Agents sending in subscriptions without remittances

must state distinctly how long they are to run. Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.

Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged. 

VOL. XIII.-NO. 41.

NEW YORK, JANUARY 10, 1904.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

#### AN OPEN LETTER TO GOMPERS.

President of A. F. of L. Asked to Explain His Disgraceful Course.

Editor of St. Louis "Labor" Protests Against Compers Wining and Dining with Mark Hanna at Civic Federation Harmony Feasts-His Speeches and Activity in the Civic Federation Being Used Against the Unions-A Policy of Peace Toward Men Who Are Organized to Fight the Regular Demands

Fourth-Walking delegates not to be

Fifth-Appeal to congress to kill

iny of their output.
Seventh—Favoring law against boy-

Eighth-Establish bureau with list

of lawbreaking and undesirable work ingmen, i. e., a blacklist system.

How is this for a policy of peace, Brother Gompers? Don't you believe that it is time to change your policy? Instead of wining and dining and

phrase-making at Mark Hanna's ban-

quets, pay a little more attention to the rank and file of ogranized labor.

If you will not listen to such advice.

you will have to take the conse-quences. Do not be deceived by your

and remember that in the public life

of statesmen the "vote of confidence" usually precedes their downfall. Per

sonally, I do not wish that you should

leave our great union movement, like Terrence V. Powderly and others. Powderly's fate should teach men of

such responsible position a lesson.

We congratulate you for the sympathy which your latest C. F. banquet speech has planted in the heart

of our St. Louis Parryite, Mr. Frank

N. Johnson. It is your duty to come out plainly and openly, and state to the trade unionists of Missouri whether you wish to enjoy the Citizens' Al-

liance's praise and indorse their at

tacks on President Behrens, or whether

indorse the fearless and unequi

cating words of the president of the

Missouri State Federation of Labor.

We are on the eve of serious labor troubles in St. Louis, and we can not permit the president of the American Federation of Labor to make Mark

italists is no midsummer night' dream, Brother Gompers, it is war

banquet tables, with Mark Hanna's

speakers, and by Socialist speakers be

FRIDAY, JAN. 8 -

SUNDAY, JAN. 10.

217 Henry street. Courtenay Lemon "What the Class Struggle Really Is."

Social Democratic Educational Club

of the 8th A. D., 280 Broome street. Algernon Lee: "The Capitalist Sys-

Verein für Volksbildung, Labor Ly-

ceum, 64 E. Fourth street. Henry L. Slobodin on the poet Shelley. Admis-

FRIDAY, JAN. 15.

West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall, Twenty-fifth street and Eighth

avenue, H. Gaylord Wilshire: "The

Trusts and Unemployment."
Mt. Morris Educational Club, 134
East 110th street. Frederick Krafft:

Brooklyn.

SUNDAY, JAN. 10.

Wurzler's Hall, 315 Washington street. L. B. Boudin: "Imperialism and What Goes With It."

Buffalo Hall, Buffalo avenue and

-Socialist and Social Democratic

York and Wisconsin is identical with the Socialist Party of other states. It is the party of the working class against all parties of capitalism. Its emblem in New York is the Arm and

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

Torch.

Fulton street. George D. Herron; "So cialism and Life."

sion to non-members, 10 cents,

"Is Our Country a Republic?"

imbus avenue. John Spargo.

Colonial Hall, 101st street, near Co

St. Louis, Jen. 1.

are called for 8 p. m.

Capitalist System.

LECTURE CALENDAR

st that tries to check the

votes of confidence" at convention

To Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor: Dear Sir and Brother:—The time has e when your unauthorized particl pation in Mark Hanna's Civic Federation champagne banquets must stop: It must stop, because the interests of Organized Labor demand that it be stopped. Remember, Brother Gom-pers, you can no longer make your Civic Federation banquet speeches without injuring the trades union movement throughout the country. As president of the A. F. of L., you are not authorized to represent Organized Labor in Mark Hanna's fake harmony federation. During the two weeks' session of the Boston convention I have not heard any report made on the Civic Federation, nor do I remember that you were entrusted with one lota of authority to represent the A. F. of

L. in said organization.

As chief executive officer of the A.
F. of L., you have no longer the least moral right to sit in the Civic Federation, and to wine and dine with the general manipulator of said Civic Fed-eration, Mark Hanna, who was openly declared as one of the worst enemies of Organized Labor at the Boston conof the A. F. of L. You were present, Brother Gompers-you were in the chair and were listening carewhen Brother Furuseth, of the Legislative Committee, reported as fol-

There is in the Senate of the United States a party without a name that is taking, step by step, from the workingman any right he now has, and is making his legislation of no use. It is creating conditions which will make all your legislation in other directions of no use. There are certain men that you want to watch. You want to watch Platt of Connecticut, Lodge of Massachusetts, Hanna of Ohio, Morgan of Alabama, and others."

The correctness of Brother Furu-seth's statement was not questioned by you nor any other delegate. And yet you are defying the opinions and sentiments of the rank and file by continuing to drink out of the cup of Mark Hanna's brotherly love at the Civic Federation champagne banquets. This must be stopped, and it will be stopped by the rank and file of the

Our trade union movement is seriously injured by your unanthorized af-filiation with Mark Hanna's Benevolent Assimilation society, known as Civic Federation. Your love feast and banquet phrases are being used by the capitalists against our trade union movement. Here is an example: In St. Louis we now have a "Citizens' Industrial Alliance," a branch of Parry's National Manufacturers' Asso-Frank N. Johnson, former ciation. Frank N. Johnson, former traffic manager of the boycotted Sim-mons Hardware Co., is secretary. This local "Citizens" Alliances" secretary, Mr. Johnson, published the following statement in the St. Louis daily press

MR. GOMPERS' VIEWS." "At a banquet given to the executive ommittee of the National Civic Federation in New York city a week ago, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, was a

speaker and said: "We want to discourage wrong where we find it, and encourage right and bring it about with the least possible discord. No man can be engaged in a better effort than to avoid con

"On the same night E. T. Behrens, Labor, made a speech in Topeka, Kas, and is reported as saying: 'Boys, this is no midsummer night's dream, this struggle between the laboring man and the capitalist; but it is war, war. I be ve in sympathetic strikes, not only industrial fields, but in political fields as well.'

"So, the supreme head of the American Federation of Labor counsels gainst conflict in the solution of labor troubles, while the head of the Mis seuri branch declares that union labor

war. between these two views of in bor leaders, the Chizens' Industrial As sociation joins hearthy with Mr. Gomgood will to men,' is the doctrine of th Citizens' Industrial Association th year round."

Your banquet speeches may please Mark Hanna, but they can not please the union men of St. Louis and Mis-souri. Your phrases are being used to cause dissension in our ranks. The prestige of your name and your colorless remarks are being used by the "Citizens' Industrial Alliance" to create opposition to our leading trade union officials, like our brave and honest President Behrens of the Missour

Federation of Labor.

Secretary Johnson says that his Citizens' Industrial Alliance of St. Louis JOINS HANDS HEARTILY WITH MR. GOMPERS IN A POLICY OF are virtually interchangeable terms. The Social Democratic Party of New York and Wisconsin is identical with

What is your policy of peace, Brothicy of peace" this local Citizens' once is attempting to inaugurate—ainly not a midsummer night's certainly not a midsummer night's dream, but a policy of war, war, as Brother Behrens correctly says. As a branch of Parry's national association, the alliance members are pledged to the following rules:

t-Open shop. ond-No restriction in number of

#### BROOKLYN TURNER PROTEST MEETING.

Federation of Labor Denounces Readtionary Policy of the Government-Suppression of Free Speech Traced to Capitalist Influences-Mass Meeting in Cooper Union on Jan. 14.

In spite of the snow and the exreme cold, the mass meeting in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum last Sunday afternoon to protest against the de portntion of John Turner and the in-fringement on the right of free speech was well attended and enthusiastic. sight-hour bill. Sixth-Not to place union label on The meeting was held under the aus-pices of the Brooklyn Federation of Labor. Joseph Weil presided, Alger-non Lee being prevented by sickness. A. C. Pleydell of the Free Speech League, Moses Oppenheimer, William Schaad, Benjamin Hanford, and Dr. C. L. Furman spoke, treating the Turner case and the Anti-Anarchist clause under which his deportation is ordered not only as a governmental outrage upon the primary liberties of the people, but as a part of a general movement inspired by capitalist interests to suppress all criticism of the exist-ing system and to reduce the exploit-ed working class to helpless submission. Hanford referred to the declaration of martial law and establishment ary movement. The ruling class and its political hirelings, he said, are taking just the course to prevent peaceful and orderly progress and to drive the workers to the use of violence. It is high time that we should take up the cry of "Liberty or death!" This fight is our fight, the fight of the whole working class. It cannot be avoided. It must be fought out to the end, to the establishment of true liberty by the utter overthrow of capitalism in all

According to the decision of the New York Central Federated Union, another mass meeting will be held in Cooper Union on Thursday evening. Jan. 14, to voice the protest of the or-ganized working people of this city against the abuse of the public power in the interest of the capitalist class.

#### MUNICIPALISM AND SOCIALISM.

Hanna banquet speeches in New York that can be used advantageously against our movement by the Citzens' tions municipal programs are again being considered, and much that is good, bad, and indifferent is being good, bad, and indifferent is being said and written about the attitude of This struggle between labor and cap the Socialists towards municipal ac tion. Of late years there has undoubt-edly been a tendency to allow the im-portance of such action to be magniwar! It is a class war, a war for the emancipation of labor. It means war on the economic and on the political field. If you can not see this, it is not our fault. If you see it and are not ned not only in the matter of what has been said, but also in what has been left unsaid. And it is chiefly in the nan enough to recognize it and act accordingly, you will share the fate of the reactionist that tries to check the latter respect that the mischief has been done. Unless we at all times call attention to the very narrow limita-tions under which the municipalities progressive labor movement.

This question is up for discussion, Brother Gompers, and we shall see to work within the capitalist state, we it that you will not shut us off by your bugaboo of Socialism. It is a question of labor's rights and labor's duties certainly leave the way open for much mischief to be done by "laborists" and half-baked "Socialists." Already many which can not be solved at capitalist who ought to have known better have been led captive by the exponents of this so-called "practical Socialism," which specially appeals to the pracbanquet tholes, with the benevolence and grace. Fraternally yours,

G. A. HOEHN. tical English mind, upon the pe sion of which our masters so often congratulate us. What could be easier or more practical? As in a vision one FOR NEW YORK. can see the "beneficent municipalities" extending their activities everywhere, Lectures for the week under the driving joint-stock enterprise, the syn-dicate, and the trust from pillar to auspices of the Social Democratic Party and auxiliary organizations, whether by Socialist or non-Socialist post, and narrowing the sphere of ac tion of capitalism year by year, until, finally, the possessing classes, finding that the battle has been won, while fore other organizations, are listed be-low. Unless otherwise stated, lectures they (presumably) have been playing golf or shooting pheasants, lay down their arms beaten. Our friends of the "Clarion" who, with their increasing Mt. Morris Educational Club, 134 East 110th street. Algernon Lee: "The circulation, do not become better lead-ers of the working class, but rather worse, have not a little responsibility in this matter. Hardly an issue of the West Side Socialist Club, Clark's paper appears but some increase in wages, or profit made out of municipal pally-owned services by a corporation of bacon-curers and soap-bollers, is proclaimed as another triumph for "Socialism." And has not "Nunquam" in "Br" in for the British," pointed the way "The trusts are coming," he Voice of Labor, Women's Auxiliary, says, one greedy, grasping trusts; you have your choice between them and the beneficent municipality." Well let us take heart of grace. America has been Hockefellered, Morganized, and trustified, until it appears that soon the man who works for wages will find only one possible employer. We seem a fair way on the same ro here, but thank goodness! we have our "beneficent municipality" of Little Peddlington and many others, and all may yet be well! Seriously, is it not time that this latest scheme for smug-ding in a new social order by the back loor, and without the aid of the Revo ution, ceased to pass current for Se

#### NEW YORK CARPENTERS.

Following are the newly elected ofcers of the Greater New York Dis trict Council of the Brotherhood of Carpenters: President, Chas. A. Judge Local No. 64; Vice President, John Andrews, Local No. 468; Warden, John Rogers, Local No. 615; Secretary-Treasurer, Dan. F. Featherston, Local No. 715; Trustees, John J. Manning, Local No. 471; Jeseph Platz, Local No. 34

-Have the literature agent of you local or branch get a supply of the New Year's Greeting of The Worker for sale to members. In quantity, cents a copy. Single copy, 10 cents. -Send 10 cents to the Sociali

Send 10 cents to the socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York, for a copy of the New Year's Greeting of The Worker to hang in your home. . 3 54 51

#### MARTIAL LAW IS EXTENDED.

Telluride District How Hader Sam Rule as Cripple Creek-Avowedly In tended to Enforce Previous Lynch Law Outrages.

DENVER, Colo., Jan. 3.-Governe Perbody to-day isued a proclamation extending martial law to the Tenuride

region, as already in force in the Crippie Creek district.

A number of the most active men in the local unions at Tellur.de were driven out of town by the eminently respectable "forces of law and order" and notified that if they returned to would be at the peril of their lives It is openly stated that the object o the new proclamation of martial law is to back up this lawless proceeding with irresponsible armed force.

#### PROSPERITY ITEMS.

Thousands of Railway Mon Cut o Work-Trust Enforces General Wege Reductions - Artificial Coal Famine.

CHICAGO, Jan. 5 .- Fifteen railronds in the General Managers' Association of this, city report the laying off of nearly 18,000 employees during the last three months.

Some of the roads report that instead of reducing their forces they have re-

duced the hours of men paid by the WILKESBARRE, Penn. Jan. 3.-

The anthracite mines will resume to-morrow after an idleness of ten days, and will at once work to capacity in the effort to fill the many orders for the domestic sizes.

Dealers are entirely out of these

sizes, and the unusual condition of a famine prevails in this and several other cities in the heart of the region. There has been so much cold weather in the last ten days that last week the companies could not fill orders for stic sizes, and cannot begin unti-

The "operators" in this case have de liberately shut down-the mines and kept the injures in idleness for the sole purpose of creating an artificial fuel famine at the coldest season of

With the approach of the elec-PITTSEURG. Dec. 21 -Notices of an "adjustment of wages" at the Homestead and Duquesne plants of the Carnegie Steel Company were post-

ed to-day.

The reduction for the tonnage mer ranges from 10 to 20 per cent. Brick layers' wages are cut from \$4.50 a day to \$3.75, and clerks whose salaries range from \$60 to \$100 a month suffer a cut of 10 per cent. The pay of la borers is reduced about 9 per cent.

The reduction will average about 10 per cent, and will mean a saving of about \$12,000,000 for the company of about \$12,000,000 for the company.
PITTSBURG, Jan 1.—At Monessen
the new wage scale of the American Tin Plate Company went into effect to-day at the National Works. The brick masons were reduced from 50 cents an hour to 25 cents, and rather than accept the 50 per cent, reduction they refused to work.

