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The Worker

AGENTS, ATTENTION! Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.

REVIEW OF THE CAMPAIGN.

Report of New York State Committee.

Shows the Magnitude of the Work Done, the Difficulties Encountered, and the Necessity of Still More Strenuous Effort in the Future.

[The following is the report of the State Committee of the Social Democratic Party of New York on its work during the last half-year, including the late campaign.]

We offer the following to the comrades as a concise review of the work of the State Committee during its incumbency in office.

The following comrades constitute the State Committee: Emil Neppel, I. Slobodin, Leonard D. Abbott, H. C. Bowerman, and James N. Wood of New York; Dr. Chas. Furman of Kings; Chris. Hub. of Queens; and Godfrey Lehner of Westchester.

The present State Committee was organized on the eve of a campaign and had immediately to prepare the plans and the material for Socialist propaganda. This is had to do under great difficulties.

The situation was made still worse by the lassitude and inertia which prevailed among the party members. But gradually the coal strike, which began to engross public attention, roused also the Socialists to action.

It was the intention of the State Committee to prepare early in the campaign the bulk of the necessary literature; but in this, as in its other plans, it was frustrated by the absence of the necessary funds.

The books of the State Committee are not yet added. We therefore give here for the information of the comrades the chief items of expenses from June 25 to Jan. 1, and present liabilities of the State Committee.

LIABILITIES. For literature: Geo. Speyer \$383.00, Comrade Pub. Co. 70.00, Posters 18.00, The Worker 6.00.

Speakers: T. J. Spring 102.00, A. Jonas 40.00, W. T. Brown 32.00, "Volkszeitung" (Butscher) 108.00, Money borrowed 339.00, From H. L. Slobodin 100.00, National Committee, stamps 278.00, Hillquit & Hillquit, fees 50.00.

Total \$1,536.00. The following are outstanding accounts due to the State Committee: From Local New York (and Kings, formerly Local New York) for stamps \$520.00, Local New York for literature 320.00, Other locals for literature 180.00, Local New York for speakers 25.00.

EXPENSES. National Committee, stamps \$278.00, Speakers 1,106.00, Literature: Geo. Speyer 470.00, Comrade Pub. Co. 230.00, Frat. Pub. Co. 14.00, Clerical work, Schoen 50.00, Postage and expressage 80.00, Two Cooper Union meetings 233.00.

Total \$2,524.00. The State Convention decided that the State Committee should issue contribution lists and distribute them among the locals, which were to retain half of the money collected for the local campaign and forward the other half to the State Committee for the state campaign fund.

The following money were so contributed: New York, \$1,040; Peekskill, \$128; Watertown, \$8.50; Woodhaven, \$4; Woodside, \$20.05; New Rochelle, \$31.55; Mt. Vernon, \$0.75; Yonkers, \$51.30; Peekskill, \$14.25; Cold Spring, \$5; Highland Falls, \$10.50; Kings, \$51.80; Rochester, \$48; Newburgh, \$5; Catskill, \$5; Troy, \$14.25; Batavia, \$5; Schenectady, \$12; Houston, Tex., \$1; Linoleumville, 25 cents; Buffalo, \$17.25; Albany, \$2; Resemer, N. C., \$7; Johnstown, \$14.75; Utica, \$20; Rome, \$3; Dexter, \$5; Corfu, \$12; Hornellsville, \$5; Atlanta, Ga., \$1; Syracuse, \$6; Kingston, \$5; Pearl River, \$3; Long Island City, \$2; Port Chester, \$2.20. Some locals in

PENNSYLVANIA.

Great Socialist Activity Throughout the State.

Local Campaigns Are On and Comrades Are at Work—New Locals Forming—New State Committee Elected, with Long as Secretary.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 12.—Local Philadelphia of the Socialist Party at its meeting on Jan. 7 elected the following as members of the State Committee for the year 1903: Fred W. Long, Ed. Moore, Joe. Edelman, F. G. Rother, W. W. Robinson, Walter Rihl, and Howard H. Caldwell.

The old State Committee held its last meeting to-night, J. C. Frost presiding. Reports and correspondence received showed that the comrades throughout the state are working splendidly, that there is no apathy, no waning of interest in the movement which took such a grand forward stride in this state last fall.

Local Activity. Locals Clifton Heights, Duryea, Owego, Pottsville, Wilkes Barre, and Williamsport sent in their financial reports for December.

Local Elderton, Kittanning, Lansford, and Pittsburg asked for speakers. A report was received from Nanticoke that a member of one of the locals is a candidate on a "Citizens' ticket."

The Secretary was instructed to notify the locals that the party has no room for such persons and to advise that action be taken at once.

The Socialists of Erie will hold their local nominating convention in the Baker Block on Jan. 15. Local tickets will also be nominated during the week at Taylor in Lackawanna County, at Butler in Butler County, and at Spring City in Chester County.

In Pittsburg and Williamsport we already have tickets in the field, the latter place having candidates in eight out of the thirteen wards.

Letters were received from Utherville in Clearfield County and Hyndman in Bedford County asking for instructions how to form local organizations of the party.

The Wilkes Barre publication committee states that it will issue "The Socialist" before April 1. The Erie comrades are high in hopes of starting a daily paper in the near future.

Collins will assist in a similar party in Pittsburg for about three weeks. Invitations have been extended to him by a number of trade unions.

New Committee Organized. The old State Committee having adjourned, the new one met and organized by the election of Fred W. Long as Financial and Corresponding Secretary, with Walter Rihl as Assistant Secretary, Jos. Edelman as Treasurer, and F. G. Rother as Recording Secretary.

All communications should be addressed to State Secretary Fred W. Long, 1305 Arch street, Philadelphia. The Committee will meet every Monday evening at this place.

Upon application by the Luzerne County Committee that body was given control of the issuing of stamps and supplies to the locals in that county and the accounts hereafter are to be kept between the State and County Committees.

An affidavit meeting to certify the Philadelphia city nomination papers will be held at the Labor Lyceum, Sixth and Brown streets, on Jan. 24. J. MAHLON BARNES.

SOCIALISM AND TRADE UNIONISM

The following resolution was adopted by the Socialist Party in National Convention at Indianapolis, Ind., on July 31, 1901: "The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, declares that the trade union movement and independent political action are the emancipating factors of the wage-working class.

The trade union movement is by the natural result of capitalist production and represents the economic side of the working class movement. We consider the unions of their respective trades and assist in building up and unifying the trades and labor organizations. We recognize that trade unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds as far as political affiliation is concerned.

"We call the attention of trade unionists to the fact that the class struggle so nobly waged by the trade union forces to-day, while it may result in lessening the exploitation of labor, can never abolish that exploitation. The exploitation of labor will be taken to an end only when society becomes possession of all the means of production. It is the duty of every trade unionist to realize the necessity of independent political action on class-conscious lines, to join the Socialist Party and to assist in building up a strong political movement of the wage-working class, whose ultimate aim and object must be the abolition of wage-slavery and the establishment of a cooperative state of society based on the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution."

The Socialist Party is known in the state of New York under the name of Social Democratic Party, and its emblem is the Arm and Torch.

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

Socialists Will Make the Session a Lively One.

Republicans, Seconded by Democrats, Start the Session Auspiciously for Capitalist Corporations, but the Voice of the Workers Will Be Heard Through Carey, MacCartney, and Ransden.

BOSTON, Jan. 12.—The customary routine involved in the process of organization was disturbed on the opening day of this session of the Massachusetts Legislature by the introduction of an order by Representative Callender seeking to instruct the Attorney-General to appear before the Supreme Court and pray for an injunction to restrain the Massachusetts gas companies from voting to add \$20,000,000 of watered stock in violation of the state laws, at a meeting called for the following day.

The order was laid over until the afternoon, and then taken up and passed. The Attorney-General, upon receiving it, administered a rebuke to the Legislature for "exceeding its jurisdiction," and Callender thereupon introduced an order requesting the Attorney-General to cooperate in a suit already in process against the gas companies. Meanwhile the companies' directors held their meeting and the stock-watering was accomplished.

Speaker Myers was re-elected, there being no opposition except from the Socialists, who voted for Carey. The Democrats decided not to run a candidate, evidently because they did not wish to antagonize Speaker Myers and injure their chances for recognition at committee appointments, proceeding clearly illustrative of the caliber of the Democratic party.

The committee appointments, so far as the Socialists were concerned, were quite what was expected. The Committee on Labor has been distributed among the same members who emulated last year's labor bills, and the new members are no better than the old ones. That Speaker Myers ignores the Socialist members in the make-up of this committee, when Carey and MacCartney have come to be the acknowledged spokesmen of Labor in the House, is eloquent testimony of his capitalist class-consciousness and that the Socialists are the working-class representatives.

Carey is "promoted" from the Committee to that on Water Supply, usually a somewhat committee, although it is probable that Carey will resign this year, as he has one matter which he will bring before the committee before the session closes. He also retains his membership on the Libraries Committee, Ransden succeeding him on the Counties Committee, whose chief characteristic in its having nothing to do. MacCartney is again chairman of the Committee on Parishes and Religious Societies—in attendance for past offenses, we suppose, and is also a member of the Towns Committee. The committees where the economic class interests are affected are filled by staunch supporters of capitalist interests from both old parties.

WE WIN IN HAVERHILL.

Supreme Court Seats Socialist Mayor.

Flanders Case Establishes the Rule that Votes Must Be Counted as They Are Cast.

As the Worker goes to press news comes that the Massachusetts Supreme Court has decided in favor of the Socialists in the Haverhill majority case, seating Parkman B. Flanders as Mayor.

It will be remembered that the Republican Board of Registrars sought to overcome the Socialist plurality by counting for the Republican candidate eighteen blank ballots.

The court decides that the votes must be counted as they are cast. The Registrars made the astonishing defense that their decision, whatever it might be, was final and could not be reviewed by the courts.

THE GLOBE FAIR.

Volunteers to Work for the Daily Wanted.

Unusually Good Meeting of the Conference—Interest Increasing—Much to Be Done in Short Time Remaining Before the Fair Opens.

The seventh session of the Globe Conference was held in the Labor Lyceum on Jan. 8 and was unusually well attended. The Executive Committee made a satisfactory report on the work done and to be done for the Fair. Considerable interest has been aroused in the delegates through the fact that the work has really begun in earnest.

Various sub-committees were chosen and Comrade Butscher was elected as General Manager for the Fair. Eight new unions were admitted upon presentation of credentials.

Comrades and friends of the cause are reminded that the Fair Committee has established store rooms and requests that those who have obtained presents for the Fair will either bring them to Comrade Butscher at the Labor Lyceum or else notify him so that he can see that they are called for.

Only about two months remains and all who are interested are urged to do their utmost in soliciting presents and in selling tickets. Donation books can be had from the Secretary, who will also gladly give any needed information.

The Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association decided at the last meeting to meet twice each month until after the Fair. The next meeting of the association will take place on Monday, Jan. 28. All members should attend and help along in the work to be done.

Those who have made pledges to the Socialist Daily Fund are asked to consider that Secretary Butscher should be free to give all his time to the preparations for the Fair by bringing or sending their instalments to him promptly they will save the time otherwise taken up in collecting.

Comrade H. L. von Dufny has consented to act as agent for the Daily Globe in the Bronx. He will call upon those who have made pledges, to collect the instalments. Comrades are requested to assist him by paying promptly when called upon.

A VALUABLE PAMPHLET.

H. Gaylor Wilshire's "Why Workingmen Should Be Socialists" has been issued by the Socialist Literature Company in neat pamphlet form. It is sold at 2 cents a copy, or \$1.25 a hundred, postpaid. The wide circulation which this pamphlet has had in past years indicates that it is well adapted to its purpose of interesting strangers in the Socialist movement. Address: Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York.

