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The Worker

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 4, 1903.

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CHASE AGAIN HEADS TICKET.

Massachusetts Socialists Make Nominations.

Largest and Most Satisfactory Convention in the Party's History—To Be Followed by Its Most Vigorous State Campaign.

BOSTON, Mass., Sept. 28.—The largest and most satisfactory state convention in the history of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts was held in Paine Memorial Hall to-day. One hundred and fifty delegates were in attendance—among them half a dozen women—and every part of the state was represented. Many interested visitors witnessed the proceedings and the general feeling is that the convention opens the best campaign the old Bay State has ever seen. Comrades are not predicting how many thousand votes they are going to add to the thirty-four thousand cast for the state ticket last fall nor how great the Socialist delegation in the Legislature is going to be increased. They are doing better than predict. Seeing the growth of Socialist thought and feeling in all quarters and rejoicing in the strong organization and harmonious condition of the party, they are pitching into the work of the campaign with unexampled vigor.

A Strong Ticket.

John C. Chase of Haverhill, the first Socialist ever elected as Mayor in an American city, once more heads our ticket. John Quincy Adams of Amesbury is again the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. The other candidates are: For Secretary of State, Olof Holstrom of Worcester; for Treasurer, John A. Billings of Rockford; for Auditor, Joseph Orr of Chelmsford; for Attorney-General, William J. Carroll of Lowell. It is a strong and representative ticket, composed of men of marked ability who have amply proved their ability to working-class interests.

Carry Presides.

Representative James F. Carey of Haverhill, Chairman of the State Committee, called the convention to order at 11 o'clock. Samuel Eschenbach of Springfield was elected temporary chairman, and John Weaver Sherman of Boston temporary secretary. The permanent officers were: Chairman, David Phelan of Boston; secretary, Squire E. Putney of Somerville; Secretary of the State Committee, the committees were: On platform, George Willis Cooke of Wakefield, Patrick Mahoney of Boston, G. E. Littlefield of Westwood, R. S. Brooks of Springfield, James DeBell of Boston; on resolutions, George H. Wrenn of Springfield, I. W. Skinner of Salem, Mayor Parkman B. Flanders of Haverhill, Joseph Spargo of Boston, and Representative W. C. Handgen of Brockton.

While the votes for committee members were being counted, Ex-Mayor Chase of Haverhill and Dr. Adams of Amesbury, the candidates last year and this for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, respectively, made short speeches. Comrade Chase told something of his experience and observations during his extended tour in the South and West, assured the delegates that all over the country there were tens of thousands of thinking workmen taking inspiration from the brilliant successes of the Socialists of Massachusetts and laboring to emulate and support them in the great task of the emancipation of the working class and of humanity from the bondage of the profit system.

All the candidates made brief and appropriate remarks in accepting the nominations.

Only Good Feeling Manifested.

The convention was distinguished from those so familiar in the old parties by the absence of wire-pulling and log-rolling, by frankness in discussion and harmony of feeling, and by the obvious desire of every delegate, not to get personal advantage or recognition, but to contribute to the common success. A sad but proud memory tempered the spirit of cheerful confidence, as shown in the adoption by rising vote of a resolution in honor of our late comrade, Frederick O. MacCartney, whose wisdom and devotion had been so much in evidence in previous gatherings of the sort.

Votes Must Be Counted.

Among the important resolutions adopted was one expressing the convention's opinion that the least doubt of the correctness of the count in any election district should be regarded as a sufficient reason for demanding a recount, since the law does not give the party representation among the precinct officers. The comrades do not propose to leave it in the power of the old-party politicians to nullify the workmen's votes by reporting them as "scattering" or by positively miscounting them, as was attempted in Haverhill last year.

Socialist State Platform.

Following is the platform upon which, in conjunction with the national platform, the campaign will be waged: "The Socialist Party of Massachusetts, in convention assembled, reaffirms its allegiance to the principles of international Socialism, and declares its firm adherence to the principles and platform of the Socialist Party as set forth at the national convention at Indianapolis.

"The economic development has revolutionized the methods of production and is separating society into two distinct and antagonistic classes, the capitalist, a comparatively small class,

the possessors of all the means of production and distribution (land, mines, machinery and means of transportation and communication, and the working class, those possessing no property in the means of production. The tools of production are now social in character. As the method of production has been socialized, the means of production should also become socialized. The method of ownership should be made to correspond with the method of operation. Tools used in common should be owned in common.

"The introduction of a new and higher order of society is the historic mission of the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are interested in upholding the system of private ownership in the means of production. The Socialist Party is the only party that stands for the protection of the family and the home; it is the only party that stands for a scientific industrial organization of society. The Socialist Party presents the only solution of the trust question—co-operative ownership of the trusts by the people. It offers the only solution of the strike problem—the workers the full product of their labor.

"To accomplish its emancipation from wage slavery the workers must constitute themselves into a political party; they must put into effect, in legislative and executive places, men pledged to the abolition of the present capitalist system. The entire governmental powers are employed in the interest of the capitalist class. Laws are enacted which break or render unenforceable through lack of enforcement. Executives prostitute their prerogative to defend the people's will. Judges usurp their powers by issuing injunctions that cripple the organizations of labor, while organized capital pursues its default way untrammelled. Official working class representatives are thrown into prison regardless of sex, while the capitalist leaders continue their depredations without molestation. For this state of things the Republican and Democratic parties are alike responsible. Both stand for the existing industrial order, which is the root of the evil. The Socialist has no choice between them. In Massachusetts legislation demanded by the workers is either openly defeated in the Great and General Court, passed in a purposely defective form, or finally vetoed in the courts. Local self-government is denied the cities and towns, placing them helpless before the concentrated power in the state house. The Republican and Democratic parties act harmoniously in opposition to the demands of labor, and hence violate every pledge of devotion to the people's welfare. The spectacle is also presented of Massachusetts capitalists who own factories in the South opposing the restriction of child labor in that section so that Southern conditions can be cited to prevent the passage of labor measures in this state. In striking contrast with the records of the Republican and Democratic politicians are those of the Socialist representatives. Acting in consistent accordance with the Socialist platform they have represented the best interests of labor in all times. We unequivocally indorse their actions in every particular.

Immediate Measures.

"While the fundamental purpose of the Socialist Party is to secure the abolition of the profit system and the establishment of the social ownership of all industry, yet its candidates, if elected, will work for all measures, which will improve the condition, provide necessary protection and guarantee greater liberty for the working class in the exercise of its rights, and at the same time tend toward the accomplishment of our final aim. In view of this aim, therefore, present the following immediate demands: "The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production. "Abolition of child labor. "Raising the school age, and the increasing of the facilities by which every child may secure a liberal education. "State insurance for the workers in case of death, accident, lack of employment or old age. "Extension of municipal and town powers to permit the public ownership of all public utilities. "The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents. "Trial by jury in cases of injunction issued against workmen and women. "Equal civil and political rights for men and women. "Abolition of capital punishment. "That election day be made a legal holiday. "Workmen of all countries, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain."

The convention adjourned to the inspiring strains of the "Marseilles," sung by the delegates and visitors.

PROGRESS OF TRUSTIFICATION.

New York state grocers are likely, it is stated, to form a combination similar to that just formed in Ohio. The representatives of twenty-four Ohio wholesale grocers first met at Columbus to turn over their concerns to the Ohio Grocery, a corporation recently organized under the laws of New Jersey. Twenty-five grocery firms throughout the state will operate under one general management. The company was organized by F. C. Lettis of Chicago, who says that a number of wholesale grocers of New York and Indiana have approached him in the matter of organizing similar companies in these states. The matter will be taken up and settled after the organization of the Ohio company has been perfected.