At the Carnegie Steel Company's steel hoop mill, at Monessen, the re-duction will average about 10 per cent. ST. LOUIS, Mo., Jan. 5.—Unskilled laborers in the employ of the Republic Iron and Steel Works of East St

Louis have been notified that their wages have been reduced 10 per cent. Now that wages have been reduced, some thousands of steel workers who have been kept in idleness for many weeks past have been allowed to go back to work.

Although it has been announced that the steel workers have accepted the reductions "with a good grace." the fact is that there is a strong feeling in favor of resistance, the only ques tion in the workers' minds being as to the chances of success in a strike at this time. At several places local

strikes have begun. While shearing the employees a little closer by the scaling down of wages, the Steel Trust has simultaneously "held up" the small investors, by failing to pay a dividend on the common stock, which is generally held by middle-class people of "workers with capitalist minds."

One little sign of the sort of pres perity the workers of New York City are enjoying can be found in the remarks of Commissioner Woodbury in regard to the difficulties encountered n cleaning the streets after the great snowstorm and during the bitterly trucks are few and the work of re moval is necessarily retarded by the lack of vehicles." And again, of the aborers who were so easy to get: Something must be done to put hear into these poor fellows. The public cannot realize what this work means. Think of it last night or at two o'clock Tains of it ask night or at two o'clock this morning with the thermometer nearly down to zero on the North Riv-er front shovelling snow into box ears. And many of them WITH THEIR TOES OUT OF THEIR BOOTS AND WITHOUT GLOVES. Think how a man must need money to do that kind of work. Poor fellows! They can't stand it for more than a couple of hours at a time. They come and go, and that makes it hard to do the

—The Social Democratic Party of New York is identical with the Social-ist Party of other states. The differ-ence of name is due to requirements of the election law. Our emblem is the

Arm and vorch.

—If you get a sample copy of this paper without having ordered it, that means that some friend has asked that it be sent to you. You owe him the courtesy of reading it and then passing it on to someone else.

#### MACHINISTS FOR SOCIALISM.

They Vote Four to Three Against Gompers.

Referendum Vote of the Membership Endorsing Socialism and Repudiat-Ing Compers Was Disregarded By Their Delegates to A. F. of L. Convention.

Several months ago the Interna-tional Association of Machinists, a body of workingmen whom the experiences of the last few years have taught a good deal of class-conscioustess, sent out for a referendum vote of their membership on three questions First proposition was whether the membership indorsed industrial as opposed to autonomous organization; sec ond, whether they favored the Ameri-can Federation of Labor indorsing So-cialism; and lastly, whether it was desirable that the present incumbent, Mr. Gompers, should remain president of the A. F. of L. The returns have been published in the "Machinists Monthly Journal' for December, and

this is how they read:

First. For industrial organization, 4.544 votes; against, 1,650; majority in favor, 2.805.

Second. That the A. F. of L. shall ndorse Socialism; for, 4,403; against, 1,963; majority, 2,440.

Third. Whether Gompers shall re-sin office; for, 2,705; against, 3,003; majority against, 858.

These returns came in before No vember 8, the day before the A. F. of L. Boston convention met. Conse-quently there was no time to instruct delegates as to the wishes of the membe ship. A number of lodges sent in their returns too late to be counted, but the result of the referendum amongst them was identical with the above. On the first proposition there were 374 votes in favor, and 200 against; on the second, 415 for, and 159 against; on the third, 195 for, and 357 against.

Louis Kemper makes the following timely comment in the "Brauer-Zei-

"From the above it may be seen what the machinists, as such, were striving to achieve; also that their wishes were not carried out by those whose duty it was and is to do so. In looking over the roll-calls of the A. F. of L. convention, we see that every proposition voted upon and adopted by referendum by the Machinists' Union was adversely voted upon by the Ma-chinists' delegates to the A. F. of L., or, in other words, the delegates entrely ignored the wishes of the or-ganization they represented. It was in fact, nothing but a following of the band-wagon, and Messrs. O'Connell, Ireland, Warner, Creamer, and Hammerstrom were largely responsible for the defeat of the wish and will of the

rank and file of the Machinists' Union.
"If the Brewery Workers' delegation had shown the same inclination to so utterly ignore the wishes of the mem-bership, they might have found favor with the administration of the A. F. of L., but it would have been exceed ingly dangerous for them to return home, and if nothing more serious awaited them, they certainly would have found that there was no longer room in the organization for them. However, this is a matter concerning the members of the Machinists' Union and to them will organized labor look for an explanation. If things of this kind are permitted, and if the delegates elected by an organization to a convention represent themselves only, and not the organization, simply using the votes thereof for personal aggrap dizement, then certainly it is not sur-prising that such arbitrary rulings and class legislation can be indulged in as at the last convention of the A. F. of L. Let us hope that like conditions do not prevail elsewhere, for the honor and the benefit of the labor movement."

#### THE FUTILITY OF COLONIES.

The co-operative colony at Burley, Wash., last week gave up its co-operative ownership and control of its land and hereafter A. B. Ellis, one of its earliest members, will hold the place inder lease and the members of the colon, will work for him for wages. Thus comes pathetically to an end the attempt of the short-sighted but sincere body of men to make the world over by beginning on their own hook to practice what they supposed was Socialis m. They were like a little storm-racked island in mid-sea, with the surrounding capitalism gradually undermining them and dissolving their co-operation and their hard-working "independence." This was the colony that was started in 1898, after an unsuccessful attempt to sidetrack the Social Democratic Party from the political field. But society moves by evolutionary stages, one era developing the beginnings of the next Socialism will ome as the child of capitalism, not as come as the called or capturns in, see that a patent scheme, or a human invention in the way of human association. The Burley colony failed because it was foredoomed to fail, while the party its founders tried to divert from the polit-ical track is to-day grown to national proportions and formidable enough to proportions and formidable enough to cause the politicians for capitalism many sleepless nights. Twenty-two thousand dues-faying members in a national Socialist party is a thing truly formidable, while a struggling colony, which can hardly rise to the dignity of a prosperous village, is a thing t smile over, or to excite one's pity. Social Democratic Herald.

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

asked as a favor."

#### CAN'T STOP SOCIALISM.

Capitalist Criticism of National Economic League.

The "World's Work," Great Capitalist Magazine, Says Work of the League Is Ineffective-Anti-Socialist Leaflets Too Dull.

The "World's Work" for November contains what it terms a "shricking letter" received from the promoters of the National Economic League, the organization that is "impartially" combating Socialism in the United States. It follows:

"I take the liberty of sending you, inder separate cover with this mail, copy of a Socialist paper which is sample of 200 such sheets published in the United States, having a combined circulation of 500,000 copies weekly, and distributed very, largely

free to all classes of wage-carners.
"This association, composed of thoughtful, careful business men. after one year's study and investiga-tion, realized that something must be done to protect their own interests and the interests of their brother manufacturers, merchants and others who are too busy to study the situation carefully, and who are unaware of the grave dangers threatening American institutions and industries from the rapid growth and spread of Socialism.

"Many manufacturers the country over are enrolling their employees in our association, thus making them recipients of sound, logical literature on all these vital topies, from an unbiased and non-political source, writ-ten by some of our Boa.d of Editorial Associates, without pay, and designed to counteract these false and danger-ous doctrines thus being spread broadcast over the United States, teaching discord and dissatisfaction, class hatred, agitating the wage earners and stirring up the passions of the vicious.

"We urge you to assist us by as generous a contribution as you can afford; it is for the preservation of your interest as well as ours. Any good citizen should take a pride in aiding the cause of self-preservation and good govern-"We send prospectus, a glance at

which will give you more information; also a list of contributors thus far, and list of our editorial associates." Evidently the publishers of the World's Work" did not send any contribution, generous or otherwise since the lengthy editorial comment that follows the letter is unfavorable

to the League.
"World's Work" agrees, of course that Socialism is very bad and should be suppressed, but thinks the N. E. L. is not going about it in the right way. The sending out of "literature," such as tracts, it thinks useless tracts in favor of Socialism are very interesting, but tracts and other ons against Socialism are uniformly ull." (Hear, hear!)

"The way to stop the Socialist delt on," according to "World's Work," is "for corporations to stop watering stock; for employers to get into closer touch" (as though they don't "touch" them pretty hard as it is!) "with employees, and for preachers, college professors, etc., to make the truth 'in-

teresting'. "One-tenth of the voters of Boston and Chicago are Socialists," says "World's Work." (Thank you. We didn't know there were so many.) This, it admits, is discouraging. Still, it concludes cheerfully, the case is not hope less, for "The whole matter is in the hands of the ruling classes."

"But," says the editor, "unless the N. E. L. can send out better 'literature' than they have ground out so far, i will do no good. Your Socialist," he says, "writes much more interestin things himself, and gets them read b cause they are luteresting."-Los Angeles Socialist.

#### CAPITALIST WOLF AND LABOR RABBIT

The welf, having caught a rabbit, was looking contented and happy. The rabbit was much disheartened and complained bitterly of his fate, but th wolf said: "A patriot is a much better citizen than a pessimist."

But this did not in the least assure the rabbit. He struggled to dislodge himself; but the wolf said: "A cor tented mind is worth more than gre riches." But the rabbit still chafed. During all this time the wolf was

at these signs of preparation, but the wolf assured the timid rabbit that "their interests were identical." Presently the wolf set his teeth in the quivering flesh of the rabbit, and at this the rabbit wailed pitifully. Whereat the wolf said: "Obedience to the law is demanded as a right; not

chops. The rabbit was greatly alarmed

But the rabbit will have its rowers in the "great beyond," at least that is what the sky pilots tell the slave when

he is robbed and despoiled.

The slave can no more depend upon the pity of the capitalist than could the rabbit depend upon the pity of the wolf. The slaves must join a political party of their own class and through this party conquer the powers of gov-ernment.—Seattle Socialist.

—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 Lundle of The Worker. One hundred copies for 75 cents.

#### THE CHICAGO THEATER HORROR.

amenting the Chicago theater fire. The horror of the thing is inexpres sible. Dante's or Milton's word-pic tures of an imaginary hell seem tame in face of this fearful reality.

But it is worth while calmly to ask why this catastrophe took place, why modern engineering science allowed it: and sufficient facts are already ascertained to give an answer to the ques

In the first place, it must be noted that such an "accident" is no accident at all, that it is absolutely preventable. Engineers and architects well under stand what are the dangers that beset such a building and have developed methods of guarding against them. If such methods are not used, if human beings are burned by hundreds, it is not because those in authority do not know how to prevent it, but because they have failed to use the knowledge at their disposal.

Five months ago, an engineering expert, Mr. William Clendenin, wrote in a technical journal:

"The Iroquois Theater is a fire-trap. The whole thing is a rush construction. It is beautiful, but it is cheap, Everything but the structural mem-bers is of wood; the roller on the asbestos curtain, the pulleys, all are a

While six hundred charred corpses lay in the Chicago morgues, the owners of the theater offered the comforting declaration that it was a fire-proof building. The asbestos curtain, they say, worked perfectly, so long as there was no fire, unfortunately, much to their regret, it did not work when a fire started and caused a draft from the stage to the auditorium. But does not every layman know that a fire on the stage will surely cause such a draft? What is the use of an asbestos urtain that will not work under just the conditions that are sure to arise as seen as fire breaks out? And was the curtain asbestos, even? This incombustible curtain, it seems, was so completely consumed by the flames that not a rag of it can be found. Not to mention the barred skylights, the locked exits, the exit-lights that went out as soon as they were needed, and all the other details, let us note only this further fact:

It would be idle to spend words in I their claim that the building was well constructed by pointing out that their loss is only \$20,000, that the walls stand as firm as ever, that it was only the inside of the building that burned only the inside of the building and six hundred men, women, and chil-

That is to say, so far as concerns those parts of the building that were most expensive, those parts whose destruction would cause great money loss to the owners, every precaution against fire was taken and successfully taken. Only where the probable money loss was least and probable loss of life greatest were such precautions neglected.

Mr. Clepdenin uses one word that tells the whole story.

The Iroquois Theater was a firetrap BECAUSE FIRE-TRAPS ARE CHEAR

The cause of this horror is the same as the cause of the year-'round preventable slaughter of railway men and of coal miners at their work, the same as the cause of such tenement-house fires as that in which twenty-five poor working people of New York City lost

their lives last November. The cause, the reason, the motive, is PROFIT. The smaller the expenses, the larger the capitalists' uncarned revenue.

This principle runs through the whole system of modern business. The shock of this Chicago disaster having awakened public opinion for the time and forced the dathorities to activity, it is discovered that a large part of the theaters and other places of public assembly are grossly unsafe. It is not that the proprietors of the Iroquois Theater were worse than other capitalists. This capitalist or that may be relatively a good or a bad man. But as capitalists, all are bad. As capitalists, all must be guided by the rules of competitive business. As capital-ists, they must and do, consciously or instinctively, value their own profits above other people's lives.

While capitalism lasts, while the control of industry remains in the hands of a class, while private profit instead of public use continues to be its controlling motive, so long we must go on paying an ever growing tribute of death and agony to the interest of

The owners of the building support

#### MIRABILE DICTU! A SMALL VICTORY.

A Stato Supreme Court Sustains a Progressive Measure-Direct Legislation Amendment in Oregon Declared Constitutional.

PORTLAND, Ore.-On Dec. 21 the Supreme Court of this state at last handed down a decision on the constitutionality of the initiative and referendum amendment to the state constitution adopted by popular vote ome time ago." Contrary to what was expected in many quarters, the court sustains the amendment. It was at-tacked on two grounds—it being claimed that there were certain irregularities in the method of submission and also that it was in violation of that provision of the United States Constitution which guarantees to every state a republican form of government. The court rejects both claims, holding as to the latter that the method of legislation by direct popuinstitutions in the meaning of the law.

#### VICTIMS OF CAP. TALISM. We have frequently called attention

to the economic effects of the driving and speeding-up which is steadily being extended to all departments of industry. We have seen instances of young women being driven to suicide through driving in weaving sheds, and of the ill effects of the system upon the health of the working classes, the increase of all kind of nervous dis-orders and insanify only too sadily testify. But it also involves dangers to life and limb, to which little notice has as yet been yald. Mr. Thomas has as yet been paid. Mr. Thomas Coffey, secretary of the General La-berers' Union, calls attention to some startling figures in this connection. showing the increasing risks to builders' laborers in consequence of the in-crensed driving in contract work. Within the past ten years, he says, the number of accidents has increased by over fifty per cent. His own union, largely composed of men in the build-ing trade; has experienced the effect of this. In 1900, with a membership of 7,000, the union paid out £700 in relief of accidents to builders' labor-ers. Last year, with a membership of 5,000, a sum of 1800 was paid out for the same object. Mr. Coffey unhesi-tatingly ascribes this terrible increase and and futile revolt, in order that the hurry of provincial contractors who

New Jersey Unionists, by a Year or Grumbling, Get Rid of a Bad Factory Inspector, but Have No Assurance that His Successor Will Do Better

TRENTON, N. J., Jan., 3.-John C. Ward has resigned as Inspector of Factories and Workshops. Gov. Mur-phy has accepted the resignation.