WHAT WORKINGMEN'S VOTES CAN DO.

"What Workingmen's Votes Can Do," by Benjamin Hanford, is one of the best propaganda leaflets that you can get. It was written for use in the last campaign in New York state and was found to be so useful in bringing workingmen to a true understanding of the principles and purposes of our movement that a special edition has been prepared for use in the country at large—the name Socialist Party being used in place of Social Democratic Party, as used in New York. In places where city campaigns are now opening it should be widely distributed. Prices: \$2 a thousand, or 25 cents a hundred; expressage paid. Order of Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York.

"UNEQUALLED AS AN EDUCATOR."

Comrade Duffie of Local Dover, N. H., in sending in an order for twenty-five copies of The Worker Weekly, says: "We are using The Worker to educate our new members. As fast as possible we induce them to subscribe regularly. I have yet to see the equal of The Worker as an educator for party members. It is indispensable, also, if one wishes to keep in touch with general Socialist movements." From the steady growth of the circulation we infer that many comrades share this opinion.

"I congratulate you on the stand taken editorially by The Worker on the California matter. It is a condition vital to us in Canada as it is to you. Let us make Socialists. The counting of votes will be of greater importance later." So writes Comrade Price of St. Thomas, Ont., sending in a bunch of subscriptions, by the way.

—The more you work, the more you earn—for somebody else.

WE WANT COAL, NOT WORDS.

Never was the utter brutality of the capitalist system more terribly illustrated than by the "coal famine" now prevailing all over the land.

Millions of people are suffering the keenest privation, men and women and children are dying every day, because of the high price of fuel.

We cry for relief, and "the Christian gentlemen to who God in His infinite wisdom has given control of the property interests of this country" respond by putting the price a notch higher and then, sitting at ease in their well heated offices or their comfortable homes and clubs, sanctimoniously prating of the sacred rights of property and the wicked providence and ingratitude of the poor.

We cry again for relief, and the men whom these Christian gentlemen have nominated and whom workmen's votes have sent to City Hall and State House and Capitol to make and judge and execute the laws say they have no power to act. They tell us to be patient, to respect law and order, to be frugal and industrious, to contemplate the proof of our prosperity in the increase of corporate dividends.

But, we say, we who work and shiver or seek for work and freeze, we have no share in those dividends. We are frugal already, because we cannot help it. Our industry does not save our wives and babies from suffering. Law and order does not cook our food or warm our wretched tenements. Patience sometimes ceases to be a virtue. And we want coal.

Then again they reply that they can do nothing. They have no power to act. SACRED PROPERTY RIGHTS ARE IN THE WAY. The constitution is in the way. Everything is in the way, when it is a question of saving us from the men who own the coal.

Government is powerful when property rights are threatened. The constitution has never prevented the issuance of injunctions and the use of troops to break strikes. But now property rights are threatening us—nay, coining our very lives into profit. What does Government do?

The most that the strenuous Roosevelt or the benevolent Hoar or the most truculent of the Democrats—even the Democrats, with the advantage of being an irresponsible minority—the most they offer us is that, perhaps, after a while, when they have talked about it long enough, they may take the tariff off coal!

WE ARE NOW PAYING FROM \$5 TO \$15 A TON ABOVE THE NORMAL PRICE FOR COAL. THE TARIFF IS 67 CENTS A TON. IT IS A GENEROUS PROPOSITION, IS IT NOT?

And the same men who control the Coal Trust control also the Shipping Trust.

The removal of the tariff would not reduce the price of coal even 67 cents a ton, probably not one cent. And its only real permanent effect would be to hasten a little the day when the Coal Trust will become international, as the Oil Trust and the Shipping Trust and the Tobacco Trust already are.

In our opening sentence we put the words "coal famine" in quotation marks. We do so advisedly.

There is no reason to believe that there is a real coal famine, a real and serious lack of coal. There is every reason to believe that coal is being deliberately held back from the market to-day.

The Worker has received trustworthy information that an officer of the Erie Railroad—speaking, as he supposed, among friends who would not repeat his words—openly declared that his company, among others, was holding back coal in order to keep up the price. Trainmen on the coal-carrying roads report that enormous quantities of coal are sidetracked all along the lines. The capitalist papers are not publishing these facts. It is not their business to publish the whole truth.

IT IS GOOD BUSINESS TO MAKE AN ARTIFICIAL SCARCITY OF A COMMODITY THAT THE PEOPLE MUST HAVE. It costs no more to the mine owners to get a ton of coal mined and carried to the market now than it did a year ago. It therefore pays much better to sell one ton for ten dollars than to sell two tons at five dollars each.

The mine owners and their spokesmen—politicians, editors, preachers, college professors, and others—are telling us that the miners are to blame for our present sufferings, because they went on strike last summer.

That is a lie. Even though the strike had entailed a lack of coal at the present time—which, we maintain, it did not—it has not increased the cost of the coal that is mined and therefore has not justified the increase of prices.

Observe, too, that there was no strike in the bituminous fields; yet the price of soft coal has been raised 50 per cent. or more. There was no strike in the oil industry; yet the price of kerosene, a partial substitute for coal, has been raised 40 per cent. or more. There was no strike in the gas works; yet the gas companies, not being allowed to raise the price of gas, have compassed the same end by reducing its quality.

So here we are, suffering from AN ARTIFICIAL FAMINE, RESULTING FROM THE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF MEANS OF PRODUCTION CONSISTING PARTLY IN THE BOUNTY OF NATURE AND PARTLY IN THE RESULT OF THE PAST LABOR OF MYRADS OF WORKINGMEN.

What are we going to do about it? To get immediate relief, something can be done—not much, but something.

Trade unions, workmen's societies of all sorts, and workmen and sincere sympathizers of the working class as individuals can best themselves to scare the capitalists and the capitalist politicians into some measure of decency.

DON'T THINK YOU CAN APPEAL TO THEIR SENSE OF HONOR OR HUMANITY. THEY HAVE NONE. PROFIT AND BOODLE HAVE KILLED IT. THE ONLY WAY TO GET ANYTHING IS TO SCARE THEM.

Circulate Socialist literature. Hold public meetings and demonstrations. Write letters to the newspapers. Write letters to aldermen, mayors, legislators, governors, congressmen, senators, judges—to the President himself.

DON'T beg, DEMAND! Don't plead, THREATEN! Threaten them with political annihilation. Let them know that they are making Socialists. And BE SINCERE in your threats. Carry them out. Make up your mind to vote for Socialism next time. And do it. And help induce others to do it. That is the only way to impress these profit-grinders and their agents.

To avoid such calamities in the future, there is only one way. Remember that the capitalist class has the power and the will to make a coal famine, an ice famine, a meat famine, a bread famine, whenever it sees a profit in so doing. This will not be the last—UNLESS YOU AWAKE AND ACT.

Remember that the working class has created and now operates all the means of production, that it produces all wealth, that these means of production are necessary to society's life, that private ownership of the means of production means private mastery over the lives of all the workers.

Strike at the root of the evil. The ballot-box is the place to strike. Strike for public ownership on the Socialist plan. In hundreds of cities you will have a chance this spring. In hundreds of other cities (including New York) and in several states you will have a chance next fall. Work for it. Strive hard, from now till election day, to educate your fellow workmen and fellow sufferers to throw off the yoke of capitalist oppression.

The day of change is coming. Do YOUR part to hasten it on. All depends upon YOU.

Shall you complain who feed the world, Who clothe the world, Who house the world— Shall you complain who are the world, Of what the world may do? As from this hour You use your power, The world must follow you.

KANSAS VOTE.

GEITDA SPRINGS, Kan., Jan. 8.—The figure given by The Worker and by several other party papers for the Socialist vote in Kansas is too low by about a thousand. The official statement by the Board of Canvassers gives us a vote of 4,078 for A. S. McAllister, our candidate for Governor, with our other candidates on the state ticket ranging from 4,170 to 4,408.

Our vote two years ago was 1,605. Our straight vote thus shows an increase of 2,473, or 154 per cent. in two years. C. R. Y.

—Now when we are reading so much in the daily press about railway service, rates, wages, and profits, is a good time to circulate Hanford's "Railroading in the United States," one of the best Socialist pamphlets ever written. Price, postpaid, 5 cents a copy; ten or more at 2 1/2 cents each. Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York.

—Don't be afraid to let people know you are a Socialist. They will find it out anyhow, sooner or later, and most people respect a man who shows that he has the courage of his convictions.

—We shall take from the capitalist class the unpaid wages of our fathers and grandfathers—the tools of production.

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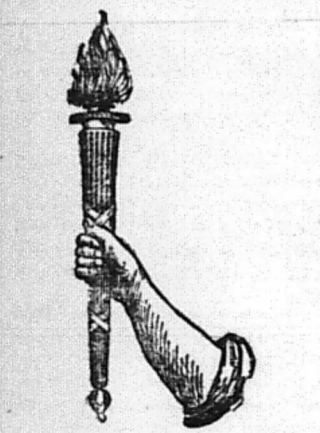
The Worker.

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Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post office on April 6, 1901.



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

The Socialist knows that the forces of evolution are working for the downfall of capitalism and the upbuilding of the Co-operative Commonwealth. But the true Socialist never forgets that and that he has to do his part.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT.

The article on "The Socialist Party and the Trade Unions" in our issue of December 14 seems to have struck the right spot. With all due modesty we concede a belief that it was a pretty good statement of the true position of the Socialist Party on this question and well adapted for circulation among trade unionists, some of whom are afraid the Socialists are working some scheme to "capture" them. A number of orders for the issue containing this article came too late to be filled and several readers have requested that it be printed as a leaflet. To meet this demand we shall reprint the article in our issue of February 1, two weeks from today.

In the same issue we shall reprint Ben Hanford's article, used as a leaflet in the New York campaign, "What Workmen's Votes Can Do." With perfect truth we can say that, so far as we know, this is the most effective argument of its sort ever put into so few words in the English language. It cannot be given too wide a circulation. There will be other interesting and valuable matter in the issue of February 1, and we advise locals and comrades to distribute it in large numbers. Send in your orders early—at any rate by Wednesday, January 28. The prices for hundreds of The Worker are: For one hundred, 75 cents; two hundred, \$1.20; three hundred or more, 50 cents a hundred; all postpaid; cash should accompany all orders.

TO NEW YORK COMRADES.

We would commend the report of the State Committee of the Social Democratic Party of New York to the careful attention of all comrades and sympathizers in the state—more especially of those outside New York City.

There is probably no other state which presents such a combination of difficulties for the Socialist movement as New York. The wonderful development of political corruption under Tammany and under Platt—more efficient if not more infamous than even the rule of a Quay or an Adickes or a Carter Harrison—has engendered a cynical apathy in the great mass of the uncorrupted voters, which makes it hard to awaken them to enthusiasm for the Socialist ideal. The S. L. P., working for dissension and disruption, is stronger and viler here than anywhere else, and we still suffer for its misdeeds. Added to all this, we have the handicap of a party name different from that used in other states and open to misconstruction by the imperfectly informed voter. All this, to say nothing of the conservative prejudice natural to long settled rural communities, which is nowhere stronger than

In certain parts of this state, make our task here a difficult one. But to the true Socialist the enumeration of difficulties is only a stimulus to increased effort. In spite of every obstacle, we have made a very satisfactory gain in this state in the late election. If we have fallen from first to second rank in the table of the Socialist vote, it was through the greater success of our Massachusetts comrades, not through our own failure. And we have to remember that, as we are fighting capitalism in its very citadel and stronghold, the eyes of Socialists all over the country are watching the progress of the party in New York and that a special responsibility is thus imposed upon us.