READ THIS AND PASS IT ON.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

Preparations Making for Great Campaign in 1904.

National Secretary Mally Submits an Account of Work Being Done and of Plans on Foot for Perfecting Organization Over the Whole Land.

[The following is a statement by National Secretary Mally, giving an outline of what the national organization of the Socialist Party is doing and what it intends to do:]

The contribution of one thousand dollars by Comrade Wayland of the "Appeal to Reason" to the National Organizing Fund comes in good season. It comes at a time when most needed and when it can be put to the best uses for the Socialist Party, which is the concrete expression of the socialist movement in America.

While it is no exaggeration to say that the organizing work carried on by the national Socialist Party during the past eight months has exceeded that performed in any similar length of time before, yet even this was not all that was needed or desired to be done. It is simple enough to inaugurate a work of this kind; the great difficulty comes in continuing it after it has begun. It was quite impossible to satisfy all sections requiring or asking for organizers at one and the same time. The number of organizers employed was not sufficient to go around, the territory to be covered too large, and the resources of the national office too limited. For these reasons many comrades have been disappointed, and in some cases impatience has manifested itself as being "neglected." When the national office was doing the best it could, the Quorum and National Committee are more than anxious to promote the organizing work, but they could not do it under the circumstances, however much they desired to. But the "Appeal to Reason" donation, while not altogether solving the problem, makes the way easier. Upon its receipt the National Secretary submitted to the Quorum propositions which he has long had in mind, for extending the organizing activity into territory heretofore untouched. These propositions have been approved by the Quorum, and their successful fulfillment will depend upon the cooperation in the sections receiving the benefit, as well as upon the party at large.

Plans for Immediate Future.

In brief the propositions may be outlined as follows: That F. E. Seeds of Kentucky, if available, be appointed National Organizer for the states of Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, and North Carolina. Comrade Seeds has had much experience as a party agitator and organizer, and is highly recommended to the national office. That J. W. Bennett of Iowa be appointed National Organizer for the states of North and South Dakota. Comrade Bennett was recommended by National Committee member Work some time ago, but no opportunity was presented to his services. That P. J. Hyland of Nebraska, National Secretary Socialist Party, Rooms 303-304 McCague Building, Omaha, Neb., be appointed National Organizer for Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. Comrade Hyland is a fine outdoor speaker, and all around hard worker. That changes be made in routes arranged for organizers already in the field as follows: Bigelow to go from Kansas to Arkansas, and then take Goebel's place in the Indian and Oklahoma Territories, instead of going on through Alabama and Georgia to Florida. Goebel will be confined to Texas and Louisiana until December. Itay will take Bigelow's place in Georgia and Florida, touching also South Carolina on the way. Alabama has already received some valuable attention from the national office, but will be cared for later on. McKee will remain in Arizona until November, and then probably enter Nevada, Wilkins will work in Washington, Montana, Idaho and Oregon. In the East, John W. Brown and John Spargo will work in Rhode Island between now and November, assisting in the state campaign. New Hampshire and Vermont will receive attention about December. Delaware will be cared for as opportunity presents. In states not named either financial assistance has been already rendered by the National Committee or arrangements have been made by the states themselves to support organizers. The Quorum has also voted to place an Italian organizer in the field in the person of Silvio Origo, and he will make an interstate tour.

In the meantime Ben Hanford will be continuing his successful lecture tour, which will carry him to the Pacific Coast and back through the Northwestern states. Other lecture tours will also be arranged. A study of these plans will show that within the next six months every state and territory will have received visits from the National Organizers or will be supporting organizers of their own. Comrades must bear in mind that every place cannot be visited at once. The national office cannot assume financial responsibility for any more organizers than it can afford to support. It is most important that the party be kept out of debt. But every place will finally be visited, if the comrades will but realize the importance of the task we have undertaken and be patient with us.

Funds Still Inadequate.

In this connection it is in order to point out that while the National Organizing Fund has reached \$1,900, in round figures (apart from the "Appeal

donation), yet this sum has not nearly covered the amount expended by the national office for organizing during the seven months past. If it had not been for dues received, the work could not have gone on as it has. The Organizing Fund has only assisted in starting the work, and without the revenue for dues it could not have been continued.

Besides, the running expenses of the office are steadily on the increase. Supplies are being furnished to affiliated organizations merely at cost, organizers have to be kept supplied, the leaflets "Why Socialists Pay Dues" and "How to Organize" are sent out free, and this means that printing bills must be constantly met. An additional number of organizers will naturally involve additional expense of all kinds.

The office force is working night and day in order to keep up, but improvements in the method of conducting business are constantly needed. The National Secretary is arranging to fit out the office in a thorough manner, so that the business can finally be run systematically and economically. This would have been done before, but some of the old debts are still unpaid, although the next three months will certainly see them wiped out for good.

All this should impress party members with the necessity of first "paying" dues promptly, and, second, subscribing what they can to the National Organizing Fund. Don't think that Comrade Wayland's donation has equipped us completely for the work of organization. It has only given us a splendid opportunity to become equipped, through organization, for the great battle of next year and the years to follow. Coin cards for doing this are being prepared and will be furnished upon application by the National Secretary.

The objective point to be aimed at at present is to get every state into such a condition that it can support either one organizer or more for itself. To accomplish this the National Committee should be left free to carry out its plans through its representatives, and local and states should render all the assistance possible and practice self-dependence and self-reliance at the same time. Do not expect too much from the national office. Especially does this advice apply to the tendency to look to the National Committee for financial assistance for one purpose or another. All the money within reach is needed for conducting the organizing and lecture work.

Pay Dues and Get New Members.

Finally, let every party member keep in good standing by paying dues promptly and regularly and determine to gain at least one new member every month. By doing this the most effective and surest method will be used to solidify and knit together the revolutionary forces rapidly developing in America into a compact organization prepared to enter the national campaign of 1904 to wage a conflict against capitalism which will result in making the Socialist Party the second political party in importance in this country and the leader of the international Socialist movement for working-class emancipation throughout the world.

Address all correspondence and contributions to W. E. Mally, National Secretary Socialist Party, Rooms 303-304 McCague Building, Omaha, Neb.

SPECIAL NATIONAL ORGANIZING FUND.

National Secretary Mally acknowledges the following contributions for the special Organizing Fund since last report:

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes entries for C. H. Kerr & Co., Harry T. Smith, Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kas., A. M. P., Seattle, Wash., Leon San Diego, California, P. L. Foxboro, Mass., N. Y. Volkzeitung, S. P. D., Richmond Borough, N. Y., per N. Y. Volkzeitung, W. Pfeiffer, Brooklyn, N. Y., per N. Y. Volkzeitung, John Steige, Washington, D. C., per N. Y. Volkzeitung.

Total for week... \$1,018.60. Previously reported... 984.62. Total... \$2,003.22.

JUST AS IN NEW YORK.

Capitalist misgovernment is pretty much the same everywhere. Whether Republicans, Democrats, "Reformers" are in power, the education of the children and the safety of health and life of the working people are subordinated to the stinginess of capitalist taxpayers and the greed of contractors and landlords. From the current issue of the Los Angeles "Socialist" we learn that just as here there are about 70,000 school children in half-time classes, so in that much smaller city there are about 6,000 excluded from the schools and many thousands more admitted only for half sessions, while the teachers are underpaid and overworked, because the property-owners insist on lower taxes. Only a working-class administration on Socialist lines will set this right.