Ward's administration was marked by its severe criticisms of labor organ-izations in all parts of the state. Mr. Ward was charged with negligence with particular reference to the pre-venting of child slavery, and about a year ago there was a cry for his re-

So runs the dispatch. This will, no loubt, be hersided as a great victory for conservative, non-political, pure and simple unionism. But how much of a victory is it? By a year of grumbling and begging the trade unic New Jersey have got rid of a Factory. duties and abused the powers of his office. But they have absolutely no assurance that his successor will be any better, that they will not have to repeat the process of grumbling and begging to get rid of him. If they had had the collective wisdom and class spirit to act vigorously together at the polls, against both capitalist parties and the whole capitalist system, these union men, even without the help of any sympathizers, could not merely have got rid of a malfeasant official, but have ensured the appointment of one who would consider sponsible solely to the working class.

#### THE POSSESSORS' STRATEGY This has been the tactic of the pos-

essing class in all history-to precipisessing class in all history—to precipi-tate premature revolt on the part of the distaherited or enslaved class when sheer brute conservatism no longer ar swered, and when compromise could no longer put off inevitable revolution. Whenever a great initiative begins to grow into a menacing movement to-ward liberty, its defeat or deflection often comes from the precipitation of conflicts for which it is not ready. The oppressed are prone to let their oppres-sors fix the day and the hours when the yoke shall be broken. The world's ascribes this terrible metals and futile revolt, in order that the ents to the recklessness and and futile revolt, in order that the f provincial contractors who revolt that is final and fruitful might hurry of provincial contractors who have adopted the boasted American methods, and who have undertaken work in London at lower rates than the old-established metropolitan firms. This is only one of the many instances in which increased "efficiency." increased production, greater cheapness, and more wealth are purchased at the cost of a larger number of killed and wounded among the workers, the eternally sacrificed victims of gapitalism.—London Social Democrat.

The triangle of destroyed. Millions of workers, through many red centuries, have fruitlessly died in the very revolts against their masters which the masters themselves had secretly arranged or inspired. And this will continue to be so until the workers shall consciously, intelligently and deliberately choose the day and hour and method of their own deliverance.—George D. Herron, in "From Revolution."

### The Worker. AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

(Known in New York State as the Socia-PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT 194 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK.

By the Socialistic Co-operative Pub-lishing Association. P. O. BOX 1512. Telephone Call: 202 John-

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Invariably in Advance.	
One year	100
Less than 100 copies, per copy	01 75 20 50
5 per week, one year 1. 1. 10 per week, one year 1. 25 per week, one year 1. 25 per week, one year 1. 12.	12833

Address all business communications, an make money orders, effects and drafts pay able to The Worker. Communications occurring the editorial department of the payer should be addressured to the Editorial department. Editorial beautiful and the Editorial department of the Editorial for the State Secretary or the State Secretary of the S. D. P. should always be separated addressed.

Receipts are herer gent to individual and the secretary of the S. D. P. should always be separated.

the S. D. P. should always be separately addressed.
Receipts are hever sent to individual and seribers. Acknowledgment is made by changing the number on the wrapper, the week following receipt of misney.

All communications the proper words should be a the peper; words should not be abbreviated; every letter should hear the writer's name and address: and matter should be put in as few words as possible, consistently with clearness. Communications which do not comply with these-requirements are cripts will be disregarded. Reflected answerings will be disregarded. Reflected answerings will dead to the communications are cripts will dead to the communications are cripts will dead to the communications in time to reach this office by Monday, whenever possible. day, correspondents aending news amount mail their communications in time to reach this office by Monday, whengrer possible. Complaints about the business or editorial management of the paper should be addressed to the library of Directors, Socialist Co-operative Piblishing Association, 138 William sire Pt. New York.

Eptered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post Office on April 6.

In the state of New York, on account of ertain provisions of the election lays, the locialist Farty is officially recognized under he name of Mocial Democratic Party, and its emblem is the Arm and Torch, as shown

above.

The Socialist Party (or Social Democratic Party in New York) should not be confused with the so-called Socialist Labov Party. The latter is a small, ring-ruled, morlbund organization which bitterty opposes the trade unions and carries on an abusive campaign of slander against the real Socialist movement, whick supports the trade unions. THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic Party of New York) has passed through its second general election. Its growing power is indicated and its speedy victory for-shadowed by the great increase of its vote as shown in these figures:



#### THE ANTI-TRUST LAW FARCE.

The following dispatch, in reproducing which we have taken the liberty to emphasize certain words, merits thoughtful consideration by all workers who may imagine that Roosevelt is really against the trusts. It is a Washington special to the New York

"WASHINGTON, Jan, 3.—No fur-ther legislation will be sasked for at this session to perfect the Anti-Trust Law passed last session. For the pres-ent it will be the policy of the Administration to adhere to the publicity remedy to curb and regulate the trusts. This is the decision reached within the last few days after careful consideration of the whole question in the light of what has been accomplish-ed by the Bureau of Corporations.

"The work of the Bureau has been SO WELL DESIGNED TO ALLAY OPPOSITION that the public is hard ly aware that it has been at work at However, the Bureau has in its what is believed to be the means, if required, to solve a number of hitherto exceedingly difficult problems. For instance, THE COAL STRIKE, it is now said, WOULD HAVE HAD NO CHANCE TO OC-CUR HAD THE INFORMATION IN THE POSSESSION OF THE BU-REAU BEEN GATHERED PRIOR TO THE STRIKE.

countered thus far in the aim of the Bureau to get all the data needed. THE CORPORATIONS OF THE THE CORPORATIONS OF THE COUNTRY FOUND THAT THEY HAD LESS TO FEAR FROM THE BURERAU THAN WAS SUSPECT-ED and have responded to the demands made upon them promptly and unreservedly. Therefore the President will not ask Congress to add in any the present law, and it is doubtful if any of the score of the bills proposed since the assembling of Congress · ill ever reach the stage of serious consideration.

In other words, the much vaunted Anti-Trust Bill is, as Socialists said at the time it was proposed, an utter farce so far as fighting the trusts is acerned, and can be made effective only against the labor organizations.

The St. Louis "Globe-Democrat," in a recent issue, editorially discusses the prospects of the Socialist Party and admits that in all probability its vote next fall will be greatly increased over that cast in the last presidential elec-Especially, says the "Globe-Democrat," will this be the case if as is likely, the Democratic candidate is a man of the Cleveland type -such as Olney on Gorman or Parker or Gray-in which event the 90,000 Socialist votes of 1900 will be increased to five or six hundred thousand this year. Incidentally however, the "Globe-Democrat" makes a flagrant misstatement when it says: "Even while himself a candidate for President on the Socialist ticket in 1900, Debs had a strong leaning toward Bryan, and would have been glad to see that chieftain win." As a matter of fact, Comrade Debs, all through the campaign of 1900, laid particular stress on the fact that the Bryan Democracy was "a delusion and a snare."

frankly for espitalism, the Democratic party was trying to get votes under false pretenses, posing as the friend o " the common people," while maintaining the system from which the work. ing people's sufferings result.

#### ISN'T IT ABOUT TIME?

President Gompers writes a very solemn editorial in the January num ber of the "Federationist" on "The Folly of Wage Reductions." With the utmost gravity and kindness he assures the capitalists that they are making a great mistake-viewing it as a matter of business—in cut ting down wages. Does Mr. Gompers really think that

he knows Carnegie's business better than the canny Scot himself does or that he can give useful pointers to John D. Rockefeller in the Standard Oil man's specialty of getting some thing for nothing. Certainly not. Mr. Gompera is no fool. Doubtless he could not restrain a smile as he wrote that editorial at the ridiculousness of his pretending to advise the employers that they would make bigger profits by not cutting wages. But it is absolutely necessary for Mr. Gompers to go through this farcical performance to be consistent with the false prin ciple be has so firmly espoused that "the interests of Capital and Labor are identical." With all the self-conscious pomp of a Napoleon dictating terms of peace to a conquered world Mr. Gompers writes-and puts in big letters this paragraph:

"We have advised and shall continue to advise our fellow workmen to resist reductions in wages by every lawful means within their power, for as we have said before, 'It is better to resist and lose than not to resist at

In that last phrase Mr. Gompers gives his whole case away. He knows that, so long as the workingmen confine themselves to such methods as he considers "lawful," so long as they neglect to use their political power and bow with him to the great gods of capital, their only alternative is "to resist and lose" or "not to resist at all." Is it not about time to quit playing ostrich, to oult pretending that our enemy is our dearest friend, to quit fighting with one hand tied behind our back, to quit playing the bosses' game for the bosses' profit, and to resolve and act on Socialist lines, not to "resist and lose," as Gompers advises, but to resist and win? Isn't it about time?

Mr. Carnegie has missed a splendid chance of dying undisgraced. By the wage-cuts introduced last week the employees of the Carnegie Steel Company, a part of the Steel Trust, lose \$12.000,000 a year and Mr. Carpegie and his associates are "in" to the same extent. Most rich men can talk gilbly of the burdens of wealth and the blessing of poverty; but put them to the test, and they will do their otmost to hang onto the burden and leave the blessing to others.

#### THE LAW OF VALUE

Some of our renders seem to think that in our editorial entitled "Exceptions that Prove the Rule." last week. we have thrown over the Marxian theory of value, because we spoke of prices falling and rising as a result of the increase or diminution of supply as compared with demand. For us, we have never been able to

see bow the theory that supply and demand regulate prices conflicts with the theory that value is determined by cost of production. Suppose we say that the weight of a body can be measured by the extent to which it stretches a certain standard steel spring; and suppose we then say that the weight of a body is determined by ate to the labor-cost of production, and its mass and its distance from the that these change only as the methods Inconsistency and are not both statements absolutely true? No more is the supply-and-demand theory of prices, of which our professors of political economy talk so reverently, inconsistent with the labor-cost theory of value which the great orthodox economists once accepted and which their puny successors have rejected only since they saw Mary deduce from the the theory of surplus value and demonstrate the exploitation of labor. The theory of value is a much broader and deeper theory than the supplyand-demand theory of price, including it and explaining it, not denying it. But the bourgeols thinkers of the age are afraid of large and deep conceptions, in economics as in philosophy. and are inclined to deny the possibility of a law of value and even the exist ence of value itself-just as some timid obscurantist of the seventeenth century, afraid of the logical conclusions from Newton's law of gravitation, might have denied the possibility of

can find out." What is value, as compared with price? Value is the norm or standard to which price always tends, some times coinciding with it, sometimes fluctuating a little above or below, under local or momentary and accidental or extrinsic influences. Supposing absolutely-not approximately, but abso-Intely-free competition, actual as well that while the Republican party stood as legal, and absolute knowledge on

any such law or even the existence of

gravitation and have cried out: "There.

look at the scales to see how heavy

things are; that is the only way you

the part of each buyer and selier of all the goods in the market, then price and value would always be identical. (It may be remarked here that the term "value," in its economic sense has no meaning except as applied to commodities-goods bought and soldand that, accordingly, there can be law of value only in those stages of society in which goods are commonly produced for sale, produced as com-modities—that is, in bourgeois or capi talist societies. The law of value has no more application to savage society for instance, than the laws of morality have to flocks of wild geese or the lay of natural selection to chemical compounds Economics and particularly Marxian economics, confines itself to the conditions of capitalist society This by the way and notwithstanding it may give rise to another question

necessary to be treated at length im

possible here.) To resume, and by means of an ex ample: Suppose that at a certain time and from whatever cause, there are fewer shoes and more gloves in the market than usual. Experience tells us that the price of shoes will go up and the price of gloves down. Very well. But what happens next? The price of shoes being very high, people who have been making too many gloves will turn their attention partly to making shoes, with the result that the price of shoes will come down and the price of gloves will go up. Very likely the movement will go too far and then there will be a swing back to glove-making. Now twenty pairs of gloves of a given quality will com mand the same price as twelve pairs of shoes of a certain sort, now they will equal fourteen pairs of gloves, now ten; but these oscillations—causes by changes of the weather, by fashion by a strike, by a bankruptcy and forced sale of stock, by a fire destroying a great warehouse, or by any of many causes-tend always, under com petition, to correct themselves. The easter it is to divert labor and capital from one industry to the other, the less will be the fluctuations and the shorter their period-that is, the more nearly will the prices of the two commodities maintain a fixed ratio.

ompetition, can this ratio be perma nently changed. Let us say the value or normal price of a pair of shoes is now double that of a pair of gloves Now comes someone with an inven tion by the use of which gloves can be made with half the labor-including the labor of producing the materials and the machinery and all. While this invention is used only by a few glove manufacturers, the price of gloves will fall only a little and these few manufacturers will make abnormal profits But very soon other manufacturers, to meet even a slight cut in competitive prices, will introduce the same or an equivalent invention; and when its use has become general, the price of gloves will have fallen about half. Under minor influences it will still ocsillate, but about a lower mean. Twenty pairs of gloves will never again equal ten pairs of shoes in price; they will equal now four pairs, now six, now five. The value of gloves. instead of being half that of shoes, will be one-fourth of it-until some change is made in the method of producing shoes also.

Only in one way, always assuming

All this is A B C, of course-but let us see where it leads us.

We see that the interaction of sur ply and demand in a competitive society tend always (and the more quickly and completely, the more free is competition) to restrain the fluctuations of the prices of each commodity and keep them near to certain normal or mean prices, which are proportion of production are so changed as to increase or reduce the labor-cost. In other words, the law of supply and demand defines the process by which the slightly varying prices paid in multitudinous transactions express the value of the things sold; and the laborcost theory explains how this value is fixed and charged.

When we speak of a single transaction or a momentary or local condition of the market, we have to take into account the fact that prices may for the time and at the place be some what above or below values. But when we speak of larger things, when we are concerned with a considerable field for any considerable period of time, we may disregard these fluctuations of prices, as generally balancing each other, and regard only values. Especially may we and must we do this when we discuss the capitalist system as a whole, study its develor ment and examine the relations of classes in it-just as the biologist, de scribing an animal species and its development, disregards individual "sports" and "freaks" and describes a type, although it is likely that no two animals of the species ever existed that exactly esembled each other in

every particular. The Marxian law of value does not exclude the law of supply and demand, but includes and extends it. But the law of supply and demand, by itself, furnishes no measure of value and does not explain the larger movements even of prices.

As a sort of footnote, we may add that, capitalism having developed to tut

the point where competition has proluced combination and to a great de ree extinguished itself, the fluctuation of price away from-and especially above-value may be ninch greater and more lasting than when Marx wrote. Monopoly price, if it is a subject that Socialist economists have not yet adequately treated, is likewise a subject that the supply-and-demand automatons in our bourgeois instruction mills will never try honestly to expound-for the excellent reason that such audacity would cut off their supply of donations and create an effec tive demand for the vacating of their professorial chairs

#### A VETERAN'S BUGLE-CALL

To the Editor of The Worker:-Now that the New Year 1904 is ushered in I think it the proper time to push the movement for a daily paper. I am enre there are fifty thousand Socialists in the states outside of New York who can contribute one dollar each between now and March 1. My dollar will be sent to The Worker office by Jan. 15, and it is my earnest desire that everyone of the fifty thousand comrade throughout the land will cheerfully do same. We will call it the Do Brigade, with a brigadier in every state or in every county if necessary There is nothing impossible with So-cialists. Now, comrades, let the dollars roll in with all speed and the daily will be assured by the time the Presidential campaign opens. The con-tinuous slanders by the capitalist press

can then be met by daily reply.

