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# The Worker.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 27, 1903.

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VOL. XIII.-NO. 39.

# I WANT TO BE COUNTED.

By Horace Traubel.

I want to be counted. I do not want count? You are vold. You have stand out from the rest. I am will- brought yourself as an empty vessel to stand out from the rest. I am willing and glad to remain in the crowd. cause is not too proud a job for me. gins of performance? Are you to The proudest job in the cause is not stand by and see all things done and too humble a job for me. Here I stand. I am ready. I want to be to have this crisis come and you slink stand. I am ready. I want to be counted. Come early or come late I shall hear the call. You may raise your voice in my hardest sleep and it will arouse me. Or in the blare of the botsternes day and it boisterous day and it will single me | bravely back than stand still like a out. God is not way off somewhere waiting to be worshipped. God is in the cause. And in the cause I worship God. The counters are abroad. They

heir ailies. I want to be counted.

Do you think you would like to be left out? Do you think you would like the list all made up without your name? We are all alike. We are sauced had and good. We are as beautiful as a beautiful idea of God and as ugly as an ugly idea of the devil. But in spite of our criss-cross each man may count one. I do not want to count more than one. But I want to count all of one. And I want that one to be significant. I want that one to enjoy the full distinction of its unial office. I can make my one mean it a sunburst. I can make it an eclipse. It is up to me to make it conserve the noblest impulse. Why should I quote myself at the lowest figure? That is not modesty. It is default. I must rate myself high. I must make my rating good. I want to be counted. I want to achieve the victory of that sublime classification. I do not want my name at the head of the list. I am satisfied to have it come anywhere on the list. Only I want it on the list. I want to figure in the assets of the orid's love. Life is a failure when

Are you counted for love? Are you an enfranchised being awakened to the heart? I think you, too, want to be counted. Counted for the children of the next frost. Counted for the largest faith. Counted for, not against, the race. Counted on the side of things that move on. Not counted on the side of things that stand still. Counted for the oppressed. Counted for the general joy. Counted for en-largement. Not counted for degenera-tion. What does life amount to if it betrays life? What does life amount go back. You cannot stay where you mind and venture out upon the historic current. Man is taking account of hearts. Is your heart to be counted? Is your will to be given to decadence? To be pieced out, one piece for folly and one for faith? Or is your will to be one will anointed for the temple? If you cannot count one what can you be counted.

CAMPAIGN FUND.

13.60

3.60

1.00

4.15

2.00

1.00

Further contributions to the New York City campaign fund of 1903 are

Eichler's brewery.......\$ Conrad Stein's, List 3437....

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2397 ..... S. D. Women's Soc., Br. 4,

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Kranken Kasse, Br. 23, List 3013, collected in Mehlen's

Kranken Kasse, Br. 158, List

Do., List 3066.....

Do., List 3067.....

Wm. Bolhöfer, List 708.

Brooklyn, List 3331 .....

as follows:

Brewers' Union No. 1-

to the feast of the future. You have violated the covenant. Are you to be only a fraction hovering on the mar away somewhere in some shadov waiting for the storm to blow over Rather be counted for reaction. Rather be against the new world. Rather go weakling or sneak away like a coward But as for me, count me in the rebel advance. Let me pioneer with the new day. Let me keep on with the stream. Let me be an atom of the plainest earth. Let me be a drop of the commonest water. Let me be an unseen star somewhere in space. But

let me be counted.

I do not know the next turn of the road. But I know we are near by. And I know that when we make the turn we will see the light. And I intend to keep up with the gang. My feet may be sore. My eyelids ma; be heavy. I may be tempted to give up. But I will stick to the pilgrim crowd. I know there are lures in the life we are leaving. But I know there is justice in the life ahead. We lived the life of yesterday for a few. We will live the life of to-morrow for all. We lived the life of yesterday for property. We will live the life of to-mor-row for man. We are not asking for more food and clothes. We are asking tor more life. Life, is what we want Life full of life until it overflows with life. If we need food to help us to get life then we will have food. But life is what we want. Life for all. Every cup full. No one left to thirst with a deficit. I want to be counted for life What will give us life? You do not think n oney will give life? Or private property? Or anything which gives life for a consideration? Life must be a free gift. The gift of the whole to the whole. The gift of all to all. Life belongs to all. Scamp and saint? There is enough of the best life for all. I expect life to retrieve life. I expect under the new arrangement to

Kranken Kasse, Br. 4, Brook-

lyn
W. F. Ehret, List 142...
Fred Hummerich, Brooklyn,
List 1838...
Wm. Schef, List 472...
Ladles' Br., Lassalle Maennerchor. Brooklyn

nerchor, Brooklyn, .....

Lemperle .....

Burlich .....

Ph. Bauer. F. Kepp, List 452. B. Wolf, Brooklyn (List lost)

Henry E. Krause, List 308.

John Assel, List 637.....

Morritz Princer, List 424.,

D. Wennen's Society, Bronx, Lists 3245, 3247,

Carpenters' Union, No. 309,

Fred. Schmidt, List 876.... R. Bock, balance on list 66... William Meyer, List 2751...

Richard Hoppe, List 240 ....

G. Vogt, List 3292.....

Do., List 3264. ..

2.50

I want to be alive all over. And then counted. Counted in the assets of see the ranks intact. The celestial lag-gards will all catch up. The stomachs will catch up with food. The brain will catch up with thought. The soul nothingness of an indifferent will catch up with dream. No man rest. The man who goes ahead will go ahead by the free will and as the delegate of the rest. He will not in-crease his estate. He will broaden the acres of his sympathy. But there are some terrestrial things that will never catch up. The interests will not catch up. The profits will not catch up. The landlord will not catch up. The deeds, the mortgages, the liens, the buyings, the seiling will not catch up. I see the chast. . see the dark road. I n scheduled for retreat? The know we grope and stumble and are tired. But we grope knowing we are to touch something. We stumble to get up again. We tire only to rest and rest only to start once more. And we are almost at the turn of the road.
And when we reach the turn we reach
the light. And that is why I want to

# NEW YORK CITY VOTE.

Final Official Figures for Social Democratic Candidates-Gain of 72 Per Cent. Over 1901.

Charles L. Furman, Social Deme cratic candidate for Mayor of New York, received in the recent election, according to the final official canvass, according to the final official canvass, 11,318 votes in New York County (Manhattan and the Bronx), 4,529 in Kings County (Brooklyn), 970 Queens County, and 133 in Richt County; in all, 16,956-a gain of 7,122 over our vote for the same office in the last city election in 1901.

Morris Brown, for Comptroller, re ceived 11,874 in New York County 4,716 in Kings, 1,005 in Queens, and 135 in Richmond; in all, 17,730-a gain of 7,793.

Peter J. Flanagan, for President of the Board of Aldermen, received 11,917 in New York, 4,859 in Kings, 1,015 in Queens, and 136 in Richmond; in all,

Richard Bock, for President of the Borough of Manhattan, received 10,030 a gain of 4,337. Gustav Dressler, for President of the

Borough of the Bronx, received 1.518gain of 705. Cortes W. Cavanaugh, for President of the Borough of Brooklyn, received 4,5/20-n gain of 2,013.

Frank Bessen, for President of the borough of Queens, received 987-a gain of 401. Christopher Ward, for President of

the Borough of Richmond, received 131-a gain of 24.

### LABOR SECRETARIAT. The last monthly meeting of the La-

or Secretariat was presided over by

No. 35. Credentials were presented by

Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union

Bro. F. Larson of Bricklayers' Unio

No. 26 for M. Wilks, Brotherbood of Carpenters No. 12 and 56, for P. Brog-lie, Jr., and A. B. Schilling, Bakers' Union No. 7, for C. H. Schaefer, and all were accepted. The Assistant Sec-retary reported on the agitation for the Brooklyn branch, and recommended that such a branch be opened on Dec. 1. The recommendation was accepted, and the Board given full power in the matter. Attorney J. Hillquit reported, among other mat-ters, that about ten members of United Carriage and Wagon Workers' .. os. 26 and 110 have a claim for wages against a bankrupt firm, and although it is true that wages are in such cases the first claims to be settled, it is also true that it takes a few months before a settlement can be effected, as all creditors must file proof of claim with the referee. A case where a mad dog bit a child of one of the members of the Carpenters' Union was brought to the attention of the counsel; a letter was written to the owner of the dog and the claim was settled. A claim for damages by a member of Butchers' Union No. 211 was taken under consideration. A member of Beer Drivers' Union No. 24 has a claim for wages against the Elm Brewing Co.; the action is pending. Baker Boss Harlem, who used the union la bel without the permission of Bakers Union No. 305, was notified by counse and the use of labels was discontin ued. A similar charge by Bakers' Union No. 25, against Boss Baker Seiss, is pending. Bakers' Union No. 320 brought several shops to the atten tion of counsel on account of unsani-tary condition; the inspectors of the various departments were notified to this effect, and, as in some cases no remedy was made, action was begun in court against the bosses. A mem-ber of Machinists' Union No. 335 had a claim for \$10 for breach of contract against his boss; this was compro-mised for \$7.50. Another member of the same union has a claim for \$50, back wages; action was begun. A member of Bakers' Union No. 1, who left his position before his week was up, and then claimed for work done, the laws of New York the boss does not need to pay a cent to an employe who leaves his job before the week i up. Not even sickness is a legal ex-No. 309 had a claim for \$12.25, wages settled for \$12. The case of Spengler, member of Carpenters' Union No. 56, who was killed while at work, and whose family brings a claim for dam-ages against the contractors, is in the hands of counsel. Bakers' Union No. 50 reported unsanitary conditions in 50 reported unsanitary conditions in several shops; the inspector was noti-fied, and the union is requested to watch the shops in question, and if no change is made in thirty days to no-tify the Secretariat. H. E. Kintlein was re-elected as Assistant Secretary. was re-elected as Assistant Secretary.
Delegates absent were: Baaers' No.
88, L. Sauer, ninth time: Bakers' No.
25, H. Werner and H. Happe; Bakers'
No. 93, J. Ronner and O. Rollman;
Butchers' No. 50, Ch. Suchmensky;
Cigarmakers' No. 90, Aug. Lange;
Cerrenters' No. 300 Chas. Rollman; Carpenters' No. 309, Chas. Rollmann Bricklayers' No. 85, J. Rupp; Painter, and Decorators' No. 499, E. Gass and Aug. Sessler; Engineers' No. 1, J. Ehrenperger; Carriage and Wagon Work-ers' No. 135, J. Ried; Carpenters No. 201, J. Weigl; Jewelry Workers No. 1, H. Weigert, R. Scheftel and E. Koer picus; Machinists' No. 318, A. F. Muel picus; Machinists' No. 318, A. F. Muel-ler: Carpenters' No. 32, M. Brown; Bakers' No. 320, G. Solimene; Bakers' No. 284, I. Herleth and O. Haar; Bar-bers' No. 507, J. Schwarze; Wagon Workers' No. 110, E. Duffy; Bakers'

No. 305, Alex. Braun. Next meetin Dec. 26, at 8 p. m.

port that: "labor organizations are ac

cepting reduction in wages withou controversy." They are like the de

when asked if she was "reconciled to

The Leader.

DR. JOHNSON'S PREDICTION. Depend upon it, sir, this rage for trade will destroy itself. You and I will not live to see it; but the time will come when there will be an end to it. Trade is like gaming. If a whole company are gamesters, play must cease, because there is nothing to be won. When all nations are traders there is nothing to be gained by trade, and it will stop where it has been brought to the greatest perfection: to wit, in Britain.—Dr. Samuel Johnson,

Previously acknowledged, 2.641.12

—Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor. said the other day that he had read Socialism in two languages. He had better have understood it in one.— .75 | Eugene V. Debs.

### FROM ROCHESTER.

Workingmen Have Abundant Practice Demonstration of the Class Struggle In That City.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Dec. 21.-The working people of this city have had abundant lessons in the theory and practice of the class struggle during the present year and perhaps this goes far to account for the splendid increase of the Sceial Democratic vote here last nonth.

There has been a carpenters' strike on since last May, a butcher' strike since June, a machinists' strike for the same length of time, and now a strike of clothing cutters which has already

On Oct. 2 the Clothing Cutters Union asked for a conference with the local clothing manufacturers' combine to discuss the eight-hour question. The organized bosses refused to meet the workingmen in conference or to recognize them in any way. The union then immediately made a formal de-mand for the establishment of the eight-hour day and gave notice that if this was not conceded by Oct. 12 a strike would be declared. The demand was refused and the strike began. The eight-hour day prevails am ag the clothing cutters in most parts of the country and the Rochester cutters determined not to remain longer behind in the movement. But the Rochester bosses were resolved to break up the union so that they could have an absolutely free hand and dictate hours pay, and conditions at their pleasure In this attempt they have been aided by all their brother capitalists of the clothing trade and by capitalists of all trades in the city. The local daily press has been completely on the bosses' side in this, as in other strikes

In this strike, as in those of the car-penters, machinists, and butchers, the power of the law has also been used against the workingmen. Injunctions of a sweeping nature have been freely issued against the unions, orderly "pickets" have been brutally bandled by the police, and union men arbi-trarily arrested on trumped-up charges and dragged off to jail like thieves or

All this, of course, is nothing new It is just what the working class is suffering, to a greater or less degree, now here and now there, wherever the workers try to better their condition

or to aspire to freedom The conduct of the local daily press both toward the strikers and toward the Social Democratic movement has been shameful. Every act of the unions and of the Social Democratic Party has been either ignored or misrepresented and maligned. Especially since election, the results of which seem to have been to the capitalists like a red rag to a bull, they have been carefully and diligently lying about Socialism—and not only lying about our principles, but stooping to petty meanuesses to hamper our work. Thus, if we give notice of a meeting for Friday, they will announce it as for Saturday, or else name the wrong hall, in order to mist ad people and make them think that we have failed to hold the meeting. In the reports of the Sunday Labor Lyceum lectures and discussions, every Socialist speaker is faisely reported, while care is taken to report fully and even to "fix up" and improve the speeches of those who oppose Socialism. It is this which has decided the local comrades to try to start a weekly Socialist paper here, to offset such misrepresentations.

# THE DIFFERENCE

The great Christian powers stood aghast at the atrocities of the heathen Their blood bolled with right cous indignation. The time had come for concerted action

"I have disposed of the Finns, and have nearly cleared out the Jews at Kishineff and other places," said Russia, her face beaming with benevavenge the crueities perpetrated by the infidel, Christianity calls on us for action. On to Constantinople! Avenge our slaughtered brethren! Seize the

"Now that the Boers have been kill ed or driven from their homes," cried John Bull, his sturdy figure vibrant with indignation and horror, "the vo of humanity calls on us to prevent fur-ther massacres. And, anyhow, it won't do to let Russia gain too much influ

ence in that part of the world." "The water cure has fallen into disfavor and the Flipinos' hopes of inde-pendence squeiched," observed Uncle Sam. "Now we must teach the Turk that he cannot be allowed to slaughter nen, women and children."

