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VOL. XIII.—NO. 88.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 20, 1903.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

FOR FREE SPEECH.

History and Present Status of the Turner Case.

Under New "Anti-Anarchist Law" Aliens Can Be Deported by Administrative Process for Their "Beliefs"—Free Speech League Appeals for Funds to Resist Inadvisable Attack on Constitutional Liberties.

The attention of all persons who believe in free speech and freedom of belief is asked to the principles involved in the case of John Turner. The facts, and the law under which he was arrested and is still confined pending appeal, together with the constitutional questions involved, are as follows:

John Turner, an English labor organizer and social reformer, while addressing a meeting in New York City Oct. 23, was arrested by federal officers upon a warrant issued by Secretary of Commerce Cortelyou, and taken immediately to Ellis Island. The next morning he was taken before a Board of Inquiry and tried without counsel or witnesses in a secret session. The board reported that Turner was an "anarchist" and had been here less than three years, and Secretary Cortelyou ordered that he be deported to England.

It is a mistake to assume that the Anti-Anarchist Law applies only to persons advocating violence or assassination—though this impression was given out when the law was enacted. A writ of habeas corpus was obtained and the case argued before Judge Lacombe of the United States Circuit Court. Then it was found that the government rested its case primarily upon so much of Section 38 of the Immigration law (as amended March 3, 1903) as reads: "That no person who disbelieves in or who is opposed to all organized government, or who is a member of or affiliated with any organization entertaining or teaching such disbelief in or opposition to all organized government..." shall be permitted to enter the United States.

The charge before the board was that Turner was an "anarchist," and therefore excluded under section 2, which among other classes, excludes: "Polygamists, anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the government of the United States or all governments." Counsel for Turner contended that the word "anarchist" in this section was not defined, but if it was held by the court to be defined by the clause following it, Turner should be allowed to prove that he did not advocate violence. Government counsel admitted that the word "anarchist" was either defined by the clause following it, or else was synonymous with the clause in section 38 excluding the "person who disbelieves in all organized government."

The only utterance of Turner quoted in the government argument was this extract from his speech of October 23: "All over Europe they are preparing for a general strike which will spread over the entire industrial world. Everywhere the employers are organizing, and to me, at any rate, as an anarchist, as one who believes that the people must emancipate themselves, I look forward to this struggle as an opportunity for the workers to assert the power that is really theirs. The trade unions have been growing, and have now reached big proportions. The inevitable outcome of this struggle between the two, and the general strike offers to advanced people an opportunity to demonstrate their power, and to us, who belong to the advanced movement, an opportunity to help the workers to gain in audacity and courage, and thus determine as quickly as possible their emancipation."

Upon this extract the government lawyer commented as follows: "From these remarks it is apparent that this alien regarded a general strike as a means to an end, to wit: the overthrow of all government. Even small strikes are usually accompanied by violence and a general strike would certainly involve great social disorder and confusion. If anarchy ever comes about, even for a short time, it will no doubt be through the disorder and violence of a general strike. A general strike, therefore, cannot be regarded as a peaceful means of establishing anarchy." This comment is given here to show the attitude of officials towards labor agitation, but it is not material to the case from a legal standpoint; the extract from Turner's speech was only introduced as a secondary argument in case the court declared so much of section 38 as related to "persons who disbelieve" to be unconstitutional. But the court upheld the entire law.

Judge Lacombe, in deciding against Turner, held that as the acts excluding aliens for insanity or contagious diseases or other physical causes had been declared constitutional, "it is not perceived why the principles laid down in a long line of decisions do not apply equally to a person who is differentiated by the possession or advocacy of specific beliefs as to the conduct and regulation of society."

As to the contention that the law violated the First Amendment to the Constitution, Judge Lacombe held that the "exclusion of an alien who is an anarchist" is not a prohibition of the free exercise of religion, and "as to abridgment of the freedom of speech, that clause deals with the speech of persons in the United States and has no bearing upon the question of what person shall be allowed to enter therein."