On Jan. 1, 1863, just forty-one years ago, I was a soldler in the Union Army stationed at Newbern, North Carolina In that awful struggle, lasting four devastation of war. I saw men dying of wounds and thirst on the field of I saw one hundred and fifty dead baried in a trench they them selves and dug. Others crawled to fence-corners to die alone. What a pleasing change for me to see the peaceful Socialist army now growing so rapidly!

I have now passed the sixtleth mile stone on life's journey. The infirmities of old age are coming upon me, and as the shades of the evening life will soon be closing around me I want to see the Socialist movement forge ahead to victory in my time. S. Y. WEAVEE.

Camden, N. J., Jan. 1.

#### MASSEY'S POINT OF ORDER. To the Editor of The Worker:-The

lowing proposition to amend the national party constitution has been submitted to the membership:
"Whereas, Under Section 1, Article

2, of the national constitution, a National. Committeeman from a state having only one hundred party members, has equal power with that of a National Committeeman from a state having one thousand party members.

"Whereas, Such a condition makes it possible for a National Committee man representing only one hundred members to nullify majority rule, in that it permits the instructions or wish of one hundred party members to counteract the instructions or wish of one thousand party members; and

"Whereas, In order to have a party zation, in which each membe will have equal representation with every other member, therefore, be it "Resolved, That the first division of Section 1, Article 2, of the national constitution he amended to read:

"There shall be a National Commit tee, composed of one member from each organized state or territory, each Committeeman having one vote for every one hundred members of his state, or majority fraction thereof, the number of members to be determined by computing the average dues-paying membership per month for three months prior to time of voting."

Las a National Committeeman from North Dakota, moved to have it de-clared out of order, which, according to the editorial in The Worker of Dec. 27, seems to have wonderfully aston ed the editor. I think your editoria eminently unfair, whether so intended or not. Evidently you try to befog the issue. You must admit that each and every "whereas" is a clever argu-"whereas" is a clever argument in favor of its adoption, while the constitution in Section 2 Article 9 states: "All propositions or other mator the referendum of the party shall be presented without comment." Does the editor deny that They are not alone comments, but so cleverly stated that after reading then I at first favored the adoption of this amendment, and many others were deceived by this apparently plausible reasoning who are now unafterably on

The one point you make that I am free to adr. it is: "The members of that body (the National Committee), including Comrade Massey, had three full weeks in which to consider it. Not one of them objected to its submission to the membership."

At that time I was very busy an At that time I was very may and did not give it the time or thought I now see it deserved, and not being as clever as some of ourNew York com-rades, I did not notice either its con-flict with the national constitution or the objectionable feature of proxies of

It is not a question, however, whether the amendment should or should not be adopted, but should ar-gument be submitted on one side of any question or amendment and no on the other? If this is not declared out of order, cannot any length of ar-gument and comment favoring its adoption be submitted with any adoption be submitted with any amendment proposed, while denying the right of any reply to appear on the referendum? Does the editor say that is Socialistic, democratic or fair? Does the editor think that was in-tended to be the meaning of that clause in the constitution which says it "shall be presented without com

stitution is not binding on the mem-bership. This is sure to lead to serious difficulties. Abuses have a habit of coming home to roost. The membership should be governed by the consti-tution. If Socialism stands for any-

#### A WEIGHTY WARNING FROM HISTORY.

George D. Herron in "From Revolution to Revolution."

There is a sense in which most of I class reaped the harvest of the Frenc the world's great battles have been sham battles, fought by the orders and for, the interests of the possessing class, with the real human battle forever unfought among the shadows. Al-ready is past history overflowing into he present through all sorts of efforts o confuse the real issue and struggle before us. On every side r e proposi-tions, political and industrial, based upon an assumed identity of interest between the possessing and working classes. There are boards of arbitramunicipal ownerships, direct legislation, tenement house committees, social reform leagues and plans for social betterment, and innumerable large and small schemes for exploiting the revolution while seeking to

Now, as ever, the owning class is preparing to give the people a few more crumbs of what is theirs, in order to prevent them from demanding that which they must in the end demand, if there is ever to be freedom and right in this world—namely, the whole produce of their labor, and the common ownership of its malerials and machinery. Compromise and apathy, servility and mediocrity, are low having their day in every walk and work of life; and these are ready to poison and drain the Socialist move-Great initiatives and revolutions

have always been robbed of definition and issue when adopted by the class against which the revolt was directed. Constantine destroyed Christianity by adopting it; the pope did the same for St. Francis and his Christian renaissance; the nobles and princes did the same with the Reformation in Germany and England. The capitalist

thing it is law and order. When the constitution thwarts the will of the party it should be changed to conform to their wishes, but while we have a constitution let us live up to it. It is not so sacred that it cannot be changed. If n part is so doubtful of interpretation that the decision ren-dered by the National Committee is unsatisfactory, a referendum by the membership on the proper interpretation should be the court of last resort.

I yield to no man my allegiance to majority rule, but I want it to be in

rder, not mob rule. The editor of The Worker knows it is wrong in principle to submit argument one one side of any question and then deny the same right to the other side. The editor of The Worker, like the writer, upon reflection, knows the "whereases" in the above referendum violate the letter and spirit of Section 2, Article 9, of the national constitution, as well as outrages justice.

writer is sorry he did not see this as clearly when the amendment was first proposed. The writer is sorry he did not see the abuses of the cap talistic system earlier in life, but in did not, and can now only make amends by fearlessly standing for right and justice as he sees it.

You say, "it is quite impossible for us to attribute the act (Massey's me tion) to any but a factious motive." For personal slurs I care but little, but I do care for the effect it might have on the final decision on said motion.

On Dec. 14, another amendment was proposed providing that no proxies or plural voting should be allowed in any onventions, committees, or other de liberations of the Socialist Party of ment, I moved that it be declared out of order, because it contained arguments or comments similar to those contained in the above. Fargo Local asked that this later amendment be submitted, but without any "where asea," comments or arguments; just the naked amendment.

Now just an idea or two on the first amendment. If it were feasible to have a Committeeman for each 100 votes, that would be fair, just, Socialistic, and democratic. Ten Committee men from New York would not vote as a unit on all questions, neither might one Committeeman vote the wishes of the majority of the men ers, and yet one Co bers, and yet one Committeeman with ten votes, yotes as a unit all the time, and his own individual opinion where uninstructed. For the results of such port of J. Mahlon Barnes' account of the late A. F. of L. convention as reported in The Worker of Dec. 27. H says: "Certain delegates with heavy voting power, as Mitchell and Shaffer, supported the amended Socialist resolutions at New Orleans, while at Bos ton the same men strongly opposed such a measure. The delegates were rather as individuals, and often for motives."

Read the report of that meeting over ngain and see if it doesn't condemn proxy or plural voting. Not that any Committeeman would vote for ulterior motives, but he might vote his own individual opinion ten times. This mendment will be the entering wedge old-party corrupt political methods. fluence. It should be careful not to abuse its power. Fraternally yours,

Fraternally yours,
RUSSELL C. MASSEY,
National Committeeman for North

Dakota. Fargo, N. D., Dec. 30.

[We were hasty in impegning Na tional Committeeman Massey's motive and we now apologize for having done so, "Factious" motives certainly should not be attributed to a comrade without much more conclusive reasons than we have or had in this case. The point which Comrade Masse;

-and it is really the only on we made—still seems to us a very im-portant one, however, and we do not yield on it in the least. Granted that the form in which the amendment was submitted is improper; the fact re-nains that the National Committee whose duty in this matter is analogou whose dity in his matter is analogous to that of the chairman of a meeting— put the question in this form; if, after it has put the question and after the membership has voted on it, the Na-tional Committee may, on thinking the

Revolution, and of the matchless mar tyrdom of the Compune of 1870-71. By the time the American Revolution had come to its fixial issue and gov ernment, by the time the fruits of th Declaration of Independence and of Valley Forge were ready to be reaped, it was not the ideals of Rousseau or Jefferson or Paine that prevailed, but the American Constitution—that mont mental and comprehensive deceit, d liberately devised for the purpose of preventing the people from governing themselves, and of keeping the affairs and issues of government in the hand of the possessing class. It is only a few years ago that Wendell Phillips was mebbed on this platform, and that William Lloyd Garrison was dragged through your streets with a rop around his neck by the thugs an ruffians of the commercial classes who were enraged and murderous because of the interference of agitators with their trade in the South, and who represented all that was respected or re spectable in Boston. Yet these same commercial classes reaped much of their wealth from what Garrison and Phillips sowed, and through the pro-cesses of the Civil War. And it would probably be impossible to find in Boston to-day a son or grandson of the commercial classes that set hired as-sassins and ruffians upon the beels of the early abolitionists who is not so cially accredited as a descendant of one of the old abolition families. The so-called higher life of Boston is to-day practically a parasite upon the glor, of the men whom its fathers outraged imprisoned, reviled, mobbed, and hired shot.

Let Socialists take knowledge and

matter over, rule the question out of order and nullify the vote taken, then the National Committee, which is already as unrepresentative as United States Senate, assumes despotic powers of the United States Supreme Court, and the general vote becomes a farce.

When it is remembered that the Na tional Committee had three weeks to consider the form in which the propogition was to be put and that the point of order, instead of being raised in time to prevent the putting of the question in improper form, was raised only when the general vote was nearly completed and, moreover, was raised a the same time and emanated from the same general quarter as the purely negative "Referendum C" (whose ef fect, if adopted, would only be to abro-gate the present "Referendum B." if adopted and to perpetuate the present admittedly inequitable system of rep resentation)—when all this is remem-bered, we think we may be pardoned or suspecting a factious motive, if not for asserting them.

The time is past for discussing the merits of the amendment in question for the vote is closed; we do not there ore, reply to Comrade Massey's argu ment from the A. F. of L., though it seems to us not altogether a parallel case. We have supported the amendnent, not as being a perfect arrange ment, but as being, in our judgment an improvement on the present sys-tem. Much more heartly would we have supported the plan of having the number of National Committ roportioned to the membership, had ve been given a chance to do so. Unfortunately the comrades of Montans North Dakota, and elsewhere, who say hat they also would favor such a plan have moved something quite differen from it.

This whole affair, as well as that o the headquarters referendum of last spring, shows that our present provigion for putting questions to general vote is ridiculously loose and clumsy, resulting in misunderstandings, confu-sion, and delay. It is to be hoped that our next convention will incorporat n the constituion an article—i but a very short one, if carefully drawn-regulating the proceeding to such a way as to avoid this constan switching-off on technicalities.—Ed.]

## Current # # Literature

ORGANIZED LABOR. By John Mitchell, Philadelphia, American Book and Bible House, 1903, Cloth, 436 pages. Price, \$1.75.

HE STORY OF A LABOR AGITA TOR. By Joseph B. Buchanan. New York. The Outlook Com-pany. 1903. Cloth, 461 pages.

It is hardly correct to say that Mr. esses and under whatever influe Mitchell

author rather than the book, for the simple reason that it is the author's name and not the matter or manner of the book that has given it any note. It is put before the public primarily as "John Mitchell's book," and only the amount and quality of the work

secondarily as a book on the greatest question in current history. As "John Mitchell's book" it is sold and as such it must be regarded by the critic

Had the name on the title-page beer an unknown one, "Organized Labor" would never have been mentioned by a serious student of the labor move ment in the same breath with the work of the Webbs or even Elv's or Howell's, although, as a popular sketch of the history of trade union ism and a formal and rather perfunc tory exposition and defense of its pur-poses and methods in detail, it might have been of considerable service. But just because of the author's personal ity—as well as because workingment now generally feel, and rightly, that the labor movement needs no defensemost readers will look to the book for omething more than this, will loo for a statement of position on th fundamental relations of capital and labor, and it is by this that the book

must be judged.

Mr. Mitchell begins by saying that "the average wage-earner has made up his mind that he must remain a wage-earner, has given up the hope of a kingdom to come where he himself will be a capitalist, and asks that the reward for his work be given to him as a workingman." This is very well, If we know what it means. But we do not, and the rest of the book does not enlighten us. That the change of economic conditions is driving out of the workers' heads the old delusive hope that each might individually rise out of his class into the class of masters is a fact and an encouraging one. But Mr. Mitchell seems not to distinguish between this actual and gratifying disillusionment and a supposed reconcilia tion of the workers to their lot as wage-workers. As a matter of fact, just in proportion as individual workers cease to dream of becoming capt talists, the working class ceases to be satisfied with the wage system, con ceives and desires its abolition, and becomes capable of striving effectively. not only for the improvement of its condition as a wage-working class, but simultaneously for the sweeping away of class divisions. This is what Mr. Mitchell either cannot or will not se "will not" seems the right phrase, for he did see it and say it on occasion in the earlier days of

Mr. Mitchell, then, frankly accepts the fact of class division and class in-terest. But then he hastens to tell us that "there is no necessary funda-mental hostliffy between labor and capital \* \* nor even between the laborer and the capitalist." We do not pause to comment on his utterly in-adequate definition of the word "capital"-a definition which enables him to say that "the power to labor is itself a form of capital," with the necessary inference that the laborer is himself a sort of capitalist, utterly inconsistent with the admission of the existence of a wage-working class distinct from the capitalist class. It would be too much perhaps, to expect a good friend of Marcus A. Hanna to use economic terms accurately or to abstain from using them now and then, for a purpose, "in a Pickwickfan sense." But it should no be too much to expect even him to avoid- such giaring inconsistency as exists between the third paragraph of Mr. Mitchell's preface and the whole of his first chapter—or to expect that, if he could not be fairly consistent, he would refrain from publishing a book. "Oh, that mine enemy would write a book," cried Job, imagining, say the irreverent, the joy he would have in reviewing it. Job's adversary was too discreet to trust himself in print.

We surmise that Mr. Mitchell wrote his first chapter, on "The Philosof Trade Unionism" first and wrote the preface "to take the curse off." Possibly he hoped that the work ingmen would skip the preface and that the capitalists would read that and no more.

workmen is compelled by the competi-

tion of less scrupulous capitalists to restrain his benevolent impulses. "In

must accept." It is here rightly assumed, as too obvious to need proof or

even statement, that the interest of

employer as such and the interest

of the employer as such and the interest of the employee as such are so neces-sarily and fundamentally opposed that,

if the regulation of conditions is left to a form of bargaining in which the

employer has the advantage, he can

and will enforce upon the workman conditions "destructive of moral,

conditions "destructive of moral, mental, and physical health and de-

grading and annihilating to the labor-ing classes of the present and the future." New this is just what every-

one with eyes and a brain well knows

to be the fact. What then, does Mr.