THE PRESIDENT AND LABOR.

President Roosevelt has been declared "unfriendly" to organized labor because he refused to discharge a scab from the government employ. Hal has confined himself to turning the militia upon striking workmen, as in the Croton Dam affair, he might possibly have remained in good standing.—Erie People.

Post-Office scandals are not so much a reflection on government ownership as on the class which owns the government.—Erie People.

LAWYERS AND THE TRUSTS.

Remarkable Report to American Bar Association.

Business of Lawyers Being Destroyed by Consolidation of Industry which Does Away with Litigation Arising from Competition—Futile Remedies Proposed by the Perplexed Professionals.

At the annual convention of the American Bar Association, which met at Hot Springs, Va., in August, Walter S. Logan of New York, in presenting the report of the Committee on Commercial Law, discussed the trust question and said that if combinations continue, competition will cease, and commercial jurisprudence will eventually be entirely changed. The committee, he said, had reached the unanimous conclusion that modern industrial combinations should be stayed. The report states that combinations are rapidly driving out of business the small dealer and the small producer. These two classes heretofore have furnished the largest number of petitioners in bankruptcy courts, but now industrial combinations of gigantic magnitude, too large for a bankruptcy court to manage and too rich to need ever be called before it, have been substituted. The report adds:

"The modern combination's primary object is to control trade and commerce in plain articles of production, and substitute a more or less perfect monopoly in the place of a more or less free competition. It changes entirely the basic principle of commercial relations between man and man, and if they are to continue to grow and develop in the future as in the past will render necessary most important changes in the principles of our commercial laws.

Combination is Supreme.

"Combination as an economic force is fast coming to take the place of competition. The producers are combining, transportation companies are combining, tradesmen are combining, workmen as well as employers are combining, everything seems to be combining in some form of combination, and everybody seems to be a combiner. The competition that still remains is fast disappearing. Workmen are refusing to compete for jobs. Labor unions are enlarging the spheres of their activity, and extending their operations.

"The union of the employers is still stronger and more far-reaching than the union of the workmen. We are now having combinations of combinations. The United States Steel Corporation is a combination of a dozen heretofore competing producers who themselves were combinations of still other producers, and these, in turn, often combinations of still others. To trace them back to their beginnings is like discovering all the multitude of sources that go to make up the volume of the swollen Mississippi.

"The property which the Amalgamated Copper Company now controls was once, perhaps, a thousand mining claims, each one very likely owned in common by a half dozen miners. The department store trust has combined the business of hundreds of merchants, some portions of which they acquired by purchase and others in some other way. It is estimated that the Standard Oil Company has taken, by contract or by force, the business of 10,000 corporations and merchants in all parts of the Union. The few present great railroad lines of the country have been formed by the combination of hundreds of smaller lines, some extensions of one another, and others competing lines.

The Ambition of the Shipping Trust.

"The ambition of the Shipping Trust, perhaps the pet project of the great American combines, has been to control all the ships that sail the ocean. A hundred years ago there were hardly two ships owned by the same individual or corporation, and even fifty years ago there were scarcely a ship-owner, individual or corporation, that owned a half dozen ships.

One May Own All.

"No one knows but that within the next ten years a greater than J. Pierpont Morgan will arise, who will control the present industrial conditions of the land, so that the workman who works for wages can find but one possible employer, and the purchaser of wares but one possible seller. The steps toward the formation of one universal industrial corporation which shall crowd out all other corporations and assume to itself all the industries of the land have been already more than half taken. It is not so far to go from now to that end, as we had to go to reach present industrial conditions.

"A monopoly is economically desirable; that is, for the monopolist. The United States Steel Corporation can produce no matter what it sells them for—its goods cheaper than the elements out of which the combination is composed ever produced them. The Standard Oil Company is economically holy, for it pays 40 per cent. dividends. The Sugar Trust is economically correct, for whereas the individual sugar refiners lost money on small capitalizations, the Sugar Trust pays big dividends on a large capitalization. The railroad combinations are economically irreparable, for they pay.

"If Mr. Morgan's shipping trust and Mr. Schwab's shipbuilding trust are failures, they are exceptions to the rule. We cannot therefore rely on natural forces, on the laws of supply and demand, or on economic considerations, to limit the growth of modern combinations. If they are unbridled, if we people of the American nation would

be better off without them or with limitations put upon them, they must not put those limitations on by the action of their Legislatures, their Congress, and their courts. The American Bar Association must take the lead. If the Northern Securities Corporation had been allowed to go on the next thing to follow would naturally have been a United States Securities Company, which would hold the majority of the stock of every railroad where the American flag flies."

Futile Remedies of Learned Lawyers.

The lawyers see that in destroying competition the trusts are destroying the business which has always come to them in the litigation resulting from competition between many small capitalists, yet the interests of these professional men, who are dependent upon the business men for their fees, so far confuse and control their intelligence that they can helplessly propose only such remedies as would tend to keep the trusts in existence. The trusts suggest as a remedy that they be compelled to render better and cheaper service by a law providing that any corporation or individual that engages in interstate commerce must furnish its services or supply its goods at lower rates wherever, by any combination, competition is prevented than where competition is left free; and finally that "if necessary, the state itself can enter the industrial field as a producer and restore the force of competition to its former supremacy by becoming itself a competitor of the great trusts."

PERSECUTION IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Louis Gozouin is the Victim this Time in Monongahela—Magistrate Orders to Be "Lenient" but Gozouin Stands for Justice.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Sept. 28.—Louis Gozouin, Socialist candidate for Judge of Superior Court of Pennsylvania, was arrested for speaking in Monongahela City on Saturday Sept. 25. As the crowd gathered Comrade Gozouin called attention to the necessity of keeping the sidewalk clear and was beginning to show the necessity of a class organization on the political field, as well as the economic field, to a very large and enthusiastic crowd when the Chief of Police, who appeared to be under the influence of something stronger than Monongahela water, came up and ordered him to sign for a very brutal manner. Comrade Gozouin answered that he had a right to speak and would not give up that right unless forced to do so. The Chief then placed Comrade Gozouin under arrest and took him to the lock-up, notwithstanding the protests of the crowd. Even the young miners could be heard clamoring, "Three cheers for the Socialist speaker!"

The Chief then ordered that any one who should follow to the jail, but the crowd followed, and at the door of the capital bastille Comrade Gozouin's son started to distribute a good-sized bundle of Socialist papers and could not satisfy the crowd. Notwithstanding the fact that Comrade Gozouin demanded a hearing and that a large number of people had come forward and offered either money or real estate security, he was kept behind the bars for about an hour. He was then taken before an Alderman and the charge of disorderly conduct and blocking the street was entered against him by the Chief. The Squire said the full penalty was \$10, but if he would plead guilty he was inclined to be as lenient as possible. Comrade Gozouin said he did not feel guilty and would not plead guilty, and would make a fight for the right of free speech and peaceable assembly. He waived a hearing and bail was given for his appearance on Friday, Oct. 2. The comrades will insist on the right of speaking.

THE COST OF CAPITALISM.

The British government has appointed a commission to inquire into the alleged physical deterioration of the "lower classes" in the United Kingdom. Almeric W. Fitzroy, clerk of the Privy Council, is the chairman. He is assisted by the former head of the army gymnastic school, the inspector of reformatories, the chief of the navy recruiting service, statisticians and others.

The appointment of the commission was the outcome of a debate in the House of Lords; July 16, during which Lord Meth and the Bishop of Ripon drew attention to the terrible conditions prevailing among the poorer classes. The Duke of Devonshire, Lord President of the Council, then admitted that Great Britain's military and industrial outlook was seriously threatened and promised an inquiry into the matter.