"Germany's forces have not had much practice since the massacres of Chinese about Pekin," exclaimed the Jerman emperor, "But the mailed figt is now ready to deliver a blow for the cause of Christianity. The heathen

"My troops have taught the natives deserved lessons in Madagascar, Al-giers and China," echoed France. "Now, in the name of humanity, we will join in demanding of the sultan that he end these atrocities." The heathen Turk, while frighter

was also plainly somewhat pursled.

"Perhaps my soldiers have been a little too strenuous," he observed, in answer to the horrified protests of the virtuous Christian powers. "But it seems to me that they are only doing, on a little larger scale, what your own troops have done."

The Christian powers stood even

re aghast than at first "Blasphemous yretch!" they ex-claimed in horrified chorus. "Your ca-reer has been one of conquest and massacre, ours one of benevolent as-similation."—Edwin J. Webster, in

# MORE WAGE CUTS.

Multiplied Signs of Prosperity's Collapse.

From All Parts of the Country Come Reports of Reduction of Wages or Closing of Works. CHICAGO, Dec. 19 .- Four thousand

men employed by the Illinois Steel Company in South Chicago with be laid off for an indefinite period on Thurs day, according to a notice sent out by the officials of the company to-day. JOLIET, Ill., Dec. 21.-The suspension of work at the Illinois Steel Com

pany's plant here will be practically complete by the end of the week. The converter and billet mills, employing 1.000 men, closed down to-day. CHICAGO, Dec. 21.—President Eugene J. Ruffington of the Illinois Steel Company termed the shutting down of

gave Jan. 15 as the date of probable reumption. Four thousand steel mill laborers at South Chicago, employees of the Illi-nois Steel Company, have been notified that they will be laid off next Thurs-

the Joliet mills the usual closing, and

Thirteen hundred employees of the slab, open hearth, and slate mills have already been discharged.

HOUGHTON, Mich., Dec. 21.-The wages of iron mine employees of the Oliver Mining Company, which is the fron ore end of the Steel Trust, will be reduced 1314 per cent, on Jan. 1. PITTSBURG, Penn., Dec. 21.-Semi official information was given out to-

day that a general reduction in wages is to be made at all non-union iron and steel plants in the country that will average about 10 per cent. SHARON, Penn., Dec. 21.-It is offi-

cially announced here to-day that the wages of the furnace workers of the Mahoning and Shenango Valleys will be reduced about 10 per cent. The Shenango Furnace Company was the first to make the cut, and the independents, it is said, will make a similar TORONTO, Ontarlo, Dec. 21.-Em-

plovees of the Massey Harris Company manufacturers of agricultural imple-ments, numbering about 1,500, were notified to-day of a reduction in wages amounting in some cases to 10 per

PUEBLO, Col., Dec. 21.—Notices were posted at the colorado Fuel and Iron Works to-day that when the works resume, which probably will be within a few days, it will be at a reduction of 10 per cent, in wages of skilled employees.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 22.-A reduction of about 10 per cent, in the wages of 700 of the original 3,000 men of the American Bridge Company at Pencoyd was announced to-day.

ri\_TSBURG, Dec. 22.—Thomas La Lewis, National Vice President of the United Mine Workers of America, at a mass meeting at Irwin, Penn, to-night opened a campaign planned to stop the slashing of wages starte, in Westmoreland County, which threat ens the existence of the yearly con-tracts in Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and which agreements form the nucleus of the subse-quent wage scales of the other bituminous producing states.

Mr. Lewis declared the intention of the organization to be to fight the 7 per cent, wage reduction made by the Jamison Company of Greensburg, even to the dissolution of the \$10,000,000 in the treasury of the miners.

During the day there was a conference of officials of the miners, and it was determined to place the entire force of Pittsburg District organizers, about thirty strong, in the field to

It is said that the coke workers also will fight the reduction announced last week, and it remains to be seen how the organized steel workers will meet the proposed reduction of pay in their

when the probability of strikes against wage-cuts is mentioned is: "Let them strike, we are not unwilling to have our works closed for a while, we can stand it longer than they can.'

### THE WEEK'S FAILURES Bradstreet's reports 239 failures in

the United States against 241 for the previous week and 225, 262, 262, and 211 for the corres ponding weeks of 1902 to 1899. About 87 per cent of the total number of cor erns failing had capital of \$5,000 or ess and 7 per cent. had from \$5,000 to \$20,000 capital.

### LECTURE CALENDAR FOR NEW YORK

Lectures for the week under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party and auxiliary organizations, whether by Socialist or non-Socialist eakers, and by Socialist sp fore other organizations, are listed be low. Un'ess otherwise stated, lectures

onial Hall, 101st street, near Co umbus avenue. George D. Herron. Socialist Literary Society, 232 Eas Broadway. Wm. Edlin: "Practica SUNDAY, JAN. 4.

SUNDAY, DEC. 27.

Women's Henry George League, 224 East Sixty-second street, George D. Herron: "The Economic Release of Genius."

SUNDAY, DEC. 27.

Wursier's Hall, 315 Washington street. Gaylord Wilshire; "The Im-conding Unemplayed Problem and Its

# FOR THE DAILY.

Every Local in the Land Asked to Help.

"Volkszeitung" Conference Will Give Half the Proceeds of Its February Festival-Growth of the Fund.

The work for the Dally Globe is now being prosecuted with renewed vigor, and a number of the comrades in Greater New York are again taking hold and doing their part toward rais ing the fund necessary for its estabto be done and every comrade is call ed upon to do his share. The work of tions and getting new pledges need attention in every assembly district and comrades who wish to see the next presidential campaign, are urged to report their intention to the district organization to which they belong and o begin at once to gather funds.

Comrade Butscher has been hard a work sending out letters to holders o punch-cards, requesting their early re turn with the money collected thereon A direct appeal for funds for the Daily Globe is also being sent to every loca of the Socialist Party in the United States, and it is hoped that they will not disregard the appeal or place it or file without due consideration, but will contribute as liberally as they can. The appeal will be published in the next issue of The Worker.

The Board of Managers has been ference decided at its last meeting to grant the request of the committeesent to them from the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association to turn over to the Daily Globe Fund one-half of the proceeds of the festival to be held on February 22 at Grand Central Palace. At its next meeting the Board of Managers will take steps to assist the committee in charge of the festival so as to make it as big a

der consideration the holding of an outdoor entertainment, bordering or an amateur circus, early next spring Comrade Butscher has been instruct ed to make further investigation and report as to the advisability of giving

The following amounts have been received since the last report:

CASH CONTRIBUTIONS. Miss Mathilde Well, Phila-\$12.50 Sedom, New Haven, Conn ...

Boungli, New Haven, Conn. Br. 8, Socialist Party, Hartford, Conn. ..... Christina Steige, Washington Kingston, N. Y. Punch card 479, N. Y. H. & G., N. Y. City ...... Previously reported .....

Total contributions ..... \$2,244.90 CASH ON PLEDGES.

Goldman, Brooklyn ...... Minkowsky, Brooklyn ..... Mimkavsky, Brooklyn ..... O. M. Fricke, Corona, L. L... Chas. Kircher, Glendale, L. I. Wm. G. Smith, Glendale, Fiess, Glendale, L. 1 ... Previously reported ..... 3,290.95

Total collections previously reported ..........\$14,275.33 Contributions for week ..... 20.60 Cash on pledges for week ...

Total collections to date ... \$14.304.45 NEW PLEDGES.

Previously reported ...... \$7,884.00 Henry Frembd, Corons, L. I. Otto Fricke, Corona, L. I...... Morris Pollack, Brooklyn .... Jacob Oglentsky, Brooklyn. .

The New York Globe Con et at the Labor Lyceum on Dec. 10. The Secretary was instructed to con municate with all trade unio other labor organizations in Manhat tan and the Bronx, inviting them to elect two delegates each to the Cor ave elected, to ensure their regular attendance at the meetings, which are held on the second Thursday of each month at 64 E. Fourth street. At the

# neeting of Jan. 14 election of officer A TIMELY VERSE.

Vhere would be our free opinion Where the right to speak at all, If our sires, like us distrustful, Had been deaf to duty's call, and concealed the thoughts within

Lying dowr-for fear to fall? -James Russell Lovell.

-The Boston "Post," in an edi horial on Nov. 5, says "If instead of comparing Chase's vote this year with the vote he got last year, we go back to the year before, we shall see of 250 per cent. A party that holds a 250 per cent gain in two years and that stands at double the voting strength it had three years ago, must be counted in the game of politics.

-The country is threatened with more benevolence, judging from the advance in the price of petroleum.-

# NO FREE SPEECH IN PATERSON.

# Mayor and Police Forbid Turner Protest Meeting.

Bluecoats Close Hall Hired by Free

Speech League - Authorities Doing Their Utmost to Drive People to Violence. The authorities of Paterson, N. J. have taken one more step well adapted

to lower the repute of their city and well adapted to foster the growth of Anarchism in its most extreme form. The Free Speech League, an organization composed principally of very moderate "reformers" and "radicals," had arranged for a mass meeting to be held in the Institute Hull at Pater son last Friday evening, for the pur-pose of presenting to the public the facts in the case of John Turner and

rotesting against the arbitrary action of the United States government in ordering him deported, without trial, ostensibly for mere "dispellef in government"-actually for belief in the class struggle and working-class soll-darity. Arthur Pleydell, Bolton Hall, and Moses Oppenheiner were to be the speakers.

Chief of Police Graul, at the last mo-

nent, notified the proprietor of the hall that the meeting must not be held. half, but were turned away by a squad of policemen who stood at the doors forbid entrance. . No Anarchist meeting here; that's orders,' was their reply to all questions.

Mr. Hall protested, saying that the hall had been hired, the meeting all arranged, that it would be orderly and had been advertised. The policeman in charge said he had orders from the Chief of Police not to allow any meet-ing and that the Chief had his orders from Mayor Hinchliffe.

Mr. Hall said he and his party went to see the Chief of Police at headquarters. He told them no meeting should take place and that the Mayor had ordered it stopped. The Mayor was appealed to and roughly refused to onsider his decision.

Mr. Hall wrote a letter to the Pater-sen "Guardian" protesting against this new infringement on the right of free speech. Whether the League will take any further action we are not in-

### TO REACH THE RANK AND FILE.

That Is the Principal Thing in the View of Barnes and Other Speakers at Sunday's Discussion Meeting.

In spite of the rain, the public meeting called by the 30th A. D. at the Clubhouse in East Elghty-sixth street last Sunday afternoon for the discus-sion of the late A. F. of L. convention was very successful, being the largest meeting of the sort held there for at least two years. J. Mahlon Barnes of Philadelphia was the speaker and his account of the convention was listened to with close attention. He showed that the comparative vote for Socialist resolutions in this and previous conventions was not a safe criterion of the actual strength of Socialism in those bodies or in the affiliated unions, as at New Orleans, for instance, cer-tain delegates with heavy voting power, as Mitchell and Shaffer, supported the amended Socialist resolution while at Boston the same men strongly opposed such a measure. Mit-chell's vote in New Orleans did not mean that all the miners were then Socialists nor did his vote in Boston mean that they were opposed to Socialism. The delegates were not generally elected or instructed upon this issue and they voted on it rather as individuals and often for ulterior rea sons. We know, as a matter of fact, that Socialism has made great progress over 30,000, and the "Hamburger among the rank and file of the unions since the New Orleans convention, and the organized attempt which was made by Gompers and his active supporters to down the Socialists at the Boston convention showed that they also recognized and dreaded its growth.

The Socialist resolution was defeated. What of that? The Democratic national convention just before the Civil War resolved that the slavery question should not be discussed. We know what followed, what happened to the institution of slavery and to the Democratic party. The present economic conditions are opening the minds of the rank and file of the working class, the real workingmen, to So cialist ideas. This being so, we need not be disturbed at the opposition the conservative "leaders," accept the new truth till it is forced upon them.

An extended discussion followed, in which many comrades took part, with a general agreement that the important thing is to carry on a campaign of intelligent argument among the rank

"Nothing is lost save honor. Charles Schwab telegraphed to his friends when a receiver was appointed for the United Fakes Shipbuilding Company .- The Whim.

—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

-W. B. Yents, the Irish poet, says there is no more real acting. Mr. Yeats should see some of the members of Congress making their speeches in favor of economy and retrenchment.— Washington Post.

# ATTACK UNIONS IN THE COURTS.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

Organized Workingmen of Cincinnati Are Sued.

Injunction, Damago Suits, and Arrest of Active Members Form Part of Organized Employers' Plan of Campaign.

CINCINNATI, O., Dec. 19.—The Master Plumbers' Association and the Contractors' Association of Cincinnati have begun a campaign of legal perse-cution against the local Plumbing Workmen's Union and the Central Trades Council.

Three suits or sets of suits were entered to-day.

The first is for a blanket injunction

to prevent the unions named from call-ing men out on strike or "in any way interfering" with the plaintiffs' busi-

The second is a damage suit against the unions for \$2,600 alleged to be the amount of loss caused the employers by the strike, and is accompanied by an application to the court to issue an attachment against the funds in the treasuries of the Central Trades Council and the Plumbing Workmen's

The third step is the swearing out of warrants for the arrest of a number of active unionists, charging them with having assaulted one of the

bosses.

The obvious intention of the organized employers is to use the full power of the law in every way to crush, dis-organize, and intimidate the workingmea. Unfortunately for the latter, the majority of them have been voting for the "full dinner-pail" (which they did not get thereby) or something else equally clusive and have falled to realize, when they went to the ballot-box, that their class interests as workingmen had something to do with politics, Consequently the judges, state's attorneys, and executive officials are, with few exceptions, men belonging to the capitalist class or bound to it by interest and association. The workingmen will have to meet the employers' at-tack in courts prejudiced in favor of the employers.

### AUSTRALIAN ELECTION.

The Labor Party is Now Stronger than Either of Old Parties in Both Houses,

MELBOURNE, Victoria, Dec. 16 .-The first of the Commonwealth generni elections at which women exer-cised the right of suffrage was held to-day. The struggle was chiefly over the fiscal question. The Government party favored protection and the Opposition supported free trade, while the Labor Party agreed to sink all fiscal differences with a view to securing the balance of power, which they virtually

held in the last parliament.