Mitchell mean by prefixing to this

definite statement of the actual con-

flict between the interests of laborer

and of capitalist a general statement

and of capitalist a general statement that no such conflict exists? "Broadly-considered," says Mr. Mitchell—and the "breadth" of his consideration

seems to involve a proportionate shal-

owness-"the interest of the one is the

interest of the other, and the prosper-

ity of the one is the prosperity of the other." That is what Mr. Haer said, too: "The rights and interests of the

laboring men will be taken care of by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given control of

the business interests of the country."

Why were the miners unwilling to ac-

cept Mr. Baer's assurance?. Why do

they maintain a union to fight the

Baers? Because they know-almost instinctively, we might say—that what Mr. Baer said and what Mr. Mitchell

now echoes is absolutely false. "Where wages are high," says Mr. Mitchell, "capital and the conduct of business

In the first chapter our author or plains the necessity of trade unionism by a fairly clear and accurate account of the workings of business interes under unrestrained competition. Each employer, he shows, finds it to his interest to get the maximum of work at the minimum of cost. Even the em-ployer who would like to be generous and kind in his relations with his

the individual contract between a rich employer and a poor workman, the laborer will secure the worst of it; he is progressively debased. \* \* \* The in-dividual contract and men means that the condition of the worst and lowest man in the indus-try will be that which the best man

pany. 1903. Price, \$1.25.

Mitchell's book is disappointing Rather it is the author himself who has proved a sad disappointment Chrough whatever psychological prothe John Mitchell who filled so large space in the public eye and whose name was a rallying cry for the best elements of the working class in 1902 became quite a different person in 1903, a man whom the most astute respectable enemies of human liberty could forgive for his past indiscretions and receive into their councils, as harmless and possibly useful, a man who, instead of inspiring the workers to action serves to introduce among them doubt, hesitation, and self-distrust. Few men have had such an op portunity to show the true greatness that shines brightest in hours of ad-versity as was presented to John Mitchell a year and a half ago; few of those given such an opportunity and looked to by millions of eyes with such high hope and sympathy have so ut terly thrown it away. "Organized La-bor" is just such a book as we should have expected from the later John

We are right in thus criticizing the

done being equal, the higher the wages, the less is the profit. We may well imagine a slaveholder of the old South arguing: "Broadly considered, south arguing: "Broadly considered, the interest of the master is the interest of the slave, and the presperity of the one is the prosperity of the other. Where slaves are given plenty of bacon and corn bread and not flogged too severely, slave-owning and the conduct of cotton plantations are not without their reward." We need not imagine such arguments, in fact, for just this argument in defence of the system of chattel slavery was ad-vanced fifty years ago; and it was just as sound as Mr. Mitchell's is now. We have not given undue space to this passage, for it is perfectly characteristic. Apology, equivocation, compromise, ostrich-like evasion of fundamental questions, deliberate and per-sistent disavowal of large views or high aims, deliberate and persistent distortion of logic to avoid namelcome conclusio Mr. Mitchell's recent conduct. This

is a hard saving, but it is a true one Did we suppose that labor leaders make or, in the long run, direct the labor movement, it would be a word of despair. But we know that leader: are to a greater extent the creatures than the creators of movements. France ruled Napoleon in a much truer sense than Napoleon ruled France. Mr. Mitchell did not make the United Mine Workers or the Anthracite Strike of 1902; on the contrary, the mine workers made Mr. Mitchell-and in due time they will make other leaders better worthy of the devotion which they have shown to this one. The Mitchells may en-dorse the dictum of the Baers that there is no conflict between the interests of workingmen and of capitalists. Btu the conduct of the Baers will teach the workingmen, ever more and more convincingly, that the conflict is here, in spite of all sweet phrases and hair-splitting casulstries, and un-der the teaching of experience the rank and file of the workingmen will think of complete emancipation and work and fight for it and make the Mitchells think and work and fight for it or make way for better men. "E If Mr. Mitchell's book is ostensibly mpersonal and yet must be judged by

the personality of its author. Mr. Buchanan's is frankly altogether peronal and yet may be read with interests as a document of class history "The Story of a Labor Agitator" exactly descriptive title. The author tells us with a good deal of liveliness and pardonable self-appreciation, about his own experiences in the labor ovement from 1878 to 1888. Mr. movement from 1818 to 1888.

Buchanan is as distinctly a fighter as
Mr. Mitchell is a diplomat. But it must be added that he is distinctly a fighter of the old school, a free lance, a guerilla captain who was temp ra-mentally incapable of understanding the need or the nature of discipline. Nor need we speak in the past tense, for he has not changed his views in these fifteen years, but is firmly con-vinced that the Chicago "Enquirer" falled through the stupid obstinacy of other men-particularly those unreasonable Socialists, who objected to his supporting Democratic candidatesand has no doubt that it would have lived and done wonders if only the working people would have supported it and given him a free hand in editing it. In a word, Mr. Buchanan is a mai of the same type as the late John winton, for whom he expresses the warmest admiration. We may admire both, not approving all that they did. but recognizing that their faults were incidental to their virtues-that the same combination of indomitable will with a singleness of purpose approaching parrowness of view which made them efficient fighters in one stage of the labor movement unfitted them for participation in the fight when the novement had assumed a new form. "Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis," said the Romans; times hange and we change with them. Unluckly, we'do not always change with the times.

Mr. Buchanan writes of his struggles and rebuffs with a sort of goodhumored bitterness-if the paradox be allowed-and his book is

"Shall the Unions Go Into Politics?" and "What Weapons for the War?", two articles which John Spargo contributed to The Worker, the one during the session of the American Fed journment, attracted much attention and in compliance with requests from many quarters they have now been embodied in a neat little pamphlet as a number of the Socialist Library. The action of the Boston convention or, to speak more correctly, its failure to act—on the important questions now being forced upon the trade unions by the growth of organization among the capitalists and by the collapse of "prosperity" is just now being widely and earnestly discussed by the rank and file of the labor movement. This makes Comrade Spargo's pambplet very timely. If it could with be put into the hands of every trade unionist in the land, there can be no doubt that the expense and trouble involved in so distributing it would be well repaid by the increase of clear thinking and of aggressive spirit in the great body of 'industrially organized workingmen. It is not to be ex-pected that all will be reached, but it should not be too much to expect that many thousands of copies be put into (\$1.25 a hundred copies) puts if withfor sale by the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York,

-Of all the odions and sickening —Or all the onions and secening things under the sun, remove far from me that man or child from whose lips proceeds the stench of his own single righteousness. This is the dry-rot of all false religions, that they are but differentiators-manufacturers of saints or sinners. Such religious, one and all, and all such affections, are evils to be strenuously resisted by the spirit of democracy.-Peter E. Burrows in International Socialist Review for December.

Buy Union Label Goods.

# NEW-YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

JOHN A. McCALL, President.

BALANCE SHEET, JANUARY 1, 1904.

ASSETS.					LIABILITIES:	
Government, State, City, County and other Bonds (market value, \$250,140,939), cost value, Dec. 31	, 1903,	-		\$247,994,383	Police Reserve (per certificate of New York Insurance Dept.), Dec. 31, 1903	- \$300,090,347
(The Company does not include in its Assets the excess of total market value of Bonds over total cost					All other Liabilities on Policies, Annuities, Endowments, &c., awaiting presentation for payment,	5,456,654
Bonds and Mortgages (455 first liens),				24.531.774		CARLE A
Deposits in Banks, at interest,		0.1		22,126,134	Reserve on Poli ies which the Company voluntarily sets aside in	ASATRAMAN ACTION AND ASSESSMENT ASSESSMENT AND ASSESSMENT ASSESSMENT AND ASSESSMENT
Loans to Policy-holders on Policies as security (reserve value thereof, \$40,000,000)				28,502,073	Aware of the State's requirements	mai na telenope i na
Real Estate, 24 pieces (including twelve office buildings, valued at \$10,990,000),				12,275,000		the street and the street and the street
Loans on Bonds (market value, \$6,522,660),				5,280,000	To holders of 20-Years Period Policies, 23,539,923	and the second second
Quarterly and Semi-Annual Premiums not yet due, reserve charged Liabilities,				3,603,777		value to see a
Premium Notes on Policies in force (Legal Reserve to secure same, \$5,000,000).			P. Sal	3,139,284	To holders of 5-Year Period Policies, 375,002	
Premiums in transit, reserve charged in Liabilities,		h		2,563,950	To holders of Annual Dividend Policies, 830.915	Approximate the second
Interest and Rents accrued				2,185,672	Accept to to brosing tot an other complement	174 P.
The state of the s		979	1 1	-,10310/-	Total.	47,105,04
Total Assets (No stocks of any kind owned or loaned upon),			\$3	52,652,047	######################################	\$352,652,04

INCREASE IN ASSETS 829,811,147 DURING THE YEAR.

									A sat od			
New Premiums	1	NO	COI	ME	, 1	90	3.			0.6 224 20-		DISBURSEMENTS, 1903.
Renewal Premiums,	•				F	-	- 1			\$16,235,782 57 146,392		Paid for Death-Claims (\$16,860,082), Endowments (\$4,305,941), and Annuities (\$1,686,696), \$22,852,719  Paid for Dividends (\$5,339,292) Surrender Values (\$6,412,236) and other Payments (\$65,767) to Policy-holders, - 11,817,295
TOTAL PREMIUMS, Interest Receipts from:	•	•	10	-	•	-	•				\$73.382,174	Commissions and all other payments to agents \$7,164,180 (on New Business of year *\$326,658,236); Medical Examin-
Bonds owned, Mortgage loans,	.:		•							\$9,915,238 1,069,639		ers' Feec \$748,418, and Inspection of Risks \$164,004 8,076,601  Home and Branch Office Expenses, Taxes, Legal Fees, Advertising, Equipment Account, Telegraph, Postage, Com-
Loans to Policy-holders, secured by Policies, Bank Deposits and Collateral Loans,	:	•			:		-1			1,578,488	and the second	missions on \$1,418,554,663 of Old Business and Miscellaneous Expenditures, 10,136,844
TOTAL INTEREST RECEIPTS,											13,370,364	TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS \$52,833.459
Rents from Company's properties,			٠.			-	•		ergenos es	lid art	930.947	Balance for Reserves—Excess of Income over Disbursements for year, 35.385,072  *The New Business of 1903, which was \$23.830,007 more than that of
Profits realized on Securities sold during the year Deposits on account of Registered Bond Policies,			1		-	1		: ,:		The table	274-454 311,592	1992, was secured at a lower expense rate.
Total Cash Income										-	580 250 531	Total Disbursements and Ralance for Reserves \$88,269,531

New Business Paid for in 1903 (171,118),

CAIN IN 1903 (13.678.) \$23,860,007.

CAIN IN 1903 (193.44) 191,584,873.

The Detailed Annual Statement of the Company, giving list of securities held, etc., will be supplied on application. Adress,

# NEW-YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY,

846 S 348 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

#### BANDLOW CONTESTS CALDWELL'S ELECTION.

To the Editor of The Worker:-Will to the "Ohio Socialist" for publica-

ment to take this means of protest ing the election of Caldwell as National Committeeman for Ohio, if it had not been manifest that former State Secretary Critchlow was doing what lay in his power to promote Cald-well's candidacy by resorting to meth-ods far from honorable.

I believe that the only way to re-

move all doubt is to declare the election null and void through a referen-dum vote and to proceed with a new election. It rests with the comrades of Ohio, however, if they wish to have the stigma removed. Fraternally, ROBERT BANDLOW.

Cleveland, O., Jan. 1.

To the Editor of the Ohlo "Social-ist":-Through your medium I wish to acquaint the members of the Socialist Party of Onio that I have protested against the election of Comrade How-ard Caldwell on the ground that methods were apparently employed by former State Secretary Critchlow to influence the election of National Com-

Comrade Lavin of Local Canton informed me that they had no oppor-tunity to vote, because they were not supplied with ballots.

I have notified Acting State Secre-tary Gardner, demanding that the elec-tion be declared null and void and a new election be ordered. I also request through the Ohio "Socialist" By the wit of its highly hired retainers that the State Committee investigate councils and academic chairs, and by

National Committeeman.

1 can take defeat gracefully and have no ambition to gratify, but I do not intend to be made the victim of any scheme and deem the matter of sufficient importance to place it before the members of the party in our state. If they are satisfied that our move-ment shall be thus controlled, I ac-

ROBERT BANDLOW.

SOCIALIST GAINS

IN GERMAN CITIES.

The month of December brought a good narvest of Socialist victories in anuncipal elections in Germany. As already reported, our comrades in Berlin won five additional seats in the city council, and in the neighboring city of Charlottenburg, they elected four municipal councillors and and go to second ballot for three more

seats. At Longenberg we won five can movement menaced the world out of the six places to be filled. At with a renaissance of apostolic ideals of the Christian life and of property, whole ticket. Tinz was one of the church destroyed the soul and the church destroyed the soul and the church destroyed the soul and the more life. whole ticket. Tinz was one of the few places which we lost, keeping but one out of three cents formerly held: all its candidates, with 1,600 votes sgainst 1,200. At Johanngeorgensiadt in Saxony also the w.oie ticket of eight candidates was successful. At Falkenstein in Saxony two Socialists were elected. At Doebeln a Socialist was elected for the first time. In Württemberg two comrades were elected at Cannstadt and two at Essingen.

The Socialists have contested the election of the Anti-Semite Graefe, the only one of the twenty-three Saxon members of the German, Parlia ment who is not a Socialist, election in the third dis trict of Saxony.

#### THE FUTURE DANGER.

In order to save itself capitalism will go into partnership with Social-ism, making Socialism its political pack-horse. Already is capitalism pre-pared with its programs of "beneve-lent" designs for its own firmer establishment—city waterworks, municipal milk wagons, boards of arbitration, art museums, and good government clubs. Carefully written out and docketed, ready at hand for each emergency, are the treaties of peace by which capitalism will undertake to destroy Socialism by befriending it. that the State Committee investigate to what extent methods were employed to secure the election of Howard Caldwell who, a week before the close of the ballot, informed Comrade Cowen in Chicago that he was elected National Committeenan. carry it to another age-long goal. The owning class may thus wither by crafty favors the movement which it cannot withstand by its mightiest weapons of defence. In all of this, the capitalistic instinct will be the identical instinct of the ruling class in all crisis. When the early Christian mov ment was well on its way to under-mining the empire with Jesus' idea of

meaning of the movement by adopting it, and thereby breaking the heart of one out of three sents formerly heid:
At Unternhaus we lost two out of five.
At Harzgerode we increased our delegation from three to four. Two Socialists were elected at Octsch, two at Heimershausen. At Baut in Oldenburg the party elected all its candidates, with 1,600 votes tions of history. In the name of the movement which Wyckliffe and John Ball thought to lead to communistic democracy, practically the whole of England was stolen from its yeoman owners, or from the communistic monks who were also robbed of the fruits of centuries of free co-operative labor. Upon every high tide of Demo-racy the institutions of capitalistic depotism came into renewed power floating on their ensigns the calls democracy; the grotesque French republic; the stripped and shackled "unity" of Italy; the Prussianized German Empire, are all alike con-scious and deliberate devices for pre-venting the common life from coming to a consciousness of the self govern ing iden.-Geo, D. Herron

#### EIGHTHEENTH Annual Ball to be held by BREWERS' UNION No. 1

of NEW YORK, Saturday, January 9, 1904, at Turn Hall,

for the Benefit of the Out-of-Work Members.

