to M. de Cambyse, who had just swallowed a fish-bone. My uncle at first was tempted to refuse. But he reflected that this circumstance might favor his project of revenge, and he decided to follow the domestic.

The latter ushered him into the chamber of the marquis. M. de Cambyse was in his arm chair, with his head resting on his hands, and his elbows on his knees, and he seemed to be the victim of violent agitation. The marquis, a pretty brunette of 25 years, stood beside him, trying to reassure him. On the arrival of my uncle, the marquis raised his head and said:

"At dinner I swallowed a fish-bone, which has stuck in my throat. I had

heard that you were in the village, and I have sent for you, although I have not the honor of knowing you, persuaded that you will not refuse me your aid."

"We owe that to everybody," answered my uncle, with an icy sang-froid; "to the rich as well as to the poor, to gentlemen as well as to peasants, to the wicked as well as to the just."

"This man frightens me," said the marquis to his wife, "make him go out."

"But," said the marquise, "you know very well that no doctor will venture to come to the castle; since you have this one here, try at least to keep him."

The marquis surrendered to this opinion. Benjamin examined the sick man's throat, and shook his head with an air of anxiety. The marquis turned pale.

"What is the matter?" said he; "can the trouble be more serious than we had supposed?"

"I do not know what you have supposed," answered Benjamin, in a solemn voice, "but the trouble will indeed be very serious, if the necessary measures are not promptly taken to combat it. You have swallowed a bone from a salmon, and the bone is from the tail, the very place where they are most poisonous."

"That is true," said the astonished marquis; "but how did you find that out?"

"By inspection of the throat, Madame."

The fact is that he had found it out in a very natural way. In passing by the dining-room, the door of which was open, he had seen on the table a salmon, of which only the tail was missing, and he had inferred that to the tail of this fish had belonged the swallowed fish-bone.

"We have never heard," said the marquise, in a voice trembling with fright, "that bones of the salmon were poisonous."

"That does not alter the fact that they are exceedingly so," said Benjamin, "and I should be sorry to have Madame Marquise doubt it, for I should be obliged to contradict her. The bones of the salmon contain, like the leaves of the manchineel tree, a substance so bitter and corrosive that, if this bone should remain a half-hour longer in his throat of Monsieur Marquis, it would produce an inflammation which I could not subdue, and the operation would become impossible."

In that case, doctor, operate directly, I beg of you," said the marquis, more and more frightened.

"One moment," said my uncle, "the thing can not proceed as rapidly as you desire; there is first a little formality to be fulfilled."

"Fulfill it, then, very quickly, and begin."

"But this formality concerns you; you alone must accomplish it."

"Then tell me at least of what it consists, surgeon of misfortune! Do you wish to leave me die for want of acting?"

"I still hesitate," continued Benjamin, slowly. "How shall I venture such a proposition as that which I have to make to you? With a marquis! With a man who descends in a direct line from Cambyse, king of Egypt!"

"I believe, wretch, that you are taking advantage of my position to make sport of me," cried the marquis, the violence of his character coming to the surface.

"Not the least in the world," answered Benjamin, coldly. "Do you remember a man whom three months ago you dragged to your castle by your myrmidons because he did not salute you, and upon whom you inflicted the most outrageous affront that one man can inflict upon another?"

"A man whom I forced to kiss * * * In fact, you are the man. I recognize you by your five feet ten inches."

"Well, the man of five feet ten inches, this man whom you regarded as an insect, as a grain of dust whom you would never meet except under your feet, now demands of you repara-

tion of the insult which you have offered him."

"My God! I ask nothing better; fix the sum at which you value your honor, and I will have it counted out to you directly."

"Do you think, then, Marquis de Cambyse, that you are rich enough to pay for the honor of an honest man? Do you take me for a lawyer? Do you think that I would submit to an insult for money? No, no, it is a reparation of honor that I want. A reparation of honor! Do you understand, Marquis de Cambyse?"

"Well, so be it," said M. de Cambyse, whose eyes were fixed on the hands of his clock, and who saw with terror the fatal half-hour slipping by; "I will declare in presence of Madame Marquise, I will declare it in writing, if you say so, that you are a man of honor, and that I did wrong in offending you."

"The devil! you have a summary way of paying your debts. Do you think, then, that, when you have insulted an honest man, you have only to admit that you were wrong, and that all is mended? To-morrow you would laugh heartily in the company of your country squires at the simpleton who had contented himself with this semblance of satisfaction. No, no, it is the penalty of retaliation to which you must submit; the weak man of yesterday has become the strong man of to-day; the worm has turned into a serpent. You shall not escape my justice, as you escape that of the bailiffs; there is no protection that can defend you against me. I have kissed you; you must kiss me."

"Have you then, forgotten, wretch, that I am the Marquis de Cambyse?"

"You forgot that I was Benjamin Rathery. An insult is like God; all men are equal before it. There is neither great insulter nor little insulted."

"Lackey," said the marquis, whose wrath made him forget the supposed danger that he incurred, take this man into the yard, and have him given a hundred lashes; I want to hear him howl from here."

"Very well," said my uncle, "but in ten minutes the operation will have become impossible, and in an hour you will be dead."

"But can not I send to Varzy by my footman for a surgeon?"

"If your footman finds the surgeon at home, he will arrive just in time to see you die, and bestow his care upon Madame Marquise."

"But it is not possible," said the marquis, "that you should remain inflexible! Is there not, then, more pleasure in forgiveness than in vengeance?"

"Oh, Madame," replied Benjamin, bowing gracefully, "I beg you to believe that, if it was from you that I had received such an insult, I should harbor no grudge against you."

Madame de Cambyse smiled, and, understanding that there was nothing to be gained with my uncle, she herself urged her husband to submit to necessity, and called his attention to the fact that he had but five minutes left in which to make up his mind.

The marquis, overcome by terror, made a sign to the two lackeys who were in his room to retire.

"No," said the inflexible Benjamin, "that is not what I desire. Lackey, you will go, on the contrary, to notify the people of M. de Cambyse to gather here in his name. They witnessed the insult; they must witness the reparation. Madame Marquise alone can be permitted to retire."

The marquis glanced at the clock, and saw that there were but three minutes left. As the lackey did not budge, he said:

"Hurry, Pierre, and execute Monsieur's orders; do you not see that he alone is master here for the moment?"

The domestics arrived one after another; none were lacking but the steward; but Benjamin, unrelenting to the end, would not begin until he was present.

[To Be Continued.]

To avoid being misled, think for yourself.

People's Fund and Welfare Association.

Eleventh and Locust Streets.

There will probably be two comrades from Cincinnati, on November 26, Dr. Alfred J. Swing and J. J. Glickert, both prominent speakers in the Socialist movement.

It is hoped that a warm greeting may be given them at the Brotherhood rally Thanksgiving afternoon at 3:30 in Welfare hall.

The subject of the Brotherhood meeting Sunday, November 22, will be "Co-Operation Among All Sorts and Conditions of People." Mr. How will lead. Mr. J. Milton Turner is interested in having the negro represented at the World's fair and will have a word to say on the subject next Sunday.

Mr. Dan Martin will "celebrate" the year's anniversary of his "mission" in Welfare hall, the 20th. Coffee is to be served, and everyone is invited to join brother Martin and his friends. "Our Dan" does appreciate the privilege of exhorting in this "old hall."

As Mr. Glickert is to be here several days, we hope he may be able to attend Mr. Beard's meeting as well as Mr. Martin's.

The Newsboys' union met Wednesday. The "boys" will probably have a little spread on Thanksgiving. Mr. Geo. Ackermann, the treasurer, has not been feeling quite well, but never gave up his part at Olive and Eighth streets.

The new lantern was operated Wednesday night. The "Dark Side of New York" was presented in a series of views and the talk given by Comrade Baker.

The pictures were fine and a good crowd came to the hall to see and hear. The secretary hopes to see as many more at the next lecture.

The secretary was a bit surprised, last Sunday, to find a meeting in charge of some colored people and felt the hall would echo all the week from the "exhortations." Brothers Beard and Parrish were saved from the unlucky 13th "collection."

The secretary "rescued" Comrades Dilno and Domke, placed them under Mr. Maschmeyer's charge, where a class was being held. Comrade Dilno adapts himself to all phrases of opinion expressed here, and even Mr. Bohannon can not disturb his equanimity. The latter made a trite talk on "Social healing" at the Brotherhood meeting last Sunday.

Do not forget the association meeting next Tuesday, November 24, as important business is to be discussed.

The "revisory" committee on constitution, Comrades Allan, Baker and Dilno, will be ready to report at meeting.

Messrs. Beard, Arnold and secretary of library committee met Monday night and will be ready to confer with Messrs. Allan and Kaemmerer later on.

Look in on Thursdays to Brother Beard's meeting. A good, sensible talk and a reasonable time spent is what he believes in.

The "gym" is open again and Mr. How is busy organizing the boys for winter work.

ELLA C. KELLY, Secretary.

What Labor Can Do.

- Labor sows, but others reap.
- Labor creates capital, but has none.
- Labor builds palaces, but lives in hovels.
- Labor garners the grain, but eats the chaff.
- Labor weaves fine vestments, but is clothed in rags.
- Labor has the ballot, but doesn't know how to use it.
- Labor manufactures pianos and plays the Jew's harp.
- Labor builds palace trains and automobiles, but walks.
- Labor elects representatives, but has no representation.
- Labor manufaceures guns and is shot down with them.
- Labor makes books and libraries, but reads penny newspapers.
- Labor builds labor-saving machines, but labors harder than ever.
- Labor builds schools and universities, but remains in ignorance.
- Labor digs coal from the bowels of the earth, but shivers with the cold.
- Labor makes furniture, but eats a cold meal out of the "full dinner pail."
- Labor builds streets and public highways, but is not allowed free assemblage upon them.
- Labor digs diamonds and precious metals from the earth, but wears brass beads and brass jewelry.
- Labor has brains, ability and the power to change and remedy all this, but is afraid of its own power.

Assist the Tobacco Workers.

To Organized Labor and Its Friends—Greeting:

Fellow-Workers—We have now entered upon the eighth year of our contest with the American and Continental Tobacco trust, still fighting for our rights. This concern, like all trusts, having no use for unions, sought to wreck us, but with the assistance of Organized Labor, we have been able to main our organization against this trust. And with a still greater assistance from the consumer, we will be enabled to win our fight. It is to this end we appeal to you to accord to us

your co-operation, by refusing to purchase any tobacco made by the Tobacco trust or non-union tobacco firms. On the accompanying cards are listed some of their principal brands of tobacco and cigarettes. Do not use any of them.