The subject was also brought up in the House of Commons by Sir William R. Anson, parliamentary secretary to the Board of Education, who declared 60,000 children now attending London schools were physically unfit for instruction.

The Director General of the Army Medical Service reports that one man in every three offered as recruits had to be rejected. The appointment of the commission is hailed with approval. The "Daily Chronicle" says:

"If the people as a whole are deteriorating we must change our ways or give up the national struggle as a mistake. The creation and preservation of a fine stock of mankind is the first, perhaps the only, reason for national existence, and if the mass of the people are going downhill in physique we may be quite sure it is going downhill in character and intellect as well."

The Socialist propaganda is continually increasing in Russian Armenia, especially in Baku, Batoum, and Tiflis, which towns contain great numbers of factory workers.

THE CLERICAL ATTACK ON THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

Why the Organized Churches Oppose Socialism and Criticize the Trade Unions as They Grow More Radical—A Letter by W. E. Clark, Rejected by the Omaha "Bee".

[No doubt all of our readers have observed the dispatches in the daily press, telling of the assault which certain bishops and priests of the Catholic Church have recently made upon the trade unions, particularly the International Typographical Union, and of the many response of the union men, in respect of church affiliation.]

This particular attack, which appeared upon the I. T. U. at Omaha, is but a part, of course, of the campaign which the organized churches are making against the labor movement all over the world and which grows more bitter in proportion as the labor organizations come to recognize the class struggle and approach the Socialist position. If the Catholic priesthood has been more conspicuous in attack, it is only because that church is better organized and has more vigor and vitality than the Protestant churches. It may be said that, with honorable exceptions, the organized professional clergy of all denominations in all countries are now going outside their proper field of religious doctrine and using their ecclesiastical influence in political and economic affairs to oppose the movement of the working class for justice and freedom and to support the tottering system of capitalist-class government. When they do this, they are bound to meet the attack. If they enter the field of politics and labor organization in their capacity as clergymen, they must not expect to be able to shield themselves from reply by the plea that their critics are "attacking religion." As Socialists or as trade unionists, we have nothing to do with this or that religion; but we must resist and expose any man who makes his ecclesiastical office an agency for maligning the labor movement.

The Omaha incident moved our comrade, W. E. Clark of that city, to write an article for the Omaha "Bee," a paper which makes a great pretense of journalistic fairness. The article was rejected, and it is therefore printed in "The Worker" and will reach a very large proportion of the readers of the daily that dared not print it.—Ed.]

Editor Omaha "Daily Bee."

There have been quite a number of news items in the "Bee" lately concerning the attitude of the church toward Socialism and the trade unions, especially the Typographical Union; and having seen nothing from a Socialist, expressing his opinion concerning this question, I submit the following.

Every thoughtful mind necessarily wants to know why these attacks are made against the union, and also against Socialism. When I have read out from the meetings of priests in an Iowa town, that the Catholic Church would make an effort to uproot Socialism in the United States, it caused a much deeper interest to be taken in the study of Socialism than anything those priests have done in all their lives. IN THE MIND OF EVERY MAN WHO IS BRAVE ENOUGH TO THINK FOR HIMSELF, THERE AROSE A SPIRIT OF RESENTMENT AND A DETERMINATION TO LOOK INTO THE THING THAT THE PRIESTS CONDEMNED.

The "Good Old Days" Are Gone.

There was a time when a preacher could prevent the spread of a doctrine he did not like—or, more properly speaking, one his masters, the capitalist class, did not like—by simply commanding the people not to read books on the subject nor to listen to a speaker who taught the thing condemned. With all intelligent people that day has forever passed. It is only the intellectual bankrupts, the undeveloped, the slavish, those of cowardly souls, who can be held in subjection by the mere command of another man.

There was a time when the thumbscrew could be used to force men and women to profess faith in unbelievable things. There was a time when men and women were torn limb from limb at the command of a priest. But that day is past, and because it has gone, the priest resorts to the only power he has left, that of promising eternal damnation to those who write in subjection, so that he can be more easily gobbled of the product of his toil, let him do so. It simply shows to what depths of degradation the capitalist system can sink a human soul. It reveals the same spirit that applied the "collar of torture" in ages gone. And the only reason that they do not subject labor agitators and Socialists to the rack is because they dare not. "The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak." And not being able to burn at the stake, they show their spirit by refusing us absolution and telling us that their God will feed our souls to hell, where they will write in an eternity of fire. Civilization having deprived them of the power to mutilate our bodies, they threaten to destroy our souls.

But the Socialists are waging a campaign of education. The church cannot stop it by force. THE GOOD OLD DAYS OF FEAR BELONG TO THE PAST.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. CLARK.

Omaha, Neb., Sept. 16.

GENERAL MEETING OF LOCAL NEW YORK.

A general meeting of Local New York, Social Democratic Party, will be held on Sunday afternoon, Oct. 4, at 3 o'clock in the large hall on the first floor of 21st Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street.

The following order of business is recommended to the meeting by the Executive Committee: 1. Report of the Campaign Secretary. 2. Campaign Fund. 3. Agitation and Organization; Algonquin Lee to speak. 4. Campaign Parade. 5. General Discussion.

It is the duty of every member of the party in Manhattan and Bronx to be present. Membership cards must be shown to gain admission.

abolish class distinctions from among the people.

On the other hand, the church has for its aim the preparation of the human inhabitants of this world—or some of them—for what it calls the future life, or the existence beyond the grave. The church is PROTESTANTLY concerted with the salvation of the human soul, and preparation for eternity; but IN FACT, it is continually interesting itself in the affairs of this life, and invariably ON THE SIDE OF THE RULING CLASS. It makes no difference whether the rulers are good or bad men, so long as they are in undisputed control (and protect the church) the church upholds and prays for the ruling class. For proof of this recall the Spanish-American war, when the Catholic Church of Spain prayed God to bless the Spanish army, while the Catholic Church of America prayed the same God to bless the American army. From the results, I suppose the Americans got their message in first. And before the war of '61 the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches simultaneously opposed slavery in the North and prayed for it in the South. It is also a notorious fact that the Catholic Church supports tyranny in one country and a republic in another; the Republican party in one state and the Democratic party in another.

We Did Not Court the Conflict.

Thus it is seen by comparing the position of the church with that of the Socialist class in one respect after another, that the Catholic Church is in no open and immediate conflict with the Socialist Party as its aim the abolition of the capitalist class, which is the present ruling class, the church upholds the capitalist class BECAUSE THAT CLASS SUPPORTS THE CHURCH.

But let it be understood that the Socialist Party has nothing to say in its platform concerning the church, and that WE NEVER WOULD HAVE HAD ANYTHING TO SAY ABOUT THE CHURCH IF ITS PRIESTS HAD NOT RUSHED TO THE AID OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS, and showed by that act that it was the friend of the capitalist class.

Nor Do We Fear the Conflict.

The church having chosen to defend the capitalist class, having picked up the gauntlet that the Socialist Party has thrown in the face of the class that robs the worker of his toil, let it look to its own fences. We are making our fight on economic grounds. With us, it is a bread-and-butter question, and the priest that gets between the working class and its hope for bread, no matter if he does come with the threat of hell, can have no more effect upon Socialism than his predecessors had on science two hundred years ago.