TICKETS, - - - 25 CENTS, admitting Gent and Lady. Gent's Hat-Check, 15 Cents, Lady's Hat Check, 10 Cts.

Dancing to commence at 9 P. M.

The Committee of Arrangements-

## FOR ITALIAN WORKINGMEN.

to reach Italian workingmen and wish to make propaganda for Socialism among them will do well to use the new pamphlet "Che Cosa e il Socialismo?"

By SILVIO ORIGO. Single copy, 5 cents; 100 or more, at the rate of 2½ cents a copy.

Socialist Literature Co., 184 William St., New York. 184 William St.

## New Year's Greeting : : : : : : of The Worker.

A beautiful allegorical picture, typifying the present struggle of the working class for freedom and its coming victory and emancipation, which should adorn the walls of every workingmah's home.

Single copy, 10 cents. In quantity, 5 cents a copy.

\*

SOCIALIST LITERATURE COMPANY,

184 WILLIAM STREET.

#### SEA BOARD ET EL CORRETTO A LIMETER.

Only train between New York and St. Augustina will be operated beginning January 11th, 1904.

The SEABOARD is the SHORTEST LINE to the popular Winter tourist resorts of the CARO-LINAS, GEORGIA & FLORIDA.

DOUBLE DAILY SERVICE.

CAFE DINING CARS.

EDWARD F. COST, CHARLES B. RYAN, TRAFFIC NAMAGER. GEN'L PASSENGER AGENT. PORTSMOUTH, VIRGINIA.

#### SHALL THE UNIONS GO INTO POLITICS?

By JOHN SPARGO.

The two articles which Comrade Spargo contributed to The Worker of Nov: 15 and Nov. 20 attracted great attention and their reissue in pamphiet form was demanded. They have now been incorporated in a neat pocket-size pamphlet of 32 pages as a number of the Socialist Library.

This pamphlet should be widely dis-tributed, especially in the trade unions, where the questions dodged by the Boston convention are being discussed. Price: 3 cents a copy: 10 copies for 25 cents; \$1.25 a hundred.

Socialist Literature Co.,

#### SPECIAL NOTICE. BROOKLYN ORGANIZATIONS.

Attention For the convenience of the members of the Brooklyn augmizations sufficient with the Labor Secretarist, a branch office has been opened on sounday, Dec. 18th, in the Brooklyn Labor Lyesim, C49 Withoughby avenue. Office hours are from 2 to 5 p. m. week days. All Brooklyn cases can from new on he submitted at the above branch.

The Labor Secretariat,

H. E. EINSTEIN, Ass't Fecretary.

Bny Your Gents Purnishing Goods

PHILIP DIAMOND

210 STANTON ST., bet, Ridge and Pitt. New York. ETC. at the lowest prices. PUBLICATIONS.

#### "DIE ZUKUNFT" (THE FUTURE)

A Monthly Magazine
of Popular Science
Literature and Socialism Jewish Language, Published by the Zukunft Press »Federation Susfering RATES: Per Runum \$1.00 6 Months 60c Single Copie 10c Sample Copies Pres!

ZUXUNFT 50 Suffalk St., New York

### THE CHICAGO SOCIALIST

Bright, Snappy, c-1 Scientific-Owned by workingmen and edited for

the emancipation of the tollers. 52 WEEKS FOR 25 CENTS 181 Washington St.,

#### LABRIOLA'S ESSAYS on the Materialistic Conception of History.

stamping, 560 pages, 61.00 postpaid. CHARLES B. KERR & COMPANY, 56 PBb Ave., CHICAGO

WHAT to READ on SOCIALISM A proof of theiry-six large pages, describing the standard works on exclaims in such a way their the student form of the standard works on exclaims in the standard interesticator emay by Charles E. Kerr on "The Central Theirs in Recisions." adds to the value of the hook for new converte or inquirer. Handsonely printed on fine book paper with portraits of Marx, Engels, Liebanchi, Vandervide, Carpenter, Whiteman, Bistchford, Simons and other writers. Hailed for only ONE CENT a copy, \$10.00 is hundred. CHARLES E. KERR & CO., Pubs., 55 Finh Are, CHICAGE.

Dr. C. L. FURMAN. DENTIST.

## OUR UNION LABEL TO BE RECOGNIZED ON SHIRTS WAISTS COLLARS & CUFFS

LEARN TO ASK FOR IT. that your Laundryman has it

## WARNING!

Plano and organ workers are urgentily requested to stay away from the
works of the Pgase Plano Company,
Forty-third streat, between Eighth
and-Ninth avenue, New York City, as
the men are on strike.

By order of The Executive Board of
the Plano and Organ Workers' International Unions of Greater New York.

STAHLL, Financial Secretary, 1-4 Third
avenue, Room 2, New York City,

Workmen's Children Dealh Benefiit Fund
of the United States of America.

The address of the Fizancial Secretary of the National Executive Committee is: WILLIAM SCHWARIZ, Bible House, Room 42, Astor Place, New
York City.

LABOR-ORGANIZATIONS

LABOR SECRETARIAT .- Office, 320 Broadway, Room 701; office hours on week days, from 9 a. m. to 6 p. m. Delegates' meeting every last Satur-day of the month at 64 E. Fourth street, at S p. m. Board of Directors' meeting every second Monday of the month, at 320 Broadway, Room 701. Address all correspon-dence to the Labor Secretariat, 320 Broadway.

CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INT. UNION No. 90—Office and Employment Bureau, 64 E. 4th St. The piopment Bureau, 64 E. 4th St. The following Districts meet every Saturday: Dfst. 1 (Bohemian)—331 E. 71st St., 8 p. m.; Dist. II (German)—59 E. 1st St., 8 p. m.; Dist. III—Guibbuse, 206 E. 88th St., 7.30 p.m.; Dist. IV—342 W. 42d St., 8 p. m.; Dist. VI—350 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VI—1807 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VI—1807 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VI—1828 Second Ave. 8 p. m.; Dist, VII—1482 Second Ave., 8 p. m. The Board of Supervision meets every Tuesday at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Ave., 8 p. m.

THE SCANDINAVIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY OF NEW YORK meets first Sunday of every month, 10:30 a. m., in Link's Hall, 233 E. 38th street, New York, All Scandinavians are welcome. Agitation meetings every third Sunday, at 7 p. m. Secretary, G. Sjoholm, 321 E. Ninth street, New York.

Arbeiter - Kranken- und Sterbe - Kasse fuer die Ver. Staaten von Amerika. WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

WORKMEN'S seek and beaus benefit Fund of WORKMEN'S the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workingmen induced with the spirit of solidarity and Socialist thought its numerical strength (at present composed of 184 local branches with 23,700 male and 4,800 female members is rapidly increasing among workingmen who believe in the state of a seek of the second class. Members he ment. Workingmen het ween 18 and 49 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches upon payment of an initiation fee of \$4.00 for the first class and \$5,200 for the second class. Members belong to \$2.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the seed of the second class. Members helonging to the second class freedwell under the same circumstances and length of time \$4.00 and \$200,000 is guaranteed for eventual class to the second class freedwell under the same circumstances and length of time \$4.00 and \$200,000 is guaranteed for eventual conditions of the second class freedwell o

CARL SAHM CLUB (MUSICIANS UNION), meets first Tuesday of the month, 10 a. m., at Laber Lyesum, 6t East 4th street. Secretary, H. Frey, 171 East 87th street.

## WORKMEN'S

principal Organization, Row Yorl and Volonity.

OFFICE: 64 East Fourth street. Office hours, daily, except bundars and holidays from 1 to 10 o'clock p. 16.

BHANCHES: Youkers, Troy, Binghamton, Gloversville, Albany, Oheida, Tonawanda, N. Y.; Paterson, Newske, Elizabeth, South Ilver, Fansaic, Treaton and Hahway, N. J. Roycke, Springfield, Annual Hoston, Holyoke, Springfield, Annual Poston, Holyoke, Springfield, Annual Poston, Edypoke, Springfield, Annual Poston, Edypoke, Springfield, Annual Poston, Edypoke, Springfield, Pagents and Pagents a

Adama, Hoston, Holyoke, Springhed, Mass.
Adama, Hoston, Holyoke, Springhed, Mass.
New Haven, Waterbury, Meriden, Harford, and Bridgepart, Conn.
Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Allegheny, Legerns, Altoona, Beranton, Pa.
Cleveland, O.
San Francisco, Cal.
Manchester, N. H.
Baittmore, Md.
Rt. Louis, Mo.
For addresses of the Branch bookkeepers, ee "Vorwarts."

Where to Lunch and Dine





No line drawn on smaller animals.

LAWYERS.

MORRIS HILLQUIT. Attorney-at-Law, 220 Broadway, Telephone 2576 Franklin

### L. D.MAYES, LAWYER, 245 Broadway, New York City, Borough of Man hattan. Practice in all Courts. Consultation fran

H. B. SALISBURY. COUNSELLOR-AT-LAW 300 Broadway, Room 903. 50 Union Sq.

DR MATHILDA SINAI. DENTIST, E. Both St. BEW YORK

The lecturers and organizers from national headquarters are working a follows: John W. Brown in Califor nia; Gaylord in Florida; McKee in Northern Culifornia; James F. Carey begins lecture tour Jan. 3, Newark, N

; Wilkins in Montana, Arkansas, Wisconsin, and Missouri report the election of L. W. report in Everger, and Geo. H. Turner, respectively, as National Committee-men from these states. J. F. Miller has resigned as National Committee

man from Idaho.

Referring to the method of conductthe election of National Secretary, National Committeeman Berlyn of Illi-nois writes: "I agree with Comrade Critchlow of Ohlo that this function belongs entirely to the new National Committee, which according to the constitution should be elected by referengum. And right here I desire to enter my protest against anyone acting as National Committeeman who has not been elected by a referendum vote in such state or territory. I am creditably informed that Comrade Talbott of Minnesota was not elected by a referendum vote of his state as re-quired by the constitution, and I there-fore protest against his acting as National Committeeman. - I base this protest upon the following clause of the constitution: The members of this committee shall be elected by and from the membership of the states or territories which they respectively represent by referendum vote. National Secretary has made inquiry of the State Secretary of Minnesota regarding the election of Comrade Tal-

F. W. Evans, Corresponding Secre tary of Local Union 59, Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, Salt Lake City, Utah, reports to the National Secretary that the local union has adopted the Socialist platform.

State Secretary Cooney of Montana reports as follows to the National Sectary: "The following members of the Socialist Party of Montana have been tried and found guilty of the charge of 'having taken part in the political convention of another party' and were duly expelled from the party: Robert Ellis, Butte; Wm. R. Pepworth, Boze man; L. J. Caldwell, Red Lodge. The party in Montana will stand no monkeying with the capitalist bandwagon." Comrade Cooney also writes, "Comrade Wilkins spoke to two big meetings here and we were well pleased with him. His analysis of the class struggle was the best ever heard here; also his treatment of the tax question was superb. Wilkins has organized four new locals in this state Wilkins will work in Montana until Jan. 28, when he will

State Secretary Holman of Minne sofa reports the organization of three new locals in Carlton County by State Organizer Klein, at Cariton, Wrenshall, and Scanlon.

Retiring State Secretary Lipscomb f Missouri reports the referendum for the election of state officials for the ensuing year as follows: Secretary Hallowell, 118; Paimer, 251; Rathbun, 60; Garoer, 150; Hoehn, 103. Total, 677. T. L. Palmer elected. National Committeeman: Turner, 353; Hanson, 31; Behrens, 295. Total, 679. Geo. H. Turner, Kansas City, re-elected. The

State Secretary Dial of Kentucky re parts the re-election of Charles Dobbs, Louisville, as National Committeeman for the ensuing year, by "practically

Secretary Will of Kansas re ports the result of canvass of election of National Committeeman as follows Mills, 131; Lowther, 48; Ricker, 40 McAllister, 76; Wayland, 88; Mitchell, 27. Total 410. The State Co. elected for the year 1904.

State Secretary Thomas of Wisconsin reports Victor L. Berger re-elected al Committeeman for the year 1904, by a vote of 455 for to 3 against

Secretary Healey of Florida reports the organization of four new locals by National Organizer Gaylord,

John C. Chase will begin work as National Organizer Jan. 15 in New Hampshire under the direction of

State Secretary Arnstein.

James F. Carey's lecture dates arranged so far are as follows: Jan. 3, Newark, N. J. Peansylvania: Jan. 4, Philadelphia: Jan. 5, Reading: Jan. 6, York: Jan. 7, Lancaster: Jan. 8, Wilneching: Jan. 9, New Castle. Ohio: Jan. 10, Toledo: Jan. 11, Frement; Jan. 12, Akron; Jan. 13, Cleveland; Jan. 17, Cincinuati; Jan. 18, Portsmouth

John W. Blown will lecture in Call-fornia until the end of January when he will fill several dates in Oregon on his way to Washington.

John M. Ray will not begin his

menth's work in Wisconsin until

Locals Pargo and Valley City, N. D. have requested the National Secretary to lay before the Quorum and, in case of its failure to approve, before National Committee a proposition that the rule requiring that national organizers be approved by the state organi-zations of the states in which they are to work be suspended in the case

In response to the resolutions of Local Lokane, Wash., asking for a national party organization, the Na tional Secretary calls attention to the constitutional clause probibiting the ional Committee from publishing or designating an official organ.

#### National Organizing Fund.

noon, Jan. 2, \$26.80; previously r ported, \$2,482.11; total, \$2,508.91. Con rade Altman of Rosenthal, Pa., calls his contribution of \$5 to the Organ-izing Fund a New Year's gift, and many more such gifts from other con rades will be as fully appreciated as

National Convention.

The National Committee of the So-cialist Party has voted to hold the national convention in Chicago on May 1. The motion providing for a National Committee meeting on June 10, in case motion calling for convenion in St. Louis on June 15 should be adopted, was also carried, but as the motion upon which it was qualified was defeated the action of the com mittee is therefore void. Motion pro viding for the election of delegates to the International Socialist Congress by the national convention was carried. The preliminaries for the con vention will be considered by the Que rum at its next meeting.

Caldwell and Mailly

On Dec. 14, the National Secretary eceived notification that Heward H Caldwell had been endorsed for ap ointment as National Organizer by ae Ohio State Committee, and he was recommended by then State Secretary Critchlow as the best organizer that had worked in Ohio. Having been notified by the Territorial Secretary of Arizona and the State Secretary California that the services of an organizer or lecturer could be used to advantage in those states, to follow up work done by Comrades McKee and Brown, the National Secretary concluded that Caldwell would be apable man for the position. Receiv ing notice by postal card from Caldwell at Kansas City under date of Dec. 22 that he would be in that city for a week, the National Secretary addressed him there the first letter, dated Dec. 23. The first letter written by Caldwell was also dated Dec. 23, the same day upon which the National Secretary had sent his proposition to Caldwell, whose second letter, dated Christmas, was received at the national office Dec. 26, during the National

L-MAILLY TO CALDWELL.