We have another important matter to which we desire to call your attention, and that is our Blue Label. We are endeavoring to create a demand for tobacco and cigarettes bearing our label, and the agitation we have kept up for it has been responded to by Organized Labor throughout the country very generally, which we assure you, is fully appreciated, and we believe you can and will further assist us in establishing our Blue Label in the market, and in impressing upon the minds of the users of tobacco and cigarettes to ask for and demand union-labeled tobacco. Insist upon your dealers getting it for you if they haven't it already in stock; or if you send a member of your family to buy tobacco, require them to ask the dealer for union-labeled tobacco, and to take no other. It is a well-known fact that dealers are always ready to cater to any demand their customers make upon them for any particular kind of goods. There is a large variety of union-labeled tobacco on the market now.

Thanking you in advance, in the full belief that you will give us the co-operation we ask of you, we are, yours fraternally,

HENRY FISCHER, Int. President.
TOBACCO WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION.

BROTHERHOOD MEETING.

The Brotherhood meeting at the People's Fund and Welfare hall, Eleventh and Locust, on Sunday evening, November 22, at 7 o'clock will be addressed by Mr. How on "Co-Operation Among All Sorts and Conditions of Men."

The worker does not receive his product. The employer or master gets it and gives in return a small portion of its value as wages.

Socialism will be largely the result of intelligence and education.

Volumes of laws have been enacted to protect property rights, but very few to protect the natural rights of man, and the latter are seldom enforced.

The present system compels the workers to divide up with drones.

The panic divorces the worker from his job—deprives him of wages.

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DAVID ALLAN, Secretary.

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"HOPELESS BECAUSE UNAMERICAN."

What absurd estimates the enemy make of the virility or lack of that quality in the Socialist Party can be appreciated in the following from the Chicago Tribune of November 11 which says in part:

"It is more likely that the Socialist Party is disintegrating from natural causes. The Socialists, as a whole, are far from being a bad or dangerous lot. There are good men, honest men, and thinking men among them, and this class probably has begun to see that the adoption of the Socialist system as a system of government is impossible in this country—that it is conspicuously unpopular with the American people as a whole, and with the great majority of the working classes also. Probably there are Socialists who always will be Socialists, just as there are prohibitionists who always will be prohibitionists, in spite of defeat after defeat. They are visionaries, sometimes fanatics, to whom defeat means nothing. The extraordinary falling off in the Socialist vote in Massachusetts and the overwhelming defeat in Ohio of Tom Johnsonism, which is only another name for Socialism, show that the cause is hopeless. It is hopeless because it is unamerican."

* * *

THE IDEAL TRADE UNION.

Comrade Max Hayes, delegate of the International Typographical Union to the Boston convention of the A. F. of L., published the following article in last Sunday's Boston Globe:

The ideal union for which labor is striving is the complete organization of all wage-workers in the country. I regard the union as the nucleus of the organization that will control and operate the industries of the future for the benefit of the whole people, instead of a privileged few.

The trade unions must and will play their part in the ideal mission of emancipating the toilers from the unjust wage system—a system wherein those who produce the wealth of the world receive but a small share called wages, while those who produce no wealth are enabled to pick up billions of dollars of profit.

Where two classes struggle to secure the wealth produced—where capital demands profit and labor demands wages—there can be no harmony. It is a fight—an irrepressible conflict—the effect of a cause. This conflict is bound to become more intensified in the future. As capital becomes more centralized and trusts increase their influence, politically and economically, this power is and will be wielded against the workers without money. Following up the advantage of establishing government by injunction, the capitalists are now attacking the unionists by and through damage suits for picketing and boycotting, organizing bands of strike breakers and contending for "open" shops, and thus placing a premium on non-unionism and wage-slavery.

These questions must be dealt with politically as well as industrially, and there is no good reason why we should not be organized as compactly politically as we are industrially, and strive to secure control of the machinery of government to enact and enforce laws in harmony with the interests of our class. It is the height of absurdity to vote for politicians and parties who hurl injunctions and smash labor laws and order out the militia against the workers when they are fighting for their rights. It is placing a club in the hands of the enemy to beat us with.

The obligation of the A. F. of L. says truly that "capital is the product of the past labor of all toilers of the human race," and "that wages can never be regarded as the full equivalent for labor performed," and for that reason the wage system will be supplanted by the co-operative system of production and distribution, under which

labor will receive what it produces. This is Socialism, and those of us who favor that principle are optimistic enough to believe that the workers will come to understand the justice of it, and move together solidly to achieve economic liberty and put an end to the cruel struggle.

* * *

FUNDAMENTAL RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were among those introduced by Comrade Hoehn at the A. F. of L. convention now sitting in Boston. Being on questions of almost universal interest to organized labor we feel justified in giving them in full to our readers:

Resolution No. 15.

WHEREAS, The Miller controversy concerning the open shop question and the decision of President Theodore Roosevelt in regard to this matter has been used by the enemies of organized labor as a means of propaganda for the so-called open shop; and

WHEREAS, This open shop policy is but a subterfuge and a means to strengthen the non-union and scab shop position of the union-hating capitalist corporations; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 23rd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor holds the open shop to belong to the same category of institutions as the non-union or scab shop, and that it can not be recognized by organized labor.

RESOLVED, That this applies to the open shop under private management as well as to the open shop under government or public management.

Resolution No. 16.

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction controversies between the National and International Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. are continually growing in number and in seriousness, threatening the very existence of the trades union movement;

WHEREAS, These jurisdiction controversies are the natural results of the natural changes and developments in the industrial conditions of the capitalist system;

WHEREAS, A clear and correct understanding of the fundamental causes of these serious troubles is absolutely required before any of the important jurisdiction controversies can be satisfactorily acted upon; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a special committee of five be immediately appointed with instructions to draft a statement setting forth the natural causes of the jurisdiction controversies in a clear and concise manner.

RESOLVED, That this committee of five shall submit its report within 24 hours after its appointment, and that no jurisdiction question be taken up in this convention until this special committee shall have submitted its report.

Resolution No. 17.

Amendment to Preamble of A. F. of L. Constitution:

Insert the following as the first paragraph of Preamble to A. F. of L. Constitution:

"WHEREAS, Labor being the creator of all values and the foundation of all civilization, and believing it to be the natural right of those who create this social wealth to enjoy to the fullest extent the fruits of their labor, and realizing that the rapidly changing industrial conditions of our time and the concentration of capital make it imperative upon the wage working class to organize for the purpose of bettering their condition and bringing about the emancipation of labor from wage slavery."

Resolution No. 18.

WHEREAS, The most tyrannical and despotic means are employed by the combined capitalist corporations in the western states to crush organized labor and kill the eight-hour movement in Colorado.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor recognizes the solidarity of labor in the great struggle for emancipation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 23d annual convention of the A. F. of L. hereby extends its hearty sympathy to our western brothers and donates the sum of one thousand dollars (\$1,000) to the Western Federation of Miners in order to help them in their heroic struggle and bring about an early victory for the great and noble cause of labor.

Resolution No. 19.

Amendment to Constitution of A. F. of L.

Strike out Section 3 of Article 3 and substitute the following:

"Only such political questions and measures affecting the interests of the working class shall be discussed or acted upon by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor."

EVERY WORKING WOMAN SHOULD READ LABOR.

Thanksgiving of Rockefeller and His Fellers



NEW YORK, Nov. 16.—I thank thee, O Lord, that I, and my brother, William Rockefeller and the other Standard Oil magnates will receive a nice Christmas gift on December 15, when the Standard Oil Company pays its fourth quarterly dividend for 1903.

O Lord, I bless thy limitless bounty, the dividend was declared to-day, and is 12 per cent. This makes the total dividend for 1903 45 per cent.

Holy God, Father of all, but of I, John D. Rockefeller, in particular, I praise thy infinite goodness and glorify thy name. My share for this quarter is \$4,800,000, making a total for the year of \$18,000,000.

I further thank thee and hallow thy name, O Lord, because upon thine own holy book thy children have based their laws which maintain the sacredness of the private ownership of oil wells. I thank thee, all wise Creator, for having created that oil

for me, I thank thee most fervently, good Lord, and pray for a continuance of the holy fight of your representatives on earth against these of your wicked children who call themselves Socialists. Know thou, O! Lord, that these blasphemous Socialists are organized into a political party whose platform denies thine command that private property in oil lands, is and shall forever be sacred. They are spreading a pernicious doctrine which says that I, John D. Rockefeller, am not God's child in particular, and that all mankind, without distinction as to race or color, are the equal owners of my oil wells, and say these wicked Socialists "We are going to take Rockefeller's oil lands as soon as we have a majority." I gratefully acknowledge that thine hand has sealed for all time the poisoned lips of a leading malcontent in Massachusetts who became an apostate and left your circle of representatives to teach Socialism. Most heavenly Father, thine be also the glory for giving grace to the Massachusetts workmen whose coal oil was raised to 20 cents per gallon by my edict, and who nevertheless voted against Carey whose vile Socialist doctrine tells these men that my coal oil would only cost two cents under Socialism; whereas thou knowest that it costs me two cents.

All powerful and omnipotent Ruler of the universe I pray thee consider it no blasphemy on my part that I humbly beseech and implore thee to command thine mundane representatives to greater vigilance and more strenuous opposition to the pernicious Socialists.

Their defeats are schools for them and guide them on to greater victories. Praying thee, O! Lord, to send upon these wicked Socialists a visitation which may scourge them out of existence, I remain humbly thine own favorite son, confident of thy \$18,000,000 bounty on oil during the coming year. Thine be the glory, but mine be the goods. Amen.

L. E. H.

Editorial Notes and Comments.

When a comrade writes a book of 500 pages, said to embody "THE FOUNDATION PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL ECONOMY," it would seem that he would gladly use the press of the movement for the purpose of acquainting our comrades with the work.

Where this is not done, where instead of coming into the open light in the "book reviewer's columns" of our press, the author sends out private appeals to comrades to purchase, our only conclusion must be that that author desires to avoid a critical analysis of his writings by his fellow Socialists. Especially should a comrade who has given much cause in the past for well-grounded criticism, seek the open light of the reviewer's column before offering his works for sale to the movement through local secretaries. Comrade Mills' book may be good, but why does he not adopt the ordinary and fair method of making its merit known? His circular makes the claim that the

work is "the result of 30 years of constant study of political problems at first hand."

In view of the self-admitted fact that Comrade Mills had his speech prepared for supporting the Bryan campaign of 1900, the fruits of "Thirty Years of Constant Study" were very, very slow in ripening. The fact that Mills was "30 years constantly studying" before he embraced Socialism, should not and no doubt did not make his welcome into the movement any less ardent.

When however, a member of our party, whom it took THIRTY YEARS of study to become a Socialist, brings out a work and claims for it the prestige of being FUNDAMENTAL that is something which demands analysis and dissection. Comrades should purchase the work and give it a careful perusal before attempting the wholesale distribution planned in the circulars being sent to secretaries of locals.

BRO. GOMPERS' CAMPAIGN

Against Socialists.

The history of all great movements involving the progress of humanity to better conditions has witnessed to the opposition laid in the way of the champions of progress by the erstwhile friends of humanity. The obstacles thus laid in the way of progress were usually prompted by unselfish motives. But the unselfishness and sincerity of the opponent of progress can not reconcile the aggressive friends of truth to silence, in the face of error committed ever so sincerely and by ever so exalted a friend of humanity of the working class of to-day.