The women voters were excellently organized and cast a heavy vote in support of the Labor ticket. A feature of the result is the remarkable success of the Labor Pariy in Victoria, where at the last election they were badly

benten. follows: In the Senate the Labor Party has 17 members, the Ministry has 6 supporters, and the Opposition has 13. In the House the Labor Party has 29, the Ministry has 27, and the Opposi-

tion has 26.

The Labor Party is not a Socialist party but it has grown more compact and aggres ive in recent years, espec-ially through the pressure of the smaller Socialist Labor Party, which is the uncompromising re body in Australia.

THE SOCIALIST PRESS IN GERMANY

over 30,000, and the "Hamburger Echo" 37,400. These being our three leading dailies, it is very satisfactory to note that they hold their own o spite the universal beycott of them on all the railways, bookstalls, etc. The Socialist daily press all over Germany shows a most satisfactory state of affairs. Even the weekly "Neue Zeit." which on account of its scientific character could hardly hope to achieve popularity, has increased its circulation from 3,100 to 3,800. Kautsky is to be congratulated, since no one has better deserved success. No journal in the whole European movement holds such a deserved reputation as Kautsky's, or is so universally quoted and translated.

# BRITISH SOCIALIST OPPOSE

INVASION OF THIBET. The branches of the British Social Democratic Federation are adopting

resolutions to the following effect:
"That this meeting of the Social
Democratic Federation condemns the Government's mercenary invasion of Thibet as being an act of wanton aggression against a peaceful commun ty whose only desire is to be let alone and who refuse to accept the drink, disease and poverty, religious feuds and shoddy commerce of Western civ-

—The strongest candidate the Democratic party can nominate for the Presidency is William Randolph Hearst, publisher of the New York "Journal," Chicago "American," and San Francisco "Examiner." Mr. Hearst is the authority for this statement. He confesses he is a man of unimpeachable youth, unblemished energy, violent liberality, and that his friendship for the people can only be expressed in wood type and red ink.—Milwaukee

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Entered 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 laws, the ocialist Farty is officially recognized unde-te mane of Social Democratic Party, and a emblem is the Arm and Torch, as sho

allove.

The Socialist Party for Social Democratifier in New Yorky should not be confuse with the so-called Socialist Labor Party. The latter is a small, ring-ruled, morbino organization which bitterly opposes the trade unloss and carries on an abusive campaign of shader against the real Socialist movement, which supports the trade unions.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE. ie Socialist Party (the Social Democratic ty of New York has passed through its un general election. Its growing power indicated and its speedy victory for lowed by the great increase of its vois hown in these figures:



The Syracuse "Herald" is one of the few capitalist papers in the state of New York that has the courage and onesty to inform its readers of the strength and the increasing strength of the Socialist vote in the state as shown in the last election. The "He ald": thinks it likely, in view of the 33,309 votes cast in this "off year," that the Social Democratic Party will poll a vote of 50,000 in the state in 1904. Comrades, now is the time to begin work to fulfill that prediction or even, as is possible, to surpass it, Work now to make intelligent Socialists and we shall be sure of the vote eleven months hence.

Several of the Massachusetts paper It may be noted, are frankly recognizing the fact that the falling off of the Socialist vote in that state from 33.629 in 1902 to 25,251 this year, was not a "crushing defeat" for Socialism nor a very brilliant result of the vigor ous and unscrupulous campaign waged against our cause. They note that the te of 1903 is considerable more than double that of 1961, and is more than 150 per cent, above that of 1900, and that there is every probability of its going next year far above the high record of 1902. Their recognition of this fact means that the campaign ngainst Socialism will not be dropped; and that means that the Massachusetts comrades must spare no efforts in the line of thorough economic and po-"tical education and solid party organantion in preparation for the contest at the polls next fall.

The police of Paterson, N. J., have, in violation of all common and statute law. United States and state constitutions, common sense, and common decency, forbidden the holding of a pu' lic meeting to discuss and protest against the lawiess and tyrannical conduct of the government in the Turber deportation case. In our june ment, it is "up to" Local Paterson and the New Jersey State Committee of the Socialist Party to act in this matter. Socialists have established the right of free speech in practise in many places where moderate "reformers" of all stripes falled. Let us add Paterson to the list.

### "CAPITAL" AND "MEANS OF PRODUCTION."

"What is the distinction between 'capital' and 'means of production'? Juts what is capital?" asks a reader. Since a right understanding of the significance of these terms goes far toward making clear the whole theory of Socialism we attempt an answer

The school textbooks of political economy-and many of those who attempt to argue against Socialism in the prese or on the platform have not studied beyond these elementary and very superficial compilations-treat the terms "capital" and "means of production" as synonymous and use them indiscriminately for any product of to carry on their industries without

vealth, from the rough club which the primitive savage uses to kill game to a modern railway or steel mill. They also introduce a distinction-a barren one, as will appear later-between "land," including all the resources of nature, and "capital," which, according to their usage, includes only artificial means of production.

Of course, it is idle to quarrel over definitions, for their own sake. But it is necessary to have clear definitions if we are to think and express our thoughts clearly. The usage of the word "capital" established by Marx and his successors is so well adapted for drawing clearly certain necessary distinctions and is coming to be so generally recognized that it is well that we adhere closely to it.

The principal question at issue in the economic discussions in which these terms are used is the distribution of wealth, as the economists say-that is its division among or appropriation by the various persons concerned, helpfully or otherwise, in its production. So far as concerns this appropriation of the product, it should be evident that the question who owns and controls the means of production used and how he controls it) is of more importance than the question whether that means of production is itself a piece of land or a bed of coal or an artificial product, such as a steamengine. It is with reference to ownership and control, that we make our special definition of the term "capital."

The term "means of production" we apply to any or all of the things which nen use in producing wealth-the club of the primitive savage, the plow and oxen of the old-fashioned farmer, the steam-plow of the great Western wheat farms of to-day, the land that is plowed, the ore-bed, the tools and machinery for getting the ore out, the railway and engines and cars for hauling it, and so on to the end of the chapter.

The means of production-the mas terial things necessary in any given age and country to carry on industry in the then prevalent manner-may be owned and controlled in several different ways, with a corresponding difference in the division of the product and the economic relations of classes in soclety. Roughly, we may distignuish ive forms of ownership:

First the means of production may be the individual property of the man who uses them. Then, owning also his own labor power, the worker indivilually owns the whole product, as a matter of course. To a considerable extent, this is the case in savage and barbarous society. In modern times, among civilized peoples, it has often been the general rule in new and sparsely settled countries, such as America a century ago.

Second, the means of production may be the collective or joint property of the men who use them. Then, as a matter of course, the workers collectively own the product. In primitive society this is the case to a very great extent. We believe that it will again be the rule in the society of the future

Third, the means of production and the man who uses them may both beng absolutely to another man. Then again as a matter of course, the whole product belongs absolutely to the peaster: but out of it he must provide the slave's living, else the slave dies and produces no more for him. This was the rule in the civilization of antiquity, such as Egypt, Greece, and Rome.

Fourth, the means of production nay belong conditionally to a mar who does not use them-the worker having a right to use them and being obliged to render certain payments and services, fixed by law or custom, to he owner; the owner having a righ to require that the worker shall use them and render those dues, but haviry no right to exact heavier dues nor to debar the worker from using the means of production. Then, obviously the owner receives a fixed income out of the product and the residue goes to the worker. This relation of feudal lord and serf was the dominant one in medieval Europe.

Fifth, the means of production may belong absolutely to a man who does not use them and the worker own only his own labor power and own that absolutely. Then the worker must sell his labor power-that is, hire himselfto the man who owns the needfu means of production. The latter, own ing already the means of production and having purchased the labor power owns the product, as a matter of course; but out of it he must pay wages to the worker, else the latte will not work. The worker then gets the market price of his labor powerfixed, roughly, by the cost of sub sistence-and the residue remains to the owner. This relation of employer and wage-worker is the dominant on all over the civilized world to-day and in many countries for a century or tw past.

Whichever of these forms may be the rule in any given age and coun try, one or all of the others may exist at the same time. Thus, there an some independent workers (that is, workers individually or collectively owning means of production sufficient labor used in further production of permission from anyone else) in all

civilized countries to-day, hough wage-labor is the rule. But it is the dominant system with which the economist should chiefly concern himself, not the exceptions. The man who, in discussing current economic problems to-day, constantly lugs in Robinson Crusoe with his ax and the primitive man with his rude club-as, for instance, most Single Taxers do-is like one claiming to be a biologist who should argue from the premise that man is a six-toed animal, because a few six-tood men exist. Robinson Crusoe does not and cannot exist in modern society, except as a mon strosity.

Evidently, then, we need a special term to designate means of production owned and controlled in the special way which is characteristic of and dominant in modern society, the last of the five ways enumerated. This term we have in "capital," as used by Socialists.

Wehn a Socialist speaks of capital he is not speaking of the harpoon which the Eskimo both owns and use and by means of which the Eskimo in dependently gets his living. He is speaking of means of production whether natural or artificial, operated by wage-labor, and yielding an income to the owner by virtue of his owner ship.

word loosely, and speak of the "collective ownership of capital" in the Socialist state or say that under Socialism "the state will be the sole capitalist." This is, perhaps, allowable as a figure of speech-just as we talk of "railroad kings" and "coal barons," knowing well that Vanderbilt's or Car negie's position is essentially different from that of Louis XI or Front de Boeuf. In the Socialist state there will be no capital, no capitalist, no wage-worker, no profit, and no wages there will be associated workers collectively owning the means of produc tion they use. It were well that So cialists should stick close to the strict use of the word "capital," for much confusion follows a misunderstanding of it.

An appropriate way to see the "Old Year out and the New Year in"-make a New Year's gift to the Socialist movement of the United States in the form of a contribution to the Nationa Organizing Fund. If you can spare only ten cents, send that; if you can spare a dollar or two or five, all the better. Send it to William Mailly, National Secretary, McCague Building Omaha, Neb., without delay and mak the last week of 1903 a good one to round out the figures in the annual report.

### COMRADE MASSEY'S ASTONISH ING MOTION.

Seven months ago, the rank and fil of our party decided by a general vote of 3,747 to 2,965, to change the mem bership of the National Quorum. National Committeeman Mills of Kansas immediately moved to set aside the result of the general vote on the ground that it was "unintelligible." This cool proposition was heard with astonishment by the membership and was most decisively rejected by the National Committee-only Richardso of California and Lovett of South Da kota supporting Mills in the plan to overrule the plainly expressed will of the party, and sixteen National Committeemen recording themselves against it.

We did not suppose that anything of the sort would be proposed againfor a few years at least, until we had time to forget that experience. We were mistaken. This time it is No tional Committeeman Massey of North Dakota who astonishes us.

About two months ago a sufficien number of locals moved for a general vote on a proposition to amend the constitution so as to give the organized states representation in the National Committee proportionate to their mem bership. The National Secretary drew up a form for the submission of the question, following exactly the wording used by the locals moving it, as he was in duty bound to do. This form he laid before the National Committe for approval. The members of that body, including Comrade Massey, had three full weeks fn which to conside i. Not one of them objected to its submission to the membership. On November 10 it was so submitted and the voting begun, to close on January 4,-1904.

Now, five weeks after the question was laid before the party for general vote, while the vote is going on and when it is probably nearly completed, Comrade Massey comes up with a proposition that the National Committee declare the whole proceeding out of order and nullify the action of the rank and file, whatever that may prove to have been.

We have no fear that the National Committee will arrogate to itself any such power, but the fact that there should be even one member capable of making such a proposal is regret table enough-regrettable because, ur der all the circumstances, it is guite impossible for us to attribute the act any but a factious motive.

If the news of Comrade Massay' motion has any effect upon the action of the membership in the very few remaining days, it will undor

be to decide some heretofore wave ing ones to vote for the am opposed by such methods. That the amendment ought to be carried seems to us clear. That it will be carried If carried, it will materially reduce the power in the national organization of half-a-dozen men, representing very small and in some cases delinque state organizations, whose prin vocation for the past ten mouths has seemed to be that of obstructing the work in which our present National Secretary has so splendidly borne his

# Current # # # Literature

REVOLUTIONARY ESSAYS in So cialist Faith and Fancy. By Peter E. Burrowes. Cloth, gilt top, 320 pages, with portrait of the author. Price \$1. Here is a book of beauty and now

er, a book in which profound though

and sublimely poetic expression is in-

terspersed with quaint and delightful

wit. Burrowes is a master of words; as marshalled by his magic pen they urge and inspire, thrill and caress, soothe and exalt. In this book the reader will find many laughs, and great upleapings of the heart and far outlookings of the mind. There is surprise in every sentence and a poem in every sentence and with its "motograph"; and "adjectipours forth like a great, golden, sunlit flood. Always the element Truth" (a social application of Unexpectedness is of unexpectedness is great. The nuther's mind is like a kaleido-scope. He is always seeing things from another standpoint and saying perception. In his own words: "Truth them in a new way, ever shifting, changing, flowing, running the gamut from raillery to reverence, from sarcasm to sublimity, yet with a constant assion and purpose underlying all.

But far greater in value than any possible merit of style, is the emphas-is which the author places on the social nature of everything human. To Burrowes Socialism is a religion, in the sense of a passionate relation to life that is, to the social body. All his thought is based on the organic con-ception of society, and guided by the ocial spirit, and hot with the social The fact that the individual and all his works is a social product and inconceivable apart from society he never forgets and never lets his readers forget. Such a writer is sorely needed while so many Socialists are still proclaiming the abstractions of in-dividualism in ethics, and other fields of thought. Too many avowed, active and sincere Socialists are individualistic in the general spirit of their thought and conception of life; in every department of thought exc economics their minds are under the sway of individualism, which is per haps natural while the economic basis of things remains as it is. Burrowes, on the other hand, is a social Socialist, and it is to be hoped that his work will be a wholesome corrective to in-dividualistic Socialists. A realization of the social vature of thought and of all human activity is one of the things most needed within the Socialist movenent itself, and this basic principle of ocialism, which is the key ist thought from economics to ethics, is profoundly and suggestively expressed throughout these "Revolution ary Essays." The following quota

tions for example:

"As the particles of matter which nake up the physical have a habit of coming to, gathering and staying around, a point which we call the cener of gravity. so the thoughts of mer do cluster to the collective thought. and men themselves have ever been gravitating to the social man. The habit when acquired by matter is called a law. That law is the habit of man. The social thinking of to-day is in energy, coming from within the ings of matter, even as electron, that spark indomitable, was born. In this way, mankind flashing back upon each other each one's sense of each, and in the mighty human effort of verybody to help himself by giving pleasure to others, a reciprocity eed, of intent, of effort and will at iast produced a common potency—a potency produced first between two and depending altogether upon them at one time; then continued by many, and ng less upon any one or any few, and then exercised by very many, and depending little, depending less, depending least, and finally not at all depending upon persons, it became an dependent social force, peculiar to makind, An original for increasable, and is still the product of reciprocity as to its intense ss and or reciprocity as to its intenseness and power—the social urge, which will in time give place to the immense tran-quility of the social habit. This great ollective psycho fulfills all the es ials of a universal human soul or law, ecause it is itself at once a product and a producer. 'The product of L ine together, it is also the produ nore togetherness. The product of early physical association, it was spark of mental association, the light and heat of social habitarianism, it passed from brain to brain. Like the electric spark, it could not dwell in any single brain. It runs and lives. It must have a circuit through many; it must have no isolate lives in its circult; it abhors insula-tion. The product of organization, it has in turn an action like that of ertain window-catch I have seen, which not only holds together but draws together as it closed. The pro duct of the organization habit, it becomes itself in turn an organizing ower, and thus reciprocates until the redemption of man fron egoism and private mastership. The product of a physical necessity out of some tremenlous physical peril that once struck a dous physical peril that once struck a few of the early men, was this power to put two brain-impressions on one vi-tal cord, on one common interest, and from that day forth it was created the creator. \* \* \* The law that ob-tains among us does not think by itself nor do by itself. It > our product. Yet not produced by us with any con-

is not a thought nor a thinker; it is not a deed nor a doer, but of collective thoughts and thinkers, deeds and doers it is the sum.