Dec. 23, 1903, Howard H. Caldwell, General De-livery, Kansas City, Mo. Dear Comrade:—I have your card

stating that you will be in Kansas City for one week. I received from Comrade Critchlow last week your name for appointment as a national organizer or lecturer, and I wish to write you now about same. The prospect I have for using you within the pear future is to send you into Arina and California on an organizing and lecture tour. The Territorial Secretary of Arizona and the State Se a national organizer can work in their respective territori s for some time. I pretty sure from what I know of Arizona that a man could stay there for five or six weeks if not two months, and Secretary Helfenstein of California writes me that he is prepared to make from 40 to 50 dates a national organizer beginning in March. This would ensure from three

to four months' work. I have not submitted the proposition of sending you on this trip to the Quo-rum and would not like to do so unless knew that you were available, hould you decide to accept this apdistinct you would receive the regular rates paid our organizers, namely three dollars a day for each day in the field and all traveling and hotel expenses guaranteed. It is propable that would charge a fixed sum for year vices, but only just enough to enure expenses.

I should like to hear from you show this right away, as the Secretary of Arizona states that he should have at least thirty days' notice to arrange dates on account of the peculiar geographical conditions.

Upon hearing from you whether you an accept or not I shall immediately submit the matter to the Quorum, and I have no doubt that the Quorum will agree to the appointment.

Should you favor this proposition I ould try to arrange dates for you in the states between here and Arizona, so that you could start in there about February. Please let me hear from you as soon as possible about this, so whose work in that state will conclude | that I can get arrangements under

WILLIAM MAILLY.

National Secretary. P. S.-Of course it is probable that if you go into California I will also arrange for you to cover the coest states before returning east again.

II.-CALDWELL TO MAILLY.

Kansas City, Mo., Dec. 23, 1903. Comrade Mailly:-Since coming to Kansas City on a trip I was making out this way, I have seen some thin, s here that have changed my opinion to-ward a very important (to him) man the lives in Kansas City. Would like to have a little talk with you.

Could you arrange to get me a date or set of dates in Omaha that would over my expenses going and return-ng. Let me know at once. Remember that this lefter is not for publica tion. Your comrade

HOWARD H. CALDWELL HI.-CALDWELL TO MAILLY.

Kansas City, Mo., Christmas, 1903. Dear Comrade:—Would be pleased to take the trip to Arlzona and Californin. Must go to Ohio first and can be at your service after Jan. 15. Would advise route through Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Oklahoupa, New Mexico, and Arizona, returning along the coast to Washington and then home by way of Montana, North Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan into Ohio.

Would get large crowd in New Or leans as I organized that town from trade union standpoint. Have written Rational Organizing Fund.

The following contributions have been made to the National Organizing Fund since last report: A. L. New York City, 20 cents; Local San Diego, Cal. \$4.50; M. Hillquit, New York City, 20; Local Kings County, N. Y., \$5; Local Corona, Cal., \$1; Branch 1 (German), Providence, R. L. \$1; W. D. Altman, Rosenthal, Pa., \$25; total to

and he will die out without friction in the party.

Could say much more that would

not look well in print. But it is better left unsaid. We have had too much friction over individuals and the party cannot afford to waste time with th as they get known in time anyway and fighting them only gives them friends. I would never have defended Mills if he had not been attacked and know lots more, who have the habit of de fending the under dog, till they find out he is wrong and are not in the mies about it either.

Critchlow is of the same belief as myself on that point. Don't know what he will say when I write to him and give him the news from K. C., but

I can guess, Expect to get dates for Missouri State Committee across state, have four from Smith in Illinois, and a couple of trade union dates in Incouple of trade union dates in In-diana. If you can arrange for next Wednesday and Thursday in your neighborhood so it will pay my penses, would like to come up and see you. You have state and local headquarters in Omaha and could find out ery easily and save me writing.

Wishing you success, HOWARD H. CALDWELL. N. B.-This letter is a private one and confidential. . H. H. C.

IV .- MAILLY TO CALDWELL. Dec. 30, 1903.

Howard H. Caldwell, General Delivery, Louisiana, Mo. Comrade:—Your two letters dated Dec. 23 and Christmas, respectively, the latter in reply to my own of Dec 23, have been received and unanswered until now, for the reason that a Christmas visit took me away from the office for three days, and also sired to reply to you with that degree of calmness which I believe commen

surate with my official position.

For you to consider that you should iddress such letters to me is a matter both for surprise and indignation on they part-surprise that you should assume that I would welcome or encourage such correspondence, indigna-tion that you should consider me so devoid of respect for the office I occupy that I would consort with you in such work as you acknowledge having I resent the implication conveyed by your letters that I would be a party to any scheme that would interfere in any way with the right of the membership of any state to choose as their representative whomsoever they should see fit to choose. Your acknowledgment that you "had

brought pressure to bear that will result in Mills not being on next year's committee," is in my opinion a shameful one to come from a party member who has just been declared elected a National Committeeman from one of the states affiliated with the national organization. It shows a disregard for the rights of other states which bodes ill for your observance of the party laws when you assume the posit National Committeeman on Jan. 1

Why you should consider it necessary to write your opinion of the "Kansas City outfit" to me and to ex-plain your past defense (as you choose to call it; of Courade Mills, and also of Comrade Critchlow's position, is be youd my comprehension. I am sure that no official utterance of mine has given you reason to believe that I would welcome any information you could impart to me that would be detrimental to Comrade Mills, and I have never had any dealings with you in a private or personal capacity. I can nly assume that because I have tried to maintain the laws of the national organization, to be impartial toward all those with whom I bave had official relations, you have concluded that I was opposed to you and others with whom you have identified yourself until within the past few days. Such a consideration had no influence upon me. In the selection of organizers or ecturers I hav attempted to make fitness the principal qualification for appointment. I could not use you when you were first proposed in November, and I assure you that I would not have made the proposition I did under date of Dec. 23 if I had had the opportunity to judge of your qualifica-tions which you have since, by your own correspondence, presented to me.

I shall now refer the entire correspondence between us to the National Quorum, so that its members can judge whether or not you are qualified to fill the important position of National Organizer, a commission which requires a sense of personal honor and dignity as well as respect for the party's true character as the organized expression of an economic and political ideal above that obtaining in and represented by the capitalist parties.

I do not consider your letters confidential, as you request me to. I neither invited your correspondence her desired it, and I feel under absolutely no obligations to respect it. would mean acquiescence in your acts, past and prospective, and make me a silent and willing partner to your gross violation of party law and ordinary Socialist ethics, a posttion which I do not care to take nor have you impose upon me.

WILLIAM MAILLY. National Secretary.

#### Mailly's December Report.

National Secretary Mailly's financial-report for December shows larger re-celpts for dues than in any previous month of the party's history and larger total receipts than in any month larger total receipts than in any month except September, 1903. Total receipts for the month were, \$1,563.89; balance, Dec. 1, \$165.37; expenditures, \$1,563.77; balance, Jan. 1, \$168.49. The sum of \$1,234.10 was received for dues, as follows: From organized states—Arisona, \$23.10; Arkansas, \$5:

California, \$52.55; Colorado, \$15; Cor California, \$52.55; Colorado, \$15; Connecticut, \$25; Florida, \$15; Illinois, \$112.50; Indiana, \$15; Inlinois, \$112.50; Indiana, \$15; Inlinois, \$25; Kansasa, \$98.05; Maine, \$25; Massachusetts, \$50.55; Michigan, \$15; Minnesota, \$20; Missouri, \$100; Montana, \$20; Nebrasha, \$15; New Hampshire, \$16.85; New Jersey, \$100; NeW York, \$97.40; North Dakota, \$19.25; Ohlo, \$25; Oregon, \$14.15; Pennsylvania, \$115; South Dakota, \$2.65; Texas, \$10; Washington, \$48.75; Wisconsin, \$84.40; from locals in unorganized states—District of Co-

ritory, \$6.10; Louisiana, \$6.90; Maryland, \$12.10; Rhode Island, \$5; New Mexico, \$5; North Carolina, \$3.50; South Carolina, \$1.10; Tennessee, \$10. 50; Utah, \$2; Virginia, \$2.40; Wyoming

\$8; from member-at-large, 10 cents. The principal items of expense were: Salaries, \$205.05; office help, \$128; printing, \$230.60; agitation and erganization, \$611.98; Lecture Bureau \$50.55; Querum meting, \$51.50; on old debts, \$105.05.

During the last three months of 1903 the dues paid to the national office amounted to \$3,191.55, which would ndicate a party membership of 21,277

#### New York City.

The General Committee of Local New York will meet Saturday, Jan. 9, at 8 p. m. sharp, in the large hall of the W. E. A. Club Houre, 200 E. Eighty-sixth street. This meeting will be of great importance on account of the amount of business to be transacted, which includes nomination of officers and committees for the ensu-ing term, nomination of National Committeeman, nomination of State Committeeman in place of Wood. This be ing the first meeting, the delegates are requested to be present promptly at 8 m., with credentials, if same have ot been sent to the Organizer, and bership cards in good standing. No delegate will be sented whose as sembly district has not sent to the Or-

Assembly district branches desiring lists of enrolled voters or other information in the recently publish "City Record" can get copies from Or-gauizer Solomen, who has bought a sufficient quantity to supply ail dis-

The second lecture in the Friday evening series at the rooms of the Mt. Morris Educational Club, 134 E. 110th street, will be given by Frederick Krafft of Jersey City, on the question, "Is Our Country a Republic?" Admission is free and general discussion is invited after each lecture.

The Brooklyn Duily Globe Confer-

ence will meet next Thursday evening Jan. 14, 8 p. m. sharp, at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. All delegates should attend.

The 28th A. D. will hold a general meting on Thursday evening, Jan. 7, at 1497 Avenue A. The regular meetings of this district take place on the first and third Tuesday in the month.

All arrangements have been completed for the entertainment and ball of the Downtown Young People's Social Democratic Club on Jan. 16 and the affair will undoubtedly be a pronounced success. A handsome twelve-page journal will be published for the casion. A first class entertainment program will be provided; John Spargo will deliver an address; and for the

dancing the best music of Local Union

No. 310 has been engaged; On Sunday evening, Jan. 10. Henry L. Slobodin will lecture on the poe Shelley, in the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, under the auspices of the Downtown Young People's Social Democratic Club. The program in cluces recitations by Miss Dahme and Miss Ibsen, and several musical selec-tions. The evenir will close with a dance. Admission for non-members of the Verein für Volksbildung, 10 cts Brooklyn comrades should keep in mind that there will be a general party meeting of that borough on Thursday Jan. 21, at the Brooklyn Labor Ly

ference will hold regular meeting or Thursday, Jan. 14, at 8 p. m., in the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, for the purpose of electing officers for the ensuing term. Every delegate is urgently requested to be present.

At the last meeting of the 6th and 10th A. D. delegates to the General Committee, Second Agitation District Committee, and to the Daily Glob Conference were elected. Comrade Brosch was re-effected financial secre tary, and the election of recording sec-retary was postponed till next meeting. A Hungarian branch of the district will be organized. In behalf of the agitation committee, Comrade Tanzer reported having engaged Progress Assembly Rooms, 28 Avenue A, where a most successful ratification meeting was held during the campaign, for a series of agitation meetings, the first meeting to be held during the week beginning Jan. 4. Next meeting of the district will be held in Labor Lyceum, New York, on Friday, Jan. 15.

The fourth anniversary of the Social at Grand American Hall, 7-9 Sc ave. Entertainment will be provided by a quartette under the leadership of Mr. Morris Nitke. Mrs. Geo. D. Her ron will render some musical selections and Geo. D. Herron will be the speaker of the evening. Tickets are

The next meeting of the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Women's Society will be held Jan. 14. All branches a. invited to be present as it is the annual meeting who ficers are to be chosen and other portant business to be transacted.

Further applicants who desire to onnect themselves with the proposed English-speaking branch of the Social Democratic Women's Society should communicate with Mrs. J. Murdoch, 608 E. Tweifth street.

Comrade Charles Dobbs, formerly of Louisville, Ky., has removed to New York. He has given up his position on the Louisville "Times" and has ac-cepted a position on "Wilshire's Maga-zine." He is about to send in his resignation as a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Party and

#### West Side Lectures.

Following is the program of Friday evening lectures for January and Feb-ruary at the West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall, northwest corner Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, New York.

Jan. 8.-Leonard D. Abbott: The So cialist Spirit in Literature and Art." Jan. 15.—H. Gaylord Wilshire: "The Frusts and Unemployment."

Jan. 22.—Margaret Haile: "Ibsen's

Social Philosophy." .Jan. 29.—Dr. G. Fish Clarke: "The fluence of the Trusts Upon Social

Feb. 19.-Mrs. Alex. Fraser: "The Feb. 26.-Morris Hillquit: "The Character of the Socialist Movement."

Colonial Hall Lectures.

Socialist lectures will be given in Co ionial Hall, 101st street, near Colum ous avenue, New York, on Sunday evnings as follows:

Jan 10.-John Spargo. Jan 17.-Henry L. Slobodin: "Th Ideal Commonwealth."

Jan. 24.—Peter E. Burrowes: "To-

wards Socialism." Jan. 31.—Courtemy Lemon: "The Socialist View of the State, State Interference, and State Capitalism."

#### Mt. Morris Lectures.

Socialist lectures will be given un der the auspices of the 32d and 33d A. D., S. D. P., at the Mt. Morris Ed-ucational Club, 134 E. 110th street, every Friday evening, as follows.

Jan. 8.—Algernon Lee: "The Capital-

Jan. 15 .- Fred. Kraft: "Is our Coun try a Republic." Jan. 22.-G. C. Streeter: "Socialism

as a Theory of Government." Jan. 29.—Mrs. Bertha M. Fraser: "The Tragedy of the Machine."

#### Wurzler's Hall Lectures

Lectures will be given at Wurzler's Hall, 315 Washington street, Brook Jan. 10 .- L. B. Boudin; "Imperialism

and what goes with it."

Jan. 17.—Peter E. Burrówes: "Towards Socialism." Jan. 24 .- J. A. Behringer: "The Union Label, its Possibilities and Lim-

Jan. 31.-Adolph Benevy: "Aristocracy and Democracy as Mental

Feb. 7 .- George D. Herron.

#### New Jersey.

A series of free lectures will be given nder the auspices of the 11th and 12th Ward branches of Jersey City, on Sunday evenings at 8, in the lecture hall of the Socialist Party, 375 Central avenue, near Charles street. The pro avenue, near Charles street. The program for this month is as follows:
Jan. 10, Chas. Ufert, "Poverty a Social Curse"; Jan. 17, Jannes M. Reilly,
"Industrial Freedom"; Jan. 24, Geo.
Headley, "The Sword, the Pen, and the
People"; Jan. 31, Frederick K.ant,
"Life and Times of Thomas Paine."
In West Holyske, on Thomas Paine."