The following extract from an editorial in the June (1903) number of the American Federationist, chides Socialist editors for predicting that the award of the anthracite coal strike commission would be of little value to the miners:

"Take up any issue of a political Socialist papers, and the reader will find one of more articles or editorials attacking trade unions and trade unionists. Facts are distorted and perverted in regard to the actions of trade unions.

"And adverse result of a trade union effort, no matter how insignificant, is exaggerated into a "crushing" defeat; any victory, no matter how materially or morally far-reaching, is belittled and ridiculed.

"As an instance of this, there is not a political Socialist paper published which has not declared in so many words that the award rendered by the anthracite coal strike commission was a little or no advantage to the miners, and therefore, as they put it, the strike was a failure. * * *"

Before going into the question of the value of the award, it should be noticed that the above editorial speaks of Socialists attacking trade unions. Every Socialist in the trade union movement will hurl that false charge back with indignation, and accompany it with the opinion that President Gompers, who wrote the editorial, will not dare to meet any Socialist in debate on that proposition.

What Socialist editors and speakers do criticize is, not the trade unions as such, but the policy. This criticism will be courted by everyone but a "know it all" official or the dishonest official.

Coming to the much-vaunted award of the anthracite coal strike commission, a commission arbitrarily appointed by President Roosevelt, we have before us the following dispatch taken, headlines and all, from an obscure corner of a local daily:

Decision of Coal Strike Commission Not Binding.

First Legal List of Results of Anthracite Arbitration Result Goes Against Miners.

SUNBURY, PA., Nov. 12.—Judge Auten has rendered an opinion in which he decides that in the eyes of the law the decision of the Anthracite Strike Commission is not binding on either the miners or the operators. This is the first legal decision on the subject.

The matter was brought before the court by the Llewellyn Mining Company. The company refused to pay back wages allotted by the strike commission and the miners of the Royal Oak Colliery brought suit before Justice of the Peace Lloyd for the wages. The justice gave judgment in favor of the miners. The company then began mandamus proceedings against Justice Lloyd and the court decided in favor of the company.

It was in June that Gompers wrote his scathing editorial denunciation, libeling all Socialists, who cautioned organized labor not to expect too much from the Roosevelt commission, as

"pretending friendship but masking behind a cloak of hypocrisy," and even ranking their well intended and nearly always justified criticisms with "the brutal raving of such members of the Manufacturer's association, as Kirby or Parry."

It is now the month of November and the above dispatch shows that in the short time from June till November, events have transpired which show how unwarranted was the attack on the Socialists by the American Federationist and on the other hand how true was the forecast of the Socialists.

Space forbids bringing that page editorial in full but the foregoing extracts are a fair indication of the bitter vindictiveness which apparently has seized upon President Gompers in his contemplation of the most active and progressive element in the American Federation of Labor to-day, namely the Socialists. It is idle to excuse the "American Federationist" on the ground that it did not mean those Socialists who are the cement of the A. F. of L. to this day. Outside of those Socialists in the A. F. of L. at this time there is such a ridiculously small number of Socialists that it would be amusing indeed to hear that the editor of the American Federationist deemed them a fit target for a full page editorial denunciation. It is therefore impossible to draw any other conclusion than that the president of the American Federation of Labor aimed his June number editorial at the most loyal trade unionists in the A. F. of L.

For the sake of the solidarity of organized labor and in the interests of truth and the right education of the working classes let it be hoped that Brother Gompers in his office as president of the world's greatest labor organization and as the editor of the "American Federationist" will henceforth use his opportunities for criticism more justly when speaking of Socialists.

The following telegram to a local morning paper indicates that the convention is not resting the question of labor politics on Socialist lines till the closing days:

Boston, Mass., Nov. 17.—The question of whether the organization should commit itself to the doctrines of Socialism came squarely before the delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor at its session to-day. The question was not answered, as shortly before six o'clock an adjournment was taken until to-morrow, when the debate will be resumed. Some nine resolutions, favoring public ownership and the organization of a political party to bring about conditions the Socialists seek, were all reported upon favorably by the committee on resolutions.

At once the long-arranged plan of the Socialist delegates to fight for the adoption of their principles was put into operation by Delegate Hayes, of Cleveland. He offered a substitute for the committee's report, but was ruled out of order.

At this point the applause from the spectators led President Gompers to announce that he would order the galleries cleared if the applause was continued. His remark was received with hisses. Thereupon he ordered the spectators to leave.

There was a great deal of confusion, and at the end the ejected people, numbering several hundred, assembled outside Faneuil hall and adopted resolutions condemning President Gompers for his action. Meantime the debate was resumed by the delegates.

Delegates Hayes and other Socialists spoke at length against the committee's report, while the committee's position was supported by Delegate Lennon, the treasurer of the federation.

Just before adjournment the ejected spectators were permitted to re-enter.

If kings rule by divine right, as they contend, why have so many been tyrants and oppressors? Why are they subject to death and disease? Why are they not endowed with a divine character? Reason exposes the "rule by divine right" fallacy.

Trades Unionism and Socialism.

Resolution Adopted by the Socialist Party in National Convention at Indianapolis, Ind., July, 1901.

"The trade-union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. The trade-union movement is the natural result of capitalistic production, and represents the economic side of the working-class movement. We consider it the duty of Socialists to join the unions of their respective trades, and assist in building up and unifying the trades and labor organizations. We recognize that trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned.

"We call the attention of trades-unionists to the fact that the class struggle so nobly waged by the trades-union forces to-day, while it

may result in lessening the exploitation of labor, can never abolish that exploitation. The exploitation of labor will only come to an end when society takes possession of all the means of production for the benefit of all the people. It is the duty of every trades-unionist to realize the necessity of independent political action on Socialist lines, to join the Socialist Party and assist in building up a strong political movement of the wage-working class, whose ultimate aim and object must be the abolition of wage-slavery, and the establishment of a co-operative state of society, based on the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution."

Your vote is your voice in the affairs of government.

PATRONIZE ALL Union Labels.

DIRECTORY

Central Trades and Labor Union

Of St. Louis and Affiliated Unions.

CENTRAL TRADES AND LABOR UNION meets every second and fourth Sunday, at 2 o'clock p. m., at **WALHALLA HALL**, Tenth and Franklin Avenue.

DAVE KREYLING, Secretary and Organizer.

AFFILIATED LOCAL UNIONS.

Name of Union and Place of Meeting.	Time of Meeting.						
	Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Th	Fri	Sat
Arch. Iron Workers, 7413-327 Geyer.....			1-3				
Awning Workers, 9169-504 Market.....				2-4			1-3
Badge Makers, 9133-505 Park.....				3			
Baggage Handlers, 104-2003 Clark.....						1-3	
Bakers (Ger.), 15-Harugari.....							1-3
Bakers (Eng.), 238-Harugari.....							2-4
Bakers (cracker), 176-Harugari.....							1-3
Bakers, 248-Harugari.....			2-4				
Barbers, 102-Lightstone's.....							N.
Bartenders, 51-918 Pine (2d & 4th Fri., 2 p. m.).....						1-3	
Beer Drivers, 43-Third and Elm.....		2-4					
Beltmakers, 7221-Dewey.....							1-3
Billposters, 9312-504 Market.....	2-4						
Blacksmiths, 12-1310 Franklin.....							2-4
Boilermakers, 27-Harugari.....							
Bookbinders, 18-Lightstone's.....			1-3				
Bottlers (Beer), 187-Dewey.....							1-3
Bottlers (Soda, etc.), 8514-1029 Chestnut.....							1-3
Bottle Packers, 9076-3001 S. Broadway.....	2						4
Brass Molders, 99-1310 Franklin.....							1-3
Brass Workers, 66-1310 Franklin.....							1-3
Brewers and Maisters, 6-Dewey.....	2-4						
Brewers (Weiss Beer), 260-504 Market.....			1-3				
Brew'y Frt. Handlers, 237-3101 S. 7th.....							2-4
Brew'y Laborers, 262-13th & Wyoming.....				1-3			
Brewery Oilers, 279-2200 S. 7th.....			1-3				
Brewery Firemen, 95-2200 S. 7th.....					2-4		
Brewery Engineers, 246-Burlington.....			1-3				
Brickmakers, 57-5200 Shaw ave.....							2-4
Brickmakers, 63-14 S. 9th.....					2-4		
Broommakers, 45-Harugari.....							1-3
Brushmakers, 7422-505 Park.....							2-4
Bldg. Mtrl. Trds. Coun., 1026 Franklin.....							2-4
Building Trades Council-Druids.....							
Builders (street car), 8157-Lightstone's.....			2-4				
Butchers and Cutters, 88-1310 Franklin.....	2-4						
Cabdrivers, 406-604 Market.....			2-4				
Candymakers, 248-Harugari.....	2-4						
Carriage & Wagnwrk, 29-9th & Arsenal.....			1-3				
Car and Coach Painters, 204-Lightstone's.....							
Car Wheel Molders, 7229-Bdwy & Lami.....							1-3
Carworkers, 14-604 Market.....			2-4				
Clayminers, 8508-5200 Shaw.....							1-3
Clayminers, 9310-Beck & Morganford rd.....							1
Chair Workers, 3-St. Louis.....					4		
Cigarmakers, 44-Walhalla.....							2-4
Cigar Packers, 231-504 Market.....			2-4				
Coffinmakers, 84-Lightstone's.....							
Cooks, 203-312 N. 12th.....							
Coopers, 3-Dewey Hall.....					2-4		
Coopers, 37-Lightstone's.....							
Coopers, 141-Dewey Hall.....		1-3					
Coopers, 148-2338 S. Broadway.....			2-4				
Dairy Employes, 9093-Harugari.....				1-3			
Egg Inspectors, 8343-902 N. 3d.....			1-3				
Electrical Workers, 1-1028 Franklin.....							
Electrical Workers, 3-Lightstone's.....							
Electrical Workers, 59-1028 Franklin.....							
Electrical Workers, 129-Lightstone's.....							
Electrotypers, 36-Fraternal.....			2				
Engineers, 2-Fraternal.....							
Engineers, 43-Fraternal.....							
Engineers, 44-2702 St. Louis.....							
Federal Labor, 6423-324 Chestnut.....							1
Fin. and Gilders, 41-504 Market.....	1-3						

	Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Th	Fri	Sat
Firemen, 6-1026 Franklin.....							2-4
Firemen, 122-806 N. 14th.....						1-3	
Flour & Cereal Mill Employes, 19-Druids.....	1-3						
Freight Handlers, 9292-1310 Franklin.....	2-4						
Freight Handlers (In.), 14-1200 Franklin.....							
Frt. Handlers (In.), 10,570-1200 Franklin.....							
Galvanizers, 10,164-1310 Franklin.....					2-4		
Garment Workers, 16-Fraternal.....					2-4		
Garment Workers, 58-Fraternal.....						2-4	
Garment Workers, 26-Wentzel.....						1-3	
Garment Workers, 59-Wentzel.....							1
Garment Workers, 67-Wentzel.....		2-4					
Garment Workers, 68-Wentzel.....							2-4
Garment Workers, 98-Lightstone's.....							1-3
Garment Workers, 105-Wentzel.....							1-3
Garment Workers, 243-Wentzel.....						1-3	
Garment Workers, 246-Wentzel.....							1-3
Glass Blowers, 5-901 Lami.....	1-3						
Glass Blowers, 6-1026 Franklin.....			2-4				
Granitoid Workers, 8172-Walhalla.....							
Hatters (cloth), 14-Wentzel.....							2-4
Hatters (felt), 21-Wentzel.....			1				
Hatters (silk)-Wentzel.....		1					
Helpers (blksmith), 317-Lightstone's.....							2-4
Helpers (boiler), 8528-2338 S. Broadway.....		2-4					
Helpers (molders), 7413-327 Geyer.....							1-3
Helpers (mch. blksm), 8463-Lightstone's.....							2-4
Helpers (nlesettlers), 1277-Lightstone's.....							
Helpers (steamfitters), 33-Lightstone's.....							
Horseshoers, 3-Lightstone's.....				1-3			
Laborers, 9954-806 N. 14th.....							2-4
Leather Wrks (horse goods), 30-Walhalla.....			2-4				
Leather Wrks., 87-Harugari.....				2-4			
Lithographers, 5-Druids.....					2-4		
Machinists, 41-1310 Franklin.....	1-3-5						
Machinists, 85-1310 Franklin.....							1-3-5
Machinists, 308-2817 Chouteau.....	1-3-5						
Machinists, 394-1310 Franklin.....			1-3-5				
Machinists, 602-1310 Franklin Ave.....				2-4			
Mallers, 3-Fraternal.....			4				
Marbleworkers, 1-1310 Franklin.....							
Metal Mech., 46-1310 Franklin.....			2-4				
Metal Polishers, 13-1026 Franklin.....							
Met. Tra. Coun.-1310 Franklin.....	1-3						
Millwrights, 7473-Fraternal.....							2-4
Molders, 59-Walhalla.....							
Molders (stove), 10-Walhalla.....				1-3			
Musicians, 2-1733 Olive.....							
Musicians, 44-1102 Franklin.....				1-3			
Packg. Rm. Empl., 9464-1200 Franklin.....							
Painters and Decorators, 23-Lightstone's.....							
Painters (sign), 774-Lightstone's.....							
Painters (carriage), 204-1026 Franklin Ave.....							
Painters (glaziers), 513-1116 Franklin Ave.....						1-3	
Paperhangers, 341-Lightstone's.....							
Pat'n Mkr Assn.-1310 Franklin.....		1-3-5					
Paper Box Mkr., 8972-327 Geyer.....			2-4				
Paper Carrier, 5783-Fraternal.....					3		
Paper Rulers, 32-504 Market.....							2-4
Pavers (stone), 7602-2338 S Broadway.....							2-4
Postal Clerks, 10654-Walhalla.....							2-4
Pressmen, 6-Lightstone.....				2			
Pressmen (web.), 2-Fraternal.....				4			
Printers, 3-201 S 3rd.....				2			
Printers, 8-Walhalla.....	1						
Press Feeders, 43-201 S 3rd.....							1
Retail Clerks, 80-Fraternal.....					1-3		
Retail Clerks, 84-Fraternal.....			1-3				
Retail Clerks (gro.), 424-Fraternal.....						1-3	
Retail Clerks (shoe), 886-Fraternal.....							2-4
Riggers, 8919-Harugari.....			1-3				
Sewer Laborers, 9151-3700 Easton.....					1-3		
Sheet Metal Workers, 247-1310 Franklin.....							
Ship Carpenters, 8283-B'wy & Lami.....						1-3	
Shirt Makers, 103-Walhalla.....				3			
Shoe Workers Council-907 N 22nd.....							
Shoe Workers, 25-907 N 22nd.....							
Shoe Workers, 126-907 N 22nd.....							
Shoe Workers, 200-2036 Franklin.....							
Shoe Workers, 207-907 N 22nd.....							
Shoe Workers, 221-2036 Franklin.....							
Shoe Workers (Custom), 245-925 Franklin.....						1-3	
Shoe Workers, 338-907 N 22nd.....							
Shoe Workers, 346-2036 Franklin.....							
Soda Water Wkrs., 8514-1029 Chestnut.....							1-3
Stage Hands, 6-918 Pine st.....				1-3			
Steam Fitters, 29-Walhalla.....							
Steel & Cop. Pl. Printers-Gross.....							2-4
Steel & Iron Wkrs, 1-Broadway & Lami.....							1-3
Steel & Iron Wkrs, 4-Brighton.....							1-3
Stereotypers, 8-201 S 3rd.....							
Stove Mounters, 34-1310 Franklin.....							2-4
Tailors, 11-Druids.....		1-3					
Teamster (coal), 24-1026 Franklin.....						1-3	
Teamsters (frt.), 27-1026 Franklin.....							1-3
Teamsters (ice), 28-1026 Franklin.....				2-4			
Teamsters (pro.), 40-1026 Franklin.....		1-3					
Team (pkgng. house), 42-1026 Franklin.....							1-3
Teamsters (furn.), 51-1310 Franklin.....		1-3					
Teamsters (bagg.), 54-1026 Franklin.....		1-3					
Teamsters (lumber), 64-1026 Franklin.....			1-3				
Teamsters (hay), 66-Lightstone's.....			1-3				
Teamsters (brick), 71-1200 Franklin.....					1-3		
Teamsters (bakery), 74-Lightstone's.....			1-3				
Teamsters (stone), 75-1200 Franklin.....						1-3	
Teamsters (laundry), 79-1200 Franklin.....					2-4		
Teamsters (plano), 84-Lightstone's.....						1-3	
Teamsters (movers)-Lightstone's.....		1-3					
Terra Cotta Wkrs, 80-5759 Manchester.....			2-4				
Tobacco Wkrs, 1-505 Park.....			2-4				
Trunk & Bag Wkrs, 1-Walhalla.....							1-3
Typefounders, 5-416 Elm.....							1-3
Tuck Pointers, 131-Lightstone's.....							
Undert. & Liv., 10742-3000 Easton.....							
Upholsterers, 21-Fraternal.....			1-3				
Waiters, 20-312 N 12th.....							
Waitresses, 249-204 N 9th.....							
Woodworkers, 2-Walhalla.....							
Woodworkers, 12-Walhalla.....							
Woodworkers, 54-2338 S Broadway.....			2-4				
Woodworkers, 76-1026 Franklin.....							
Woodworkers, 84-1026 Franklin.....			2-4				
Woodworkers, 125-1026 Franklin.....							
Woodworkers, 149-1026 Franklin.....							1-3-5
Woodworkers, 204-1310 Franklin.....						1-3-5	
Woodworkers, 221-20th & Dodier.....							

Meetings every week.

MODES OF THE TIME

What Dame Fashion Says We Must Wear This Winter.

TAFFETA A POPULAR FABRIC

Materials Are Quite in Keeping with the Revival of Early Victorian Models—Present Styles Lend to Economy in Dress.

DESPITE all predictions to the contrary, taffeta is still holding its own, and it has been revived in the most alluring manner. Some of the best toilettes de visite and house frocks are being made in taffeta with an old-fashioned black velvet spot thereon.

Young people, too, are wearing taffeta in shot browns, reds and blues, and on these the large, black spot looks most effective. Then all black, trimmed with black velvet, in addition to the spot, is peculiarly becoming.

As fashions are of the early Victorian period, the fabrics of that era are revived, and we can hardly imagine an early Victorian frock without its accompaniment of taffeta ruches and velvet spots. Indeed, we gladly welcome such a revival, for taffeta, let me tell you, is a worthy fabric for what may be termed the "best" frock, either for day or evening. It is substantial and its smartness undeniable, and we are very pleased to see it enjoying a foremost place on Fashion's list, giving place, as the colder weather advances, to chiffon velours, the new fur plushes, and the abnormally thick fabrics of the zibeline type.

You must remember that, although dress is costly to-day, if we buy wisely we need not buy much. For instance,

will do duty for evening as well as day wear, and will be an important part of the latter costume. A further addition might be a pelerine or cross-over fichu of velvet edged with fur, or ruches of taffeta. This can be worn or not, as you please, in the house, and will be a charming addition for out-door wear.

Surely this is in keeping with the 1830 bonnets, waving plumes, and "granny" muffs.



AN ATTRACTIVE EVENING GOWN.

There are all kinds of delightful specimens in outdoor wraps, entirely apart from the ordinary boleros and coats, such as those fichu pelerines in fur plush, velvet and cloth which are dragged round the shoulders and tie at the back, with a smart little tail as a finish. They are very quaint and charming, and at the same time extremely useful, while they present great possibilities to the amateur.

Wonderful embroideries are also used and the leading tailors and couturieres are achieving great results with those of an oriental type. The warm touches of color are always welcome on dull gray winter days and give the relief necessary to serges and tweeds. Smart indoor reception frocks are being made once again in beautiful, rich colored cloths. Vieux rose and cherry, as well as a bright shade of wine, are much worn for the cloth frock. These are mixed with embroideries and heavy guipure laces.

Cherry, Burgundy and orange hues are taking the place of the red so long beloved by the Parisian. There is a new shade of pink red which will be seen a great deal in the evening. When treated with skill this is extremely becoming. There is no doubt about it these strong colorings require toning down with handsome guipure lace Cluny applique, or something of the kind, and for day wear, at any rate they are extremely trying, though in company with the big, black hat and dark fur stole they have a cachet all their own, which is added to by a band of black peau de soie, this being a feature of all of the smart frocks of the hour.

American women seem to get more knowledgeable every year in the matter of dress. In meeting their ever-increasing demands, the American merchant has become a very intelligent person, and even at quite second rate stores nowadays one sees very good fashions, not always in the materials we like, perhaps, but up-to-date as far as modes are concerned.

I must say that in the early days of the trotteuse skirt it was seen at its best in the inexpensive frocks.

Now, of course, its difficulties have been mastered; but it seems only a short time ago that, when one asked the leading drapers for the Parisian short skirt, they invariably produced a tailor-made garment with a little train at the back! Nothing died so hard as the trained skirt, and there was a good reason for this. Its becomingness will never be equaled by the short skirt, although it would be foolish now for anyone wanting a practical walking

frock to overlook the smartness of the present day trotteuse skirt.

These skirts always look better when they have a small pad at the back. I hear rumor, in fact, that the crinoline is coming in again. It will not appear in the short skirt, but I am not at all sure that, in a modified form, it is not creeping into vogue for evening wear.