"Do you know anything of the value

that plus x which stands for what three men in one enterprise mean more than each one in a third of the same en terprise? Do you know the strangely, mighty, spiritual plus x which, like the crown of celestial light and power, hovers over the potencies of all those who are working together with those who are working together with one heart and mind? Brother of mine, the God of whose presence I am whis-pering to thee now, the God of an organizing and organized humanity, the plus of all these pluses.

"I draw a great circle. . . . . draw a little circle within that gre one, around the same center. The outer surface from the center of that little circle is where I live, and all the human family inside of that circle is the sub-conscious or social man of his-tory. The inner side of the great cirfrom whence returns upon me and all men the net product of ourselves-the tradition, tendency, will, habit, opin ion, social emotion, enthusiasm, wis great salvation, and entering the small circle beneath us is our collective sub-

not all of his philosophy. He also ven-tures somewhat into metaphysics in tures somewhat into metaphysics in chapters and passages on "truthing,"

is a war on finalities and it is a human affair only when the thinker chooses to move with it. The activity of the hu man mind is but a reflection of the eternal activities outside of us, which is truth. The mind is permitted to be a spectator of the active drama, but tator of that eternal persistency, it re flects but a little segment of the circle. Not until it arises and mingles with the persistency of going on which it beholds, has it become truth, and the mind's only relation to it is the relation of becoming its persistency. The mind, therefore, is not the seat of truth \* \* for truth is afoot, truth is a flowing. The mind may have comething to say about what is truth, though i apprehend that it is easy for us to make too much of that little. • • • Truth is in the will. It is choosing the way with others, It is the choice of that way which abhors arrival. It is the march of the marching. . . . . It is entirely an

ocial faith." in connection with his conceptions the nature of truth Burrowes coins a word, "motograph," (or, rather, gives an entirely different and philosophical fore been used only as a technica term of electricians) to express the motion. In his own words: "There is a life pattern made up by

adjustment, a relation, a course of cou

duct which comes to every man with

the movers and the movements of life; a pattern whose points, threads and lines are thoughts, wills, desires, affect tions, and habits of doing; a which is preserved only by all the parts remaning in motion; just as the pattern of an art tapestry is preonly by all the parts remaining still And the movement which preserves that harmony and correlation god-weaving movement, the movement of which man is a motograph, with his thousands of congenial and god-favor ing surfaces. What is he, this weaver if he be not outside his beam and shuttle holding threads in his hands any tying or breaking them off? He is a weaver who is the thing that is being woven. He is a guiding mov ment among movements, a congeries movements among movements. As the point of a needle traveling is followed by the eye and by the thread, so this moving weaver goes in and and up and down among the his own, and so together with him and he together with them are a live pattern. The keenest point of thought pattern. The keenest point of thoughts leads, the eye of the understanding follows, and the long threads of habit, the will and obedience move after. . . .

"The private life says: "Nay, I will so moves as a vintle, that while going from one room to another, the private life is moved by larger law to Socialism, however self-tentred." If the dog does not go himself, the dog's orbit goes, fust as the stars in their orbits go round the sun; the satellites travel-ing more than the planets because they maintain their own orbit while also orbitally moving."

Notwithstanding the brilliance and soundnes of the essay on "What Is Truth" and other passages of similar purport, when they are properly under stood the author does not make clear enough that he is speaking of social truth, of truth in regard to human wo ciety. On the other hand, he often speaks with an unfortunate disrespect for the method by which knowledge of facts is gained in the physical sci appears to forget that sel dual perception but that it has its own socialness in the comparison and averaging of observed facts, in its gradually perfected instruments, and the continnity of its progress. Disgusted with n of science into n defense of individualism, he seems, on the surface, to fall into the error of repudiating the methods of science in-stead of exposing the fallacies of in-dividual scientists and showing that their conclusions are really un tific. He makes the mistake of under tific. He makes the mistake of under valuing Darwinism and ridiculing Spencer's philosophy of evolution be cause the principle of natural selec-tion has been used against Socialism and because Spencer's social and polit-ical philosophy was the extreme of in dividualism. Spencer's political views

were ridiculous to be sure, but for the very reason that they were inconsist-ent with his own evolutionary philosand contradicted it at every at; and as for the Darwinian the Marx and modern Socialism. Bur

rowes misses the importance of biology; he does not seem to see that the biological evolution of Darwin and the social evolution of Marx are kindred theories, applications of the same prin-ciple in different fields. Biology, indeed, underlies economics—for what is economics but social biology? Our au-thor speaks of "the so-called struggle for self-existence." but as a matter of fact the struggle for existence between whole species, between different sorts of organisms, is just as much a part o. the Darwinian theory; and he comes very near to the social application of this point in the wonderful essay on "The Struggle for a Substitute," evidently thinking that the theory there set forth is something very different from Darwinism. Again he propounds his theory of "involution" (a reversal of the Spencerian formula of development from the homogen-eous to the heterogeneous, and a theory that the individual is flowing into society instead of evolv-ing out of it) as if it were some-thing opposite to the theory of evolu-tion, whereas it is really an essential part of it and almost identical with the "integration" of Spencer, of which pression of the psychological side of it is a social application. Evolution and involution, or development from the homogeneous to the homogeneous two interacting forces of one process Spencer himself uses the word involution in the following passage in his "First Principles": "Evolution has other meanings, some of which are in-congruous with, and some even directly opposed to, the meaning here given to it. . . . As ordinarily un-derstood, to evolve is to unfold, to open and expand, to throw out, to emit; whereas as we understand it, the act of evolving . . . implies that its component matter has passed from a more diffused to a more concentrated state—has contracted. The antitheti-cal word involution would much more truly express the nature of the pro-

Burrowes' philosophical ideas are reaching suggestions, but they suffer from disorderly arrangement and ocensionally from lack of exactness of expression. His book impresses one as being the work of a powerful and original mind thinking out things for itself, after much desultory reading, but without the help, so necessary to every philosopher, of the systematic study and comparison of the ideas of ther great thinkers. In his insiste is sure, and sound, and vital. To ap-

preciate this the reader should co sider the direction of his thought, the thing that he is getting at, rather than his verbal accuracy. The general and detail err in spots and sometim seem to slip back into the abstrac-tions of idealism (using the word here in its individualistic philosophical meaning), especially in some miscon-ceptions of materialism. In occasional that in the beginning man lived by himself alone; more biology would have lead him to believe that before man became man he was a social animal that there was an unbroken continuity of social evolution from the living and doing together of our ape-man an cestors to the organized state of to day; and that by his superior socialness as a pre-human species, man b came man.

Burrowes is also a coiner of words words that are not now in any die ionary but will ultimately enrich then And this is high praise, for a man must know how to use the old words well before he can venture to make. new one. Oftenest he makes words by the addition of unexpected prefixes and suffixes, words which are of mere literary merit; or, sometimes, of no merit. But in the word "adjectivism"-which he uses to affect a reconciliation between objectivism and subjectivism, and to express the interaction of objective and subjective, the idea that the universe we know is not something inside or outside of man but something he is in and part of, qualifying it like an adjective-Burrowes nas made a real addition to the vocabulary of philosophy which no reviewer should pass without appreciative no-In these "Revolutionary Essays,"

ter the emphasis put upon the social nature of all things human in imme move rather in my home circle,' and diate value to Socialists. In English so, like the dog pursuing its own tall, literature, at least, there has been no it moves. Yet as the orbit of that dog adequate application of the Socialist philosophy to ethics. The soundest works on ethics in English are by non-Socialists who wrote from the social standpoint and all that Socialist litercan show of any scientific valu on this subject is a few scattering es says. The subject is in chaos. rowes does not bring order out of this chaos either, but he does give some illuminating suggestions, which clea the air and start thought in the right n. Here is a sample

"What is odious among friends for one to do, is lawful and right for an organized multitude to do to another nemy organized for murderous reci procity. The selfishness of or comes the virtue of the larger The selfishness of one be unit, when opposed by an armed coun terpart. When a comrade Socialist says that ego's search for its own pleasureable sensations is the activity which ultimately redeems society, h mistakes the ego sensation hunting of the private debauchee, and the ego property hunting of the private gamb-ler, for their multiple by which they are modified as the pleasure and need of a class. Having this distinction clearly in view, we may use the sel-fishness terms of the individualist with propriety and reason. One man should not deprive another; but a nation may deprive any one man. One man is cap-able of robbing another one; but a na-tion cannot rob one of its men. In general terms, it may be said that the imrality of one person may be the mornity of many in one class. My self-pres ervation at all costs cannot be con-ceded to the single person; but it must be conceded to the nation, or class, containing him. Wrong becomes right when it is turned over from the per

sonal to the public life. There are no ns for the single life when it has found its true external substitute, when it has found its class and carried it into the nation.'

owes' book is threefold in na-Burrowes book is threefold in as-ture; it is a book of prose poetry, of propaganda, and of philosophy. This review has been principally taken up with its philosophy, but the majority of readers will probably enjoy the book more on account of the author's real literary genius, his wit, and the imaginative and poetic quality of his mind. It is noticeable at least, that the reviewers have almost all taken the book from this standpoint, and seemed rather wary of grappling with its philosophy. This is not surprising, as Socialists are usually too busy to undertake such hard thinking as a critical study of Burrowes necessitates. The mixture of primary propaganda and difficult philosophy is an odd one and perhaps it would have been better to have made two books of it. But let us be thankful that Burrowes has written even one and live in anticipation that the hope raised by the paren-thetical words "First Series," on the title-page, will soon be fulfilled. Instead of a "Finis," Burrowes closes his work with the characteristic motto. "Move On." and not a few appreciative ones are hoping that he will move on o the writing of many more of the myriad books that are in him. Parts of the present "Essays" were origin other Socialist periodicals, but the bulk of the book is new, and those who have followed the author's previous work closely can doubtless remember many fine passages which they would like to have seen included in this permanent form.

### A Poet's View.

After reading Engels and a few other Socialist writers. I was left with an intellectual conviction of the inev-itableness of Socialism; it was not until I read Burrowes' "Revolutionary Essays" that I became animated by the social passion, the social conscious-ness, which had before lain dormant It is an unusual mind, I believe, that

can stand, as he does, at the balancing point between dry economics and so-cial metaphysics, fusing the two in one. He might be called the "missing link" between ontology and economic In Peter Rurrowes the Socialist

movement has a literary power; and in his "Revolutionary Essays" we have, I believe that rare thing in modern lit-erature—a book that will live. Whether it will become immediately popular is another question and one of relatively little importance. It is not a book to be skimmed over, to be read in an afternoon. There is no denying that to the average person Burrowes will seem an obscure writer; but in that very obscurity lies his greates source of power-his indirection, infinite suggestiveness. There are se things that can only be expressed by indirection, as all poets know. Bur-rowes is a philosopher; but he is, above all other things, a poet, and he is most a poet when he writes prose. The limitations of metrical form seem to encumber him. In this book of prose essays there is more poetry than I have found in any book of poems in a long time.

I know little of the past history of Burrowes; but from his book I judge that he has steeped himself in all religions and all philosophies, from the Orient to the setting sun. That is an ideal preparation for modern social philosophy, which, as Burrowes so well understands, is but the latest step in the process of "truthing," to use his own luminous expression for the tendency of race evolution. If he has not had this culture preparation then he is all the more remarkable His originality is unique.

Much as Burrowes is honored in the Socialist movement, I do not think that the majority of Socialists yet rethat the majority of Socialists yet re-alize what manner of man they have among them. An original, creative mind like his is "are in this or any other age, in this or any other move-ment. He has what Dr. Bjerregaard calls "a seminal mind."

It gives me pleasure to say-speaking now only for myself-that no modern book, with the exception of Whitother which I need not discuss here, has given me so much that is sugges live, so much that is formative. He has caught the very soul of Socialism in his hands and has put it between not know; still, that state overs It is there waiting to es orace any one who can put himself en rapport with it. It is the soul of the race that he has found. As he has sed the expression himself, I am at liberty to speak of him as a social prystic. Otherwise I should not have rentured to use the term in the Socialist press, much as I should have desired to do so. But it is as a maker of phrases and

epigrams that Burrowe's genius is nost immediately apparent. Opening book anywhere, one finds them "The 'ungrowing, ungracious, self-completing ego." "The race throb." war on finalities e choice of that way which abhors arrival." "The little glowworm ego lamp." "The footsore, ragged, empty stomached meandering of ego's mobthrough the unsocial" wilderness. "Great gold-tailed comets of plutee racy swept unheralded across the so-cial sky." "Labor comes to the front \* and the State becomes his bride "Social religith" Of men's attitude to God, "prostrate before cloud cartoons of themselves." Of priests, "fat by the fees of repent-ance." "Murderous reciprocity." "Turn ance," "Murderous reciprocity." "Turn sweat into a sacrament," "Deceiv-ed into personal virtue." "A-man with a hundred horses in his stable, what can be do but look at them and he were more men." Of the clergy, "to superintend the praying of the sinyes." Of the hypocrite, "who sinves." Of the hypocrite, "who cants himself into sincerity." "Private morality is but the butterfly hunting of the child who is going the wrong Voluptuaries in words; men who think only by the friction of their own "Collective loneliness to Socialism." "Collective determinism which holds the stars together." "Nothing is enlarged by more committee should appoint a commit-self-intensification." "Property, the tee to investigate Socialism.

fortress of ego against everything else on earth. Social indicators and and to these verbal jewels all day and not exhaust the casket.