From this decision an appeal has been taken to the Supreme Court. It was necessary that this appeal should act as a stay of deportation, for if Turner had gone back to England the matter could not have been brought before the court. Ball was refused, so that to test the constitutionality of the law he has to stay in prison on Ellis Island, not being allowed to see friends or his counsel except in the presence of officials, who make notes of the conversation. He is kept in a little cell except when allowed daily exercise in the company of guards, and unless his friends continue to supply him with money to purchase food, he will be on a diet of bread and coffee and soup, and not much of these.

If this law is sustained, an order of arrest can be issued by the Secretary of Commerce against any alien who has not been here for three years. The person arrested can be taken from any part of the country to Ellis Island; there he is examined secretly without witnesses or counsel, by three men whose positions depend upon the favor of the secretary issuing the warrant, and if two of them report to this cabinet officer that they believe the arrested man "disbelieves in all organized government," the Secretary can send him back to the country of his birth without allowing him to see his family or to settle his business affairs. From this decision there is no appeal in any court or jury. The practical result will be to put every alien who may take part in political or trade union agitation against the policy of the administration at the mercy of the Secretary of Commerce for three years after his arrival. And it will open a rear door to blackmail by federal officials.

As the Chicago "Public" comments: "When the President can arbitrarily arrest and deport any alien of not more than three years' residence... how long before he will be able arbitrarily to arrest citizens and deport or incarcerate them at his own pleasure?" Turner is charged with no offence except "disbelieving" the meeting he addressed was peaceful and violated no law of the State of New York; he is not accused of advocating assassination (nor of advocating violence except upon the flimsy ground of approving of labor unions and strikes); he has been president and is now general organizer of the Shop Assistants (Retail Clerks) Union of Great Britain, and a few months ago he attended a labor conference at Brussels as a delegate from his union; he toured this country in 1896, speaking in the principal cities with regard to political and labor organizing work in England, he has never been arrested.

It has been reserved for free America to treat as a condemned criminal a man who in a European country has never concealed his opinions and has never been molested for expressing them. Unless protest is made against this new alien law, it is extremely likely to be followed by a similar act for the benefit of native citizens as may be seen in disagreement with the administration. Tyranny always begins with the most unpopular man or class and extends by degrees; it should be resisted at the beginning. To defend Turner is not at all to defend what he may do in the future or what he believes now, but to stand for the right of every one to free expressions of ideas concerning a proper organization of society.

The sole question at issue is: Shall the Federal Government be a judge of beliefs and disabilities? Because of the nature of this question the Free Speech League has taken charge of Turner's case, in order that the constitutionality of the law may be properly tested. Funds are needed for this purpose, and in order that Turner suffer not want for food nor his family suffer during his incarceration. If he is willing to submit to several months' imprisonment in order that Americans may test the law, he should not be put to any suffering which can be avoided. Nor should the case be allowed to drop under public notice. Subscriptions for the Turner Fund should be sent to Dr. E. B. Foote, Jr., Treasurer, 120 Lexington Avenue, New York.

NEW YORK VOTE.

Social Democratic Party Gains Ten Thousand.

The Official Count Gives 33,399 Votes for Matchett—S. L. P. Loses Over Five Thousand.

ALBANY, N. Y., Dec. 15.—The State Board of Canvassers has completed its work and announced the full results of the state election held on Nov. 3. The figures for the candidates of the Social Democratic Party and of the S. L. P., respectively, for Associate Justice of the Court of Appeals, the only state office voted for, are shown in the subjoined table:

Table with 5 columns: County, Social Democratic Party, S. L. P., and two unlabeled columns. Total counts are provided at the bottom.

Denis O'Brien, the joint candidate of the Republican and Democratic parties, received 13,408 less votes than did the heads of the state tickets of those two parties last year. The Prohibitionists lost 1,143.

DEFEND FREE SPEECH.