In. West Hoboken, on Tuesday ev ening, Jan. 12, H. Gaylord Wilshire will speak at Socialist Party head-quarters, 511 Hackensack Plank Road, on "Let the Nation Own the Trusts. On Monday evening, Jan. 11, Morris Hillquit will lecture on 'The Nature and Character of the Socialist Move ment," at 118-120 Market street New ark, under the auspices of Branch 7 Admission is free and general discus sion is invited after the lecture. Com rade Cares had a large and attentive sudience at the meeting of Jan. Comrade Goebel presided. The f The fact that the collection came with \$1.47 of

paying all expenses indicates that th

At Monday's meeting of the State committee, Comrade Shelly in the chair, a charter was granted to Local Mt. Pleasant, Westmoreland County, A request was received from Galeton, Potter County, for Information how to organize a local. On Monday night, Jan. 4, one of the oldest nights that has been known in

Philadelphia in several years, a large audience gathered in the Labor Ly-ceum to hear Comrade Carey explain the proposition of the Socialist Party that wealth should belong to whose labor has produced it. those witty illustration of the many points he made against-the dividing-up tem instructed as well as amused the audience. In closing, Comrade Carey said: "We are asked why we through away our votes for candidates who have no chance of being elected. Our votes are not thrown away. They are like recks thrown into the harbor on which the arches of a bridge are built. remember standing on the shore of a bay and seeing workmen on a seo throw rocks into the water. There was a splash, bubbles arose, and then the waters rolled on as before. one who did not know what the men were doing, their actions looked like the actions of hunties. After a time the foundation rose above the highest The fourth anniversary of the Social Democratic Women's Society, Branch 191 will be celebrated Friday Len. 8. and the people traveled from shore to shore in safety. Our votes are like those rocks. We throw them into the sea of capitalism. They make a salash bubbles arise, and then the sen o capitalism rolls on as before. Bu some day above the sea of capitalism the rocks of the Socialist foundation will appear, they will be higher than any wave of the sea of capitalism, and we will build the bridge across which Republic of the Co-operative Common wealth."

The Twentieth Ward Branch of Local Philadelphia has contributed \$1 toward paying the State Committee's debts.

On Sunday, Jan. 10, at 3 p. m., Jacob Gordin'ef New York will lecture in the Yiddish language at Garrick Hall, 507 South Eighth street, Philadelphia. On Jan. 17. Alexander Jonas will lecture at the same place on "The Material-istic Interpretation of American His-tory," speaking in German. On Jan. 24. George D. Herron will speak on "Socialism and Life" and on Jan. 31, Morris Hiliquit on "Some Popular Misconceptions of Socialism"—these two lectures being in English.

At Jefferson Hall, Ninth street, be low Dickinson, Philadelphia, a discussion will take place on Sunday, Jan. 10, at 8.15 p. m., upon "The Modern Wage System; Is It to Continue?"

#### New-England. The Boston Socialist Speakers' Club

which was organized on Dec. 28, 1902 with our late Comrade F. O. Mac Cartney as director, has begun its second season with very good attendance.

Mrs. Goodwin has volunteered to in struct the class in elecution, and she is doing justice to that part of the work; the comrades are appreciating her aid. The class has adopted for its text-book the "Communist Manifesto," and this part of the work is directed by Joseph Spero. Every member of the party who desires to gain an education in the principles of Socialism and in oratory should avail himself of this opportunity. The Speakers' Club meets every Sunday at 430 to 6:30 p. m., at state headquarters, 69 Washington street. For further in-formation apply to Joseph Spero, 90

Wayland street, Boston.

John Spargo of New York lectured for Local Naugatuck, Conn., on Dec. 27. The audience was comparatively small, on account of the severe storm but, as Comrade Hull writes, "those who braved the storm considered themselves amply repaid for the effort." The Naugatuck "Daily News" gave a pretty full and fair report of the lecture. The impression which Comrade Spargo made was so good resolved to go to Waterbury to hear him the following Sunday.

The state convention of the Socialist

#### Minnesota.

Party of Minnesota will be held at St. Paul or Minneapolis Feb. 21 and 22, for the purpose of nominating candi-dates for presidential electors, state offices, delegates to national Socialist convention, electing a State Commit-tee and state secretary, and transacting such other business as may come up. The dates, Feb. 21 and 22, were selected on account of being holidays (Sunday and Washington's birthday). so that the delegates would lose as little time as possible from their work, and to insure a larger attendance. Each local will be entitled to send as many delegates as they see fit. Every member of each local in good standing is entitled to a vote in the convention, and each delegate who is to act as proxy for another member must have redentials duly signed by each mem ber whom he is to represent. For example, a delegate having credentials properly signed by ten members of his local, will be entitled to ten votes on vention. No delegate will be admitted to the floor of the convention without credentials signed by the chairman and secretary of his local. No local will be entitled to send delegates unless in good standing at the time of the convention. A local to be in good standing at that time must send in its dues for the month of January prior to the opening of the convention. Memers will kindly take particular note of this. The comrades of St. Paul and Minneapolis will endeavor to look after the welfare of the delegates from outside the Twin Cities while attend-ing the convention, so that the expense of the delegates will only be railroad fare. Locals should take this mat ter up at their next regular business meeting, and decide in regard to the number of delegates they will send, and notify the State Secretary at once so as to give ample time to prepare for their entertainment. This state convention should mark an epoch in the history of Socialism in this state, and there ought to be a large representation. The campaign for 19004 will be a momentous one for Socialism, and every comrade in Minnerota should put forth his best efforts to be equal

#### Here and There.

State Secretary J. P. Roe of Nebras ka writes under date Dec. 24: "There have been two significant occurre in Omaha this week. On Sunday, Dec. 20, Carl D. Thompson held a secret conference with the following members of the so-called Propaganda Club: F. H. Alexander, T. Smith, J. B. Ran-dolph, J. L. Burke, Wm. Wardlow; and, I think, four others, including two women. Following immediately upon that caucus, F. H. Alexander withdrew his application for membership in Local Omaha, saying that he had been in correspondence with prominent members of the National Committee, under whose advice he was acting, and that he had their assur

ance that he would be in the party within six months." A copy of the appeal for funds for Daily Globe, published last week, has been malied to every Socialist local in the land at considerable expense and after much tedlous volun-tary labor. It is to be hoped that comrades will not consider this appeal lightly when it is read at branch meet-ings, but that every local will take inmediate action and mail the resulting contribution to William Butscher, Financial Secretary, 279 Hooper street, Brooklyn, N. Y. Comrades, make your returns so large that they will be an encouraging and inspiring help to the Socialists of New York in their struggle to establish a Socialist daily newspaper of national prominence. All moneys received for this purpose will be acknowledged in The Worker

The Socialist press of the United States has been strengthened by the addition of an Aremnian paper, "Erltassard Hayastan" ("Young Armenio", published weekly at 63 Harrison street, Boston. This is the American organ of the Menchakist or Social Democratic wing of the Armenian revolutionists, as distinguished from the Alfarists, or physical-force party. Socialism is growing rapidly among the Armenians, both in their native ountry, now groaning under Russian and Turkish rule, and among the thousands whom oppression has driven nto other lands.

Leon Greenbaum and James S loche have issued a pamphlet on "The Trade Union Movement and the Socialist Party," criticizing the party and contending that trade unionism and, eventually, political action in a Union Labor party will achieve the emancipation of the working class. Comrades who are curious can get a copy for five cents from Leon Green m, 4014A Evans avenue, St. Louis

Bolton Hall, the well known Single Taxer of New York spoke for Local Washington, D. C., of the Socialist Party last week. There was a large and attentive audience, and although the daily papers of the capitol had announced his coming with the meanest institutions as to his as-sociation with John Turner, the An-archist, there was no interference with the meeting. Comrade Wood writes: Though differing with us politically in harmony in rebelling against the Russian methods now employed by the national government. Such a speech would have been an impossibility in Washington a year ago. The police have avidently decided that the Social-

## National Platform of the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party of America in national

The Socialist Party of America in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principies of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the erganization of the working class and those in sympathy with it, into a political party with the colject of concerning the powers of government and using them for the party private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the entire to people.

Formerly the tools of production were shiply the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were shiply the machine, which is but an implication of the means of the shiple and the state of the means of the means of the shiple and distribution is responsible for the expitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the expitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the expitalist to control the product and keep the working class. The possessor of the control of the means of the struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the struggle is now between the capitalist class can be control of the government, the press, the pulpit, and the schools, and enables them to reduce the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between and tons, indiscriminate singulations, indiscriminate singulation of the sone of the capitalist class clauses. But the same conomic interest of the capitalist class clauses which derephyde capitalism are leading to Socialism.

ion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will about hot the capitalism 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 condicts, are alike interested in the uphylding 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 law of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class of the capitalist class.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

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 stage 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

As such means we advecate:

1. The public connecting of all means of transportation and communication and an ather public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolles, trusts, and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of takes on property of the capitains, but to be applied wholly to the intrease of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours

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 eighteen years, and state and numicipal silt for books, cloring, and food.

6. Equal citil and political rights for mea and women. 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 capitalise; and the establishment of the Co-operative Common-

ists are toc 'strenuous' to be subpressed. Comrade Adams had to go to jail to establish the right of free speech here, but the present instance ndicates that we have succeeded in

#### THE NEW YORK

Section 2. Section 3. Sag Harbor...... Long Island City.. 27 Troy ..... Utica ...... 12 Johnstown ...... 9 Ft. Edward. . . . . . Watertown . . . . . . New York...... 98 Albany . . . . . 3
New Rochelle. . . .
Port Chester . . 2 New Rochelle. . . . Pert Chester. . . . Peekskiil . . . . . 26 Jamestown . . . . 19 Syracuse 405 698 292 706

Section 4 .- Yes 508, No 479 Section 5 .- Yes 567, No 477 Section 6.—Yes 557, No 497 Section 7.—Yes 576, No 475 Section S .- Yes 589, No 474 Section 9,-Yes 620, No 422

From Local Troy we have received a return blank marked with crosses without giving the number of votes cast. To my inquiries as to the num ber of votes cast I have received no answer. I have notified Local Troy that on its returns I can count only one vote and will so enter.

rades. The vote will be canvas the State Committee and the final re

State Secretary. New York, Jan. 5. Organizer Solomon reports Local

SOCIALISM AND TRADE UNIONISM.

The two following resolutions were unaulmously adopted by the National Committee at its angual meeting at St. Lauis, January

RELATIONS OF PARTY AND UNIONS. The National Committee of the Socialist Party in amount seesion assorbhied, hereby reaffirms the attitude of the party toward the trade-union movement as expressed in the resolution on the subject adopted by the Indianapolis convention of 1901.

he indiangodis convention of 1991. We consider the trade-inion movement and the Socialist movement as inseparable arts of the grieral abor movement, proposed by the same concernle forces and ending towards the same conf. and we erm if the duty of each of the two movements towards the entry co-operation and appart to the other in its special sphere activity.

But we are also mindful of the fact that ick of the two movements has its own

Whereas, The history of the labor move-sont of the world has conclusively demon-nited that a Socialist Party is the only efficial organization able to adequately and ansistently conduct the political struggles the worlding class, and

of the working class, and
Whereas, All "radient and reform" purles, including the so-called "Union Labor
arties," baye, after a brief existence, unlformly succumbed to the influence of the
dipolifical parties and have proven disstrous to the ultimate end of the labor
novement, and

movement, 84d
Whereas, Any alliance, direct or indirect,
with such parties is dangerous to the political integrity and the very existence of the
Socialist Party and the Socialist movement,
Resolved, Tint no state or local organization, or member of the party shall, under
any circumstances, fuse, combine or compromise with any political party or organization, or refrain, from making nominations
atton, or refrain, from making nominations
that the parties of organization,

23rd, yes 14, no 7; 24th, yes 23, no 1; 26th, Br. 1, yes 0, no 6; 26th, Br. 2, yes 0, no 20; 28th, yes 0, no 44; 35th, yes 0,

no 76; 31st, yes 0, no 16; 32-33rd, yes 0;

no 14;; 34th, yes 0, no 14; 35th, Br. 1, yes 20, no 13; 35th, Br. 2, yes 0, no 18; annexed Br. 1 dld not vote; annexed

branch 2, yes 1, no 25. Total-Yes, 98;

Life Insurance business, as ports of the large companies, does not.

ndicate any slackening in the demand

for this kind of protection and semi-

investment. The New York Life's an-

nual report, which we publish to-day,

shows over a million dollars in new

and twenty-six millions. This is the

force now exceeds seventeen hundred million dollars, which is also a record

breaker in the history of the business.

It had been thought that the heavy de-

of all financial institutions; but the

come, the largest amount of insurance

Annual Entertainment and Ball

given by the

Social Democratic Club

to be held on

Saturday Eve., January 16, 1904

Beginning at 8 P. M. sharp, at

ODD FELLOWS' HALL AND CASING

w York Life announced several

New York's vote on the state referendum by Assembly Districts as follows: Shall the state headquarters be removed to Rochester? 1-3-5th, yes 2, no 7: 4th, yes 0, no 18: 6-10th, yes 3, no 7; 4th, yes 0, no 18; 6-10th, yes 3, no 28; 7-9-25, yes 5, no 10; 8th, did not ote: 11th, yes 0, no 4; 12th, yes 0, no 11: 13th, yes 7, no 7; 14th, yes 5, no 16; 15-17th, yes 8, no 5; 16th, yes 6, no 16; 18-20th, yes 0, no 8; 19th, yes 1, no 2; 21st, yes 2, no 21; 22d, yes 1, no 24;

ro, 440.

STATE REFERENDUM. following is the tabulated vote on Sections 2 and 3 of the proposition recently submitted to general vote in the state of New York. These two

sections read as follows: "Sec. 2.—The State Committee shall onsist of one delegate from each county of the state of New York, except Local Rochester. The latter shall elect five members residing in the city of Rochester to constitute the Local Quorum. This State Committee shall

serve until the next convention "Sec. 3.-Local Rochester shall have the authority to fill the yacancies and have the power of removal."

Yes. No. Yes. No. . . . . . 15 . . . 15 . . . . 15 paid-for business for every working day in 1903, a total of three hundred largest new business ever reported by any company in twelve months. The New York Life's paid-for insurance in cline in the market value of securities would make a big hole in the surplus years ago that it would not thereafter invest in stocks, and sold what it then held while the boom was on. Its holdings of bonds show less depreciation than United States bonds or British Consols, and its unassigned surplus shows so small a shrinkage that it does not include therein some two mil-lion dollars of excess of market values over book values. The report is the best ever presented by the Company, and shows that it has the largest in-

in force, and the largest new business of any company in the world. Section 10.—Yes 671, No 395 Section 11.—Yes 654, No 391 Down Town Young People's

The above is merely an announcement for the information of the com

ult announced.
HENRY L. SLOBODIN.

67-69 St. Mark's Place (Eighth Sreet) Address by John Spargo. first class talent will appear. Music by Local 310, A. F. of M. Ticket, admitting Gentleman and

Lady, 25c. Extra lady, 15c. A good time guaranteed to all.