I shall not attempt to give an outline

of Burrowes' philosophy; though such a skeleton-lacking a joint here and a skeleton-lacking a joint here and there-could be made from these es-says. He has said that "Truth is a flowing." So I think that he, and only he, should prescribe the banks of his own special river.

His use of the "motograph," as the moving symbol of progress, is infin-it-ity suggestive; and his theory that spirit moves upon the surfaces of things instead of in the deeps, is as revolutionary and stimulating as his title. I wonder if he is familiar with the Hindoo Narayana. Many a minor religion has been founded on a less stable basis than his scheme of the concentric and reflecting circles from social macrocosm to ego microcosm, While this may be remotely related to -or even subconsciously suggested by -the Parabrahmic theory, the working out of the idea is quite different, and absolutely original so far as I can see, I wish Burrowes could be induced to systematize his philosophy; to write a book with a beginning, a mid-

dle and an end, that should present to the world in orderly sequence his own orderly thought. That he has a definite and original system of philos ophy is evidenced on almost every page of his book. But a collection of essays written at different times and under isolated impulses, however or-derly their final arrangement, cannot present to the ordinary reader a clear and systematic impression. That Burrowes could write such a book I know, and should be do so, I believe that he would thus secure to his name the individual immortality that is very much more than dimly presaged in these essays. He has proven himself a poet by writing a prose book. Will he now seal himself as a philosopher? To be the first to formulate the Socialist philosophy from metaphysics to psychology would be what a certain lover of phrases has called "a prophylactic to oblivion." This could be done, ing his "motograph" or his conception of the relativity of truth, they being a part of the system itself. The man who should express what, for the lack of a better term I shall have to call the spiritual side of Socialism as con-cisely and comprehensively as Engels has expressed the economic side in his little classic, would be the prophet of the new Social Religion, a distinction of no little historical significance.

Of course the social poet, the social philosopher and the social student, will enrich themselves from this gold mine whether or not the discoverer stakes out his claim. Perhaps, in the ultimate analysis, the very purity of Burrowes' social philosophy would dis-incline him to that kind of intellectual capitalism. ELSA BARKER.

Charles H. Kerr & Co. of Chicago announce the publication in the near future of a new book by Isadore Laoff, author of "The Passing of Capitalism," to be entitled "American Pauperism and the Abolition of Pov-erty.<sup>26</sup> The opening pertion of the work, say the publishers, "consists of the most exhaustive compilation of facts concerning social conditions in the United States that has ever been gathered together and presented from the Socialist point of view. These the Socialist point of view. These facts are then explained and interpreted in connection with an exposiion of the Socialist philo makes the work as a whole a splendid piece of propaganda." The book will be published in cloth binding in the Standard Socialist Series and will be sold at 50 cents. Copies can be order ed at this office.

### HERBERT SPENCER. The death of Herbert Spencer de-

erves a few words from us

doubtful whether the next generation will rate him nearly so high as MS contemporaries. That he did a great deal of good work, and was one of the pioneers in the field of evolution in modern times, cannot be disputed: that also he gathered together an enormous amount of useful material in many amount of useful material in many branches of human knowledge is undoubted. But as a thinker and philos opher he was singularly deficient in oirginality, and his limitations, regard being had to the wide area he strove to cover, were amazing. Though it would scarcely be fair to say that he was only an authority on subjects one did scribe the lack of real depth which characterized his investigations. remarkable instance of his incapacity to open his mind to the problems of his day and generation is to be observed in his attitude towards Socialism. He became harsher, narrower, more individualist the longer he lived. After having declared in his "Social Statics" practically in favor of nationalism of land, he wound up by denouncing collectivism of every kind, In fact, the sociology of his own time was a closed book to him from sheer inability to see. That the individual in production had become the me tool of the machine; that the tendency of competition was inevitably towards monopoly; and that the slavery of the existing system could only be over-come and the wage-earners, emanci-pated by conscious collective effort. which evolution itself was bringing about-these were obvious truths that either never occurred to him or were prshed contemptuously uside us not fitting in with his foregone concin-sions. On the other hand, Herbert Spencer, born, living and dying poor gave the world a splendid example of a career devoted to the working out of one great idea, regardless of pecta social or any other considerations, save the completion of his self-appointed task. His life was, to use be Quiney's phrase, full and orbicular. He did all that he was capable of doing, and he died when he could do no more. If, therefore, his mind was not of the bighest order, we may safely say that his service to humanity will be son to thinkers and students for many a long day. London Justice, --- It seems strange that, after all

has received, the Republican National

Hational.

Charles Pergler of Chicago has been the direction of national headquarters Feb. 1. Locals requiring their services should make application through their state secretaries or direct to the Na tional Secretary. Italian Organizer Origo has been delayed in beginning his tour but wal probably start out in

On Jan. 1 the members of the Na-tional Committee will be called upon to make nominations for the office of National Secretary for the ensuing year. Nominations will close on Jan 15 and the vote will close on Jan. 31.

The National Secretary reports that the party organization in Idaho is in very bad condition, everything conto be "at loose ends." It is probable that, with the consent of the Liaho des, National Organizer Wilkins will be sent into the state to get the body in working order.

The following contributions have been made to the National Organizing Fund since last report: Harry Crouse, Monb, Utah, \$1; A. L., New York City, 25 cents; 16th A. D., New York City, \$2; Local Stonington, Conn., \$2; James D. Graham, Livingston, Mont., 25 cents; Arthur Childress, Brownsville, Wash., \$1; Local Yelm, Washington, \$1; Local Granite Falls, Wash., \$3; Local San Francisco, Cal., \$25; total to noon, Dec. 19, \$35.50; previously re-ported, \$2,245.86; total, \$2,281.56.

### Carey's Lecture Tour.

Dates for James F. Carey's lecture tour have been arranged in Pennsylvania as follows: Jan 4 Philadelphia will then enter Ohio for about two through the respective state secretaries and in Kentucky, Missouri, Iowa, Min-nesota, Michigan, and Nebraska to the National Secretary.

### The Louisians Charter.

The motion of Work of Iown to with hold the charter for the state organiza-tion of the Socialist Party in Louisians until the "segro clause" is eliminated from its platform has been adopted by as follows: Yes-Floaten, White, Ber lyn, Beynolds, Work, Carey, Talbott, Turner, Christenson, Hillquit, Barnes, Kerrigan, Boomer, and Berger—14; No-Richardson, Dobbs, Critchlow Halbrooks, and Lovett—5; not voting— Healey, Miller, Mills, Fox of Maine Fox of Montana, Chaffin, Goebel, and

confirm the acts of the Louisiana con vention and grant the charter, but withdrew his motion, being convinced, on further thought, that the action was unconstitutional. Before it was with drawn, Richardson, Critchlow, and Lovett had voted for it and White, Work, Turner, and Kerrigan against it.

In announcing the result of the vote the National Secretary says: "Geo. H. Goebel, National Committeeman from New Jersey and National Organize to suspend vote of National Committee upon question of granting charter; but the National Secretary, having no authority to suspend a vote upon a pending motion, did not assume it. Comrade Goebel afterward gave ana to have the clause objected to stricken from the platform, how the New Orleans local had voted to strike out the clause and had initiated a referendum of the locals in the state looking to the same action being taken appreciated by the Louisiana com-rades, and it is expected that condi-tions will soon be such that a charter can be granted to Louisiana in line with the National Committee's action herein reported."

### New Motions Before . National Committee.

Lovett of South Dakota has offered

following motion: "In regard to the resolutions of the Anorum providing for the establish-ment of a reserve list of national or-ganizers. I move that the following be stricken out as it appears in Paragraph 2 of said resolutions: But no applicant shall be deemed acceptable for the re-serve list until he or she has received the endorsement of the State Commit tee of the state wherein the applicant

Massey of North Dakota has moved that the National Committee declare the referralum for amendment of the national party constitution now before the membership to be out of order on the ground that the form in which it was submitted conflicts with the pro-vision of the constitution which says that all matters going to referendum shall be submitted without comment. Reynolds of Indiana moves that the national convention be held in Indianapolis on June 15

There is also submitted to the National Committee a form for another referendum, moved by Locals Helena and Butte, Mont., Sioux City, S. D., Cheyenne, Wyo., and Denver, Colo., amending the constitution by adding as Article XI the words: "In all con-ventions, committee." ventions, committees, or other delibera-tions of the Socialist Party of America one vote for one member present shall be the rule and proxies shall not be allowed.'

on all four questions will close on

# Resolutions from San Francisco.

At the last regular meeting of Local San Francisco, held Dec. 4, the follow-ing resolutions were unanimously adopted:

adopted:
"Whereas, the locals of Teller County, Colorado, are appealing to the

conditions existing in the Sceinlist Party in the State of Colorado, and "Whereas the said locals declare that an element known as the 'Crusaders' has captured the party machinery by trickery, and has unscrupulously ex-pelled several hundred loyal class con-

scious members, and
"Whereas, the experience of California Socialists with the said 'Crusader'
element justifies us in believing the charges made by the Teller County locals to be well founded. Therefore

most earnestly appeals to the National Committee to send a National Organ izer to thoroughly investigate the par-ty affairs in Colorado, and if necessary to reorganize the party in that state.

### New York State.

The State Committee met Dec. 22 and issued call for nominations for member of the National Committee, nominations to close Feb. 15. James N. Wood's seat on State Committee non-attendance and a call for nomine tions to fill vacancy will be issued to the locals of Greater New York, nomi-nations to close Feb. 1. "Wilshire's Magazine" presented the State Committee a neostyle. State Secretary to make application for appointment as National Jewish Organizer and Lec turer and to strongly recommend his appointment by the National Com-

The comrades of Local Rochester have for some time had under con-sideration the question of establishing a weekly paper in that city to serve as an organ of Socialist propaganua for the city and for Western New York. They have at last decided to undertake the task. They have formed the Rochester Socialist Publishing Company for the purpose, an incor-porated body, with \$5,000 stock in \$5 shares, payable 10 per cent. down and 10 per cent. a month thereafter till paid up. The name of the paper will "Social Democrat" be the chester comrades ask locals and com-races in the state to aid them in the undertaking. Correspondence on the matter should be addressed to Geo. W. Mische, 159 S. Fitzhugh street or Joel Moses, 58½ Woodword street. Comrage Gottschalk of Chatham

Columbia County, N. Y., writes, anent the increase of the Social Democratic vole there from 19 to 66: "We have polled a good vote in this and other counties where there are no local or ganizations w. stever. I know of but one other Socialist in Chatham, Com one other socialist in Chatham, Com-rade Willis, who is very earnest and enthusiastic. Of course, there are a number here whom we have succeeded in getting more or less interested, but they are not yet Socialists. The campaign of 1904 is upon us. There is a good deal of work to be done befor next November and our most effective work in the way of agitation and propaganda can always be done in the early part of the campaign before men's minds become too much inflam-ed with the old ideas and prejudices, fanned to a white beat by the old party press and speakers. Therefore it seems to me of prime importance that the party, through the State Committee or otherwise, should take im mediate steps to get in touch with as many as possible of the comrades in the unorganized counties and also with those who are not dues-paying members, but have voted our ticket and should have a special organizer or two go through those counties and try to organize a local in each. If there are any weak locals they could also be strengthened, but where the movement has already developed locally to the extent of being on a solid could be left to their own resources while those countries which return us a number of votes but have not been organized could be brought into line. and a systematic propaganda be inzation in every county within the nex year, still some one could undoubted-ly be found in each county who would be sufficiently interested to help distribute literature, arrange public mest ings for speakers, put up posters, and also get addresses of others as they come into the movement. All this seems to me very important. The class struggle is now in evidence al-most everywhere, in every village and hamlet, and at this stage of the movement it seems to me that we need not time and money to the cities and industrial centers, where the moves has, already taken strong root, but should reach out and even at the risk of seeming neglect of the already well organized localities, devote most of our time, energy, and money to extending our organization and the propaganda of our doctrines to the remotest parts of our state."

The Campaign Committee New York issues the follow .... inan-

iai statement:	
RECEIPTS.	
oan from Local Kings Co	\$50.0
oan from Local Queens Co	15.0
ubscriptions from N. Y. Co	2,261.9
subscriptions from Kings Co.	511.7
subscriptions from Queens Co.	53.6
inhactintions from Richmond	

Sale of literature..... 128.57 EXPENDITURES Salaries ...... \$635.50

Expenses ..... Total .....\$2,359.79

ACCOUNT LOCAL KINGS 

ance due from Local.... \$72.6 ACCOUNT LOCAL QUEENS. Credit Joan. ..... \$15.00 Credit 50 per cent. of

\$53.65, subscrip-tions ...... 26.83 \$41.83 Debit salaries...... \$30.00 Debit expenses..... 1.10 Debit literature..... 15.00

Debit speakers..... 2.50 Balance due from Local.... \$6.77 ACCOUNT LOCAL RICHMOND. tredit 50 per cent, of \$17.65, subscriptions...

Debit expense...... \$1.00 Debit literature..... 4.10 Balance due to Local...... RECAPITULATION.

Cash on hand......\$678.75 Due from Local Kings 72.68 Due from Local Queens 6.77 \$758.20 Liabilities 

mond ...... 8.22 180.92 Balance ..... \$577.28 DISPOSITION OF FUNDS. 

cal Kings...... \$72.68 Cancel debt from Local Queens..... 6.77 Pay balance due Local New York...... 177.70 )
'ay balance due Local Richmond..... 3.22 269.37

Local New York, 75 per cent......\$373.38 Local Kings, 17 per cent. Si.64 Local Queens, 6 per cent. ...... 29.86 Local Richmond, 2

per cent..... 9.95 \$497.83 The report is signed by Charles A. Sprenger, Pinancial Secretary, and approved by William Butscher, L. Hahn, and U. Solomon, Auditing Com-

It may be noted that the crediting to each local of 50 per cent, of the amount contributed from each local in subscriptions is in accordance with spe cific instructions from the City Con vention, and that the divis vention, and that the division of the surplus after settlement of all accounts is proportionate to the amounts accontributed by the several locals.