Alabama Socialists Make a Test and Jury Sustains Them Against Hostile Judge.

State Secretary Waldhorst of Alabama reports the acquittal of J. L. McGuire on a charge of obstructing the streets. Comrade McGuire was arrested last August for addressing a Socialist street meeting in Birmingham. The case was tried before a jury in the Criminal Court of that city on Dec. 3 and the jury brought in a verdict of not guilty. The Prosecuting Attorney brought out an ordinance on kite flying and another on ash and rubbish barrels, in an effort to make a case against McGuire. The Judge's charge to the jury contained some sweeping statements, which caused the Socialist's attorney to protest vigorously and make the Judge give the vital points of his charge in writing. Comrade Waldhorst says the local Socialists are jubilant, as the acquittal of McGuire establishes their right to the use of the public streets for meeting purposes.

"ACADEMIC FREEDOM."

Socialist Club in a Kansas College Ordered by Faculty to Disband.

An Associated Press dispatch from Topeka, Kas., under date Dec. 12, says: "The Faculty of Washburn College today ordered that the Socialist Club of the College discontinue its meetings." "It is said to be the result of letters being received from Eastern financial supporters of the college saying they would withdraw aid unless the club was suppressed."

"The organization was formed by some of the admirers of the Rev. Charles M. Sheldon, and was conducted according to his ideas. Some of the leading students of the college were members."

Just what kind of "Socialists" they may be who are also admirers and followers of Mr. Sheldon, we cannot say. But the act of suppression is none the less significant if they were the merest Christian reformers.

SOCIALISTS IN THE REICHSTAG.

Government Supporter Calls for Disfranchisement—Socialists Force Government to Act on Army Outrage.

BERLIN, Dec. 11.—In the course of a discussion on the maltreatment of private soldiers in the army in the Reichstag today Baron von Kardorff alluded to the enormous increase in the German Socialist vote. He said he would not assert that the army had grown untrustworthy, but he declared that its ranks were filled with Socialists, who were increasing in numbers with the growth of their party.

"My opinion," said Baron von Kardorff, "is that we are on an express train which is rolling with wind velocity into the Socialized state of the future. At any rate, something must be done to prevent the growth of the Social Democracy, and the most effective means to this end would be to withdraw the suffrage for five years from Socialists who profess to be revolutionists or republicans."

This statement was greeted with Socialist laughter. Continuing, the Baron said: "The Government must do everything in its power, for if nothing happens a revolution is coming with certainty."

The speaker pointed out that it would be impossible to suppress Socialism with intellectual weapons, and he urged Catholics and Protestants to conclude a truce in order that they might jointly combat this new danger. "It will then," said he, "be easy to lead a struggle against Socialism to a victorious end."

The Socialist members have at last succeeded in forcing the government to acknowledge and take action upon the shameful brutalities prevailing in the army. It has in the past been possible for the officers to inflict all imaginable indignities and outrages upon the private soldiers with practical impunity; even the most cold-blooded murders, committed "in defense of an officer's honor," have been condoned if not approved by the authorities. The Social Democrats, while condemning the whole system of militarism, have made a special protest against these abuses, and the increase of the Social Democratic vote has given weight to their words. Several officers are now being prosecuted for brutality to privates.

Paul Göhre, formerly a clergyman, who joined the Social Democratic Party some four or five years ago and who was elected to the Reichstag last June, resigned since the Dresden congress. "There was a Revisionist and nationalist party under the rebuke which," the compromising tendency revealed at Dresden. The party in his district—the fifteenth Saxon—chose Comrade Schiffpila, a tried and true veteran, as his candidate in his stead and easily elected him.

At the municipal elections in Berlin the Social Democrats won all their old seats and five more; the Liberals retained two; for another there is a second ballot between Liberal and Socialists, and for the remaining seat a contest between an anti-Semite and a Liberal. Comrades Singer, Stadthagen, and Antrick were among the elected.