As the report of the State Committee shows, the comrades of Greater New York have done more than their full share in the recent state campaign. They have done it cheerfully and will cheerfully do it again, to the extent of their ability. But we have a most important city campaign this year and the party in the city will feel that it has a right to devote most of its efforts for the time to its own work. The responsibility for the progress of the movement "up the state" during the coming year must be borne chiefly by the locals outside New York City.

The election of 1904 will be of such importance as to require the most thorough preparatory work—presidential, congressional, state, legislative, and, in many places, local elections all coming together. About twenty-one months remain in which to strengthen the party organization, extend its work to every heretofore neglected corner of the state, and make the principles and purposes and methods of the party familiar to every voter. It is a heavy task. The State Committee will undertake it bravely. But it must be given earnest support, financial as well as moral, in order to fulfil its obligations.

To begin with, the State Committee ought at once, within a month, if possible, be supplied with enough money to pay off all its debts. The prompt payment of the indebtedness of the locals for stamps and for literature would go far to accomplish this. A comparatively small additional contribution from each local, together with scrupulous care in the future in regard to the payment of dues would soon cover the remainder of the debt and put the State Committee in a position to meet the demand for speakers and literature.

Local New York is already taking steps to clear up its indebtedness to the State Committee. So, we believe, is Local Kings County. Let the movement be general and prompt and energetic, and we shall soon be able to undertake vigorous and systematic educational and organizing work throughout the state without being hampered by the incubus of unpaid bills and an empty treasury.

Comrades, with 23,400 votes to our credit we ought not to be troubled about financial matters. Which will be the first local to clear its account and make a good contribution to meet future needs. We shall not say, "Don't all speak at once." If all speak at once, so much the better.

From all over the mine region of Pennsylvania reports come of many persons, being on the blacklist; as usual, it is the men who have been the most active in behalf of their fellows and most of them are Socialists. But if the mine owners think they are going to crush the Socialist movement by such methods as this, they little know the temper of the working class. Blacklisting a man does not fill him with love for the blacklisters; and as for the effect on others about him, a few may be frightened into submission, as the capitalists intend, but more are roused to indignation and reminded that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

The Socialist Party has nothing to fear from without, so long as it remains true to itself. Neither by misrepresentation nor by persecution nor by conciliation measures can the forces of capitalism stop or seriously impede its progress, if it holds firmly to its complete ideal. Nor is there any serious danger of the party going astray so long as it adheres to manly and intelligent methods of discussing and deciding upon its problems. The common sense and right feeling of the rank and file can always be depended upon in the long run.

"I voted the Republican ticket for twenty years," writes a new comrade in Ohio, "so you can see how long it took me to get my eyes open. But since I left I have got some others to come with me." Sometimes the man who is hardest to convince is the best when we get him; he knows why he is with us and knows how to meet the objections and remove the difficulties in the way of others. It is important that new recruits, who are generally full of fire and spirit, should be given an opportunity to work for the cause; on certain lines they can do better service than the older comrades.

was only presented to them," writes a subscriber in Kenton, Ohio. "The harvest is ripe in Ohio for an immense vote. The soft coal trust has a steal on of \$1.50 a ton; this, in addition to a 50-per-cent steal on kerosene, on top of all the other thievery, is getting the Ohio Republican and Democratic wool off a good many eyes." Indeed it is, not only in Ohio, but all over the country. It is safe to say that thousands of men who voted their old-party tickets "just once more" in November are already regretting it and are ready to come with us. The moral of this, for us, is that we must spare no effort during the coming eight months, before the opening of the regular fall campaign, to spread a knowledge of our principles and to strengthen our organization. This is seed-time and the harvest on next election day will be in proportion to our activity now.

"Opler reigns in Warsaw," was the report of the Russian general to his master, when the murmurs of the Polish people had been silenced with fire and sword. It is in the same sense that the mine "operators" declare, before the Arbitration Commission, that "the relations between the companies and their employees had for many years been peaceful and harmonious until they were disturbed by the machinations of the officers and agents of the United Mine Workers."

In the New York "American" of Jan. 9 we find an article by Arthur M'Even entitled "Why Bret Harte Died Poor." Some sentences in it are striking—considering who is the writer and what is the paper in which they appear—striking for their truth. We quote:

"Bret Harte died poor because his whole life long he worked for wages and knew of no other way to fill his purse."

"Had Bret Harte possessed a grain of business sense he might easily have been a rich man. The way to get to be that is to set other men at work for you."

"Then, and then only, you begin to harvest rent, profit and interest, the breeders of wealth."

"He might have saved a few thousand pounds and become the silent partner of some British manufacturing firm. Then, while he went ahead earning wages with his pen as usual, profit would have come to him—profit in that case being the difference between what they got, the difference between what the goods cost to manufacture and what they sold for."

"Or he could have saved his wages and loaned his surplus out at interest, either personally or through a bank, and his money would have worked for him while he slept."

"Wages," Bret Harte ought to have been keen enough to understand, are what a man gets by the sale of the labor of his own hands or head, whereas rent, profit and interest are earned for you by others."

One is tempted to make invidious remarks about a man who sees the truth through the Socialist position so clearly and can state it so well as M'Even here does and who yet goes on selling his labor to a paper that upholds the profit-and-wages system and that systematically seeks to sidetrack all socialist tendencies into the swamp of capitalist Democracy.

We can understand it, of course; the "American" can afford to pay probably twenty times the wages to good writers that the Socialist movement could pay. But the explanation reminds us of an anecdote of Dr. Johnson. He had been scoring an acquaintance for some dishonorable conduct, and was met with the response: "But, Doctor, a man must live." The caustic old philosopher's reply was: "Sir, I fall to see the necessity."

And all, however, "God is served by the maulman of unrighteousness." The "American," inconsistent and often infamous as is its policy and reactionary as is its aim, does start people thinking; and a man once started in that line cannot always be stopped or turned aside.

Mosquito Bites By PETER E. BURROWS

It works as if evolution itself had selected Knox to take care of the trusts. Another man might have foolishly postponed conditions necessary for the well pounded-out discontent that shall precede Socialism. Suppose, instead of the present Oriental waiting Cabinet, we had a strenuous President running things against the trusts, as Police Commissioner Roosevelt used to do in New York against Tammany? Suppose the Temperance Board, the Social, now warring itself on colored schoolteachers, had put its helmet on and gone a titting on his Rosinante against these great economic windmills? The eyes and hands of the nation would have been kept so busy admiring him and binding up his wounds as to greatly hinder our agitation. But Knox, with the true instinct of Toryism, says, "Let things do themselves." And the trusts are going to do themselves "surely," even to death, if not sooner. The competitive madness must live its full life. Help it not to die, therefore, until it must, to make way for Socialism.

We should never forget that the professional political class-mind of capitalism is impartial, as to persons. We differ from old-country aristocrats chiefly in this respect, that whoever gets money is our aristocrat. The vision of Knox, when viewing his country, never dips below the line of expediency. It is only the money-folk as America. Now if half the population be under this line, they are there as servants, and are not the family. This is the key of senatorial politics. To those who never look below the stooping our country must be always prosperous. So, if the proletarians are ever to be recognized as part of this country, they must walk up stairs—up the White House stairs.

It is to be wondered at. Does Geo. N. Palmer, the Democratic leader at Albany, really believe in himself and what he is doing politically, or is he playing an impudent game of bunco in his proposal to take the judges from under partisan influence, by transferring the designation and assignment of Supreme Court justices from the Governor to the Court of Appeals? Whence comes the Court of Appeals? From the whims of an impotent Governor, from the three heads of New York's class property politicians—BAD, WORSE and WORST? Give us a change that will be a change, Mr. Palmer.

It has been decided by the Tuscan branch of the Habasburgh family forthwith to pay the Archduke Leopold Ferdinand, who accompanied his runaway sister, the Crown Princess of Saxony, his share of the family fortune and so dismiss him from the family. What, then, is the family? Is it possible that even royal families, also, are only small groups of persons physically knotted together to enclose among them for their own use the collection of property called their fortune? We used to think it a dignity of blue blood, nobility, and divine appointment; and here it flutters down to a divvy-giving one of the handouts his share of the booty, and kicking him down the hillside. The running away of the woman was womanly; but this deliberate sending away of the prince with a bag of money is the equivalent of his royal gall, dignity, and descent shows that Americanism has conquered the world—including the Court of Saxony.

The white man versus the black man, when he appears in politics, is a sorry creature; but when he appears in morals he is of all things white the most unsavory of morsels. To be the white man of the family or the village or the church constitutes the chief urge behind the average non-slumberer to be the ghost that walks alone. Now when a great number of fleshy people by the hundreds at this time are making things happen. And so, they have happened in Tammany Hall, where, under the lead of Murphy, the chiefs have been walking the battlements of the Wigwam wrapped up in virtue's flowing sheets, reciting their pater and aves. Then Devery, seeking to mount among the elect, is hurried down to Hades, where they want him to stay. But Justice Gaynor has issued another "stay" to keep him out. How wonderful are the ways of the injunction! Its uses are past finding out.

American political Democracy, though neatly enunciated with a golden knife, still, like an old enchanter, goes through the congressional motions of what it was. Though its future will not amount to a serious competition with Socialism, nor Republicanism, yet for years to come it will render national service to the theory of the popular majority's right to rule while the Republican practice will demonstrate the necessity. By their inherited characteristics the two parties prepare the way for Socialism. Watch the coming struggle about the rules of the House in the next Congress, and be ready.

THE BUSINESS IDEAL By M. F. Blakely.

What has been the message of society to the rising generation for many years? Is it not just this: "You who are to be the men of this country, every one of you must become a business man if he hopes to provide comfortably for himself and his family, and to be rated as a free and independent citizen."

"Anyone who, instead, shall seek to work with his hands and brain for wages, thus proving himself hopelessly inferior, and is under much the same obligation to the business man who grants him employment as if he were the recipient of charity from him, and should accept gratefully whatever his employer sees fit to pay him."

"Any man who seeks, by any means, to obtain more than this is guilty of gross ingratitude, and should be regarded as an enemy to the public welfare."

But suppose that all men were to prove themselves as enterprising as the above statement demands, and all were to become business-men, leaving no one to do the real work of the world. The idea is too absurd to be thought of, and shows clearly the fallacy of the popular ideal of success.

When Baer, who holds the appointment of archeologist over the anthracite department of geology, beamed upon New York the other day as a public orator, he appeared not as one of the gods who grind their mills slowly, but as one who had blithely up and boiled over lately under a fine crackling thunder. The Society of Pennsylvania, a social clique of commercial body-snatchers well known in the local stock market, was his enthusiastic audience. But Baer, on the point of making a fool of himself oratorically, just in the nick of time learned to forbear, and said he could not trust himself to say any more. This orator, who calls upon Labor to neglect its own organizations and trusts it all to him, cannot even trust himself to speak so much of wrath and folly has he to conceal.

Inherited from our wicked old forefathers and made more ingeniously bad by ourselves, the laws of the United States to-day may be described as a tissue of cunning, trickery, and deceit, designed almost entirely for the holding or releasing of persons to the uses of the property interest. Every day's session of every court, and every day's newspaper issued in every city illustrates this. The case of a caddy boy whose eye was smashed with a golf-stick welded by a wealthy sporting gentleman is but one. The jury awarded over six thousand dollars to the boy. But the wealthy smasher resents the decision and evades payment by simply taking up his residence in a luxurious home within a mile of a jail for six months which is technically, in his case, six months imprisonment. All laws, or the semblance of them, are what's left of their souls, should vote for Socialism.