The Socialist Party has for its object the control of government by the working class, so that the workers of the world can have the full social value of their toil, and we have no fear of any man or institution that gets in our way. It is purely a question of intellectual development, of intellectual honesty. We are making a clean and open fight, and if the priest chooses to stand outwardly on the ground of preparing the soul for eternity while he is secretly aiding the capitalist class to hold the worker in subjection, so that he can be more easily gobbled of the product of his toil, let him do so. It simply shows to what depths of degradation the capitalist system can sink a human soul. It reveals the same spirit that applied the "collar of torture" in ages gone. And the only reason that they do not subject labor agitators and Socialists to the rack is because they dare not. "The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak." And not being able to burn at the stake, they show their spirit by refusing us absolution and telling us that their God will feed our souls to hell, where they will write in an eternity of fire. Civilization having deprived them of the power to mutilate our bodies, they threaten to destroy our souls.

But the Socialists are waging a campaign of education. The church cannot stop it by force. THE GOOD OLD DAYS OF FEAR BELONG TO THE PAST.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. CLARK.

Omaha, Neb., Sept. 16.

GENERAL MEETING OF LOCAL NEW YORK.

A general meeting of Local New York, Social Democratic Party, will be held on Sunday afternoon, Oct.

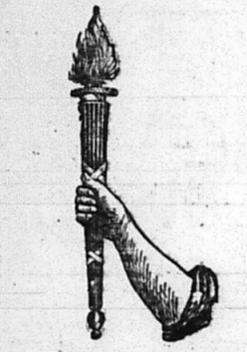
The Worker.

OR ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY (Known in New York State as the Social Democratic Party) PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT 184 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK.

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THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

FOR MAYOR OF NEW YORK—DR. CHARLES L. FURMAN. FOR CONTROLLERS—MORRIS BROWN, Member of Cigar Makers' Union No. 144.

FOR PRESIDENT OF BOARD OF ALDERMEN—PETER J. FLANAGAN, Member of Typographical Union No. 6.

In the state of New York, on account of certain provisions of the election laws, the Socialist Party is officially recognized under the name of the Social Democratic Party.

TO SETTLE THE STRIKE. We are here to SETTLE THIS STRIKE and we are to stay until it is settled.

These are the words of Brigadier General Chase, commanding the militia of Cripple Creek.

The Sheriff of Teller County and the Judges and other local officers of the law agree in declaring that there exists no necessity for military interference, that the local civil authorities are amply able to maintain order.

It has been shown—has been admitted by the capitalist press—that the capitalists who own Colorado and against whose impositions the workmen are striking have used fraud and violence to carry their point.

A dynamic plot has been opportunely discovered and upon the assumption that it must be the work of the unions, union officers have been arrested and put in jail and then taken

from the jail by a mob of "citizens" and "run out of town" with the threat of death if they returned. To the appeal of the miners and smelters for protection against such outrages the Governor has turned a deaf ear.

But as soon as it became evident that the strike could not be broken by such means, the capitalists have appealed to the same Governor for "protection" and the militia has promptly been sent to their aid.

According to the latest dispatches the military and civil authorities are in open conflict. Some of the prisoners taken have at last been handed over to the courts, but the system of military intimidation still prevails.

In one word, the capitalists of Colorado are in armed rebellion against the law and the elected authorities of the district affected by the strike and the Governor of Colorado is actively aiding and abetting them in their lawless conduct.

"Let us have harmony between Capital and Labor," cry the journalistic and clerical spokesmen of Capital. But when the workmen refuse to accept the sort of harmony proposed by the masters, when they decline to work at terms dictated by the capitalists and ask their fellow workers to join in the refusal, then come the military forces to "settle the strike" with bayonet and rifle.

General Chase is very frank and truthful in his statement. He is not at Cripple Creek to enforce the laws of a free people. He is not there to maintain peace and civil order. He is there to settle the strike. He is there to crush the workmen's organization, to persecute its leaders, to intimidate its members, to protect the owners of the mines and smelters in entrapping men by fraud and holding them by force to act as scabs until the strikers shall be starved into submission.

There are two ways in which the labor question, the irreconcilable conflict between the interests of capitalists and wage-workers may be settled. One is General Chase's way: To crush the wage-workers into complete submission by the use of brute force.

The other is the Socialist way: To make the means of production which the joint labor of the working class has created and kept in repair, which the joint labor of the working class operates, which are necessary to the existence of society—to make them the property of the whole people for the use of all, that all may work and receive the full product of their labor.

Either we are to move forward to Socialism or we are to move backward to worse than Russian absolutism. We cannot stand still. Now, as fifty years ago, "the nation cannot endure, half slave and half free."

Every ballot cast next month will tell on the one side or the other. Every Republican ballot will endorse the methods of Republican Governor Peabody of Colorado. Every Democratic ballot will endorse the exactly similar methods used by Democratic Governor Steiensen of Idaho. Every Socialist ballot, be it cast in Maine or California, in Florida or Washington, will be a present help to the persecuted workmen of Colorado and an added force in our progress toward freedom.

A WISE SUGGESTION. John Ellis, formerly editor of the Haverhill "Social Democrat," writes as follows:

It is regrettable that Socialists have not been able to carry municipal victories to the point of influencing the character of the teaching in the public schools. There is no good reason why, in the high schools, and perhaps in the sixth grade of the grammar schools, a suitable history of industry should not be introduced. It is vastly more important than the histories of military and naval operations, which are now almost exclusively taught, and which are palmed off upon the unsuspecting

various children as histories of the various peoples. "Everyone experienced in the art of government realizes the importance of directing the human mind while it is yet in its formative stage, as expressed in the saying, 'Give me a child until his seventh year and I care not who has him afterward.' If a truthful history of industry were taught in the last year of the grammar grade in all public schools to-day, Socialism would be here in eight years, even if not in 1908. Eight years added to thirteen the average age of grammar school graduates, would settle capitalism for this country."

"It is altogether possible that if our Socialist members of school committees realized the situation, they might, though in the minority, bring about the introduction of, or at least a demand for, instruction of this kind. 'Is this not worth attention?'"

We heartily concur in the suggestion and would add that, even where we have no members upon the local school boards or committees, parents of school children could often exercise a very good influence by looking into the textbooks used and the methods of instruction in vogue and making appropriate suggestions to the school authorities.

Today the schools are undoubtedly used to instill into the children's minds ideals of patriotism and public duty and theories of economics and politics which, while true enough for the society of half a century ago, are periodically false to-day. It must be remembered, however, that this is not altogether a matter of purposeful miseducation, though it is partly so. To a great extent it is due to the passive acceptance by the teachers of traditional beliefs and feelings. It would be well worth while for our comrades everywhere to try to educate the teachers on questions of the day.

"What in the world is a rich man good for but to shell out his riches to the Church of God and to educational institutions?" was the sentiment expressed by the Rev. Dr. William C. Bitting of the Mount Morris Baptist Church in his sermon last Sunday. We would like to ask the Rev. Bitting this counter question: If the rich man is good for nothing but to "shell out" he is entitled to the millions which he receives; and why should the people pay profits to the rich man who is "good for nothing" but to "shell out" for a lot of kept preachers and professors who educate the people to believe that the rich man is entitled to the riches turned over to him in the shape of rent, profit, and interest? It is evident that the function of the rich man is, as the Rev. Bitting says, to "shell out" a small part of his unearned wealth to the preachers and professors; and it is also evident, as the Rev. Bitting does NOT say, that the function of the preachers and professors is to see that the rich man continues to get his unearned wealth. Says the preacher to the rich man and replies the rich man to the preacher: "You tickle me and I'll tickle you, and the people be damned."