The attention of the comrades is with the by-laws of Local New York, the assembly districts must elect their officers and delegates at the last regu-lar meeting in December. They must also send to the Organizer, 64 E. Fourth' street, their semi-annual membership and financial reports. Blanks for this purpose have been sent to the district financial secre-taries, and the members should see that these reports are sent in as soon as possible. They are of the utmost importance for the Organizer's work, as this is the only way to ascertain the standing of the district and to know how many delegates each is en-titled to. According to the decision of the General Committee, no delegate will be seated unless his district has will be seated unless his district has sent in its semi-annual membership report. The districts are also request-ed to notify the Organizer of the names and addresses of their newly-elected officers and delegates and the times and places of meeting. The bylaws of Local New York have been printed in booklet form in both Engish and German and can be had free of charge from the Organizer. The districts should see that every member has a copy. The office of the Organizer is open every evening, from 7 to 10, with the exception of Tuesdays; on Saturdays the office is open from 10 a. m. to 8 p. m.

All comrades in the boroughs of nhattan and the Bronx sti campaign fund lists are urged to return them, with whatever money col-lected, to Acting Organizer U. Solomon, 64 E. Fourth street.

At the last meeting of the 9th A. D., Brooklyn, the following officers were elected for the coming term: Organ-izer, James Walsh, 18 Coles street; Financial Secretary and Treasurer, Gus. Petritt, 308 Van Brunt street; Re-cording and Corresponding Secretary, Peter Thorsen. Oscar Hild and Gus. Petritt were elected delegates to the Kings County Committee. The dis-trict holds its regular meetings on the second and fourth Thursday evenings of each month, at Comrade Meyer's residence, 131 Imlay street.

The first annual masquerade and civic ball of the Young People's Social Democratic Club of Yorkville, held last Saturday at the Imperial Lyceum, was a social and financial success that re-flects great credit on the committee in charge. The club will not meet dur-ing the holidays, but will resume its ing the holidays, but will resume its regular Thursday night meetings at 206 E. Eighty-sixth street on Jan. 7. A.l young people interested in Social-ism are invited to join.

There will be no lecture on Dec. 27 at Buffalo Hall, Buffalo avenue and Fulton street, Brooklyn, the new head-quarters of the Socialist Club, on ac-count of the holidays. On Sunday evening, Jan. 3, W. L. Oswald of Ar-Hugton, N. J., will lecture, and he will be followed on Jan. 10 by George D. Herron. The public is invited.

gates to the Dally Globe Confer S. Solomon and J. Paulson; Deler S. Solomon and J. Pauison; Delegates to the General Committee, U. Solomon, Emil Spindler, Jos. A. Dunne, and S.

It was stated in some of the Sunday papers that Herman, Reich, Burshess Agent of the American Waiters' Union. No. 1, was among the guests at the Civic Federation banquet. As a matter of fact, though Comrade Reich was invited, he refused to attend, having no desire to figure as a friend of the enemies of his class.

The Kings County Committee will meet in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Saturday, Dec. 20.

Saturday, Dec. 20.

All members of the 16th A. D. should

attend the special meeting to be held on Saturday evening, Dec. 26, at 232 on Saturday evening, Dec. 26, at 23; East Broadway, in order to vote of the proposed amendment to the na-tional constitution.

At the last meeting of the 15th and 17th A. D., a fund was started for the

purpose of distributing The Worker in these districts. Resolutions were adopted condensing the actions and methods of the general party meeting held on Dec. 6 as illegal, detrimenta to the cause, and in opposition to the constitution and by-laws, Article 22, Sections a, b, and g; and requesting Local New York to "make an investi

gation and expose those responsible."

The 22d A. D. will hold its next ting in its club rooms, 241 East Forty-second street, on Wednesday, Dec. 30, on account of the holidays' falling on Fridays. This meeting will be of great importance as the election of officers for the coming term is a special order of business and all men bers are therefore requested to be present. The speaker class, which holds its meetings every Tuesday even-ing has begun a discussion of Chas. H. Vail's "Modern Socialism." All young contrades are trivited to foin this class and become speakers. Geo. Roewer is the instructor. Visitors are welcon-

### New Jersey.

A general meeting of Local Passaid County will be held at the Labor Lyceum, 100 Sheridan avenue, Paterson Sunday, Jan. 3, 2,30 p. m. Every mem per of the local should be present pre pared to suggest plans for a more as gressive campaign than that just

### Rew England.

"The Leader" is a new Socialist monthly, published at Stoughton. Mass., and edited by Samuel Levin.

One year, fifty cents.
The Central Socialist Club of Haverhill has secured new bendquarters at 76 Merrimac street, which are always open, and are busily engagest in building up a larger club and creating more general public interest in Socialism.
The members feel hopeful of regaining
their political loss. The club will hold an Immense fair from Jan. 18 to 25, inclusive. Tickets are 50 cents and entitle the holder to a guess as to when

an eight-day clock will stop.

A speaker from New York will address the next meeting of Local

officers will follow the address.

The Socialist Educational Association met on Dec. 19 at 609 Washington street, Boston. The Directors, with one exception, tendered their resigna-tions. Comrade Burbank was not aware of the action to be taken, as he is out of town. Eight new Directors were elected, as follows: Jos. Spero, 90 Wayland street, Roxbury, Prest-dent; Geo. G. Hall, 259 Westville street, Dorchester, Clerk; Dr. M. J. Konikow, 330 Shawmut avenue, Bos-ton, Treasurer; and F. W. Wolfer, Cyrus Koohler, Miss. H. Brackett, Dr. M. G. Minturn and Geo. Keefe. The Board of Directors meets on the second and fourth Saturdays of each month at 330 Shawmut, avenue,

Pannsylvania. At the meeting of the State Committee three charters were granted, McKeesport and Braddock in Allegheny County and Bella Vernon in Fayette County. Frank Gagliardi organized the Bella Vernou local with 96 mem-bers. This is the largest local organ-ized since the coal strike. A request was received for information how to organize a local from Galeton, Potter

Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes of Philadelphia has been elected National Committeeman. The vote was as follows: Barnes, 282; Keevan, 9; Taylor,

The following dates have been un ranged for James F. Carey: Jan. 4, Philadelphia; Jan. 5, Reading; Jan. 6, York: Jan. 7, Lancaster: Jan. 8, Wilmerding; Jan. 9. New Castle

speak in Philadelphia at Garrick Hall, 507 S. Eighth street, Sunday afternoon, Dec. 27, and in the evening at Jefferson Hall, Ninth street, below

Dickinson.
Contribution to help pay off state debt: New Castle, \$1.

A local of 10 members has been organized at Loveland. P. L. Case is A local of 6 members has been or

A local of the memoers has been or-ganized at Read, Delta County, by State Committeeman Wm. Ash. Frank Lemaster is secretary. At the charter election in Denver,

Dec. 8, the Socialist ticket polled 814 votes, a gain of 215 since the state election of one month ago. Local Den-ver has 'nitiated a movement to hold a monster protest meeting in the Coliseum in the near future. The various labor organizations of the city have been invited to participate and the been invited to participate and the most of them will co-operate actively. The object of the meeting will be to protest against the outrages which are being-committed against workingmen in Colorado by the mine owners and employers of labor through their plant tools, Gov. Peabody. Adj. Gen. Sherman Bell and the underlings of the Colorado National Guard.

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.... CAFE DINING CARS.

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

Committeeman in Iowa. Refere York and Wisconsin is identical with ballots have been issued and the re-turns must be made by January 1. Boone has a special election for Al-derman for the First Ward, Dec. 21, the Socialist Party of other state present incumbent, who was sed on the Socialist ticket, has re-Torch.

moved to another ward. Several state organizations are agitating the question of following in the footsteps of Iowa by increasing the state dues to fifteen cents.

The Local Secretary suspects Socialists who are not members of the party and sends in a large bunch of eligible material in his county. His names are wanted by State Secretary Jacobson

Free rick G. Strickland and L. S. McCrillis, the Iowa organizers, are get-ting ready for their winter campaign. Send in your applications.

New locals have been formed at Laurel and Lexington. Charters are being held back pending investiga-tion, as is the rule of the state organization-a rule which every Socialist will approve, after reading an account of the Chadron affair.

.After a thorough investigation and on the withdrawal of two charter mbers who held office in the Demo cratic party, a charter was granted to Le-al Chadron and Secretary Stanton writes that the work is promising. Acting on the advice of Organize Hyland, a charter has been granted to

Local Oakdale. -

Many letters have been received giving unstinted praise of the speakers sent out by the State Lecture Bureau. Since Comrade Hyland re-entered th state to speak and organize under the dress the next meeting of Local Mystic, Conn., on Sunday, Dec. 27, 3 p. m., at the G. A. R. rooms on Pearl street. Members are urged to bring friends. The semi-annual election of the Sunday New York and Sunday Mystics:

"When you sent Comrade Hyland to "When you s of the State Committee, us you sent a noble man. He is not a congressman, seeking re-election; nor gate laws; nor a political trickster of any kind. We realize that he, too was a laborer, that his tools were left idle on the beach when he went out into the glorius work his heart and mind so well fitted him to do. He did Self-esteem does not oversimdow the good qualities of his heart. He is plain. He is intelligent. He is a good

The State Lecture Bureau has been instructed to arrange another tour for Comrade McCaffrey. Many letters have been received asking for him to fill return engagements at places visited on his first trip, Among these was a request from Maywood, the place that has been a frequent text for purposes of viliffying the Nebraska State Quorum. This only proves that the Socialists of Nebraska prefer scien-tific discussions of Socialism to political buncombe, reason to campaign orntory, intelligent and progressive ac-tion to blustering and spluttering anarchy, the teacher who works the party organization instead of the free-lance who would rather work with corrupt political boodlers. Time will continue to vindicate the Socialists all over Nebraska who have waged against every effort at disruption.

# Here and There.

The Fon du Lac, Wis., "Commonwealth" gives out the starting in-formation that "Socialism is encounter-ing many obstacles in Germany, the recent elections showing a heavy falling off in that party's vote." American press is always ahead of the world—for lying.

Under date of Dec. 16, State Secretary Dial of Kentucky reports as follows to the National Secretary: "I am instructed by the State Committee Kentucky to forward a statement the controversy between Calvin C. Ross and Comrade F. J. Lavanier, Jr. They request that it be mentioned in the weekly press bulletin. The state-ment follows: In October Comrade Lavanier wrote Comrade Critchlow of lavanuer wrote Comrade Critchiow of Ohio, stating that Ross, who had been speaking in Ohio, was a fakir, etc., with a penchant for borrowing money; also, that he had been expelled from Texas for similar tactics. Critchiow turned a copy of the letter over to Ross, who demanded a retraction of Ross, who demanded a retraction o the statements from Lavanier, Up the statements from Lavanier, Upon Lavanier's refusal to retract or modify his statements, Ross wrote a letter to Local Covington, demanding Lava-nier's expulsion for making false state-ments and accusations against a mem-ber of the party. Local Covington reber of the party. Local Covington re-ferred the matter to a special commit-tee of three for investigation. This committee secured information and deeming it sufficient, reported to the local and were discharged. Local Cor-ington decided that, according to the testimony, Comrade Lavanier's state-ments in his letter to Comrade Cittch-low were true, and dismissed the mo-

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### THE THOMPSON AFFAIR.

Mational Secretary Will Not Issue Na tional Organizer's Commission for Work in an Organized State to Any Man Not Approved by State Organiza

By instruction of the Quorum, Na tional Secretary Mailly has submitted to the National Committee the ques "Shall Carl D. Thomps given a commission as National Organ-izer for the Socialist Party, dating from Nov. 20, inclusive of engagements filled in South Dakota and Nebraska?" The decision of the National Commit tee is to be given by Jan. 2.

Briefly, the occasion for this action is as follows: Comrade Thompson ap-plied for a commission as National Organizer. He had already made some dates in Nebraska by private arrangement, without consulting the Stat littee and wished the commission from national headqu cover these dates. Secretary Mailly eld that he could not commission any comrade as National Organizer for work in an organized state without the approval of the state organization concerned. The Nebraska state organization, being asked, disapproved Thompson's working in that state and the commission for such work was ac-cordingly refused. The Quorum upheld the National Secretary. At Thomp desire, the matter is referred to the full National Committee in such a form as to make Thompson's application a test case on the rule laid down by the National Secretary and Quo-

With the question is submitted a voluminous correspondence, parts of whi a we are obliged to condense or rize, for lack of space. It seems ndvisable, however, to give pretty full extracts, not only for its bearing on this case, but for the general informa tion gives on the National Secretary's method of routing organizers, etc. We omit nothing essential. The words in arge type were underlined in the orig-

I .- Thompson to National Secretary, Long Pine, Neb., Oct. 7.—Asks for blank applications for charter; also whether Mailly cares to publish rewhether Mailly cares to publish re-ports of Thompson's work in his offi-

II.-National Secretary to Thomp son. Oct. 8 .- States that "in organized states the State Secretaries will furnish all the supplies to organizers," that he has referred the request to State Secretary Roe of Nebraska, and that he could not publish in the bulle-tins reports of the work of anyone but working directly under the navertise books, publishing houses, etc. I have had to adopt this policy so that tage of, and not because of opposition to any individual. I have to be impar tial in this matter or make myself sub-ject to criticism from all sides."

III.—Thompson to National Secretary, Long Pine, Oct. 10. "So far as supplies for organizing, etc., are con cerned, it of course doesn't matter to me at all where they come from. Only spond to my requests that I shall prob bly have to get the supplies else where. He doubtless and naturally feels sore at me-although this may not be the reason. I guess he is slow

work, your plan is quite satisfactory to me if it is to you. I only wanted you to know that I was willing to report to you.

Several propositions are before me for my work next year in the Socialist field. I would like to inquire, that I may decide more wisely, whether you still desire to have me work as a National Organizer under direction of headquarters, and if so, upon what terms, conditions, limitations, etc., ald inquire whether you would care to arrange a lecture tour for me through the Eastern states. I trus you will write me frankly. I want to do the best thing. \* \* I will work in Nebraska and South Dakota until the holidays."