I have heard that some leading couturieres in Paris and London are introducing a little whalebone into the petticoats for evening wear. And when one beholds the best models one realizes that the voluminous folds require some stiffening to keep them out at the feet, especially as the fabrics used are mostly very soft. The old-fashioned, stiff, muslin-buckram flounces are being introduced into the evening frocks.

The taffeta petticoats, too, have innumerable ruchings, accordion plaitings, etc., from the knees to the feet to make the overskirt stand out.

Buttons are assuming almost dangerous proportions. I always think it is a pity when a chic fashion reaches an exaggeration, especially in tailor-made garments. The introduction of buttons originated in the smart tailoring world. The tiny silver, jet or gold specimens are charming, but when we see a cheap serge covered with gilt buttons we decide that it has become a vulgar mode and the best dressed woman will have none of them, although at the same time the button in itself, treated by the master hand, is a charming trimming. But I prefer a small number—say six—to seeing them put on by the dozen. I rather like a plaited serge skirt to have each pleat held down by means of a button.

ELLEN OSMONDE.

How Eggs Absorb Odors.

Very few people are aware how rapidly eggs absorb the odors of nearby objects such as onions and kerosene or even the filth of the poultry house. The shell is porous and in a few hours the yolk of an egg will become tainted by near proximity to strong odors. Strictly fresh eggs that bring the highest prices to local customers, are removed shortly after they become separated from the hen, and are kept in a clean receptacle in a clean room.—Midland Farmer.



A WINTER TAILOR MADE.

If the capitalists were compelled to buy workers (as they do horses) to take the place of those who are worn out by overwork or killed by carelessness, their regret at the loss of a good worker would be keen. But workers are plentiful and cheap, and the supply never runs out.

If a law endangering the interests of capitalism can be declared unconstitutional when the capitalists are in power, why can not a law endangering the interests of the workers be also declared unconstitutional when the workers are in power?



PELERINE AND MUFF IN SILVER FOX.

suppose you select a velvet frock for carriage wear, let me advise you to have a second bodice to wear with the one skirt—an evening blouse cut very décolleté, with a transparent chenille sleeve with some real lace hanging therefrom and a tucker of the same. The skirt will be the correct length for carriage and evening wear; it need not be abnormally long. The aim and object of every modern couturiere seems to be to get excessive fullness round the feet.

For day wear with this velvet skirt you can have a simple blouse-bodice, unlined if you like, held in place by a boned corselet band, with a fancy buckle and some rosettes of taffeta. This band

W. H. PRIESMEYER,
DEALER IN ALL KINDS OF **SALT**
And Manufacturer of

ELECTRIC FRANKLIN BULL DOG SPIRE } **LYE.**

St. Louis, Mo.

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TRADE MARK
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IS NOT CONTROLLED BY A TRUST
IT HAS STOOD ALONE ON ITS MERITS FOR 30 YEARS.
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THE CREEPING DARK

By FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH

In Paris, when you traverse the rue des Francs-Bourgeois until you come to the rue Sevigne, you will find upon the corner a building of agreeable architecture erected in the sixteenth century for a Breton family named Kernevalec. From 1677 until 1696 Madame de Sevigne lived in it. It belongs now to the city of Paris and contains a collection illustrating the history of the city and of the revolution.

In a room of the second floor, in a corner near a fire-place, there is the portrait of a man, painted in oil. Under this portrait in a glass case is a long double-coil of rotten rope connected at intervals by short sticks, and a clumsy, broken saw.

The portrait is the likeness of a Frenchman named Latude.

The rope and sticks are the remains of a ladder by which he made his escape from the Bastille.

The Bastille was a stupendous old castle built for Charles V. in the fourteenth century and which was left standing when the boulevards were levelled in 1670. With its massive walls, ten feet in thickness, and its eight sombre towers, it rose just at the entrance of the city, and the cannon on its battlements commanded the adjoining suburb of St. Antoine—the quarter occupied by the working classes.

Up to the 14th of July, 1789, when the revolutionists battered it to pieces and liberated everyone in it, that is to say, for a period of one hundred years and over, the Bastille was a favorite place in which to put people and forget about them. Charles' wonderful story, "A Tale of Two Cities," is founded on such an incident.

Latude escaped from the Bastille a few years before its destruction.

He had spent thirty-six years in one of its dark, cold, vermin-infested dungeons and had retained his reason. He went into his cell a young man and came out, down this rope-ladder, an old one.

He had harmed no human being and had committed no crime, but he had done something which in that day in France was worse than either.

He had referred slightly in public to a courtesan of Louis XV.

There were then commonly in use amiable little epistles called lettres-de-cachet. These were blank commitments to prison signed by the king. If the king were fond of you he would sign one of these blanks and give it to you, and when you came across a man who was not to your mind, you had only to write his name in the blank space provided and give the paper to the commanding officer of the Bastille.

He would do the rest. The prisoner would need to be charged with nothing and he need not know why he was sent nor who sent him. He would never come to trial.

If he had influential friends you could write a bogus name in the lettre-de-cachet, but be sure the officer got the right man. Then there would be no record to trace him by; he would just disappear.

Madame Pompadour made out a lettre-de-cachet for Latude when she heard he had spoken of her. She did the same for many another man of whom the world will never know.

Mme. Pompadour was the power of a system of exploitation. She was neither better nor worse than her peers. Opportunities were hers to have her will, and the public machinery had been so ordered that private malice might be served by it.

In the United States to-day the first step has been taken toward ordering the legal machinery of the nation for

private ends in criminal procedure. This fact may not be generally recognized, but it is true.

In the middle of a peaceful and orderly meeting of American citizens in Murray Hill Lyceum, New York, secret service detectives of the United States, authorized by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor at Washington, arrested John Turner, an Englishman, chief organizer of the Retail Clerks' Union of Great Britain and a member of the London Trades' Council.

The detectives had no civil warrant; they had no authority other than that of the Department of Commerce and Labor.

The Department of Commerce and Labor has thus publicly demonstrated for the first time the reason for its establishment; it is to do the dirty work that no other department would sacrifice its dignity to. Its servants took Mr. Turner to Ellis Island, a federal government reservation, where a "special board of inquiry," whose proceedings were not made public, decided that he was an "Anarchist" and therefore subject to deportation under the federal law.

Turner had made no incendiary utterances in this country; he had not, in the words of the law "advocated the overthrow by force or violence," of any organized government. It had simply been reported in advance of his coming to America that he had ideas of government differing from those commonly accepted.

Clearly and literally this man is arrested, tried by a secret court, and remanded to jail without bail by a United States court, awaiting deportation, because he professes to have ideas differing from those of other people.

It is to this mean and vulgar level that plutocracy has dragged a once noble and dignified nation. A people once peerless in the Congress of the World now stoops to practices that in France made even a harlot infamous.

The Goddess of Liberty has been translated into a Pompadour. Her once chaste outlines have been degraded by public debauchery. She has been foully betrayed by those whom the people elevated into high places to guard her virtue, and the men who once walked proudly in the purity of her shadow hang their heads in honest shame.

Whom the gods destroy they first make mad.

You cannot fright the pest with border fortresses.

Social wrongs cannot be righted by killing individuals; and revolutions cannot be averted by deporting them. You cannot hit a thought with a shotgun. Men who kill and men who suffer for liberty are effects, not causes. They are the products of collective wrong-doing.

The same crime that Leon Czolgoza committed against William McKinley, the United States government, administered in private interest, is now committing against John Turner. One crime is as futile as the other.

After using the American government to enrich themselves and impoverish the people, a comparatively small number of men are now beginning to use this same government to stifle criticism, as the Pompadour did.

Unless there soon comes to the flood in United States politics an influence which is not fatuously deceived by plutocratic wiles; an influence which has a principle for its guidance; unless that futile and vulgar ignorance which stands by in stupid apathy while the giant bulk of a great government is used to bully a single defenseless man is soon dispelled, the American Republic will soon be distorted into a bawd compared to which the Pompa-

dour was a Delphic Sibyl.

No matter who the man is who is accused, the beginning of these secret examinations in one case, is the beginning of secret examinations in other cases. A precedent once established, nothing is easier or more insidious than the spread of such evil practices.

The rapidly unintelligent law under which John Turner is suffering outrage and persecution is the prelude to the lettre-de-cachet. It is the first step in a progressive encroachment upon individual liberty of thought by centralized and irresponsible authority, and its ultimate logical consummation is the imprisonment or death of every man or woman who dares to challenge the outrages of organized wrong.

John Turner is the beginning.

The end will be Latude.

HIGH-PRICED SPEAKERS.

Editor of The Worker:—Opinions differ as to high-priced speakers and low-priced speakers, and a recital of what has been done in Michigan the past summer may be of interest. Over one thousand meetings have been held in this state since May 20, 1903, addressed by twenty-five speakers in 250 towns. Not one of these speakers asked what he was going to get for his services, and among them were many men who are as competent to expound Socialism as are many of our high-priced speakers.

It is true that people generally do not expect much of a speaker who does not set a high price on his services, and Socialists are no exception to this rule. We do measure a speaker too largely by the financial estimate he places on himself, and in doing this we too often disparage and discourage even better and more deserving men and speakers. Even Socialists must learn not to estimate a speaker by the glitter of his price mark. Nevertheless there are two sides. Eugene V. Debs, speaking in a capitalistic town, will make his regular Socialist speech to a crowded house at 35 or 50 cents admission charge, whereas it is possible that if he were to charge nothing his audience would be much less. Ordinary people have confidence in high-priced goods—they think low-priced goods are too cheap to be of much account. They judge the quality by the price mark. Ordinary people do, but Socialists ought to know better than to do that.

I have noticed more than once when the Socialists of a town have "thrown themselves," that is, worked hard and dug deep into their pockets for an expensive meeting, that the effort left them with a sort of tired feeling for a long time. It seems as though that sort of exertion has a depressing effect, especially if the comrades happen to be wage-workers, and more especially if there happens to be a deficit and a possible Shylock ready to take his full pound of flesh.

On the whole, it would probably be better for wage-working Socialists to leave our high-priced speakers to charge capitalists all the traffic will bear. Dress suit lectures do actually sound better to most people than the same speech from the rough and ready soap box hustler, but Socialists really ought not to be fooled that way.

C. J. LAMB.

Dryden, Mich., Oct. 24.

Socialism and the Negro.

Resolution Adopted by the Socialist Party in National Convention at Indianapolis, Ind., July 31, 1901.