Our attention is called to the fact that in Atlanta, Ga., where a member of the Socialist Party was arrested this summer and sentenced to a term in the chain-gang for daring to speak for the rights of the working class, the Labor Day celebration was signaled by an oration by Mayor Howell, the man who imposed this infamous sentence in violation of constitution, law, public policy, and common decency. An Atlanta courier, commenting upon this exhibition, rightly says: "Labor has enough ability to ensure success upon any occasion without falling back upon the functionaries of capitalism. It is time this toad-eating business stopped." Emphatically, it is. It would seem that the trade unionists of Atlanta need a little chain-gang medicine themselves—and they will probably get it if they ever show spirit enough to resent capitalist aggression by a vigorous strike. Experience is proverbially a hard teacher, but some people learn from no other. And unfortunately the toad-eaters of the labor movement are not confined to Atlanta.

THE DEGENERATION OF JAURES. We have several times expressed our deep regret that Jaures, who five or six years ago was as useful and stalwart a Socialist as any man in Europe, should now be deliberately going over into the "progressive" capitalist camp. It is very sad; for Jaures is still quite young in the movement, and, had he not been in such a desperate hurry to take official place, and to act with the Ministerial Party, he might have left some mark on his day and generation. As it is, we greatly fear that he will shortly have to be counted definitely with the Millerands, Bernstein, Turati, etc., who, in their respective countries, are doing their best to play the game of the profit-mongers better than the profit-mongers can play it themselves. At any rate, that is the effect of his long labored and wearisome diatribes against Kautsky in the "Petite Republique." These articles are written not so much in refutation of Kautsky, as in support of that illustrious Socialist supporter of the South African gang, of Joseph Chamberlain, and of plundering imperialism generally—Herr Edward Bernstein. What is even worse, Jaures goes out of his way to mislead his readers on the whole issue. It is quite certain that the vast majority of European and American Socialists—as will be shown at Amsterdam next year—do not in the least object to taking part in municipal work or in parliamentary business as Socialists. On the contrary, they are strongly in favor of this, the only practical course at the moment. But they do most strongly oppose action which causes Socialists to sink their principles in a capitalist "bloc," after the manner of Jaures and Millerand, or to kowtow to the Kaiser after the fashion advocated by Bernstein. All the verbiage and rhetorical doggerel of Jaures—and it is not a little—will not obscure that issue. Instead of working for unity, therefore, Jaures, like Bernstein, is fomenting disruption; but the socialists from Socialism will not be very numerous, nor, as Jaures is now going on, very important.—London Justice.

WE ACKNOWLEDGE OUR ERROR. The Worker has made not a few mistakes and will probably make many in the future. It hopes never to be too weak to admit such mistakes when it discovers them and to set them right so far as it is possible to do so.

Last week, in the article entitled, "A Question of Socialist Ethics," we made such a mistake. We violated our usual rule of postponing comment upon questions of party discipline until passed upon by the party itself. When it was too late we discovered that we had acted upon partial and misleading information and had been utterly mistaken in our statement of fact. We do not question the good faith of our informants, but frankly assume the blame for having formed and expressed a judgment without sufficient examination of the evidence.

We stated that a lawyer who is a member of the party had acted as counsel for an employer in getting an injunction against a union with which he was in trouble, and expressed the opinion that a member who did this must be struck from the membership rolls of the party. To the opinion we still hold. But further investigation on our own part and especially an examination into the

facts by a special committee elected for that purpose by the General Committee of Local New York has shown that, as a matter of fact, no such circumstances existed as we had supposed.

The actual counsel in the case referred to, it is shown, is not a Socialist. He is the law partner of one who is a party member. It is well known that in such partnerships each partner often has a private practice, apart from that of the firm. In the present instance it is shown that the employer in question was the personal client of the non-Socialist member of the firm, was his client before the partnership was formed, and that the other partner at no time acted as counsel in the case. The misunderstanding on the part of our informants, in which we unguardedly followed them, arose from the supposition that it was a firm case.

It happens, furthermore, that the counsel concerned had in his personal capacity done good service to the union and that the union regards him with cordial good feeling.

It is not a little embarrassing to us to have made such a flagrant error and we can only say that it was a fault of judgment and not of intention and seek to avoid the like in the future.

Current Literature

All books and pamphlets mentioned in this column may be obtained through the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York.

Among the forthcoming publications announced for the early part of October by the Funk & Wagnalls Company of New York and London, is a "History of Socialism in the United States" by Morris Hillquit.

The book treats of the Socialist movement in this country in all its phases, beginning with the early utopian experiments in practical communism and leading up to the latest developments of modern Socialism. The work is divided in two parts. Part I, treating of Utopian Socialism and Communistic Experiments, contains chapters on Sectarian Communities, The Owenite Period, The Fourierist Period, and The Icarian Communities; while Part II is devoted to an account of the development of Modern Socialism in this country, and contains chapters on the Antebellum Period, The International in the United States, The Period of modern Socialism, The Present-Day Socialist Labor Party, and Present-Day Socialism.

The book will contain 270 pages, octavo, cloth bound, and will sell retail at \$1.50. A discount will be allowed on large orders.

The United Crafts of Eastwood, N. Y., have issued a very attractive pamphlet, A. M. Simons' article on "The Economic Foundations of Art," which appeared in the "Craftsman" some months ago. Simons' treatment of the subject is full of suggestion for the earnest student either of art or of social science.

We have several times expressed our deep regret that Jaures, who five or six years ago was as useful and stalwart a Socialist as any man in Europe, should now be deliberately going over into the "progressive" capitalist camp. It is very sad; for Jaures is still quite young in the movement, and, had he not been in such a desperate hurry to take official place, and to act with the Ministerial Party, he might have left some mark on his day and generation. As it is, we greatly fear that he will shortly have to be counted definitely with the Millerands, Bernstein, Turati, etc., who, in their respective countries, are doing their best to play the game of the profit-mongers better than the profit-mongers can play it themselves. At any rate, that is the effect of his long labored and wearisome diatribes against Kautsky in the "Petite Republique." These articles are written not so much in refutation of Kautsky, as in support of that illustrious Socialist supporter of the South African gang, of Joseph Chamberlain, and of plundering imperialism generally—Herr Edward Bernstein. What is even worse, Jaures goes out of his way to mislead his readers on the whole issue. It is quite certain that the vast majority of European and American Socialists—as will be shown at Amsterdam next year—do not in the least object to taking part in municipal work or in parliamentary business as Socialists. On the contrary, they are strongly in favor of this, the only practical course at the moment. But they do most strongly oppose action which causes Socialists to sink their principles in a capitalist "bloc," after the manner of Jaures and Millerand, or to kowtow to the Kaiser after the fashion advocated by Bernstein. All the verbiage and rhetorical doggerel of Jaures—and it is not a little—will not obscure that issue. Instead of working for unity, therefore, Jaures, like Bernstein, is fomenting disruption; but the socialists from Socialism will not be very numerous, nor, as Jaures is now going on, very important.—London Justice.

It is a strange supposition that makes men regard what they know to be elementally good as dangerous in practice; and what they know to be elementally wrong as practically safe. —George D. Herron.

THE PROFESSIONAL PROLETARIAN.

By A. M. Simons.

To my mind the greatest danger which confronts the Socialist movement at the present time is from the demagoguery of the "professional proletarian." I am led to this belief partly by an examination of the previous history of labor and Socialist movements. It has always been some self-styled "horny-handed son of toil" who has betrayed and sold out the working class. It has been one of the most general conclusions having reached his mind. It has always been the boast of the Socialist party in every country that it carries on a campaign of education, that it seeks to make Socialists, and intelligent class-conscious Socialists, not mere ranters and howlers. Are we in America going to surrender this proud position?