IV.—National Secretary to Thomp-son, Oct. 12.—"I am perfectly willing that you should work under the direct of the national headquarters and I believe the Quorum will also be agreeable if you should desire me to submit your name to it for you to be ndded to our list of lecturers or organ

for each day out and hotel and traveling expenses. A financial statement is submitted on the first of each month, for which blanks are provided. Or ganizers make a report at least once week, although I do not report their work in my bulletin oftener than once in two weeks. Arrangements for tours, lectures, etc., are made either directly by this office or by the state organizations where speakers work. Other than this, I do not know of limitations. Of course, speakers are exferent states, observing the rule of state autonomy. In unorganized states the territory is under the jurisdiction

of this office.
"I have had no trouble so far with any of the states on this phase of the work. Neither have I had any trouble with our organizers, as I give them the widest scope possible for the exer-cise of their individuality. We place our confidence in the men selected and ask nothing of them but good work for the cause. \* \* \* I believe we could arrange an Eastern trip, lecturing, be ginning in January. In fact, I would like this. • • • If the foregoing is agreeable, I should like to hear from

"It may be that the terms would not be agreeable, and in that case I would ask you to write frankly your views or spinions, or even your desires, upon this matter. If you have another kind you my opinion, and, if you wish, submit it to the Quorum. It seems to me, however, that the certainty of a fixed sum being assured a lecturer daily, without having to rely upon collecflons, donations, etc., gives a sense of security which must express itself in

"I am going to talk this question of the Lecture Bureau work over theroughly with the Quorum when it meets tion to your taking your usual month were decidedly bext month and get things on a firmer or two off in the summer. You are

basis. But if I know your views now t will better aid me to arrange thin o that everybody will be satisfied." V.—Thompson to National Section, Black Hills, S. D., Oct. 16.—"Kindly mail me at Deadw

and addresses of the National Commit

"Your letter regarding my working under the national headquarters re-ceived and contents carefully noted, and will say that I am pleased with the letter and very favorably impress ed with the proposition. I feel of course that the only logical course for all of us who work in the general field to work from headquarters.

"As to the terms and as to my sub mitting to the Quorum some proposi-tion of my own, I do not feel that I should do that. I realize that the Committee must put some limit, and I also realize the difficulty that would imme diately arise if one man were paid more or differently than another. So if I work under direction of the Namittee and Secretary, I shall do so on the terms they offer.

"I feel, of course, that my service are worth more to the party than \$3 per day and expenses. So far, how-ever, I have felt that they were unable to offer more than that, and I have never asked nor received from my So cialist lecturing and organizing ever as much as that. From now on, how ever, the ability of the party to do better by its servants increases, and I have certainly had a part in the bringing about of that condition. I natur ally feel, therefore, that the party should do better by me—and others, too—as its ability to do so arises. I feel that we ought to maintain as high a standard of platform and field work as it is possible for us to do. And we cannot expect our workers to main-tain the highest type of public service unless we support them well. I feel that there has been considerable ex-cessive charging for Socialist lectures. I have felt that in order to get the movement opened and organized, we public speakers and organizers should all make all the sacrifice we could. I mean that we should take just as little or our own personal affair as possible, I have carried out this principle in my work, and my services so far have not cost the party membership over \$500 or \$600 per year. The rest of my income I have carned by singing and outside effort. And in all, of course, my wage has been a bare subsistence. however, as the movement grows, I feel that the party ought, as a matter of wisdom, to sele efficient men, with especial powers of usefulness to the party, and then pay them enough to enable them to main-

ch value to the movement.
"However, I do not demand that the party officials should agree with me upon this matter. If they do not of their own accord choose to do this-it is for them to decide. And on the other hand, it is for me to do all I can to equip myself for this service. If the party officials do not open the way for me to do it, and other ways do open, I shall expect to take advantage of them. And I believe all will agree that this is wise.

tain the highest possible type of ser-

vice. I hope to make myself of some

"I therefore feel like leaving the whole matter to the wisdom of the officials.

"Would also inquire whether you part of my time in case I should engage with state committee for other part. So far each summer I spend a month or more under my own management with a male quartet, singing at Chautauquas. This is now in a posttion to net us a considerable profit and affords a vacation as well. Would that be satisfactory?"

Asks further about charges to locals for services of national organizers and lecturers and about advertising.

VI.—National Secretary to Thompson, Oct. 20.—Encloses list of National Committeemen. "Referring to your questions, I will state:

First That the rate of \$3 a day for ach day out, with hotel and traveling expenses additional, means \$1,095 year salary, or \$547.50 for six months the botel and traveling expen sually as much more, so that the remuneration \* \* \* would be more than you have been receiving

nd, Would you prefer to ac \$5 per day for each day out, with tray expenses additional, leaving you to provide board or hotel? These are the terms Comrade Hanford is now working under.

"Third, As the office seeks only to to fi!' more than five or six dates week-

"Fourth, In the event that special arrangements are made with state organizations for the services of a naimit to the engagement is set, and th state organization assumes financial responsibility. Recently John W. Brown, National Organizer, worked for ten weeks for the Connecticut State Committee, making his Spancial arrangements with that committee while his name was retained upon the list of national organizers. Brown is now working at the expense of this office for a month in the state campaign in Massachusetts. In the case of Goebel, for instance, he is working in Texas under the direction of the comrades there, while the national of fice bears the financial responsibility. On lecture tours this office is respon directly by me or the various state secretaries, according to agreement with the latter.

"Fifth I have been charging a flat rate of ten dollars for Hanford. In some cases I have reduced this figure where I thought he could do good and the comrades were unable to guarantee the sum stated. However, I shall try not to reduce the figure. I find whe the office pays salary and traveling ex-penses, printing circulars, correspond-ence, cuts, etc., the margin is too small to admit of any reduction. This figure holls only for continuous lecture tours. For special engagements, requiring the additional expense consequent upon extra preparation, long distance, time involved, etc., a special figure is made, agreeable to the speaker and those engaging him."

gaging him."
"Sixth, • • • (details of adver-

inder the direction of the natio headquarters only when you are work-ing directly for it. Chase has been working in Maine and Massachusetts, by special arrangements with the state committees, since August, but his name is upon our list, and whenever ie leaves his state he always consult the national office as to its wishes be fore making other arrangements.

"I think all the points have been fully covered, and I hope they will meet with your approval. I have tried to be plain, and if there is any point not clear do not hesitate to say so. Be sure and understand, however, that do not attempt to exercise a censor ship over the actions of our lecturer and organizers. I trust them and rely upon their fealty to the party to d their duty."
VII.-Note by National Secretary.

On Saturday, Nov. 7, Comrade Thomp son visited the national headquarter and stated that the correspond regarding the national organizer was satisfactory and that he was will ing for his name to be placed on the list of national lecturers and organiz ers, under the conditions I had state but that he was engaged to work for three months in Wisconsin beginning in January next, and his further movenents at the conclusion of that engage ment would be considered later. I told him that as my term as National Sec retary might end before that three months was up, and the National Com mittee might see fit to select some on else as my successor, he would under stand that I could not deunitely su what disposition could be made of his services three months hence. He acquiesced in this and said this was unerstood. This is written in explana tion of the mention by Thompson the following correspondence of my re-election as National Secretary. Later on ir the same day I addressed the following note to Thompson:

VIII.—National Secretary to Thompson, Nov. 7.—"I should like you to write me a formal note accepting the ommission as National Organizer un der the conditions specified in my last letter, so that I can place same on fil for purposes of record. I neglected to ask you for this this afternoon.' IX.—Thompson to National Secre-tary, Aberdeen, S. D., Nov. 17.—"I

have your letters relative to appointment as National Organizer and the arrangement you suggest is satisfac-tory to me. However, in view of the for three months, and considering the fact which you suggested to me, that an election of National Secretary is to take place soen, I had thought that perhaps we better let the matter rest for the present. However, if you care to appoint me AT ONCE and assist me in the work I have to do up to Christ nas, I shall be glad to accept, and have you appoint me.
"I had thought that I would not ask

for this until I got out of Nebraska in view of the controversy here. But since your appointment of Hyland and the criticism that has resulted, it oc curs to me that you might appoint m and assist me to complete the work have to do, remove all doubt as to your impartiality, and at the sam-time help along the work of organiz ing which I am doing, and back me up financially "I therefore request immediate ap-

pointment upon the following conditions: "1-Fifteen days in South Dakota

up to Dec. 1, under direction of state officials here who have the arrange "2-Fifteen to eighteen days in

braska at the following places . (list omitted). My secretary at Lin-coln has the arrangements for these dates in hand and, as I understand nearly completed. Many of thes points have had requests for me in for some time and other points, I hope will arrange for me on the way. A o finances, I have proposed the arrangement with these places as have everywhere-they do the very best they can and I take what the raise. I feel sure that I can on this Ne braska trip organize at least five new locals. Last two months my incom expenses. If appointed I will get al can out of the work, as usual, and count to you as per your sugge

"3-As to terms, would like to hav you allow me not less than \$6 per day beginning, say, Nov. 20, to the end of the contemplated trip, in NO CASE LATER THAN DEC. 10, AND I PAY ALL EXPENSES, both railway, liv ery, and hotel, and furnish all 'ad' matter, which is already partly out. I suggest this, as I reckon it to be the proposition as you made, put the basis of my paying all expenses. Perhaps \$6 is a little low, bu I figure that my expenses will be mod-erate on this trip and will let it go at that for this short arrangement, if it is satisfactory to you. If your instructions would allow you to allow m something more, of course, it would b a favor no doubt due me-but if not,

will accept it as I state. "This trip, if appointment is made will require practically no work from the national office unless, perhaps, you cared to address letters to the points I am to visit, stimulating the con rades to the work. Most of the place rades to the work. Most of the place:
I have arranged for personally on my
former trip, and my secretary is now
attending to the final arrangements.
Is this satisfactory? If so, you may
appoint me at once. And if not, bet ter wait until your re-election."

X.-National Secretary to Thompson, Nov. 20.-"As I shall have to sul mit your letter to the Quorum mit your letter to the quorum for its consideration before I can give you a definite answer, I shall be obliged it you will inform me whether your Ne-braska dates have been arranged by or with the consent of the State Com-mittee. Under the state autonomy law of the national organization, the National Committee cannot have any of its speakers fill engagements in or ganized states without the consent or approval of the regular state organ ization. I ask this question becaus you state in your letter that your sec retary at Lincoln has the arrange ments for the Neuraska dates in hand "At the meeting of the Quorum, held autonomy rule came up for discussion at different times and in various phases, and the Quorum members were decidedly of the opinion that this

in future than ever before. In view of this fact, I should like to know about your Nebraska dates, so that the Que rum can act upon your letter with full information on the subject.

"Of course, your suggestion that you be appointed because Comrade Hyland was, and in order to show impartiality, has no bearing upon this matter at all. Comrade Hyland's posi-tion on any question was not consid-ered when he was appointed, and the National Committee by a very decisive vote of 20 to 3 endorsed Comrade Hy olntruent, on the grounds of fitness and ability. Your appointm will be made on the same grounds. I would be showing a very limited con-ception of my duties as National Sec-retary if I suggested or proposed any comrade for appointment as lecture or organizer because he expressed cer-tain views upon any subject what-

"Perhaps it may not be out of the way for me to state that the criticism upon my proposing Comrade Hyland was significant for its scarcity. Comrade Richardson's letter was the only one I received which criticized me while, on the other hand, I received a shoal of letters from comrades in every section of the country, North, East, South, and West, endorsing my posttion. I may also say that the letter have received from Wyoming ab Comrade Hyland more than justify his selection on the score of ability."

XI.—Thompson to National Secretary, en route, S. D., Nov. 24.—"You

ask if my dates in Nebraska are arranged by or with the consent of the State Committee. In reply will say State Committee. In reply will say that my work in Nebraska was undertaken at the suggestion of a member of the State Committee and at the earnest solicitation of members of the party. After deciding to make the dates, I wrote to the State Secretary about the matter before arranging the dates, and asked him to take charge. He replied that the Quorum could not undertake to arrange my dates. He made no objection, however, to the dates being arranged, and being a member of the party in the state. I do not see how any objection could have been reasonably-raised. And even if objection had been raised, as was the case later, I do not understand that the or moral right to prevent a member of the organization in the state and a local of the party arranging together for a meeting. Such a position would amount to a very serious restriction of the personal and local rights of the memberships. I do not understand this to be guaranteed by the constitution of the parcy por to have been assumed by the Quorum or the National that any valid objection can be raised. as you attempt to do, to my appoint ment as National Organizer on the ground that the State Committee has not given its consent to my work.

"You state that 'the National Con niftee cannot have any of its speakers fill engagements in organized states without the consent or approval of the ocal in the United States knows, the OFFICIALS of the Nebraska organization at Omaha have pro-against my work, have denounce as a traitor and disruptionist. Nebraska officials, it is safe to Eny, have done everything in their power to prevent my work and to destroy the effect of it.

"BUT THE OFFICIALS AT OMAHA ARE BY NO MEANS THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEBRAS-KA. The dates I have filled, and am to fill, in Nebraska have had not only the consent and the approval but also the active co-operation and financial assitunce of practically every live and active local outside of Omaha. And I feel reasonably certain that the organization of a half-dozen new locals in addition to those I have already organized, together with the results of the work I have done, would, if submitted to a referendum, be unqualifiedly en-dorsed by at least 90 per cent. of the membership in the state. Indeed, it was by reason of the earnest solicitation of members and locals and state officials that I undertook the work in the state. It will therefore be seen that the failure of my work to receive the endorsement of the Omaha OFFI-CIALS does not mean that my work has not the consent and approval of the state organization. AS A MATTER OF FACT IT HAS, and moreover, I insist that this attitude of the state officials in Nebraska towards me is Th charges they make are absolutely false and I have, as yet, been given no chance to reply or to explain. My National Committeemen in a few days. To assume that because some OFFI-CIALS have raised a protest upon grounds entirely unproven, without submitting satisfactory evidence, without a referendum, and above all without giving the accused even the oppor-tunity to plead 'not gullty,' to say nothing of giving no opportunity to ubmit evidence-to assur under such circumstances that one is disqualified to act as National Organizer simply because some officials have attacked his character, and to act upon that as-sumption would, it seem to me, estabsumption would, it seem to me, estal lish a bad precedent. For in such case anyone who wished to become National Organizer, or who was acting as such, could be made the victim of petty jealousies or dislikes by ungenerous and narrow-minded officials. All that would be necessary would be to get a majority of a Local Quorum to ssue a protest, no matter whether the grounds were true and reasonable or

"I therefore raise this question Should not the protest of state officials be accompanied by at least some good and sufficient reasons and verified evi-dence before that protest shall disquality an individual to act as National Organizer in the state? It seems to me that it should. Otherwise we who are in the field may any or all of us become the victims of immature and unwarranted action.

"The objection, therefore, that yo "The objection, therefore, that you raise to appointing me as National Organizer is, I-believe, not valid. I therefore renew my application that I be appointed National Organizer, beginning with Nov. 20, and be permitted to if the dates already arranged to Dec. I in South Dakota and to Dec. 16 in Nelvanizar was the forms arranged. in Nebraska upon the terms suggested in my letter to you of recent date. "I agree with you, upon se-thought, that the appointment

Comrade Hyland should have no con-sideration in the matter. And I assure you and the National Committee that I have no inclination to press the mat er of my application to the point of any issue among the comrades. I have made the application and will let it stand until I am informed of the deci-sion of the Quorum and National Com-mittee upon the above points. Kindly submit this also to the Quorum and

National Committee."