WHEREAS, The negroes of the United States, because of their long training in slavery and but recent emancipation therefrom occupy a peculiar position in the working class and in society at large;

WHEREAS, The capitalist class seeks to preserve this peculiar condition, and to foster and increase color prejudice and race hatred between the white worker and the black, so as to make their social and economic interests to appear to be separate and antagonistic, in order that the workers of both races may thereby be more easily and completely exploited;

WHEREAS, Both the old political parties and educational and religious institutions alike betray the negro in his present helpless struggle against disfranchisement and violence, in order to receive the economic favors of the capitalist class; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That we, the Socialists of America, in National Convention assembled, do hereby assure our negro fellow worker of our sympathy with him in his subjection to lawlessness and oppression, and also assure him of the fellowship of the workers who suffer from the lawlessness and exploitation of capital in every nation or tribe of the world; be it further

RESOLVED, That we declare to the negro worker the identity of his interests and struggles with the interests and struggles of the workers of all lands, without regard to race or color or sectional lines; that the causes which have made him the victim of social and political inequality are the effects of the long exploitation of his labor-power; that all social and race prejudices spring from the ancient economic causes which still endure, to the misery of the whole human family, that the only line of division which exists in fact is that between the producers and the owners of the world—between capitalism and labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the American Socialist Party, invite the negro to membership and fellowship with us in the world movement for economic emancipation by which equal liberty and opportunity shall be secured to every man and fraternity become the order of the world.

Labor directs the power applied to machinery.



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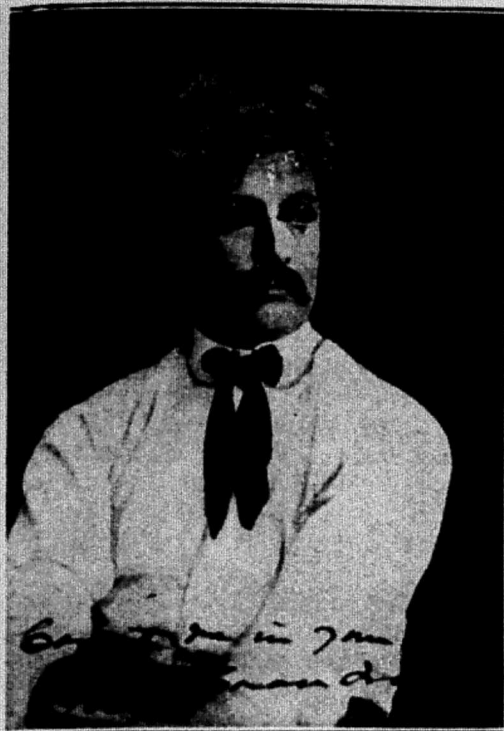


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Issued by the Cigarmakers' International Union of America.

Against all the World

By HORACE TRAUBEL



HORACE TRAUBEL.

It is said that the new British Ambassador at Washington once wrote a novel in which he prophesied some sort of alliance of the "stars and stripes and union jack against all the world." It is characteristic of the old regime to be "against the world." It is always dreaming of conquests, disputes, severances. It is always seeing men in small corners. Men hiding. Men in fear. Races. Sharp boundary lines. One nation sworn against another. It is always seeing mankind in parts rather than in wholes. It is not inclusive. It is exclusive. Against the world.

The new regime is not against the world. It is for the world. It is for the whole world. It knows no world with anything left out. War is not the world. Wages are not the world. Slavery is not the world. The stars and stripes are not the world. Nor is the union jack. Nor are stars and stripes and jacks together the world. Love alone is the world. The absorption of the welfare of the individual in the welfare of the mass is the world. The world can never be anything little. It must be something big. Your parish politics are not the world. Nor is the President with his cabinet. The world is too big to be tied up by a country court. And too big to be sequestered between the leaves of a catechism. And too big to be arrogated into an Anglo-Saxon plaything. What would you do with the world after you had choked it into your province? The world cries to you for help. Then you go and rob the world of itself.

Against the world. The world is not against you. Why are you against the world? What has the world done to you that you should be against it? What has religion taught you? What has the state said to you on the subject? What does trade say? Why are you always against something? Who has taught you the sort of economics which says it is cheap to be against the world? Who has convinced you that you can afford to be against the world? What sort of humanity is it you have to talk about? Is that the best thing you can do with your stars and stripes? With your union jack? Poor stars and stripes. Poor jack. You might have given them a meaning that is good. But you have preferred to give them a meaning that is evil. You might have made them in favor of the world. You have made them against the world. You might have squared them with the new economics. With the economics which have declared for the eternal peace of the communal equities. With the econo-

mics which do not cease at the shores of seas. With the opened doors. With the unshuttered windows. With everything that will tend to bring men together. But you have given out pirate bids. You have closed the seas. You have narrowed life to border lines. You have made it impossible for men to know each other. Just as we are about to get acquainted you slap the door shut in my face. You do not offer treaty. You offer war. You do not offer to smoothe difficulties away. You create new difficulties. I hear the tramp of your armies. I see the ships of war on your seas. I read your tariff schedules. I know what you think and what you say about saved races and damned races. Your race is superior and some other race is inferior. Your millionaires are superior and the men who make your millionaires possible are inferior. You are against the loyalties of the communal faith. You are sworn to private allegiance. To subserve the interests of a fragment instead of the interests of the total. You jostle the earth into your back yard. You exile the big. You cosset the little. That is what you have done with your stars and stripes. With your union jack. You have soiled their beauty. You have covered their general meaning with your local mud. The world might have expected your better self. You give it your worst self. Not your trusted hand. Your knotted fist. The world that you might have been for. The world that you have preferred to be against.

When will we ever get a world in which nobody will be against anybody else? When will we get a world in which no man will pull against any other man? When will we get a world in which we will all pull together? In which property will not pull against man but in which property and man will pull together? In which the economic verities will possess themselves of the heart? In which state lines will disappear in favor of universal lines? In which there will be but one blasphemy. The blasphemy of the man who is against the world. What is the use of talking. Anything short of this is so much short of civilization. You are against the world. So is Rockefeller. Rather, so is the system which has produced him. We are going to destroy that against. We say that the time has come in which you have got to array yourself on the side of interracial good will. You can no longer cultivate your private field with the tools of the general chest. You can no longer steal your fire from the general flame. You must see that everything belongs to all and that nothing belongs to anybody. You must see that against is robbery and that for is benefaction. You must see that against is murder and that for is rescue. You must see that no pettifogging can longer hold you back from the service of a genuine democracy. You have fooled yourself long enough. You must now stop. Get down to business. Business is not your declaration of war. It is your promise of peace. I have been listening for a long time while you have told me how impossible it is for you to trust man. Now I will wait until you have told me how possible it is to trust man. What in God's name have you to hope for in a new century of fratricide? Have you not killed enough? Have you not robbed the poor enough? Have you not bragged about your Anglo-Saxon honesty enough? Why should you be so busy about your honesty? Why not let other people talk about that? Do you suppose we believe your boasts? Put them into a scale. What do they come to? They do not

budge the scale. They are as empty as a vacuum. You are a nice civilizer. Against the world, eh? I am not without humor. But I confess that the picture of Uncle Sam and John Bull going forth together arm in arm against the rest of the earth does not make me laugh. For this thin Sam and this fat John are historically so selfrighteous that their robber manias seem more than commonly offensive. They are always telling the world how they love freedom. And they are always showing the world how they can stab freedom in the back.

You who are the conservative lyrists go on monotonously reciting the story of your regime. You have told it with such variations of tense and with such distortions of data that I am afraid to trust you. And you have always made a great deal of the peril that would attend a change. You point us out with scorn. You sneer at our radical propaganda. Well—let me tell you something about that. You have tried to make clear what you will do and what you will not do. Let me tell you what we propose to do. We may be cranks and fanatics. But when we are in control of this world it will be a world of peace. Not the sort of peace that you speak of now. Not the sort of peace that consists with robbery and is not peace. Not the sort of peace that condones masters treating with slaves. Not the sort of peace that exists by the leave of bosses. Not the sort of peace that aureoles the wage system. Not the sort of peace in the hearing of whose bluster many men cannot find work to do, and other men who work are underpaid, and women and children must miserably piece out a mill requiem of death. My God, no. When we come to the world offering it gifts it will not be gifts of disaster. Our peace will make government of no consequence and man of every consequence. Will force private property to the wall. Will refuse to put one man over another. Will rebel against the slavery of the tool. Will not be afraid of night lest men steal and of day lest men starve. Will not house people here in palaces and there in holes. Will not give the man who does not work everything and give the man who does work nothing. Will get and keep the idlers busy and will reduce the hours of the industrious. Will use the state for universal man or abolish it altogether. That is what our peace will do. It will not sneak round corners upon weak nations or weak men and reduce them to captivity. It will enter into no alliance against anybody. It has learned its lesson well. It is a lesson of unbounded comity. It has no reservations. None of race. For it says all races are of one race. None of property. For it says that all property is one property. None of ownership. For it says that the best ownership is no ownership at all. None of freedom. For it says that freedom is freedom only when all are free. None of bargain and sale. For it says that a system which entertains a thing sold entertains a soul sold and therefore must be abolished. Why should our peace have reservations? We want to get rid of all the old bars. We know that this task to be done right must be done without equivocation. And it can never be done without equivocation while any state or any race or any interest within or without is against any other interest. For the interests of men when men live in chaos claw and destroy each other. But the interests of men when men live in order coalesce for one result.

THE SOCIALIST RADICALS OF FRANCE.

The Radical Socialists, as they are called, who might be more accurately described as socialistic radicals, recently held their party congress at Marseilles. Among the most noteworthy utterances was that of the chairman, who, in his opening speech, defined the difference between themselves and the collectivists to lie in the

fact that his party in no way desired or worked for the destruction or abolition of private property. A declaration of that kind helps to clear the issue. Where, however, the Socialism comes in, it is not easy to see. It is probable, however, that they are only a little bit in advance of the "Ministerial" Socialists, who are already in a fair way to the same position, with this difference, however, that the Radical Socialists are consistent anti-Clericals; that is their sole plank, and on that they were ready to vote against the Ministry, when it did not act up to what they thought right, but the "Ministerial Socialists" have been Ministerial through thick and thin. There is no principle they have not been ready to sacrifice, and no insult from the Ministers they are not ready to take.

AND NOT ONLY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

To the Editor of The Worker:

The platform of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts has this among its immediate demands, that Election Day be made a legal holiday. The need of such a provision appears plainly when one reads the following from the Lawrence "American" of Oct. 31:

"Notices were posted in the mills Friday containing information about Election Day, which comes next Tuesday. According to the notices, no employee will be allowed to go out during working hours to vote. All employees are to vote either before coming to work at 8 o'clock or at the noon hour. In accordance with the law, work in the mills will not start until 8 o'clock on Election Day."

It would be an easy matter to disfranchise hosts of working men simply by the other voters crowding to the polls in the morning and at the noon hour. The fear of discharge and the certainty of losing a half-day's pay would prevent a large part of the factory workers from voting.

The party should also insist on town meeting days being holidays, as the workers pay for all.

E. DAWSON.

Andover, Mass., Nov. 1.

ITALIAN SOCIALISTS MAKE TZAR ABANDON VISIT.