At the municipal elections at Charlottenburg our comrades got six out of the eight seats to be filled up. This is a useful set-off to the Prussian Landtag elections, where our comrades, despite numerical superiority, are excluded by a class suffrage from all representation.

ANOTHER BIG CUT IN WAGES.

Thirty Thousand Pennsylvania Coke Workers Get 30 Per Cent Reduction.

CONNELLSVILLE, Pa., Dec. 15.—A reduction in wages averaging 17 per cent, and affecting 30,000 men in the Connellysville coke region was announced today. The H. C. Frick Coke Company takes the initiative in this, the first reduction since the great strike of the early nineties, and today posted notices at all their plants announcing the reductions.

The cut in wages was a smaller cut in the selling price of coke. This means that other coke plants in various parts of the country will have to reduce wages or shut down.

PITTSBURG, Dec. 11.—The special convention of the Sheet-Steel Workers of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, to consider the propositions of the manufacturers to remove the restrictive clause as to output of the mills, and that the men accept a reduction of wages, adjourned to-night after having practically accepted to the removal of the limit of output, and deciding to put the question of wage reduction to a referendum vote of the lodges.

The manufacturers say the wage reduction is as necessary as the removal of the limit of output by the union mills are to compete with the non-union.

UNION FINED.

First Case of Collective Penalty for Conspiracy.

Franklin Press Feeders' Union of Chicago Fined \$1,000 for Alleged Conspiracy to Commit Unlawful Acts in Strike and Boycott.

CHICAGO, Dec. 12.—A fine of \$1,000 for illegal acts was imposed upon Franklin Union No. 4, Press Feeders, by Judge Holdom today. The Court found the union as a corporation guilty of contempt of court for violating an injunction restraining it as an organization from interfering with the business or employees of ten printing firms, members of the Chicago Typothetae.

Judge Holdom's action creates a precedent, it being the first time in the history of trades unionism in this country that a court has fined a union as a corporation. With his decision Judge Holdom has handed down an opinion in which he severely condemns the acts of pickets and union members following the press feeders' strike.

"Such warfare cannot and will not be tolerated by the courts in a land of peace where people are governed by law," said Judge Holdom; "and the law would be lacking in one of its most necessary attributes if it was impotent to punish for such violation."

The case will be carried to a higher court. It was alleged that members of the union were guilty of acts of violence against scabs, and Judge Holdom dwelt upon these in his opinion, but the significance of the case as a conviction of a union for "conspiracy" is shown by the following passage from the judge's opinion: "Bearing in mind that the charge in the bill is that of conspiracy and that the acts enjoined were those used in furtherance of such conspiracy, it would seem from the evidential facts that the actions of the union at the meeting of Sept. 27, in the establishment of the strike headquarters, and the intimidation by Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms Kavanaugh and by Visiting Committee-man Hagberg, the payment of strike benefits at the strike headquarters by the union treasurer with the union money, and the fact that no discrimination was made against the members of the union known to be guilty of acts in themselves criminal, establish the union as a conspirator with its offending members, party and privy to the violations of the injunction of which some of its members stand convicted, and therefore guilty of violation of the injunction and amenable to discipline of such violation, providing it can be so disciplined under the law."

It may be noted that this union is one of the few incorporated under state laws. It was as an incorporated body that it was proceeded against in court.

FLEEING INVENTORS.

Federal Courts Sustain Contracts by Which Employers Claim Sole Right to Inventions Made by Their Employees.

The United States courts have, by a recent decision (Thibodeau vs. Hill-dreth, 124 Fed. Rep. 892) held that a contract between employer and employee by which the latter, as a condition of getting employment, agrees that the employer shall have the benefit and enjoyment of all those inventions and improvements relating to machines used in his business which the employee may make while there employed and agrees further, if he ceases to be employed there, to keep secret forever all inventions he may have made during the term of such employment, leaving them to the sole use and profit of that employer, is not an unconscionable agreement as against the employer nor contrary to public policy and that the employee is forever bound by it.