XII.—National Secretary to Thompson, Nov. 27.—"You do not seem quite to understand the position occupied by the National Committee toward the separate state organizations. In organized states the regular state organizamitee and paying dues to the national office has 'sole jurisdiction of the mem bers residing in their respective terri-tories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, or ation, and financial affairs within uch state or territory, and the National Committee and sub-committee or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organization.' (See Section 4 Article 6. National Constitution.

"Under this law the national office cannot send or route speakers or or ganizers in or through any organized state without the consent or co-operation of the state organization in that state. This is as true of Nebraska as of California or New York. Your relations as a member in Nebraska with your State Quorum have nothing to do with the relations of this office with your State Quorum. So long as the State Quorum compose the officials of the regular party organization in Nobraska and that party organization maintains its standing in the national organization, then this office must, under the law, recognize the State rum as the representatives of the Ne-

"The reasons why or how the State Quorum refused to arrange dates for on in Nebraska have nothing to do with the case. The fact that you have made the dates you say in on your own responsibility does not imply that this office, acting for the National Committee, shall assume that responsibility. The National Committee deals with state organizations or with locals in unorganized states, and with individuals only where no local or state organizations exist. What you do in your individual capacity as a ember in Nebraska is no concern of this office, but when you become a National Organizer this office is responsible for your actions in connection with any state.

"A perusal of all my former letters

will show you that I have never made any objections to your appointment as you state. As an executive of the Na-tional Committee I made an inquiry hased upon your own statement that our Nebraska dates were being made by your secretary at Lincoln."

XIII.—National Secretary to Ne

braska State Secretary Roe, Dec. 7 .-"Comrade Carl D. Thompson has been corresponding with me relative to his being appointed National Organizer, ission to date from Nov. 20. which would include dates in South Dakota and Nebraska. Comrade Dakota Thompson stated in his correspondence that the dates in Nebraska were arranged by his secretary at Lincoln and I inquired if the state organization of Nebraska had approved of these dates, as, under the law of state autonomy, no person working under the direction of the National Committee can fill engagements in any organ-ized state without the consent or ap-proval of the organization in that state.

"Comrade Thompson has admitted that the State Quorum of Nebruska has not consented and has objected to his work. Under these circumstances and inasmuch as Comrade Thompsor requested it, I submitted the entire cor respondence to the Quorum, of which not all the members have yet acted

upon the matter.
"In acting upon it, however, Com-rade Reynolds of Indiana suggests that the State Quorum be requested to endorse Comrade Thompson's work so that he can be appointed National Or ganizer. I therefore lay this sugges tion before you for action as the quick-est and best way in which to settle

XIV.-Action of Quorum, accompanying report to National Committee, Dec. 11.—Work says: "We of course cannot bill a speaker through Nebraska without the consent of the State Comittee, nor through any other state." If Thompson does not recogni "the correspondence should go to the National Committee.' If he does "Thompson should be appointed a Na-tional Organizer, to take effect when he finishes his other engagements and can go to work under the auspices of ner. I do not imply any criticism o Comrade Thompson for his recent work under exceptional circumstances in Nebraska, although under all ordinary circumstances I am entirely opsed to free lancing."

Berlyn says: "I not only approve of the position taken by the National Secretary, but think he has not gone far enough. The constitution is explicit and the Quorum and National Secre tary can only take into consideration tary can only take into consideration the regular organization of a state and could not route a National Organizer without consulting the state organization, nor would I consent to have any National Organizer route himself and ask the national office to assume the responsibility, financial or otherwise.

\* \* I favor submission of the whole lence to the National Com-

Reynolds "unhesitatingly approves" the National Secretary's position, but hopes the Nebraska state organization will withdraw its objection.

Dobbs says: "I do not like the tone Thompson takes and I am against em-ploying him as National Organizer. He shows a strange obtuseness in failing to grasp the points of his work if he were employed as National Organizer." Berger approves the position taken y the National Secretary. XV.—Nebraska State Secretary to

by the National Secretary.

XV.—Nebraska State Secretary to
National Secretary, Dec. 16.—Seate
Quorum has considered National Secretary's letter of Dec. 7 and directs

cept the suggestion and will not ap-prove of Thompson's dates, for that would carry with it an endorsement of him and of his actions. This the of him and of his actions. This the party, even capitalist office-holders State Quorum is not prepared to give like the Chadron Chief of Police, and

and it believes its course justified by the facts in its possession. The Quothe facts in its possession. The Quo-rum believes it would be untrue to the trust reposed in it by the membership in Nebraska and false to its duty to the Socialist Party if an endor direct or indirect, were given direct or indirect, were given to one guilty of acts Thompson has com

"Ever since the state convention of

July, Thompson has done his utmost to discredit the state organization of Nebraska and to disrupt, under th name of re-organization, the Party in this state. From the time of that convention he has persistently and maliciously, in and state, distorted the actions of that con vention, slandered the comrades attending it and ridiculed the party offi-More than that, he has sulted and conspired with men already proven guilty of treason to the party and of attempting to gain control of it for corrupt ends. He has shame-lessly proclaimed his intention of 'reorganizing the state so that the pres-ent officials could be ousted and the ring of boodlers, whose headquarters are in Omaha, obtain control.

"Thompson went forth from the state convention last July and stated in public print that the State Quorum had withheld a charter from Maywood because the new local there was composed of farmers and merchants a falsehood which has obtained wide circulation throughout the country and placed the state organization of Ne "It is the rule of the State Quorum

not to grant charters to locals in new places until a State Organizer has places until a State Organizer has visited that place and investigated. This rule was adopted because Ne braska is a close state politically and we have had to guard against politi-cians, belonging to both the old parties, getting into the party organization in order to use it for their own pur-poses. That the rule is a necessary one will be shown later. This rule was followed in the Mayvood case. charter was not refused, but withheld until an organizer had visited May-wood and investigated. When this was done the Maywood charter was granted in due form.
"This same misrepresentation

curred in the case of the so-called 'Eighty Per Cent. Resolution,' which the state convention never acted upon "It should be understood that the State Quorum never objected

Thompson working in this state for Socialism, but we do object to his openly assisting the proven enemies of our party to get control of the party erganization, and to his fighting So-cialists instead of expounding the prin-ciples of the party. And we have more eason than ever for refusing to recognize or endorse him as a field worke since having an opportunity to est mate the kind of work he has been doing in Nebraska lately, and which work he asks the national office to be responsible for.

"On Oct. 14, Thompson, Chadron. The meeting was arranged by him through L. J. F. Iaeger of that place. Our State Secretary afterward received from laeger, as temporary secretary, under dat Oct. 15, an appli cation for a local with seventeen m ers, which was organized on Oct. 14. the application was made out in the handwriting of Carl D. Thompson and vas one of the kind used by him. The local was reported in the press as on organized by him. Among the name on the application for charter were those of L. J. F. Iaeger and D. W. Sperling. The occupation of the ormer was given as 'merchant' and the latter as 'Chief of Police.'

Following our usual rule, the charter was withheld pending investigation by State Organizer Schiermeyer, who reached Chadron Nov. 1. "Organizer Schlermeyer reported or

Nov. 2 that I. J. F. Iaeger, with who Thompson had corresponded to arrange the meeting, was a member of the Democratic County Committee and that Sperling was Chief of Police, appointed by a Democratic Mayor. ade Schlermeyer succeeded in having laeger and Sperling withdraw their names, as the following correspondence will show:

" 'Chadron, Neb, 11-4-'03.

"'J. P. Roe, Sec'ty:
"'Dear Sir:-By instruction from Organizer Schiermeyer, I hereby withdraw my own name as well as that of D. W. Sper ling as charter members of the Chadron Local. You will hereafter please address all com munications to R. M. Stanton,

'Speaking for myself, while I believe in Socialism, yet I can-not accept the radical part of the platform which excludes all but wage earners and cannot be lieve the dawn of emancipation can be reached that way.

B. \*Chadron, Neb., Nov. 14, 1903. "Dear Sir and Comrade: Trust the enclosed will be suffi-cient to make us eligible for charter. This completes our part, as Comrade Schiermeyer instructs us. If anything is lacking, please let us know. "Comrade Schiermeyer is a true Socialist and bears ac

quaintance well. Very respectfully, R. M. STANTON, Fin. Sec Chadron Local."

C.-ENCLOSURE. 'To the Secretary of State So cialist Party: "'Sir:-You will please

my name from the list of Social ists at this place, for the reason that I am Chief of Police pointed by the Mayor of this city, and I have been informed that you are withholding the charter from the society organized here on account of my nam being on the list. Respectfully, D. W. SPERLING.

Chief of Police." "The charter was therefore gran

"The State Quorum is not prepare and which shows that in his anxiet -to 're-organize' the state he is willi to take anybody or anything into th \* PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

All Domrades and Organizations are hereby informed that an

Industrial Labor Exposition and Food Show For the benefit of the Labor Press, "THE WORKER" and the "NEW YORKER VOLKSZEITUNG," is being arranged, and will take place April 23

to May 8, 1904, at the GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, Forty-third and Fortyourth Streets, New York. Organizations are requested to consider arranging Festivals cordingly.

THE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE.

### \* FACSIMILE OF TICKET!



nen like Ineger, who do not belleve n a working-class platform.

"We can quite believe that Thompson may have made the engagement to speak at Chadron without knowing the real position occupied by Iaeger, as the latter is an 'Appeal to Reason' reader, but there is no reason why he should not have learned it after he reached the city. That he should con-sider Democratic committeemen and chiefs of police fit to be members of the party, shows him unworthy of trust and incapable of holding th sponsible position of organizer for the Socialist Party.

"For these reasons, the State Quo-um declines to endorse Carl D. Thompson, and requests that you forward this letter to the Natio nittee, should you submit the other correspondence."

### THE STATE REFERENDUM. To the Editor of The Worker:-A

ew remarks about changing the seat of the State Committe from New York City to Rochester may not be amiss. When Local Yonkers discussed the matter of removing the State Committee it was because their delegate had brought back very unsatisfactory reports of service rendered. I remembe pecifically that Highland Falls was mentioned among other places as hav-ing failed to receive the attention our delegates thought they should have rerelyed at the hands of the State Con attee. It was then proposed that it would perhaps be conducive to more thorough work by the State Committee if a change was made. Knowing the activity of Local Rochester and the ability of its members, we pro-posed that place, and we feel assured that if the change is made Local Rochester will do its full duty in the mat ter. Personally, I have since ascer tained that the present State Commit-tee has done a great deal of very ener getic work during the past campaign and that the Secretary has made sor onsiderable sacrifice ance of his duty, but I am also of th opinion that a paid State Secretary should be elected so that his who ime may be devoted to the I suppose that matter will lay over til the next state convention. FRED. BENNETTS.

Yonkers, N. Y., Dec. 18.

### "SOCIALIST DIPLOMATS." To the Editor of The Worker:-In

your issue of Dec. 6 you print the comments on the motion I made to the National Committee regarding the race question in Lousiana. In another column you appear to make a mountain out of a molehill because I chanced to speak favorably of the Lousiana comades as "Socialist diplomats" in draft ing their state proceedings. Permit m to say that, notwithstanding "we do not wish to be led by 'diplomats,' " we have already been and in the future will be compelled to use the highest diplomacy that can be brought forward in the Socialist Party to crush the capitalist parties. For more than ress of our party in this and other countries, and in no country where it has developed into a power for indus trial emancipation for the workers has it done so except by the untiring and zealous efforts of Socialist diplomats. It is always well to discuss these ques ...e benefit of the whole party membership, and while a representative of the party I have no dread of any criticism that may be made by any one—for the Socialists stand pre-emi-nent in the criticism of each other. I wish to state that perhaps yo

were not aware of the fact that I with drew my motion on the race question some time ago, and voted in favor of Comrade Work's motion. I withdrew my motion on the grounds of unconstitutionality, and the chief clause or which my withdrawal is based is to be found in the resolution adopted by the Socialist Party in National Convention at Indianapolis, July 31, 1901. At the beginning of the fifth paragraph is reads: "Resolved, That we declare to the negro worker the identity of his and struggles with the ests and struggles of the workers of all lands, without regard to race or color or sectional lines. \* \* \* That in fact is that between the producers and the owners of the world;

I have made my remarks as brief as possible in order to clear any doubt in your mind as to my position on the race question. Whatever may come, or whatever question may arise, I shall always stand by the Socialist constin, platform, and anti-fusion reso-ns, and any other resolution that has or may be adopted by the party in national convention or co

I shall ask you the favor and justice of printing this letter to reveal the im-portant fact that I stand undinching-ly for the upholding of our national constitution, platform and kindred reThis copyrighted design is

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# SPFCIAL NOTICE.

### BROOKLYN ORGANIZATIONS. Attention!

For the convenience of the members of the Brooklyn organizations affiliated with the Labor Socretariat, a branch office has been opened on monday, Dec. 14th, in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 49 Willoughby avenue, office hours are from 2 to 6 p. m. week days. All Brooklyn cases can from now on be submitted at the above branch.

The Labor Secretariat,

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

ons or individual conceptions of right and wrong.

Minneapolis, Dec. 7. CICERO C. TALBOTT.

National Committeeman for Minnesota, [If by "Socialist diplomats," Comrade Calbott means to describe men of the type of August Bebel, for instance. marks to which he takes exception. In that case we have, however, to add that we never heard the word "dip-lomat" used in such a sense. We understood the word as commonly used and based our objection to his expression on that understanding.-Ed.]

# GOEBEL NOT A CANDIDATE.

To the Editor of The Worker:-Will you kindly inform the comrades of New Jersey that I am not a candidate for National Committeeman this year, i arrived home too late to keep in name from appearing on the ballot. appreciate the good will conveyed in the nomination, but as National Organizer I would not be sufficiently in touch with state affairs to act intelligently as the state might desire. I believe also that, other things being equal, there should only be one term to any comrade in positions of this kind. We need experienced workers. The way to develop them is to divide positions such as National Committee man among as many comrades as pos-sible. So under no circumstances will I accept re-election.

GEO. H. GOEBEL. Newark, N. J.

"The Economic Foundations of Society," by Achille Loria, is a book that will repay careful study. It can be had from the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York, for \$1.25.

-Every reader of The Worker is invited to send in the addresses of such of his acquaintances as may be open to new ideas in order that sample copies of the paper may be sent to them.

-The Social Democratic Party of New York is identical with the Socialist Party of other states. The difference of name is due to requirements of the election law. Our emblem is the Arm and Torch.

-- We are glad 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 nat dresses for sample copies.