Rev. Mr. Hills of Brooklyn, whose life-work is ever such a coherency appears—will surely be marred by the mood of a day, seems to be on the very threshold of accomplishing such a work at last in the building of a tomb for Beecher. Not a bad work for a Hindu, if only he could keep the day's mud out of it. But he cannot. So it is proposed to have American Labor represented on the committee as divided into two bodies, organized and unorganized labor. Thus in the very act of honoring Beecher it is attempted to cherish a self-conscious and aggressive scabbery. Instead of rebuking their anarchy they are invited to form themselves into a separate army around the tomb of Beecher.

The attention of the Charity Organization Society should be called to the demoralizing proposal of the President and Secretary Root, of giving away large sums of money for the relief of the famine-stricken population of the Philippine Islands. It has been shown by our legal adviser, Mr. Rives, that even to raise money for perishing New Yorkers to buy coal with is unconstitutional; and our lay pastors in the press, as well as our spiritual ones in the pulpit, have long urged our tender self-help, independence of spirit, etc., etc., that lurk within anything a poor man gets outside the appointed limits for gratifying profit. The C. O. S. should therefore protest against the deterioration of Philippine manhood which must follow a wishy-washy sentimentalism for feeding starving families without first finding out whether they drink and are perfectly virtuous and deserving.

People who are concerned to know how the laws of property and its customs which now together seem to make up civilization will fare under Socialism may find an instructive little example of progress by neglect in the case of Charters, the Mayor of Ansonia, Conn. Before the last election Charters had a court injunction over his head as a labor leader, which would certainly have put him in jail had not been made Mayor of the city. This is now the court's decision: "Conditions have so changed since this charge was brought that it is now deemed inadvisable to compel his Honor to stand trial." If Charters were a Socialist and the election had been national here is the revolution in an Ansonia nutshell.

Sidney, Neb., is situated in a timberless district and the folk down there are all shivering in the grasp of my winter without hope. Now the Union Pacific Railroad has a big station there, and it is one of those far-out places where coal can be quietly side-tracked for speculative purposes. The Sidney people demand that the coal dealers be supplied from that stock that they may buy and be warmed. But that coal was mined for selling at the highest price and not for man's necessities and must not be touched till the price is high. The troops may be called out, therefore, to maintain prices, to preserve the rights of property, and to freeze the people. In the meantime we are sending millions of dollars to relieve the poor Filipinos.

The best evidence of our integrity as a class, and its best defense, is in the retortions and denunciations of our revolutionary program as embodied in the policies of Labor alone. A nation without slaves being the ideal of Socialism and a nation with slaves being the ideal of the profit-monger, one is

definitely a revolution to the other. When the real solidarity of our bondage is accompanied by a unity of thought and consciousness to match, the nation will vote itself free of its masters, and the present profit-mongers will enter the nation as fellow-citizens in and for the common work and common wealth. When we are class-conscious the labor movement will cease to have any interest for old politicians. If we are class-conscious the first to know it will be our friend the reformer. While we are class-conscious no offers of political alliance will ever come our way; and, not because we are saints, but because we are class-conscious, we are politically incorruptible.

THE MINES OF SIBERIA. A Fit Name for West Virginia Collieries.

Pathetic Letter of a Russian Enticed There Under False Pretenses and Now an Unwilling Slave.

The following is a translation of a letter written to a friend now in New York by a Russian who was enticed to the mines of West Virginia through the employment agencies which are so useful to the capitalists in time of strike. The name of the writer is withheld for obvious reasons, but the genuineness of the letter is vouched for.

"Mines of Siberia, Nov. 27, 1902. "My dear Sargy Alexandrovitch: "I am going now through a terrible ordeal. As you know, I have not worked lately in Mount Carmel more than a week. I thought already of taking a tramp to Philadelphia, but a mine agent arrived and began to recruit men for the mines in West Virginia. All the boarders entered their names. An offer was made to me and I gladly consented, which I now regret. First, there is a strike here and we are twelve seats living in daily terror for our heads. Second, the work is terribly hard. The coal is soft and therefore the veins are not over a yard high. We are crawling all the time in the water. We eat dry bread, because there are only a few vacant huts near the mines; there is a forest around us and the village is about twenty miles from here. We must buy everything from the stores of the company and pay extortionate prices. For instance, for rubbers, which cost \$2.50 in Mount Carmel, they charge here \$5. Meat is 18 cents a pound. But the pay for the work is very low. The result is that we work for the stove only. The pay-day is once a month. They give us an allowance, but without a chair or mattress or anything at all in it. We are all compelled to keep in our clothes on the floor, shivering with cold. We must wash ourselves in one tub all at once, so that after one has washed his feet you must wash your face in the same water. They are going to deduct from every man's wages \$15 for the fare. Our pay-day will be only on Christmas Day. Several of us plan to run away, but certainly not before we get out. I sleep in the shirt in which I work and am all in rags. My regards to your wife and I advise her not to let you go to the mines, as the best of them will be too hard for you. I give the same advice to all my friends.

"I shake your hand from my trap. Sincerely yours, "The letter is worth considering, not only for the light it throws on conditions in the West Virginia mines, but also for the suggestion it gives that, justifiable as is the feeling of indignation against scabbing, the scab may have much to say in his own defense. Bobble Burns said of all who "go a kennal" wraug—"One point must still be greatly dark, the movin' why they do it; "And just as lamely can we mark how far, perhaps, they rue it."

It is safe to say that the majority of those who are guilty of scabbing do it under hard compulsion of want, and the cases are myriad, as illustrated in this letter. There they are innocently entrapped into a position where they have no other choice. Wanton and wilful scabs are perhaps rarer than wanton and wilful thieves. The part of wisdom and humanity in the legislator would be, not so much to punish those who steal, as to remove the temptation to theft and make honest living easy. So the part of wisdom for organized labor is not so much to condemn or punish the scab as to remove the conditions which allow men to be forced into an unhappy and degrading position as in the case of the writer of this letter.

THACKERAY ON SUCCESS.

I have seen too much of success in life to take off my hat and huzzza to it, as it passes in its gilt coach; and would do my little part with my neighbors on foot that they should not gape with too much wonder nor applaud too loudly. Is it the Lord Mayor going in to see the Mayor-elect and the Mayor's procession, with the sheriff and jayvils men conducting him on his last journey to Tyburn? I look into my heart, and think I am as good as my Lord Mayor, and know I am as bad as Tyburn Jack. Give me a chair and red gown and a pudding before me, and I could play the part of Alderman very well and sentence Jack after dinner. Starve me, keep me from books and honest people, educate me to love drink, gin, and pleasure, and put me on Hounslow Heath, with a purse before me, and I will take it.—Thackeray, in "Henry Esmond."

"I would almost as soon think of getting along without anything to eat as of being without your valuable paper," writes Comrade Murray of Concord, N. H., in reviewing. "I generally read it when others go to church, and I believe I derive fully as much benefit as they do, for I am always sure of getting the pure, unadulterated truth. Your editorials are all right."

NEW YORK. (Continued from page 1.)

losed the lists of the State Committee, issued lists of their own, and failed to contribute to the state campaign fund. Local New York would undoubtedly have contributed more, but the Pennsylvania comrades appealed for aid and Local New York gave about \$500 to the Pennsylvania agitation fund. Many contribution lists are still outstanding.

The State Committee received many complaints from all parts of the state of neglect of this or that locality on the part of the State Committee. As a matter of fact, nearly all the attention of the State Committee was directed to the state outside of New York City. Both Hanford and Spring stayed only a small part of their time in New York City. The State Committee spent about \$1,000 for speakers and \$600 for literature up the state. It has received from the state about \$750. The difference the State Committee partly covered by contributions from Local New York and a part it still owes.

A few words about the debt of the State Committee. It must not be assumed that it was all contracted during this campaign. At least half of it existed when this State Committee assumed office. It is evident that should all the locals pay their indebtedness and return all the lists with money collected on them, the State Committee would be enabled to settle nearly all its accounts.

The Socialist Labor Party used all means at its command to discredit the Socialist movement in the eyes of the many who would otherwise be converts to the cause. It published a long concoction of calumnies against the Social Democratic Party, and it availed itself of the "report" of the National Committee, which it republished in thousands of leaflets and circulated, together with its own calumnies, for the purpose of discrediting the Social Democratic Party. The burden of the agitation of the speakers, leaflets, and papers of the Socialist Labor Party was the insensate vilification of the Social Democratic Party and everyone connected with it. This could not but result in injury to the Socialist cause. This can be clearly perceived by comparing the percentage of the Socialist vote (both parties) in places where the Social Democratic agitation predominated with the percentage in places where the Socialist Labor Party was stronger. Only the main centers of Socialist propaganda are taken for comparison.

Monroe County—S. D. P. vote, 2,198; S. L. P., 894; combined, 3,092, or 7 per cent. of total vote. Fulton—S. D. P., 485; S. L. P., 172; combined, 657, or 10 1/2 per cent. of total. New York—S. D. P., 10,887; S. L. P., 5,829; combined, 16,716, or 5 1/2 per cent. Queens—S. D. P., 1,037; S. L. P., 379; combined, 1,416, or 5 per cent. Kings—S. D. P., 4,381; S. L. P., 2,809; combined, 7,290, or 3 1/2 per cent. Westchester—S. D. P., 700; S. L. P., 557; combined, 1,257, or 3 1/2 per cent. Schenectady—S. D. P., 136; S. L. P., 287; combined, 423, or 3 1/2 per cent. Jefferson—S. D. P., 368; S. L. P., 126; combined, 494, or 3 per cent. Hamilton—S. D. P., 233; S. L. P., 489; combined, 722, or 2 1/2 per cent. Oneida—S. D. P., 397; S. L. P., 456; combined, 853, or 2 per cent. Erie—S. D. P., 506; S. L. P., 1,031; combined, 1,537, or 2 per cent. Albany—S. D. P., 123; S. L. P., 441; combined, 564, or 1 1/2 per cent.

These figures plainly show what is the object which the leaders of the S. L. P. have set before them—to prevent or retard the progress of the Socialist movement and growth of the Socialist vote. In this they undoubtedly succeeded wherever the vulgarism of the S. L. P. speakers and writers were very much in evidence. How, under such circumstances, many upright and sincere Socialists—and many of this character are still to be found in the ranks of the S. L. P.—can prevail upon themselves to adhere to this party, is past explanation. It is also significant that the S. L. P. gained votes largely in places where the agitation of the Social Democratic Party was stronger and lost in its own strongholds. This, we repeat, is due to the carelessness of our own comrades who do not advertise sufficiently the name and emblem of the Social Democratic Party and continue distributing papers and literature that speak of the Socialist Party and not of the Social Democratic Party.

The comrades often reproach themselves and one another that their work for Socialism is confined to the campaign period only. We must finally show a disposition not only to recognize defects in our agitation but also to remedy them. In our work we have before us three chief objects—to send out agitators, to publish literature, to raise the necessary funds.

1. We should steadily in co-operation with the Daily Globe Publishing Association, send out Sol Fieldman for an agitation tour through the state. Comrade Fieldman has given satisfaction wherever he went. His expenses to the locals will be very small.

2. While we point out the necessity of distributing only literature mentioning the Social Democratic Party and not the Socialist Party, the fact remains that there is now no such literature to be had. The State Committee is willing to publish a series of agitation pamphlets and leaflets at a very low price and furnish them to the locals at cost, but the condition of its treasury forbids taking any steps in that direction.