The practice which the Federal judiciary thus endorses is a very common one. In many large machine manufacturing, chemical and other sorts of works where inventions are likely to be made by the workmen, there is a clause in the regular employment contract by which the man who is fortunate enough to get a job transfers to the proprietor in advance all rights in any invention or discovery connected with the industry which he, the employee, may make. It is a well-known fact that men of inventive genius, like artists, are generally lacking in the selfish cunning that wins business success, that in their enthusiasm over their ideas they often deny themselves bodily comforts in order to study and develop those ideas, and that consequently such men are often in hard straits. A man of this type and in such circumstances is practically at the mercy of the few men who control the opportunities of employment in his particular trade.

So runs the dispatch. In other words, the nation is called upon to consent to a system under which the cheapest men will set the standard of wages and others will be leveled down to their scale.

MANY FAILURES LAST WEEK. Bradstreet's reports 241 failures in the United States during the week against 239 for the previous week, and 247, 233, 247, and 223 for the corresponding weeks of 1902 to 1900. About 81 per cent of the total number of concerns failing had capital of \$5,000 or less, and 10 per cent had from \$5,000 to \$20,000 capital.

Buy Union Label Goods.

THE HESSIANS OF COLORADO.

Mine Owners Pay State for Use of Troops.

Brutal General in Command is a Pot of Roosevelt's "Sun" Predicts that Federal Troops Will Be Sent—The Lynch-Law "Citizens."

In the eighteenth century some of the petty princes of Germany used to swell their revenues by hiring out regiments of their subjects to fight for England, for France, or whoever paid the best price.

The state of Colorado has beat the record of the Hessians. The Colorado militia is frankly hired out to wealthy citizens of that state, to help them in their conflict with the citizens who made them wealthy—to the mine-owning companies, to help them in their conflict with the striking miners.

That we may not be suspected of drawing upon our imagination for this astonishing statement, we quote the words of the New York "Sun," an unimpeachable capitalist authority. The following is from the "Sun" dispatch: "DENVER, Col., Dec. 12.—Gov. Peabody continues to reply to all persons who urge him to withdraw the military forces of the state of Colorado from the mining district that he will keep the soldiers actively employed there until peace and good order are established. Yet as the days go by conditions grow worse. It is an unequal contest which is waged, and the Governor seems without wise advisers and short of resources."

The state treasury was in no condition to meet the heavy drain caused by the active military operations. The state's credit has been at a low ebb for a number of years. Four years ago Gov. Thomas had to obtain the consent of the Denver clearing house to a loan without legal authority to keep the charitable and educational institutions open. By the tacit consent of the judiciary this loan was made good by the last Legislature by an appropriation to cover the clearing house certificates.

The new revenue measure passed two years ago brought promise of a better financial condition, but after the floating debt was met and the delayed needs of the state provided for last winter, the treasury was again depleted. Now, with the loss of revenues, due to many causes, the outlook for next year is exceedingly dark.

The military fund was very low at the outset of the present trouble, and there was some doubt of the ability of the state to defray the expenses of the military forces in active service. At this juncture THE WEALTHY MINE OWNERS AND CORPORATION MANAGERS, who for so many years had groaned under the tyranny of the Western Federation of Miners and his allies, labor organizations OFFERED TO ADVANCE TO GOV. PEABODY THE FUNDS NECESSARY TO WAGE THE CAMPAIGN against lawlessness committed at, if not personally directed, by the labor leaders.

"IT IS DUE TO THIS SUPPORT that there is a contest between the state militia and the strikers in Cripple Creek, in Telluride and, this week, in the coal camps in the vicinity of Trinidad. How long the Governor can keep his soldiers in the field depends upon the support given to him by the combination of mine owners and allied corporations."