The Tsar's visit to Rome has been abandoned indefinitely at last in consequence of the threatened hostile demonstrations of Italian Socialists, who proposed to receive him with hisses instead of cheers. The Italian "Revisionists" were opposed to this plan, but it was pretty certain that Ferri had the majority of Italian comrades with him, and that worked on the nerves of the great Russian autocrat to such an extent that the Tsar has decided to stay away. It implies a great moral triumph for Italian Socialism, and especially the revolutionary section, and puts the Russian government, as well as the Italian, in a foolish position.

G. CHALLY,

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Fancy
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It Is Made by NON-UNION LABOR

Only Bread bearing
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Baker's Council of St. Louis.

Trade Unionism.

EDITED BY A SOCIALIST.

THE MILLER CASE.

Will Come up for Discussion in the Convention When Resolution No. 207, as Given Below, is Reached.

Resolution No. 207—By delegates of International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, The attention of President Roosevelt, Secretary of Commerce and Labor Cortelyou, and Public Printer Palmer has been called to the employment in the bindery of the government printing office of one William A. Miller as assistant foreman; and

WHEREAS, Said William A. Miller has been proved by affidavits and court records in our possession to be a bigamist, perjurer, defaulter and one totally unfit to be in charge of working people; and

WHEREAS, The attention of the public officials above referred to has been called to seven violations of civil service rules and two violations of revised statutes (all of which violations demand instant dismissal from the service) by said William A. Miller; and

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt has declared the charge of personal unfitness of William A. Miller to be one of "routine matter of administrative detail;" and

WHEREAS, We regard the continued retention of William A. Miller in the government employ to be a menace to production of creditable work because of dissatisfaction with his methods as foreman; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby petitions President Roosevelt to examine into the affidavits and testimony submitted by Local Union No. 4, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders to Public Printer Palmer, and upon verification to immediately remove him, William A. Miller, from the government service.

Attention! Unions.

October 28, 1903.

Organized Labor, Greeting:

The Missouri Federation of Labor will meet in thirteenth annual convention, at Springfield, Mo., on Monday, January 11, 1904. Representation will be as follows: Central bodies and district unions, three delegates; local unions, one delegate for 100 members or less, and one extra delegate for each additional 100 members or majority fraction thereof. To be entitled to representation organizations must be members of the State Federation or make application for certificate of affiliation (charter) prior to December 31, 1903. No person will be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent; he must not be the holder of a political office, a member of the state militia, nor can he represent a union as proxy. All delegates are expected to wear union-made clothing where it is possible to obtain the same in their home town. Delegates will not be seated until the per capita tax of their union has been paid to December 31, 1903.

Credentials in duplicate are herewith forwarded, the original to be given to the delegate-elect, and the duplicate, bearing the name and address of delegate, returned to this office before December 31, 1903. It is of vital importance that duplicate credentials be returned promptly, as the secretary-treasurer can save much time of the convention by having roll call and roster of members prepared

before the meeting. Where alternates are selected, the secretary will write the name across the back of the original and duplicate credentials.

On or before December 20, another circular will be issued containing full information as to railroad and hotel rates and any other matters of interest, which will be sent direct to delegates-elect.

Unions will kindly act upon this question at once, selecting the strongest men in their ranks. Don't delay, and do not underestimate the vital importance of this meeting.

Additional information or credentials furnished on application.

Fraternally submitted,

JOHN T. SMITH.

Secretary-Treasurer.

Attest:

E. T. BEHRENS, President.

GET TOGETHER.

For the Benefit of the Working Class.

If the constitution formulated by a few of the Building Trades Unions national officers in Indianapolis is adopted by referendum vote of the unions, to form a Structural Building Trades alliance, and Gompers and Duncan succeed in getting the A. F. of L. to adopt the proposition they are instructed to draw up to form a Building Trade section of the American Federation of Labor, and the fact that we have a Hearst-Steinbiss National Building Trades Council in existence, bids fair to keep the building trades unions in hot water for some time to come, if something is not done to straighten matters out. The new alliance can not become a part of the A. F. of L. until the bricklayers and plasterers shall join that organization. The bricklayers, by referendum vote, have turned down the proposition to join, but we are informed that President Gubbins intends to resubmit the proposition, and it will undoubtedly carry. An effort should be made to get the plasterers, stone cutters and other building crafts still outside in the American Federation of Labor, then let the new alliance become the Building Trades section; the Hearst-Steinbiss combination will go out of existence. "United we will stand; divided we will fall." Get together, and don't permit personal differences on jurisdiction questions to forget that motto.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Special Convention.

By a vote of 123 in favor to 2 against, it was decided to hold a special convention of the Boot and Shoe Workers' convention. Eighty-three unions did not vote either way on the question. The convention will meet in Cincinnati, O., on Monday, January 11, 1904. The general president will issue a call for the convention later, which will give full particulars.

"If the evil that you wish to do to your insulter would cure you of that which he has done to you, I could understand your thirst for revenge; but if you are the weaker, you will bring down upon yourself new cruelties; if, on the contrary, you are the stronger, you have still to take the trouble to fight your adversary. Thus the man who avenges himself always plays the role of a dupe. The precept of Jesus Christ which tells us to forgive those who have offended us is not only a fine moral precept, but also sensible advice. From all which I conclude that you will do well, my dear Benjamin, to forget the honor that the marquis has done you, and to drink with us until night to drown this recollection."

NATIONAL PLATFORM

—OF THE—

Socialist Party of the United States.

The Socialist Party of America, in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means and production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists, and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. This once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged, and the destruction of whole race is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by

constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the proper tied classes.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depend upon the state of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication, and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employes, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, and to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

5. The education of all children up to the age of 18 years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries, and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

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TRUST FINANCE

By EDWARD SHERWOOD MEADE

The publishing firm of D. Appleton & Co. have been issuing lately a series of works called Appleton's Business Series which deserve the earnest attention of all those who take a deep interest in current economic questions. The books, though not written by Socialists, offer probably a richer store of valuable information than anything that has been published in the last few years by Socialists and non-Socialists alike. While we all recognize the supreme importance of the economic forces in the shaping of humanity's destiny, we have failed for many excellent reasons to add much of a permanent value to the information contained in the masterpieces of Karl Marx. Although Marx's "Capital" deals with the fundamental forces governing modern capitalist society, the heritage he has left to us, valuable as it is, gets to be less and less adequate to throw a full light on the intricate workings of capitalism. New elements, new forces are coming into play every day, and were Marx alive to-day he would no doubt want to write a new work based on the capitalism of America to-day, just as his "Capital" was based on the capitalism of England of half a century since. Besides, the theories of Marx that have gained currency among Socialists deal principally with production in the strict sense of the word and the division of the product between capital and labor. The workings of the capitalist system as a whole, the subtle forces that keep together the different parts of the social mechanism and direct the distribution of the constantly accumulating surplus energy in different channels of trade and industry, are but partly treated by Marx in the second and third volumes of his "Capital" which were left unfinished through his untimely death and still remain inaccessible to English-speaking readers.

Yet it is exactly those aspects of our economic system that want more light thrown on them, that we may thoroughly grasp the most important movement that is taking place to-day, the process of consolidation of industry.

Among the half-dozen or more books of the Business Series that have so far appeared, Mr. Meade's book on "Trust Finance" is one of the most important. It is the one work on trusts that has been conspicuous by its absence until now. We have had books galore on the trust question—good, bad, and indifferent, but most of them dealt with the policy of the trusts with reference to prices, individual competitors, their relation to labor, etc. But until now we have not had a competent work dealing exhaustively with the most important aspect of the trust problem, viz., the inner mechanism of the trust and the part played by the different institutions and "captains" of capitalism in its formation, organization, and management.

While it is true that at the bottom of the trust movement lies the evolutionary process of the competitive system tending toward collectivism, the trust is more than a mere outgrowth of a competitive plant. The plant that grows by direct expansion through the extermination of rival plants by effective competition is not a trust in the ordinary sense of the word. The nearest approach to such a monopolistic institution is the Standard Oil Company, which stands almost alone in that respect. As a rule, however, the trust is a combination of several formerly competitive concerns, and in that way it does away with competition not by exterminating its rivals but by bringing them all together in a co-operative enterprise. The birth of this child of evolution is helped out

very materially by a special midwife called "promoter" in Wall Street parlance. Unfortunately, as a good many people have found out to their sorrow these self-appointed midwives have in too many cases in the last few years acted also as illegitimate fathers of the new giant infants. Were it not for the promoters' insatiable lust of gold many of the "trusts" would not have come to see the light of day.

And those who wish to get a clear idea of the ways and means of Wall Street promotion will do well to read carefully the fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters of Mr. Meade's book.

Some may ask: Why should Socialists who look at the trusts from the scientific evolutionary point of view want to waste their time on the study of the wily ways of the Wall street manipulator? The reason is very simple: Unless we know the real inside workings of capitalism we will fail to perceive it in its true bearings and a good many things may seem to us formidable that are in reality mere gigantic soap bubbles doomed to collapse at the first contact with life. This is especially true of many of the so-called trusts, and Socialists generally have not been behind those who attached an exaggerated importance to the trust movement, seeing the realization of the Co-operative Commonwealth where there was often but a gigantic fraud. Not the least among the latter has been the "giant of them all," the United States Steel Corporation. To Mr. Meade is due the credit of having forecast the present troubles of the Steel Trust in articles written soon after its organization and reproduced in the present work (Chapter XI, The Genesis of the United States Steel Corporation; Chapter XVII, The Capitalization of the Trusts—The United States Steel Corporation).

The financing of a modern business is the all important part of capitalist industry. By going thoroughly into this aspect of trust management, Mr. Meade brings out what is absolutely indispensable to arriving at a correct estimate of the present day trust movement.

What he does for the trusts, other writers contributing to the Business Series are doing for the comprehension of the capitalist system as a whole, giving us, what we may call the physiology and anatomy of modern society. The more important of these we hope to review for the readers of The Worker in a subsequent issue.

N. I. STONE.

The "barrel" back of the crusade against Socialism in Massachusetts is evidenced by some of the campaign methods used—as, for instance, the insertion of long articles maligning the Socialist Party and glorifying Avery, Goldstein, and their fellow renegades, as paid advertisements in the daily newspapers. One such article, whose insertion did not cost less than \$25, lies before us—"lies," we may remark in both senses of the word. Great is the "barrel." But in the long run it doesn't work, because greater yet is the independent thought and cheerful devotion of honest, class-conscious men and women.

Three days before election the officers of the Ohio State Federation of Catholic Societies gave out a formal statement explaining that their organized campaign against the Socialist Party must not be construed as applying against the Honorable Too Much Johnson. This was very good of the

clerics, but it doesn't seem to have helped Johnson to any great extent. That gentleman's picturesque attitude gains an added beauty from the incident. Wherever Socialism is strong in the state, his campaigners were out telling the workingmen that Johnson was just as much of a Socialist as Cowen or Debs or any avowed representative of the Socialist Party. Simultaneously, Mr. Johnson's friends in the Catholic Federation came out and said in cold type that he is no Socialist at all, and is therefore perfectly safe. However, Mr. Johnson may now be considered as a feature of past history and it doesn't matter much what he was.