3. The State Committee never had ready money on hand for agitation. It was always, as it is now, steeped in debts and its accounts consisted in paying off old debts and making new. There is no reason for such conditions to continue. The comrades and friends are very generous in contributing to the propaganda fund during the campaign. Part of that fund can surely be collected long before the campaign starts. We recommend: (1) That the price of due stamps paid by the locals be increased to 15 cents and that 5 cents from each stamp sold be party work.

aside for the General Agitation Fund, (2) That 10 per cent. of the net income from all festivals or affairs held by any party organization in the state or by any other organization supporting the party be contributed to the General Agitation Fund. An organization would hardly miss 10 per cent. of its net income, but as there are numerous organizations, it will constitute a source of revenue to the General Agitation Fund. (3) By the issue of 25 cents special agitation stamps to be sold to the locals at half price. Comrades, the criticism contained in this report is not offered as a grievance of the State Committee. We merely point out defects to be remedied. The comrades should not leave this task to the few men on the State Committee. Yours fraternally,

New York State Committee, Social Democratic Party. HENRY L. SLOBODIN, Secretary.

CAMPAIGN FUNDS.

To provide a fund which will be ready for proper preparation for the next campaign, lists have been circulated by the Finance Committee of Local New York. Contributions are solicited from comrades and organizations of Manhattan and the Bronx. A great struggle is ahead of us. This municipal campaign will be the most active that Local New York has ever undertaken. Let us prepare for it now.

The following pledges and payments have been received: M. Tanager, pledged \$3, paid 50 cents; W. J. F. Himmennann, paid \$1; Geo. D. Herron, pledged \$50; W. H. Wisner, pledged \$3, paid 25 cents; J. N. Wood, pledged \$5, paid \$1; total pledged, \$62; paid, \$2.75. JAMES N. WOOD, Organizer.

Table listing campaign fund contributions from various individuals and organizations, including amounts pledged and paid.

Table listing amounts for the parade fund, including contributions from Kr. Unterst. Ver. deutscher Machinisten, Tobacco Union No. 1, etc.

Table listing amounts received by the Worker and "N. Y. Volksezeitung" for the New York State Campaign Fund and delivered to Organizer Wood on Nov. 5, 1902.

THE SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE.

The following table which appears under the title "A Fat Salary," in a little booklet entitled "The Silly Old Dragon and Other Fables," by "Avery Queens," published by the Straight Edge Press, 1 Seventh Avenue, New York, characterizes with beautiful exactness the Social Service League organized by W. H. Tolman:

"A Fat Salary" once invited a number of friends to a swell dinner in order to talk over plans for Social Progress. As the subject was a delicate one, only such guests were invited as would inspire awe by reason of their Great Names.

"The guest of honor was Hon. S. T. Polley, who comes from a very respectable family, which was further represented by Business Policy, Social Polity, Government Polity, and others. Among the other guests present were Popular Sermon, Editorial Wisdom, Good Investment, Gift Security, Waxed Stock, Political Pull, Handsome Income, Legal Advice, and Eminent Respectability.

PARTY NOTES.

Local St. Louis, by a heavy majority, voted to condemn the fusion policy and called for the resignation of Comrades Greenbaum, Putnam, Dunn, and Roche, who have supported such a policy.

James F. Carey has been elected National Committee man for Massachusetts, receiving 501 votes to 57 for Geo. A. Keane. Twenty-nine locals voted.

The following dates have been arranged for Franklin H. and Marion Wentworth in Massachusetts: Jan. 21, Ware; Jan. 22, Haverhill; Jan. 24, Whitman; Jan. 25, Falmes Memorial Hall, Boston; Jan. 26, Lynn; Jan. 29 and 30 the Wentworths are at Lewiston, Me., whence Franklin Wentworth makes a quick journey to Cincinnati, where he speaks for the Clarion Club on the afternoon of Feb. 1. Marion Wentworth goes from Lewiston to New York for a public reading of Hauptmann's "Sunken Bell" the first week in February. Mr. Wentworth joins her in New York after his Cincinnati date, and together they will journey West to Chicago, speaking at a few places en route. On their way East they will stop in Rochester for a talk before the Labor Lyceum of that city on Jan. 18. They are also to speak in Plymouth Church, Rochester, of which Comrade Brown was late minister, the trustees opening the auditorium especially for the occasion.

There are now four locals of the Socialist Party in Vermont and a state organization will soon be formed.

Comrades in Boston and vicinity are asked to remember that Franklin H. and Marion Wentworth will give their lecture and readings at Falmes Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton street, on Sunday evening, Jan. 25. The affair is under the management of the Boston Women's Socialist Club and is the first undertaken by it. Tea cents admission is charged.

Comrade Mally of Boston writes that it now appears probable that the debate between Frederic J. Stimson and Representative Carey will take place early in February.

The increase of the Socialist vote in Malden, Mass., from 70 in the state election of 1901 to 424 in that of 1902 has convinced the comrades there that, if they work as they should, it is only a matter of time when at the most, two years till the Socialist Party will carry the city. They have accordingly gone to work in earnest to build up the party organization, increase the circulation of the Socialist press, and circulate literature, and they intend to keep at it till the victory is won.

At the last meeting of the New Jersey State Committee, Secretary Keane reported the result of the referendum showing the election of the following officers: National Committee man, Geo. H. Goebel; State Secretary, Henry R. Kennis; Financial Secretary, E. M. Dobbelaar; Treasurer, A. P. Flrth.

Comrade Neben will speak, by invitation, before the Citizens' Union of Essex County, N. J., at their headquarters, 351 Main street, East Orange, on Thursday evening, Jan. 22. His subject will be "The Socialization of the Tools of Production and Distribution." Socialists should attend and bring their friends.

Local Hudson County, Socialist Party, will have its semi-annual general meeting and election of officers at Haehnel's Hall, corner Griffith street and Hancock avenue, Jersey City, on Sunday, Jan. 18, at 2 p. m.

W. W. Atkinson is the speaker at the Socialist meetings in Philadelphia, 1305 Arch street, Sunday evening, Jan. 18. Admission is free and discussion is invited.

Local Toledo, O., has subscribed for several of the leading Socialist periodicals to be placed in the public library reading room.

Father McGrady will deliver a lecture in Memorial Hall, Toledo, O., on Tuesday evening, Jan. 27, on the subject, "Economic Questions that Confront Us." An admission fee of 10 cents to all parts of the hall will be charged. Big hall, big man, and it is hoped, big crowd. Pass the word.

The present agent for The Worker in Massillon, O., is B. Leroy Smith, who is also Literature Agent of Local Massillon. His address is 250 Duncan street.

A local of the Socialist Party has been formed at Ashland, Ky. David Cox of 210 Twenty-second street will act as agent for The Worker.

The Idaho comrades are working actively. The 1,800 votes cast in their first election have only whetted their appetite for more. Money is being raised to buy a plant for the state paper at Idaho Falls, which is now about eight months old, so that it can be got out with less expense. The comrades in charge of the paper are trying to bring about the organization of a local of the I. T. U. in their city.

New York City. Frederic Kraft will discuss the question "Is Our Country a Republic?" at the West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall, northwest corner of Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, on Friday evening, Jan. 16.

Courtesy Lennor speaks on "The Socialist Conception of the State, State Interference, and State Capitalism" at the West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall, northwest corner of Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, on Friday evening, Jan. 16.

At the last meeting of the Young Men's Social Democratic Club of Brooklyn all but a few members were present. It was a very interesting meeting and the long expected answer was at last received regarding the changing of headquarters to the new Labor Lyceum. With this in view, the comrades have, as always, been using all their energy to make this body one worthy of recognition. The club will

Auditing Committee, L. Simon and M. Tanser; delegates to General Committee, Otto Sattler, E. W. Searing, Simon, Goldberg, H. L. Slobodin, and Hannemann; to Second Agitation District Committee, S. Rames, E. Siff, and Goldberg; to Volkzeitung Conference, Sattler and Anton Eberle; to The Globe Conference, Hannemann and Rames; Literature Committee, Sattler, Hannemann, and B. Korn; The Worker Distribution Committee, Broese, Slobodin, and Sattler. Two new members were admitted. It was decided to hold a special meeting on Friday, Jan. 16, to discuss election-district organization and propaganda. After the business meeting Dr. Grosse spoke in German on the fight against tuberculosis. The discussion at the meeting of Jan. 23 will be on scab unions and the incorporation of unions. The district meets in the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street.

On Saturday, Jan. 17, at 8 p. m., in the W. E. A. Clubhouse, 206 East Eighty-sixth street, will be held the annual general meeting of the district organizations which belong to the Yorkville Agitation Committee. This committee will give a report of its activity during the year and submit a complete account of all moneys received and expended. New propositions and recommendations for a plan of agitation for the next year are also to be discussed. All the members of the districts and also the delegates elected for this purpose by the trade unions and other workmen's organizations of Yorkville are expected to be present.

The concert and ball of the 30th A. D. at Old Homestead Garden last Sunday evening was a complete success. In spite of the unpleasant weather, the hall was filled to the verge of crowding, and a handsome sum was netted for the district campaign fund. Encouraged by this success, the comrades are already thinking of holding another entertainment in the early summer, so that there shall be no lack of money for literature and other campaign purposes when the time comes.

Dr. Furman was unable to appear at the Socialist Literature Society last Sunday, but sent Dr. Clark to speak in his place, and the audience was well satisfied with the substitute. Dr. Clark's address was followed by an interesting discussion. On Sunday evening, Jan. 18, Courtney Lennor will speak on "The Socialist View of the State, State Interference, and State Capitalism." The rooms of the society at 241 East Broadway are open every evening and all visitors are welcome.

At the Socialist Educational League, 953 Second avenue, on Sunday evening, Jan. 18, Daniel K. Young will lecture on "Socialism and Business." Admission free.

"The Socialist Solution of the Liquor Problem" is the topic for discussion on Sunday evening, Jan. 18, at Colonial Hall, 161st street and Columbus avenue. George H. Strobel of Newark, N. J., is the lecturer. General discussion is invited after the lecture, and it is hoped that all who are interested either in Socialism or in the liquor question will attend.

The Young People's Social Democratic Club of Yorkville resumed its meetings last week after a holiday vacation. The meeting was very well attended. Comrades Friedmann and Sprette were elected delegates to the Globe Conference, and a hundred fair tickets were accepted, with the probability that more will be taken afterward. The club meets every Thursday evening at the W. E. A. Clubhouse, 206 East Eighty-sixth street. All young men and women living in that part of the city who are interested in the cause of Socialism are invited to join. The immigration question is the subject for this week's discussion.

All Brooklyn comrades who have not returned their campaign subscription lists are urgently requested to send them to J. C. Holzer, 822 Halsey street, as money is needed to pay outstanding bills.

H. Gaylord Wilshire will debate with Prof. E. R. N. Seligman in the large hall at Cooper Union on Friday evening, Jan. 16.

Mrs. Lense's second lecture for the 21st A. D. in Colonial Hall, which was to take place on Jan. 25, has been postponed to the latter part of Feb. Some other speaker will fill her place next week. Last Sunday evening an unusually large audience listened to interesting addresses by Comrades Young and Fieldman. A speaker's club of ten members has been organized in this district, which will place itself under the able tutelage of Sol. Fieldman; Val's "Scientific Socialism" will be the textbook used, and the district will undoubtedly be able to attend the S. D. P. movement in the next campaign with several well-grounded expounders of its principles.

The 12th A. D. at its last meeting elected the following officers: Louis Rubinowitz, Financial Secretary; Chas. Zimmerman, Recording Secretary; Simkin, Treasurer; M. C. Levine, Organizer; Edlin and Zimmerman, delegates to the General Committee. The necessity for headquarters in the district, where the comrades and sympathizers may meet and the work of the district be carried on more systematically clearly admitting of no delay. It was decided to take immediate steps to organize the 12th Assembly District Social Democratic Club. Comrades Zimmerman, Yudin, Rosenberg, Greenberg and Levine were elected a committee to solicit donations for the clubhouse fund. Comrades desiring to aid in the undertaking, should communicate with Chas. Zimmerman, No. 295 Stanton street.