The Socialist movement is now and will always continue to be controlled by the wage-working proletariat and constitute an expression of their class interests. But the mere fact of being a member of that class unfortunately does not carry with it a knowledge of proletarian interests. If it did there would be no need of the Socialist propaganda. Reformers and impossibilists both to the contrary notwithstanding, Socialists are not born, or created by instinct except in so far as they are to effect but little in general results. This does not mean that a college training is necessary to make a good agitator, or worker for Socialism. Some of the most acceptable Socialist workers in America are men whose lives have permitted them to spend but little time inside the walls of schools. But in every case where men have come to be valued an account of their advice for Socialism it has been because they have taken the time, often from the scanty leisure left after a day's hard work in shop or mill, to master the philosophy of Socialism. Were it possible, there were few things that would advance the Socialist movement more in America than to be able to grant leisure to those who must represent us on the public platform that they could better, at themselves for their work.

The worst "grafters" that I have ever known in the Socialist movement have been these professional proletarians, who, promising upon their ignorance, foisted themselves upon their comrades for "their board and keep," and in return often did the most irreparable injury by the misrepresentation due to their ignorance. For the most part they have been men who have come to the Socialist movement from the ranks of the bourgeoisie, and who have brought with them a profound contempt for the workers and their cause. They have taken the time, often from the scanty leisure left after a day's hard work in shop or mill, to master the philosophy of Socialism. Were it possible, there were few things that would advance the Socialist movement more in America than to be able to grant leisure to those who must represent us on the public platform that they could better, at themselves for their work.

The "professional proletarian" is especially dangerous just now because he is becoming more and more numerous, and is confining his efforts to the most abstract and metaphysical questions. Morgan's "Ancient Society" is the one great contribution made by an American to Socialist literature, and so recognized by Marx and Engels, and yet this concerns itself exclusively with pre-historic times, and savage tribes. It is not less, but more learning that the Socialists have to read. We are still far behind them in every country, and particularly of Germany. One of the reasons for the magnificent solidity of the German movement is to be found in the fact that the Socialist publishing house of "Vorwarts" sends out large numbers of works on evolution, ethnology, and allied sciences. It was the knowledge of these sciences which made possible the Socialism of the German workers. It is not simply because a man is hungry

for the government denies that Baron von Trotha, chief marshal of the Cavalry, as alleged by the "Vorwarts," has knowledge of the "Kaiser Island" project, the latter demands that the public prosecutor shall proceed against it for libel against a functionary.

SOCIALISM IN FINLAND. The Social Democratic Party of Finland held a national conference at Forssa from August 17 to 24. There are at present in Finland fifty-nine branches with a membership of 10,000; forty branches were represented at the conference. A program was adopted, which on the whole runs on the same lines as the program of Socialist parties of other countries.

GAINS IN DENMARK. At the municipal elections taking place in the Danish towns at present, the Socialists have been very successful in quite a number of towns, as Aarhus, Randers, Odense, Ryboer, Holbaek, and others, notwithstanding the fact that the Socialists are opposed by the combined reactionary parties.

GETTING CLOSER TOGETHER. The British railway employees are getting closer together on the basis of industrial organization in place of trade autonomy. An agreement for a close federation between the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants and the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen has been adopted by the executive boards of the two unions, subject to ratification at the national congresses to be held this month.

A WASTED FORCE. Human happiness is based upon the possibility of a natural and harmonious satisfaction of the instincts. One of the most important instincts is usually not even recognized as such, namely: the instinct of workmanship. Lawyer, criminologists, and philosophers frequently imagine that only want makes man work. This is an erroneous view. We are forced to be active in the same way as ants or bees. The instinct of workmanship would be the greatest source of happiness, if it were not for the fact that our present social and economic organizations allow only a few to gratify this instinct.—Prof. Jacques Loeb.

MORE TROUBLE FOR THE KAISER. Herr Loeb, the responsible editor of the "Vorwarts," the central organ of the Social Democratic party of Germany, has been arrested for his name as a consequence of the publication of a story alleging that a fortified castle on an island was to be built for Emperor William in the outskirts of Berlin, as a safe retreat for him in the event of a revolution. The "Vorwarts" asserts that its editor is to be put on trial merely to compel the paper to divulge its source of information. Inasmuch as the official

THE NEBRASKA AFFAIR.

Annent the motion of National Committeeman Turner of Missouri to dismiss the charges against National Committeeman Mills of Kansas and Critchlow of Ohio, based on the so-called "Socialist Propaganda Club" of Omaha, the Nebraska State Quorum, which originated the charges, has submitted a full statement of facts to the National Committee.

It is declared that before the present state organization of the Socialist Party in Nebraska came into existence, the name of the party had been made use of and a spurious organization formed by politicians in Republican employ. We quote: "Politically, Nebraska is a doubtful state, as between the Republican and Democratic parties, and especially since 1896, when fusion was consummated between the Democratic party and the Populists, who formed a considerable factor in Nebraska politics. Since fusion was accomplished, it has been to the interest of the Republican politicians to encourage any radical movement which might draw votes from the Populists. For this reason, the Middle-of-the-road Populists received substantial aid and encouragement from the Republicans in 1896 and afterwards. As a reward for this, Clem Deaver, the Middle-of-the-road leader, is now enjoying a \$20,000-a-year job by grace of the Republican administration.

"When it became evident that the Populists were becoming less and less of a factor as an independent movement, the Republican leaders turned their attention to organizing a 'Socialist' party. As a result, the 'Socialist' state convention was held at Lincoln on July 4, 1900, but there being only 84 persons in attendance, 116 less than required by law, they were forced to adjourn without putting a ticket in the field. This failure compelled the Middle-of-the-road Populist leaders, Jas. A. Boyce, L. V. Guye, and D. Clem Deaver, to come to Omaha to get a 'Socialist' ticket in the field. Here they formed an alliance with Theo. Kharas, Thomas Edwards, Geo. E. Baird, F. H. Alexander, C. C. Chambers, and J. B. Randolph. The four last named were the originators of the 'Socialist Propaganda Club.' A convention was held on Sept. 26 and a ticket was nominated with Kharas for Governor, Baird for Congress, and Edwards for the Legislature. We have in our possession as proof of the foregoing alliance, the following letter written to T. A. Edwards of Grand Neb., by Theo. Kharas: 'Omaha, Neb., Aug. 30, 1903. 'T. A. Edwards, Grand Neb. 'The state convention is now set for the 24th of Sept. Never fear, I will have round trip passes for both of you, and give me a tip if you can get anywhere else to come from there or anywhere out there who will take a trip pass without squealing. I have this straight from Boyce, Guye and Deaver, who have established headquarters here. They promise us some 'material' help for the convention as well as all the trip passes we can use, but I tell you they have to be used with judgment. The Socialists are the quiverest lot I know. Deaver told me it was impossible to get any money by the third because it was not a fund, but if put off it would come. Said it had to come through too many hands to come in a rush. But I know where it starts from.

"After the election the gang quarreled. Baird and Edwards, who were both in the party of the Republican party—the proof of their guilt is also in our possession—united and brought charges against Kharas, proved he had received \$119 from the Republican party and expelled him from the organization.