The militia in the strike field is under the command of Adjutant-General Bell, of whom the "Sun" gives the following account: "Bell is a young man and first came to public notice when Roosevelt wrote about the Rough Riders who fought in the Cuban war."

"After the war, Bell went to Cripple Creek and obtained employment as a special watchman in front of the big mines. Later, when things became troublesome in the district, Bell was made a mine superintendent. He was holding a comfortable post at a good salary when, to the surprise of the public, Gov. Peabody appointed him Adjutant-General. It was at once asserted by the labor leaders that he was appointed for the sole purpose of doing the bidding of the mine operators, and that his salary would be continued by the Mine Operators' Association despite the fact that his salary as Adjutant-General, as provided by law, was much less."

"Bell was hardly put in office before he became so self-assertive and so arbitrary that the Governor was almost daily annoyed by the troubles that ensued. The new Adjutant-General was so full of fight when the militia went down to Colorado Springs last winter that in a few days Gov. Peabody had to call him back to Denver and assign other officers in the guard to the field command. No one could muzzle Bell, however, and his ill-considered utterances, when published in the local press, to the delight of the labor leaders."

"But Gov. Peabody has not yet suppressed his Adjutant-General, and the daily utterances of Bell make capital for the labor leaders. Neither has Bell hesitated to intimate that he has a 'pull' which even Gov. Peabody dares not oppose."

ON MR. MORGAN'S AUTHORITY.

J. Pierpont Morgan's name, with many others only a little less distinguished, appears at the foot of an appeal for charity in which attention is called to the special distress which is likely to obtain among the working class this winter.

Distress is no new thing. Not among the WORKING class. Winter always brings special distress. Of course. But this winter brings VERY special distress, as even Mr. Morgan knows. And why? Because Capitalism (perfectly beneficent, ordained by God for special benefit of God-fearing Christian gentlemen), is having one of its periodical breakdowns.

Morgan and his confederates own the means of production, the things that the propertyless toilers must have access to in order to work. They allow the toilers to work only on such terms as shall enable them, the owners, to live in luxury without work. The system which gives to a few more wealth than they can consume and to the many wages insufficient to buy more than the bare necessities of life, leads inevitably to a periodic glut of the market, a production of more goods than can be sold at a profit to the capitalists. The capitalists then discharge a part of the workers (forbid them to use the means of production they have made) and reduce the wages of the rest—in order to save their own profits from being reduced. Then they sit down in their warm homes, between a good dinner and an evening at the opera, and think about the sufferings of the poor and thank the Devil they are not as other men, hungry and cold, and write a touching appeal for charity.

The man who has "made" a million in the last year will write his check for a hundred or two to provide soup and barrack lodgings and pious tracts for the poor wretches from whose weary toil he "made" it. The man whose lawful loot runs into the tens of millions may even give a thousand or two. The newspapers will chronicle his "princely generosity." The pulpit will praise his Christian charity. ("But the Son of Man had not where to lay his head.") The police will keep impudent beggars from annoying him with the sight of their misery—let them go to the soup kitchens if they are hungry, or to the station house, or to the river, or to Hell. His conscience is free. He has given to charity—the title of the title of the title that he has lawfully taken from the toilers.

Times are hard. Mr. Morgan will not buy so many ten-thousand-dollar pictures (which he hasn't brains to appreciate) this year. Times are hard. Mr. Rockefeller will not build another palace this year. Perhaps he will not even give the usual bribe to his university professors. (Poor President Harper! Let us hope he will not turn pessimist.) Times are hard. Mr. Carnegie will not endow so many libraries this year. (A pity, too—for so many people have too much leisure now, and might like to sit in a warm library and read.) Times are hard. Eminent gentlemen, who had counted confidently on another full dividend from the Steel Trust, fear it will be cut. (Can't buy dukes for their poor daughters if Steel dividend goes down. Weep for the daughters—and the dukes.)