The duty of the Socialist is to make Socialists of other people. One of the best ways to do that is to distribute party papers. Try an occasional bundle of The Worker.

Two New Propaganda Pamphlets.

WHAT WORKINGMEN'S VOTES CAN DO by Ben. Hanford

"One of the very best pieces of propaganda literature we have." (The Worker, New York)
 "One of the best campaign pamphlets ever printed" (The Toiler, Terre Haute, Ind.)

Another good propaganda pamphlet by the same author HANFORD'S REPLY TO HAVEMEYER

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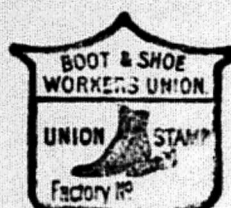
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PRELIMINARY NOTICE

All Comrades and Organizations are hereby informed that a

Commune Celebration and Ball

BY THE SOCIALIST PARTY

For the Benefit of the Labor Press—the "LABOR" and the "ARBEITER ZEITUNG"—is being arranged and will take place

SATURDAY EVENING, MARCH 12, 1904

at the

SOUTH ST. LOUIS TURNER HALL

10th and Carroll Sts., St. Louis

A Lecture, illustrated with thrilling Stereopticon Views of Parisian Street Scenes at the time of the Commune, will be a feature of the celebration. Organizational arrangements are requested to consider arranging Festivals Accordingly.

THE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE

PROGRESS OF OUR NATIONAL ORGANIZATION



WEEKLY REPORT TO NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

National Headquarters,
Socialist Party,
Omaha, Neb., Nov. 10, 1903.

SPEAKERS AND ORGANIZERS.

John W. Brown, in Nebraska and Wyoming; Goebel, in Texas; Wilkins, in Montana; Bigelow closes in Arkansas, November 16; Hyland closes in Wyoming, November 20; Bennett enters North Dakota Nov 13; Towner, in Virginia; Ray enters Georgia November 12. Lecture dates are being arranged for A. M. Simons in Iowa and Nebraska, and in Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Florida for Winfield R. Gaylord. C. H. Matchett speaks in Philadelphia, Washington, Richmond and Newport News on his way south.

REFERRED TO QUORUM.

November 4. (1) Copy of letter from national secretary to National Committeeman Mills, of Kansas, with reference to condition of Kansas state organization, as shown by letters received at national headquarters from locals, and requesting attention to same. (2) Proposition that national office arrange lecture dates for A. M. Simons in Iowa and Nebraska. (3) Proposition that W. S. Dalton be appointed national organizer for Michigan. (4) Proposition that John C. Chase act as national organizer in New Hampshire, Vermont and Maine. (5) Proposition that Daniel A. White act as organizer in Rhode Island. (6) Proposition that lecturing tour be arranged for Franklin H. and Marion Went-

worth through Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts. (7) Proposition that lecture dates be arranged between Wisconsin and Florida for Winfield R. Gaylord, he to spend December in latter state under direction of national office. (8) Proposition that Harry M. McKee be empowered to act as a national organizer in conjunction with his duties as state organizer in Northern California. (9) National Secretary reported receiving notification from A. W. Ricker that cashier for Appeal would probably be appointed without action of national office.

QUORUM MEETING.

In accordance with action taken at the July meeting, the quorum will meet on Saturday next, November 14, at the national headquarters. A report of the meeting will be made as soon as possible.

NATIONAL PARTY REFERENDUM.

The circulars for local secretaries and ballots for individual members to conduct the national referendum to amend Section 1, Article 1, of the national constitution, are being issued to the state secretaries and locals in unorganized states. Fraternal submitted.

WILLIAM MAILLY,
National Secretary.

WEEKLY BULLETIN.

National Headquarters Socialist Party,
Omaha, Neb., Nov. 14, 1903.
Special Organizing Fund.

The following contributions have been made to the Special Organizing fund since last report:

J. J. Hawkins, Ballard, Wash.....	\$ 50
Julius Louts, Grangeville, Cal.....	50
Local, Williamsport, Pa.....	1 00
Local, Vallejo, Cal.....	1 00
Local, Ft. Scott, Kas.....	35
J. F. Duckett, Hemet, Cal.....	1 00
Branch 1, Providence, R. I., monthly contribution.....	1 00
John B. Anderson, Smithfield, Neb.	2 00
J. F. Mabie, Chico, Mont.....	25

Total to noon, Nov. 14.....	\$7 60
Previously reported.....	\$2,171 22
Total.....	\$2,178 82

CHICAGO LABOR DEMONSTRATION

In the Great Coliseum.

The Socialist Party of Cook County and Illinois is arranging a "Great Labor Demonstration" for Sunday, December 6, 1903. The doors will be open at one o'clock.

The programme is a grand one. No expense will be spared to make this occasion one long to be remembered. Theodore Thomas' and Adolph Rosenbecker's artists (40 in number) will render high-class revolutionary music until four o'clock.

The chairman on this occasion, Comrade James H. Brower, Elgin, will then deliver his address, after which Comrade Eugene V. Debs, the orator of the day, will be introduced. Comrade Debs will lay particular stress upon the fierce class struggle now raging under the "stars and stripes" in "The Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave," its past and present history, its cause and remedy.

The procession of the workers will be one of the grandest sights to behold. Scores of trades unions, representing a great many crafts, have given assurance of participating with banners of their respective locals. All will here unite in the spirit of class solidarity and march under the banner of Socialism. The demonstration will be held in the Coliseum, which seats 15,000 persons.

A hot, well-cooked supper will be served in the annex, where 700 persons can be seated at one time. The price for same will be very moderate.

The grand ball will start early enough to give all a chance to "trip the light fantastic" and to make merry to their heart's content. An admission of 25 cents will be charged.

THEO. MEYER, Secretary.

Banner Branch.

Decided at its last meeting to hold a debate on the subject: "Shall Socialist papers publish capitalist advertisements" at their meeting December 4. The speakers will be J. Young and Aug. Bressert, affirmative; T. L. Savage and Chas. W. Meyer, negative.

The financial report showed, receipts \$3.60, expended \$1.75, balance on hand \$9.45. Comrade Carter was present and made a good speech on Socialism.

WM. YOUNG, Sec.

The national quorum, consisting of Comrades Work, Berger, Berlyn, Reynolds and Dobbs, is in session at national headquarters at the time this bulletin is issued. A full report of the meeting will be sent out as soon as possible.

Do not forget to secure a Socialist Party button for the purpose of keeping our party name before the people. To Socialist officials, one cent each; to individuals, two cents each.

What one dares to think he should also dare to say.

JOHN W. BROWN'S TOUR.

John W. Brown, of Connecticut, begins his western lecture tour under the direction of national headquarters at Omaha, November 8, when he will address a meeting held to receive Socialist election returns from all over the country. Dates for Brown arranged so far, are as follows: November 10, North Platte, Neb.; 11th, Gering, Neb.; 12th, Mitchell, Neb.; 14, Cheyenne, Wyo. Colorado—15th, Denver; 17th, Carbondale; 18th, Aspen; 21st, Ouray, Albuquerque, N. M., November 23 and 24. After filling several dates in Arizona, Brown will enter California.

Socialist Headquarters,
Jackson County Local,
502 East 12th St., K. C., Mo.
Nov. 3, 1903.

Editor LABOR—Comrade Behrens, of Sedalia, was selected as nominee for national committeeman, over Turner, who were absent in attendance on the Boston convention of American Federation of Labor as a delegate (by our local, to-night). Secretary Palmer was nominated by acclamation for state secretary-treasurer. Local K. C. has increased its membership 256 since opening headquarters June 1. Yours fraternally,

T. E. PALMER, Secretary.

Omaha, Neb., Oct. 30, 1903.

Editor ST. LOUIS LABOR, St. Louis, Mo.:

Dear Comrade—The following resolutions were indorsed by a unanimous vote of Local Omaha, in mass meeting assembled October 28, 1903:

"Whereas, Geo. E. Baird, who was expelled from the Omaha local of the Socialist Party of Nebraska, on being proved a corruptionist and a boodler in the pay of the Republican Party in 1900; and

"Whereas, Said Geo. E. Baird has applied for and received membership in the Jackson County Socialist club of Missouri; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we, the members of Local Omaha, in mass meeting assembled, do hereby disapprove of and condemn the action of the Jackson County Socialist club in admitting said Geo. E. Baird to membership; and be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Socialist press."

Fraternally yours,

J. ALFRED LaBILLE, Secretary.

Socialist Party

Local St. Louis, Mo.

HEARQUARTERS—Room 7, International Bank building, Fourth and Chestnut streets. DAVID ALLAN, city secretary.

CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE meets every Monday evening at headquarters.

LOCAL ST. LOUIS GENERAL MEETING first Sunday in each month, at 7 o'clock p. m., at Delabar's hall, Broadway and Elm street. DAVID ALLAN, Secretary.

SOCIALIST WARD CLUB MEETINGS.

First Ward—First and third Fridays, 4449 Penrose street, Wm Young, secretary.

Second Ward—Third Thursday, 813 Hempstead street, C. E. Arnold, secretary.

Seventh Ward—Third Tuesday, 1522 South Eleventh street, Wm. R. Guiber, secretary.

Eighth Ward—Third Wednesday, 2301 South Broadway, G. Bohlfing, secretary.

Ninth Ward—First Tuesday, Thirteenth and Arsenal streets, Paul H. Fromm, secretary.

Tenth Ward—Every Thursday, 3734 Oregon avenue, Ed. Ottesky, secretary.

Eleventh Ward—Third Friday, 7119 South Broadway, Wm. Holman, secretary.

Twelfth Ward—Second and Fourth Thursday, 2632 McNair avenue, Otto Bitterlich, secretary.

Thirteenth Ward—Second and last Thursday, 2632 Caroline street, Wm. F. Crouch, secretary.

Seventeenth Ward—Every Wednesday, 2563 North Market street, A. J. Lawrence, secretary.

Eighteenth Ward—First Tuesday, 2108 North Fourteenth street, W. E. Kindorf, secretary.

Twentieth Ward—First and Third Saturday, 2927 Cass avenue, F. W. Wehking, secretary.

Twenty-First Ward—Third Friday, 3619 Lucky street, Charles Lowe, secretary.

Twenty-Second Ward—Second Wednesday, 3204 Pine street, David Allan, secretary.

Twenty-Fourth Ward—First Thursday, 6108 Elizabeth ave., Walter F. Abing, secretary.

Twenty-Seventh Ward—South Branch—Second and Fourth Tuesday, 2524 Clara ave. Chas. Kaemmerer, Secretary.

Twenty-Seventh Ward—North End—First Thursday, 2318 Gilmore avenue, Mrs. Helen Hendry.

Comrades! Frequent only such places where your Organ, LABOR, is on file, and Patronize such Business Firms Which Advertise in LABOR.