At the last meeting of the Young Men's Social Democratic Club of Brooklyn all but a few members were present. It was a very interesting meeting and the long expected answer was at last received regarding the changing of headquarters to the new Labor Lyceum. With this in view, the comrades have, as always, been using all their energy to make this body one worthy of recognition. The club will

At the last meeting of the 6th and 10th A. D. officers were elected as follows: Organizer, W. J. F. Hannemann; Recording Secretary, L. Goldberg; Financial Secretary, Felix Broese;

new huste to gain new members. Several plans have been brought up to improve the financial standing. All comrades wishing to join this club may communicate with H. Koenen, 1486 Myrtle avenue, Brooklyn, or attend the meetings at the new Labor Lyceum every Thursday, beginning with January 22.

GENERAL COMMITTEE. Comrades Ramm and Wissner presided at the last meeting of the General Committee of Local New York. The following delegates were seated for the new term: 1st, 3d, and 5th A. D., E. Braun, A. Schoenberg, L. D. Mayes; 2d and 8th, P. Lane, C. G. Lane; 4th, L. Boudin, S. Pollack, Nathanson; 6th and 10th, O. Sattler, E. W. Searing, L. Simon, L. Goldberg, H. L. Slobodin, W. J. F. Hannemann; 12th, Edlin, Zimmerman; 14th, B. Cooper, P. Böttiger, E. Meyer; 15th and 17th, C. Frinkler, I. G. S. Graff, Scheer, Miles; 21st, D. K. Young, A. Abrams, E. S. Edgerton, J. C. Kanely; 23d, Dorman, Fleck; 25d, E. P. Clarke, Emil Neppel, M. M. Bartholomew; 24th, Br. 2, J. Flanzner, N. S. Reichenthal; 26th, Bohemian Branch, H. Engel; 28th, Hoppe, Wolf, Larsen; 30th, Dr. Lichtschel, Ramm, Stahl, Schaefer, Wolter, Brumhofer, Wagner; 31st, J. Wilkins; 32d and 33d, Dr. Ingemann, M. Brown; 34th, Rabely; 35th, Br. 2, Wissner, Wright, Anderson, Schillinger, Freuchman; Annexed, C. Moder.

Forty-three new members were admitted to the party. Candidates for officers of the local were nominated as follows: For Organizer, James N. Wood; for Recording Secretary, E. M. Martin; for Treasurer, W. J. F. Hannemann, Slobodin, Morris Brown, Engel; for Controller, "Friedrich" Rosenman, Kanely; for Sergeant-at-Arms, Graff, Paultech, Phillips, Abrams; for Executive Committee (seven to be chosen), Clarke, Anderson, Wright, Solomon, Larsen, Kahn, Edlin, Simon, Wilkins, Wissner, Hannemann, Dr. Halpern; for Auditing Committee (three), Bartholomew, Goldberg, Reibell; for Grievance Committee, Boudin, Ramm, Slobodin, Reichenthal, Engel Hillquist; for Finance Committee, Hannemann, Mrs. Simon, Clarke, Rames, Wilkins, Abrams, C. S. Lane, Harth, Haupt, Von Dufry, for Credentials Committee, Anderson, Abrams, Freuchman, Reibell; for Auditors for the State Committee (two), Wolf, Dr. Halpern, Reichenthal, Ramm.

Election will take place at the next meeting. The Auditing Committee not being ready to present its report, this was made a special order for the next meeting. The Finance Committee reported that many tickets for the picnic of December 17 and the concert of Dec. 11 are still outstanding and urged that accounting be made at once. A delegate reported that Comrade S. Epstein is very sick, in a hospital, and in need of assistance. It was decided to send lists to the districts to raise needed money and \$2.27 was collected for the purpose at once.

KINGS COUNTY COMMITTEE. At the meeting of the Kings County Committee on Jan. 10, Organizer Atkinson reported having sent letters to the trade unions inviting them to the Globe Conference to meet in the Socialist Club on Jan. 17. He has received several calls from trade unions for speakers on Socialism.

In connection with the new City Executive Committee Comrade Atkinson reported that a sub-committee had been appointed to prepare a preliminary plan on the power and scope of the committee, its source of income, and other details, to be submitted at the next meeting. It was decided that instead of a May Day demonstration a May Day festival be held at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, that the Organizer invite as many trade unions as would be likely to participate, and that the proceeds of the festival go to the Daily Globe. Comrades Wolf, Chas. Meyer, Jalander, Burrows, and Hopkins were elected as a committee of arrangements.

It was decided that the County Committee meet in future at the Labor Lyceum and the Organizer was instructed to make arrangements. Comrades Burrows, Drost, and Furman were appointed to act as outside motor-men to be hung up in the Labor Lyceum. This committee will also work in conjunction with the Organizer in getting up posters once a month, which the Posters' Union will put up in conspicuous places. Comrade Holzer submitted a plan, based on the election returns, dividing Kings County into seven districts, which will be voted upon at the next meeting.

In view of the fact that the State Committee is still in need of funds to pay the expenses of the last campaign, it was decided to send them \$40. A motion to give 10 per cent. of all festival proceeds to the State Committee was referred to the branches to be discussed and referred back to the County Committee.

The 10th, 17th, and 18th Assembly Districts have decided to get up a monthly "Socialist Bulletin" to contain items of local news that do not appear in the party press, such as the minutes of the Socialist Club and the party branches, places of meeting, lists of lectures, and other matters which would not interest those outside of Kings County. Space will also be given to the trade unions. The work will be entirely voluntary and expenses will be covered by advertising. Some delegates are remiss in their attendance at the County Committee and are urged to make an effort to attend more frequently.

Comrades who are members of trade unions will find it worth while to circulate Lee's "Labor Politics and Socialist Policies" among their fellow unionists. Price, postpaid, 3 cents; copy, ten copies, 10 cents; fifty for 35 cents; one hundred or more at 1 1/2 cents each. Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York.

The Socialist Democratic Party of New York is the same as the Socialist Party of other states. The difference of name is due solely to provisions of the election laws. Do not confuse this organization with the so-called "Socialist Labor Party" or "social-smashers."

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WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

Socialism is a theory of a system of human society based on the common ownership of the means of production and the carrying on of the work of production by all for the benefit of all. In other words, Socialism means that the land, the railways, the shipping, the mines, the factories and all such things as are necessary for the production of the necessities and comforts of life should be public property, just as our public roads, our public parks, and our public libraries are public property to-day, so that all these things should be used by the whole people to produce the goods that the whole of the people require.

Socialists say that this is no utopian dream, but the necessary natural outcome of the development of society. It used to be supposed that anything like the collective carrying on of any enterprise was impossible because it was thought that the personal supervision and control of the owners was absolutely necessary to the success of any such enterprise. But we see to-day that the greatest undertakings are those which are owned by joint stock companies, in which the personal supervision of the proprietors is quite impossible, and in which the whole business is managed and carried on by paid officials, who might just as well be paid by the community to carry on the enterprise in the interest of the general body of the people as they are for their profit.

To-day goods are not produced to satisfy human needs; they are simply produced to provide profit for the class which owns the means of production. It is only for the sake of this profit that the property-owning class owns these means of production. As a consequence, we have shoddy and adulterated goods produced. Also, as this profit is simply the difference between the value of the work which the working people do and the amount they receive in wages, the actual producers never receive the equivalent of what they produce, and therefore are never able to buy it back again. It happens, therefore, that, as the machinery of production increases and workmen are able to turn out more goods, they are thrown out of work, and they, with their wives and children, are in want and misery, not because there is any scarcity of the things they need, but because there is more of them than those who have produced them can buy.

Under the present system, therefore, the very increase of wealth is too often a curse to the wealth producers, simply because those who produce have no ownership in the means of production, and no control over the things produced. Under Socialism, as the means of production would belong to the whole people, the whole people would have control of the things produced. Every increase of wealth then would benefit the whole community. Under the present system increased wealth means increased luxury for the few and increased penury and suffering for the many. In a Socialist community increased production would mean more leisure, more wealth, more means of enjoying life, more opportunities for recreation for everybody.

By the discoveries of science, the inventions of genius, the application of industry, man has acquired such power over nature that he can now produce wealth of all kinds as plentifully as water. There is no moral reason why poverty and want should exist anywhere on this earth. All that is needed is to establish a more equitable method of distributing the wealth already produced in such profusion. That is what Socialism proposes to do. The work of production is organized, socialized; it is necessary to socialize distribution as well.

What is to be done to supplant the present system by Socialism; to substitute fraternal co-operation for the cut-throat competition of to-day? The first thing necessary is to organize the workers into a class-conscious party; that is, a party recognizing that as a class the workers are enslaved through the possession of the means of production by another class, recognizing, too, that between these two classes there is an antagonism of interest, a perpetual struggle, a constant class war, which must go on until the workers become possessed of political power, and use that power to become masters of the whole material means of production. When that has been achieved, the war of classes will be at an end, because the division of mankind into classes will have disappeared, the emancipation of the working class will have been accomplished and Socialism will be here.—H. Quelch.

It has become an axiom that modern governments are simply committees for managing the common affairs of the capitalist class.

When the daily papers begin to discuss Socialism seriously, it is the duty of Socialists to see that the people learn the right of the question.

Socialism means that the man who produces something will not have to divide up with the man who does not work.

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Job Harriman's "Class War in Idaho" is the plain and unvarnished account of one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of the labor movement. It should be distributed along with Hanford's "Railroading in the United States" and Lee's "Labor Politics and Socialist Policies." The price is 5 cents a copy or forty copies for \$1. Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York City.

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Dated New York, the 3d day of December, 1902. FRANK BOWERS, Executor. L. D. MAYER, Attorney for the Executor, 245 Broadway, New York City.

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F

ONE MORE LIE FROM HEARST.

The "New York Journal and American"—a "twentieth century newspaper" published by Presidential aspirant William B. Hearst—printed a few days ago an alleged interview with Eugene V. Debs.

In this interview Comrade Debs was reported as saying that, in his opinion, Mr. Hearst would be the Democratic Presidential candidate in 1904; that he, Debs, would not be a candidate; that he would not support Hearst; and that, in his opinion, THE MINERS OF THE WESTERN FEDERATION WOULD SUPPORT HEARST.

The Worker knows Comrade Debs too well as a Socialist, on the one hand, and knows the "American" too thoroughly as a disseminator of misinformation, on the other hand, to have given any credence to the alleged interview. We thought it worth while, however, to put Hearst once more on record. We therefore wrote to Comrade Debs, asking how much of the interview was genuine and how much manufactured. Comrade Debs' reply follows:

"Editor of The Worker. I have seen the interview as published. It is notable for containing what I did not say and omitting what I did say. Beyond the statement that Hearst was looting up

as a Democratic Presidential possibility, the alleged interview is a reporter's dream or a press fabrication. It has all the virtue of the regulation interview of the capitalist press to further the interests it represents.

"FRATERNALLY yours,
"EUGENE V. DEBS."
This is not the first time that the Hearst papers have wantonly and inexcusably lied about the Socialist movement. It will not be the last time. These papers are only a little less truthful than the average of the capitalist press. Falseness is the stock in trade of capitalism and its "organs of public opinion." They consider it safe to lie about Socialism and Socialists, especially—as on the eve of the election in 1900, when they published a statement that Debs would withdraw in favor of Bryan—because, as yet, we have no daily press in the English language. This experience only emphasizes the importance of hastening the establishment of such a daily press.

Meanwhile, be on your guard, whenever you read anything in the capitalist papers about Socialism or about the labor movement, against malicious and cunningly devised fabrications.