Times are hard. You carpenter, locked out three months last summer and now laid off, what say you? Wife won't get that new hat she ought to have had a year ago. You steel worker, cut ten per cent, what say you? Mortgage falling due; life insurance must be met; forty years old, used up and down and out pretty soon; big chance of accident, too; have to economize on children's Christmas. You textile mill "hands" (not supposed to have hearts or brains), lucky if you get seven a week when you work; cut ten per cent now, and likely to be laid off pretty soon (laid on the shelf, like a lifeless tool—or thrown in the scrap-heap, like a worn-out tool), what say you? Landlord wants his rent; didn't lay a brick or drive a nail in building the house, but WANTS HIS RENT. (Do you hear?) Cold weather, this, to be expected. Also, grocer and butcher want cash; sorry, but meat Trust and Grocery Trust will eat HIM if he hasn't cash. (Grocer and butcher are Republicans, believe in legitimate business enterprise and Teddy and the Canal.) You weave cloth. Of course, you have warm clothes, at least. No? Children shivering? ("The poor ye have always with you." Wonderful are the dispensations of Providence—and Morgan.)

Well, what are you going to DO about it? Shiver? And beg? And truckle to your boss? (You truckled to him before, and this is what you get.) And kow-tow to Mr. Hanna, the Brazen Image of Prosperity? QUIT IT.

Quit begging and truckling. The beggar gets the kicks that he invites. Quit bowing and salaaming. The man that prostrates himself before another gets trampled on, of course. Stand up straight like men that you were born to be. Tell Mr. Morgan you want more than free soup. Tell the Masters of Iron that the title of the title of the title of what they have lawfully seized from you, given back in insolent charity, doesn't at all fill the bill. Tell them (and mean it) that you propose to change the law, to throw the Sacred Rights of Property into the ash-barrel along with the Divine Right of Kings.

Tell them, in language so plain and strong that they shall hear and believe (the devils believed and trembled, you remember), that— "You propose to vote, next chance you get, that the people who do the work shall OWN THE THINGS THEY WORK WITH and get the FULL value of the things they make—which is Socialism."

Tell them that through the press, through your unions, through public meetings, through processions and demonstrations—any way, so you tell them loud enough. Tell them that and make them believe it (and it must be true), and they'll melt their plate and sell the jewels from their wives' necks to satisfy you, lest you carry out the threat, THEN CARRY IT OUT.

Peabody "All not change in his policy to keep the state on a war basis until lawlessness shall cease, openly assert that the strike troubles will not end until the Western Federation of Miners is destroyed and UNILIONISM IN ALL FORMS IS DRIVEN FROM THE STATE."

"There is yet another feature in the unfortunate situation in this state, and that is the so-called 'Citizens' Alliance,' a secret organization of leading business men in a number of cities and towns which is pledged to fight, by union methods, the unions themselves. This developed into the methods of a vigilance committee in the Idaho Springs case, last July, when members of the Miners' Union there were driven out of the camp and warned not to come back."

It will be remembered that the capitalist press, especially the representative New York "Times," openly approved this lawless conduct of the self-styled "Citizens."

STRIKERS JAILED AS "VAGRANTS."

One of the Tricks Used by the Capitalist Authorities in Colorado.

National Committeeman Flooten of Colorado writes to the National Secretary of the Socialist Party from Telluride, in the miners' strike region, under date Dec. 8: "We are having a hot time here. Twelve men are in jail bound over to court on a pretended charge of conspiracy, and without a particle of proof. The other morning the soldiers went around and picked up over thirty workmen and took them before the Police Magistrate, who found most of them guilty of vagrancy. He gave them two days to leave town or go to work, although not one had asked anyone for anything. They refused to leave or go to work until the strike was off, and now they are working the streets under a military guard."

Finally, the "Sun" says: "Unless there shall soon come a truce, or an expressed willingness of the opposing leaders, the mine operators and corporation managers on the one side, and the officials of the Western Federation of Miners and the coal mine leaders on the other, there will be nothing left but FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO STEP IN AND CONTROL THE SITUATION."