"In the meantime, real Socialists were joining the Socialist Party, and it became necessary for the good of the cause to clean house. In 1902, Baird was found guilty of corruption, and was expelled from Local Omaha, Alexander, because of his grossness was pending. A contest followed between Baird, Alexander & Co. and the regular party organization to obtain possession of the state ticket, which was nominated at Omaha, July 4, 1902, with Geo. E. Bigelow for Governor. The State Committee was compelled to take the case into the courts, where a decision was given the Committee and Baird and his colleagues were finally shut out of the party.

"During the months following the last state campaign and until the close of this year, the expelled members were inactive, except for the quiet work on the side they were doing to cause dissatisfaction and disruption in Local Omaha. But after the national headquarters of the party was established here, not upon our solicitation or suggestion, but principally through Comrade Mills (who was well aware of the situation in Omaha), Baird and Alexander, became actively active through the organization of the 'Omaha Socialist Propaganda Club,' and an announcement was shortly afterwards made through the daily press that this crowd had arranged for a series of lectures by Walter Thomas Mills. As soon as this engagement was definitely verified by Local Omaha, the Secretary was instructed to notify Comrade Mills of the character of the organization he had engaged with, and a request was made that he cancel the engagement. The result of this request you know through the correspondence submitted with the resolution of Local Omaha adopted against Comrade Mills for his action in encouraging a rival organization to the Socialist Party.

"Now, we wish to point out that the contest waged in Nebraska last year between the corrupt element led by Geo. E. Baird, was at the time brought to the attention of the National Committee, of which Comrade Mills was then a member, and the names and character of the men composing that element must have been perfectly familiar to Mills. Comrade Mills, himself, was in Omaha during the state campaign of last year and knew personally of the difficulties the State Committee was having in keeping the Nebraska movement from being used for corrupt ends. And yet we find Comrade Mills assisting this very element to defeat our purpose, and Comrade Critchlow doing the same thing with his Lecture Bureau. Is it any wonder that the Nebraska Quorum has protested, and will continue to protest,

against such acts on the part of men holding responsible positions in the Socialist Party? "We wish also to point out that no reason has been given why there should be two organizations of Socialists in Omaha. These men who have organized and supported the 'Socialist Propaganda Club' have never presented a reason why that club should be in existence. They cannot truthfully charge that the members of Local Omaha are inactive, or even that outside speakers are not engaged. The comrades of Omaha are unceasingly active. Outdoor meetings are constantly held, sometimes every night, and literature sold and distributed in large amounts. Our account with C. H. Kerr & Co. for literature is, we venture to say, larger comparatively than that of any other organized state. The only time the 'Propaganda Club' is heard of, is when a speaker of national reputation appears here under its auspices.

"It is claimed that the 'Propaganda Club' is composed almost entirely of workmen. This is probably true, but many of these workmen do not know the true situation, and join the club through sympathy, and also because there are no dues to pay. It is the greater wrong to the Socialist cause that the Socialist workmen of Omaha should be thus divided through the manipulation of corrupt politicians. "In the matter of corrupt politicians, Local Omaha has had, during the past eighteen months, in addition to its local speakers, among others the following: John C. Chase, the Wentworths, Carl D. Thompson, Fredk. G. Strickland, Geo. E. Bigelow, Walter Thomas Mills, Geo. R. Kirkpatrick, Wm. Stevens Abbott, Marian, H. Dunham, Geo. E. Boomer, J. Stitt Wilson, Wm. K. Gaylord, Wm. H. Wise, Harry M. Moore, who have attempted to secure Eugene V. Debs and Mother Jones. So it cannot be said that Local Omaha has not given a hearing to all kinds of speakers. We have never declined to use Comrade Mills' services. Neither have we objected to him or any other Socialist speaker appearing in Nebraska under non-Socialist auspices. But we have protested against him being advertised and used to lecture as a National Committeeman of the Socialist Party for an organization of non-party members, organized by corrupt politicians into a so-called 'Socialist Propaganda Club' for the avowed purpose of obstructing the work of and disrupting Local Omaha. We believe this is a contention with which every Socialist will sympathize.

"I must regret that the National Committee act decisively upon this question, not only because the party organization in Nebraska is at stake, but because it is one that must sooner or later affect every other organized state. The Nebraska comrades have never favored state autonomy to a great extent, but now that that rule is in the constitution, we asked that it be observed in letter and spirit for our protection. At present the work of the State Quorum is being organized through the efforts of those who support the 'Propaganda Club,' which could not exist to do us any harm, were it not for this support. Every prominent speaker who enters Omaha under the auspices of this club strengthens the hands of men who are co-operating with capitalist politicians to control the Socialist Party. Every time a Mills is advertised to speak for it as a National Committeeman from Kansas, or a Harney endorses this club by his presence in Omaha under its auspices, so much higher does the capitalist political boss rate the services of its hirelings who promote the club.

"We appeal to you to act now, because there appears to be a systematic attempt on foot to thwart the efforts of the Quorum to establish local and carry on a state propaganda. Some time ago, our Secretary received a letter from Carl D. Thompson, offering to tour the state upon the Quorum, and three dates have been arranged for Hanford, while Thompson is carrying on his independent campaign.

"The Quorum has been arranging for circuit speaking on the plan of Michigan and Ohio. We have gone to some expense and labor to arrange these circuits, but Thompson's engagements have interfered with this work. When he visited Omaha last week, he spent a whole day in the city and returned to state headquarters, but converted entire days with members of the 'Propaganda Club,' although he was speaking for party locals in the state.

"The question may be asked: 'Why does the State Committee not have Thompson disciplined, if he is a member in Nebraska?' And have every party paper and writer and speaker howl us down as 'intolerant' and 'bureaucratic'?

"Reports in the Socialist press also inform us that Walter Thomas Mills has been speaking, during the past month, for locals in the state, and without in any way consulting or notifying the Quorum. Does this look like the state autonomy of which Mills has been such an ardent advocate? Or is it Mills' conception of state autonomy that the National Committee, as a whole must not enter a state without the consent of the state organization, while the National Committeeman Mills, individually, may do so at pleasure?

"In the matter of Comrade Kharas, Local Omaha declined his services because he did not come through the National Lecture Bureau, which we believe is the correct method to pursue in the case of outside speakers. If the national headquarters cannot send speakers into an organized state without the consent of that state organization, then the different state committees should 'reconcile' through the national headquarters. That National Committeeman Critchlow should send Comrade Hagerty here under the auspices of the 'Propaganda Club' while our protest was still pending before the

State Committee, is a matter of course. We believe this is a contention with which every Socialist will sympathize.

"I must regret that the National Committee act decisively upon this question, not only because the party organization in Nebraska is at stake, but because it is one that must sooner or later affect every other organized state. The Nebraska comrades have never favored state autonomy to a great extent, but now that that rule is in the constitution, we asked that it be observed in letter and spirit for our protection. At present the work of the State Quorum is being organized through the efforts of those who support the 'Propaganda Club,' which could not exist to do us any harm, were it not for this support. Every prominent speaker who enters Omaha under the auspices of this club strengthens the hands of men who are co-operating with capitalist politicians to control the Socialist Party. Every time a Mills is advertised to speak for it as a National Committeeman from Kansas, or a Harney endorses this club by his presence in Omaha under its auspices, so much higher does the capitalist political boss rate the services of its hirelings who promote the club.

"We appeal to you to act now, because there appears to be a systematic attempt on foot to thwart the efforts of the Quorum to establish local and carry on a state propaganda. Some time ago, our Secretary received a letter from Carl D. Thompson, offering to tour the state upon the Quorum, and three dates have been arranged for Hanford, while Thompson is carrying on his independent campaign.

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