As for the Western Federation of Miners, it is pledged to Socialism, not to Hearstism.

SOCIALIST PARTY AND LABOR PARTIES.

We present under this heading some further communications on the question of the attitude of the Socialist Party toward labor parties, as brought to the attention of the party by the action of the San Francisco and Los Angeles comrades.

It is my humble opinion that the situation resulting from the attitude of our California comrades towards the Union Labor party, far from being a grave one, is a favorable one, not because their action was right, but because it has brought about much discussion in our party press and has helped to clear away some very false notions about Socialism, and also because the experience, in California, of an attitude taken in good faith by many has opened their eyes to the fact that politics for the sake of votes and offices is capitalist politics, rotten politics, whatever name it may masquerade under.

If there be any who have developed the disposition to place the means before the end, it is the fusionists who seem to forget that for a Socialist the political movement is only a means to economic emancipation. The Socialist movement is above all things an economic movement.

With capitalist parties and so-called Labor Union parties, the end of politics is to get at the pie counter. Any means that will elect brings that end, and therefore the means are the whole thing.

But with a Socialist party it is different. The end of politics is to force a revolutionary change in our economic and political systems. The mere electing of a few Socialists does not secure that end. Therefore the means to elect are not the important thing. And, as the important thing is the end, no means can be logically employed that may in the least obscure the end.

There are no changing circumstances that can bring sufficient pressure to bear on a class-conscious Socialist to make him abandon a straight Socialist movement to join hands with a party, whatever its name, that does not even know where it wants to go. (I will admit that the leaders know that they want to land in some fat office.)

If the Labor Union party here and it must be met, let us meet it in an honest and upright manner; let us meet it like men and not like cowards.

If it stands on common grounds with the Socialist Party to fight and destroy the capitalist system, then there is neither room nor cause to fight because such party will not be started where a Socialist party is already in the political field, and where the Socialist party is not already in the field a labor union party of that character would be welcomed by all comrades.

There is neither cause for fight or fusion with a genuine Labor party. If we are all after the elimination of capitalism and not after office, what would we fight for?

that would aim only at a change in our political administration, a reform of the present system, could not have my support.

All trade-union leaders do not sell out, not by any means; many could not if they would. They are not worth buying. Who would be foolish enough to buy something that he already owns and controls? I defy successful contradiction to the assertion that a large number of trade-union leaders have used or are using the trade-union movement as a stepping stone to a position with the enemies of unionism.

In this matter there is no middle ground. If you believe that labor is right, then when you enter the camp of the enemy you become a traitor to labor. Of course, many labor leaders do not hold their position because they believe labor is right. They are not working for a principle. They hold it because they are paid for it. They would accept a position with the devil if there be enough in it.

In my twenty years' experience as an active trade-unionist (I have worked over fifteen years underground mining and loading coal) I have met thousands of individuals who were active in the trade-union movement from purely selfish motives. Their aspiration was not the general emancipation of labor but their individual emancipation from the ranks of common laborers to that of salaried servants of capital. And their activity was always measured by the amount of pay they would receive. Every observant trade-unionist is well aware of these facts.

In our trade-union movement there is an element, and it is now the controlling element, that advocates the common interest of capitalists and laborers. Every action of that element is measured by the question: Will that action endanger my chances of getting a good political office or a fat job from some employer in case I get tired of my present position or my constituents get tired of me?

What in the name of common sense could the working class or the Socialists ever hope from a political party controlled by that element?

The Socialist movement is founded both upon an idea and upon a class. I am a Socialist because I love the idea of Socialism and I love the idea not only because it is a lovable ideal of a future society, but because that idea represents the material interest of my class: the working class.

Anything short of that idea does not represent the material interest of the working class, for the simple reason that reforms whatever may be their nature and to whatever degree they may be beneficial, only benefit a part and not the whole of the working class. Generally reforms benefit one part at the expense of another part.

I am heartily in favor of the Socialist Party reaching a friendly understanding with a genuine Labor Union party whenever it may arise in any locality. But to be genuine it must advocate without the least equivocation the complete emancipation of labor—the Socialist idea. If it does not advocate this, it may be a Labor Union party, but it is not a genuine Working Class Party. It is controlled by capitalists or their tools and towards such fake Labor party the true Socialist must maintain the same attitude as toward any other capitalist party. In following such course we may make enemies, we may lose friends and votes, but we will have acted honestly with ourselves and others and we will be able to carry on a campaign of education that will make Socialists. And in the long run we will obtain better results than if we had followed a policy of compromise.

give such general satisfaction that a reaction would be an impossibility. Let us Socialists advocate Socialism and nothing but Socialism. Let the reformers agitate for reforms that generally never reform, and we will not have to stand the responsibility of having agitated for something that was not worth having.

Before I close it will not be out of place to state here my opinion that some of our own comrades are to a great extent responsible for this Labor Union political movement. Many go into their union to capture it for a Socialist party. While they generally get left so far as capturing is concerned, they instill into members the idea that a trade-union movement may be made a political movement. And when their own teachings result in a Labor Union party started to obstruct and destroy the Socialist movement they find themselves in a queer position. They dare not go back on their own teachings and they have to abandon the straight path to support a fake party. I pity them.

The duty of a Socialist in a trade union is not to capture anybody, but to teach sound economic principles. And there is nothing in the rules of the organization that prevents him from doing so. Socialism is not politics. You can teach Socialism without talking politics. Sound political action will naturally follow sound economic teaching.

The Socialist who tries to have his trade union endorse the Socialist Party is not acting for the best interest of Socialism. You may take a horse to the water but you cannot force him to drink. You may get your local to endorse the Socialist Party, but you cannot force the members to vote for its candidates.

They will do so voluntarily, without any endorsement, when you have proven to them that their material interest lies in that direction.

An illustration to show the folly and danger of getting a trade union to endorse a political party.

Some years ago many members of the S. L. P. tried to have that party endorsed by their unions. Then the split came. And some who before wanted the S. L. P. endorsed, now wanted it condemned and the S. P. endorsed. And naturally the trade-unionist who was not posted on the Socialist movement asked himself if the Socialist knew one day what he would want the next.

Sound economic doctrines, Socialist principles are to-day what they will be to-morrow. You can have them endorsed by your local or national trade union without fear of appearing to apologize the next day. But don't try to have a political party endorsed. You don't know where it will stand to-morrow.

Advocate Socialist principles in your trade union, advocate partisan politics in meetings arranged for that purpose.

It cannot be denied that there are politicians in the Socialist Party. There will be more as we gain strength. The politician is our worst enemy. He will at all times sacrifice principle for his own aggrandizement. Let us not give him the least hold on our organization. We can best save ourselves from him by always following the straight path. Our motto everywhere and at all times must be no compromise, no fusion, no confusion. Nothing but straight, unadulterated, revolutionary Socialism.

LOUIS GOAZIOU,
Charleroi, Pa., Dec. 28.

The situation in California demands the most thoughtful consideration of the rank and file of the Socialist Party. Only by a dispassionate discussion on the merits of the case can we hope to settle the vital questions of principle and tactics involved in the problem.

It is unfortunate that the editor of one party paper at least ("St. Louis Labor") has seen fit to withhold publication of articles favorable to the Union Labor side of the controversy while finding space for resolutions and editorials denunciatory of the policy pursued by the California organizations. It is likewise unfortunate that the editor of the "International Socialist Review" should see in the present situation an opportunity for character assassination. What is though it is the same old question of our attitude toward the trade unions that is again pressing for solution—the same in principle, differing only in form—surely this does not necessarily justify the methods of a De Leon in settling the case.

This is not a personal matter. Ferdinand Lassalle once said, "Above all things truth and justice towards your opponents—and it is especially for the working class to remember this—truth and justice toward an opponent is the first duty of a man." Let us try and keep this admonition in mind at this juncture and consider this question on its merits from the standpoint of the interest of the wage-working class.

from assuming a dual function, political as well as economic? Question 6—By what right does the Socialist Party claim the sole privilege of representing the wage-working class on the political field?

Question 7—Can the Socialist Party establish and maintain such a right? If challenged by the trade union movement in any locality or in the country at large?

Question 8—In a struggle between the trade union movement (Union Labor party) and the Socialist party for political power from what class or elements would the Socialist Party draw its strength and support?

Question 9—Is not the organized force the only true and definite expression of a class interest, does it not follow that its movement (even though a minority in numbers) is the movement of the class as a whole?

Question 10—Measuring the organization by the character of its membership is not the trade union movement the truest expression of the wage-working class?

Question 11—Do the mistakes of a trade union as an economic organization warrant Socialists in refusing to join the same? If not, why should its mistakes as a political organization constitute a reason for such refusal?

Question 12—Will not the material class interests of the trade-union movement clarify the organization and purge it of corruption alike on the political and economic fields?

Question 13—At the mass of wage workers outside the trade union movement because of antipathy to organization or lack of intelligence? These questions will do in lieu of an argument and are offered for the good of the cause. Let us consider them wisely and well.

JAMES S. ROCHE,
St. Louis, Jan. 3.

Comrade Borden of Riverside, Cal., writes to say that he regrets and desires to withdraw his remarks in The Worker of Dec. 7 referring to Comrade Appel as "one who cares nothing for principle, but simply wishes to vindicate a local quarrel."

THE AUTONOMY QUESTION.

[We present here some further communications on the question of state autonomy and party organization, on which we defer editorial comment till next week.]

IV.
[Article by A. M. Simons of Chicago, written early in December.]

The circular letter recently sent out by the Ohio State Committee in regard to the attitude of the national organization toward party matters brings these subjects once more forcibly to the front. It shows that the question of state autonomy will not down and it may as well be fought to a finish.

In the first place, I want to make clear exactly what I mean when I say state autonomy and, so far as I have talked with those who defend this position, I believe that a majority of them agree with me. However, I do not presume to speak for anyone but myself. I believe in the most complete centralization of information. The national headquarters should be the place most capable of routing speakers and giving information as to the general activity of the party. I believe I was the first one to suggest, in print at least, the formation of a National Lecture Bureau. And whether by coincidence or otherwise, the plan which was advanced was practically identical with the plan presented by me in the "Worker's Call" (now Chicago "Socialist") some weeks before the meeting of the National Executive Committee that finally drafted the plan adopted. I fully believe that if the National Secretary had possessed even ordinary tact and had confined himself to the duties for which he was elected, that he could to-day be exercising a far greater influence on the Socialist movement than was ever exercised by any other individual in the movement.

If he had gathered the names of Socialist lecturers and all possible information concerning their terms, etc., he could have had a large percentage of the active workers of the party now speaking indirectly at least under his control. Instead of this, he proceeded to do something which it was the sense of a large majority of the delegates at Indianapolis should never be done, he hired national organizers and placed them on salary. This was specifically denounced repeatedly at the convention which elected Leon Greenbaum and it was thoroughly understood by every one there that such organizers were not to be hired. However, they were not directly forbidden by the constitution, so he cannot be said to have literally broken faith on this point.

In regard to a number of other things, however, he was deliberately broken faith with the men who elected him. The national constitution plainly says that he has no right to interfere in the affairs of an organized state. The record of Ohio, Utah, Illinois, North Dakota, and probably other states of which I know nothing, shows that he has interfered and, in every case, to the detriment of the movement in those states. He seems to be laboring under the impression that he was elected as constitutional lawyer and an expert on Socialist economics. Unfortunately he is poorly fitted to fill either of these positions. But the convention did not care for his fitness on these subjects; neither does the Socialist Party at the present time. He was elected to act as an organizing center for the Socialists of this country, and as a means to co-ordinate the Socialist efforts existing outside of organized states or between state organizations. This field, the only proper one for him to occupy, he has left practically vacant, and is proceeding to instruct the Socialists of this country on what he thinks they ought to do. That this has been contrary to the expressed opinion of the party in its national convention has counted for little.

appear that the Socialist Party is simply a sideshow to the American Federation of Labor, and has involved the Socialist Party repeatedly in most embarrassing positions by his actions in this regard. The recent vote at New Orleans shows that the A. F. of L. is becoming rapidly impregnated with Socialism and this is a cause for congratulation by Socialists. It seems to me that it demonstrates the position which I took, along with many other Socialists, including the national officials, that if the A. L. U. had remained inside the Federation they could have captured the latter body. However, the Western comrades did not see fit to do this and they having so decided, it was not the business of the national officials of the Socialist Party to in any way interfere. Now that the two bodies are in existence, there is no question but that the A. L. U. is much nearer the Socialist position than the A. F. of L.

Furthermore, I have been informed, and if my information is incorrect, I hope the National Secretary will be prompt to publicly deny it, that letters have been sent out from the national headquarters endorsing the California fusion and confusion. I am not here discussing the wisdom, or otherwise, of the action of the California comrades, nor do I believe that because I oppose their action any national pressure should be used to compel them to reconsider it. The question must be fought out in California, and not in St. Louis or in Chicago. But it is absolutely none of the National Secretary's business and for him to interfere is simply a piece of impertinence. The fact that neither he nor any one of the men who are working in the national headquarters are in any way recognized as authorities on Socialist economics simply makes their meddling in this field more injurious. But as they were not elected for this purpose their lack of knowledge on this point would not have been hurtful had they kept to the form for which they were elected. It seems to me that this situation has now reached such a crisis that unless the National Secretary will obey the constitution under which he was elected and attend to the business which constitutes his proper field, he must be removed to make way for someone who will give present actions are tending to involve the party in continuous confusion and ultimately will disrupt the organization.

One fact which must be borne in mind is that state autonomy is and always has been a fact in this country. No way has ever yet been found to coerce a state and attempts at coercion always ended in disorganization.

Unless something is done to curb the action of the national officials at the present time the prospect is good that we will have a dozen different Socialist organizations in this country very soon.

I say all this without the slightest personal animosity toward Comrade Greenbaum. If he would but confine himself to the work for which he was elected with him rather than against him. But it is not a question of personal but of official action which involves the entire party. Since he has insisted on opposing his personal opinions to the whole of the party, it would seem that the only possible solution would be to demand his resignation in order that a man who is in accord with the ideas of the party may be given charge of the party.

A. M. SIMONS,
Chicago, Ill.

V.
[Article by W. G. Critchlow, written in December.]

Those who oppose the form of organization of the Socialist Party known as state autonomy produce arguments to prove the fallacy of this form of organization that are, to my mind, contrary to Socialist principles. They claim that state autonomy does not tend to create discipline in the organization and that the movement would reach a far better state of discipline if the autonomy were taken away from the states. Some argue that state autonomy is the cause of the movement means the same as trade autonomy in the trade union movement.

While I am a trade unionist, being a member of two organizations, and being a strong advocate of industrialism as against trade autonomy, I cannot take the position that so many of my trade union friends do on the question of state autonomy in the Socialist movement.

There is a vast difference between trade autonomy and state autonomy. Trade autonomy as applied to the trades organizations means the organizing of unions on purely trade lines. Each trade will be organized separately and in case of there being ten trades employed in a single industry they will all be organized under separate banners and in numerous instances be at war with each other. These trades overlap each other until to-day we have so many different organizations that we have nothing but jurisdiction wrangles for the purpose of determining where certain men belong, and each organization trying to build up some other union at the expense of another one. In many instances these trades will take one another's places in strikes, thus scabbing the job on their brother unionists. Each of these trades has different interests as an organization and they zealously guard them against the encroachment of other trades.

The opponents of trade autonomy, or the industrialists, advocate a change in the methods of organization, holding that this form of organizing on narrow trade lines is not the correct policy. They contend that the working people ought to be organized by industries and not by trades. They want all the workers in a given industry to belong to a certain organization—for illustration, all the brewery employees to belong to the Brewery Workers' Union, all the men employed in the mining business to belong to the Mine Workers' Union, etc. This would enable these organizations to completely tie up an industry in a strike with the possibility of any other trade scabbing

their job. It would be a step towards concentration of effort in the trade union movement that would enable them to compete with better chances of success against the large corporations and trusts. It would give them a more concrete form of organization and eliminate the craft prejudice which exists at the present time. A good example of this principle is the rapidly growing organization of the Brotherhood of Railway Employees, which accepts into membership all employees of the railroads, but still allows them to retain their separate local unions. Still they are all organized under one head and a strike on any railroad system controlled by them would mean a complete tie-up, with no danger of the firemen taking the places of the engineers or the brakemen taking the places of the conductors. All trade unions would be organized on the lines as followed out by industries instead of the narrow trade lines as at present.

State autonomy as applied to the Socialist movement is not the same by any means. The Socialist organization has certain lines mapped out by law that must be followed. We might centralize the work of our movement all we wish and adopt a constitution saying we were not state autonomists, but we would still have to conform to all the various laws in the different states and any state organization could withdraw from the national organization at any time and still be the recognized Socialist Party of their state in spite of anything that the national organization could do.

Trade unionists have different interests as such and we often see two large organizations at war with each other trying to protect their conflicting interests. Socialists have no conflicting interests, but are all working for one common goal, and it resolves itself into a question of agreeing on the tactics to be used to accomplish what we desire.

State autonomy means that each state shall have the right to govern themselves as they see fit in regards to the financial, propaganda, and organization matters. They would, of course, be pledged to adhere to the national constitution and platform. This plan does not prevent us from having uniformity of printed supplies, a perfect system of reports from organized states and locals in the unorganized states and the compulsory dues system on states. By giving each state the right to govern themselves in the matters above referred to we would be granting them autonomy.

It is quite noticeable that some of the largest trade unions who stand for industrialism in their movement are adopting the form of organization known to us as state autonomy. The Mine Workers have the country divided up into districts and officers are in charge of each district, the responsibility for the work in such territory resting on the members within the district. They also grant a certain amount of autonomy to each district. Several other organizations are taking up this same form of organization, claiming that it tends to better systematize their work and places the responsibility on the members who have to do the work.

The main argument advanced against state autonomy is that it tends to a greater laxity in the organization's methods and allows the movement to become a tool in the hands of unscrupulous persons as well as to give the members greater freedom from discipline—that is, that the movement would become a better disciplined organization without the state autonomy plan.

This is the best argument in favor of state autonomy that can be advanced. If state autonomy gives us greater freedom from discipline than the centralized form of organization, then by all means let us maintain the present form.

Discipline means to be subject to an authority. Many of the trade unions have good discipline in their organizations, and the members of such bodies know what it is to strike against their own wishes and to be forced back to work again at the order of a national officer. The Socialist Labor Party was a well disciplined organization and the results of De Leon's discipline are well known to many of us. Every time he would discipline a state he would lose that state from his national organization, and in case of their having official standing, the national organization was without a party in such state, although the party still existed and went upon the ballot just the same.

The standing army is also a well disciplined organization. The soldiers are learned to obey, obey, nothing but obey their superior officers. The military organizations as a whole are the best examples of discipline that we can point out.

The Socialist Party does not want, and must not court, this discipline under any circumstances. We can build up and maintain a perfect working organization without drilling such discipline into the members. The members of the Socialist Party cannot be brought to a point of understanding where they will submit to an authority on all questions within the movement. We must have a well organized movement with the great body of workers all acting together in harmony with each other. We must build up an intelligent working organization who thoroughly understand the principles of Socialism as well as understand how to make new Socialists in a scientific manner. There are no immediate benefits in the Socialist movement and with the membership doing all the work "for the good of the cause" there can be no amount of discipline in the movement.

The membership must be taught the principles of Socialism from the standpoint of class interests as well as the recognized party tactics and then we will continue to work in harmony with each other for the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The Socialist Party organization must of necessity be built in conformity with the organization of the national government. The national government is built on the state plan and each state has the right to make its own laws as they see fit so long as they adhere to the national constitution and the laws of general import to

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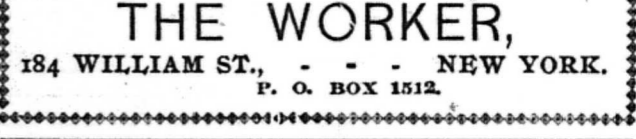
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the people as a whole. Each political party is a separate party in each state. The various state parties may be affiliated into a national organization, but they are not so recognized by the law in any state whatsoever. Each state is recognized as a separate party by the law. The Republican party, or any other, may have a separate and conflicting platform in each state and still be the Republican party on the ballot in such states.

The Socialist Party organization must be built along the same lines in order to conform to the political laws of the various states. Each state will be a separate party in itself in our movement, just the same as in the other political parties. The only way we can bridge this is by voluntarily affiliating ourselves into a national organization. Even then any state could withdraw at any time and still remain the recognized Socialist Party of their respective state.

The Socialist Party of California is a recognized official party of that state. Let us suppose that the National Committee at the January meeting would revoke the California charter and thus discipline the California comrades for their action in fusing with another political party. The result would be that our national organization would have no movement in California, but there would still remain a Socialist Party in that state and it would appear on the official ballot of the national organization. The national organization could do nothing to prevent this and they could not even go into the state and reorganize as there would be no possibility of securing a place on the ballot under the name Socialist Party. This is one of the features of the political laws that we have to contend with and we must organize ourselves accordingly.

In order to safeguard the Socialist movement against such revolts by the different state organizations, as is made possible by the peculiarity of the law, we must allow every party matter the widest possible discussion and court the best possible understanding as to party principles and tactics. With an efficient national organization resting upon a group of well organized states, all with good working movement, we need have no fear of any of the states bolting the national party and continuing as a separate state party.

I thoroughly appreciate the fact that the movement needs more attention paid to the detail work. I am greatly interested in this class of work and take every opportunity in trying to perform plans for the improvement of the details of the organization. While some states are better organized than others, I feel safe in saying that the entire organization could be materially advanced were there more people that would devote their attention to the detail work within their respective organizations. However, I deny the contention of some of the opponents of state autonomy who maintain that we need a constitution that will lay down all the detail workings for the national, state, and local organizations. There is not the remotest possibility that a constitution could be devised that would be agreeable to all of the states and locals. The details for the state and local organizations must be made by themselves and not by the national organization. The making of such a constitution by the national body would be the wielding of some discipline which might force the disfavored states to bolt the national organization and exercise the right to maintain a state Socialist party separate from the national movement, which they could do if they so desired.

There has been a constant kick from several months about the deficiency of the present form of organization, coupled with a request for more power. This has been done both openly and under cover. A strong agitation has been started from these same quarters for a national convention one year in advance of the regular one for the sole purpose of granting more power to the national officers. They have nothing but complaints to make about the present form and seem to be very strenuous advocates of the anti-autonomy policy, although the national constitution plainly calls for state autonomy at the present time. The National Secretary has gone so far in his opposition to state autonomy as to openly violate the constitution and when called to task for it shifts the blame on the National Committee. I can see no logical reason for the national officers being granted more power. I believe they have misused the power already accorded to them to such an extent that it would be sheer folly to grant them a still further extension. If the national officers wish to retain large let them carry on the regular party business and try to organize the unorganized territory and if at the next regular convention it can be shown that the present constitution is inadequate to meet the requirements of the movement it will then be time to change it. Let the national officers lead to the work mapped out for them and stop meddling in state affairs contrary to the constitution. Then it will be found that the present form of organization is quite efficient indeed.

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