Cleveland sent United States troops to break the A. R. U. strike in 1904. Will Roosevelt send them against the A. F. of M. now?

ALMOST.

"Why, they're been selling the post office all sorts of things at all sorts of prices."

"Yep. It's a wonder somebody didn't sell a lot of two-cent stamps at three cents apiece."—Puck.

THE GROWTH OF PATRIOTISM.

The Professor of History:—"In the great rebellion, how many soldiers fought on the Union side?" The Pupil:—"About 15,000,000." "Great Scott, man! You must have got your information from the pension lists!"—Life.

BUILDING UP A FORTUNE.

Young man, do not be afraid to burn five midnight oil. If you do you will pile up a great fortune. John D. Rockefeller receives his fourth quarterly dividend of \$4,800,000 Dec. 15. Never mind whose fortune.—The St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

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











THE BELGIAN CITY ELECTIONS.

American Press Reports of Socialist Defeats Highly Misleading—Local Reverses More than Balanced by General Gains.

Several capitalist newspapers in the United States have given prominence to accounts of alleged reverses of the Socialists in the Belgian municipal elections, held on Oct. 18. The readers have been given to understand that these reverses have been general and crushing, and that they were due to the gross incompetence of the Socialists who were in office. It is not to be denied that we have lost some important seats; nor need it be denied that some of the Socialist officials may have proven incompetent, though this is not very clearly proven. But it is necessary to insist that the general result of the elections was a decided victory for the Socialists.

One of these causes was the unprecedentedly vigorous campaign against Socialism waged by the capitalist class, especially in the coal mines and the factories, in which the larger part of the Belgian people are employed. In many places, during the week before election, the offices of the industrial companies were practically deserted, the superintendents, foremen, clerks, and other confidential employees being kept out of electioneering for the bourgeois candidates. Socialists were openly threatened with discharge and in many cases the threat was carried out.

The motive for this extraordinary campaign is not far to seek. Socialist administrations had found it necessary to increase the municipal revenues in order to carry out their many projects for the improvement of the conditions of the workers. They had raised the needed funds by levying heavier taxes on the corporation property, which had heretofore got off very lightly.

Another cause for such losses as we sustained is to be found in the resistance qualification for voting. It is necessary for a man to give three or sometimes even four years in the same city in order to vote in the city election. There, as here, workingmen have to move oftener than do business and professional men, in search of employment or to escape the raising of rents. For some years there has been a steady advance of rents in the large cities, especially in Brussels, and a corresponding exodus of the workers into the faubourgs, or suburban towns, outside the city limits. This movement has been hastened by three causes: The enforced destruction of many of the poorest city tenements to make way for new streets, parks, etc.; the steady extension of trolley lines into the surrounding districts; and the action of the workingmen's co-operative societies, which have helped many of the city idlers to get homes for themselves outside but near to the cities. Several thousand workingmen have moved from Brussels into the neighboring faubourgs during the last three or four years and have thus lost their votes.

In spite of all this, the Socialists held their former strength, both in the popular vote and in the number of councillors elected in the city of Brussels, while gaining several hundred votes in the faubourgs. It is to be remembered also that under the Belgian law, while practically every man has a vote (provided he has lived long enough in the town), the proletariat and professional classes have plural votes; the holders of diplomas—including the holders of doctorate, clergyman, and many teachers—have each an extra vote, and the possession of certain property entitles the owner to one or two extra votes, so that men of the "upper classes" have generally from two to four votes each. Moreover, in each city council, in addition to the members elected in the ordinary way, there are a number of "supplementary councillors," half of them elected by the employers and the other half by the wage-workers.

In Scherbeck and some other towns our comrades, in their fear of a Clerical Conservative victory, made an alliance with the Liberals; they learned their mistake when they saw that the Liberal candidates of the coalition went in and the Socialist candidates were defeated.

In some twenty communes, mostly in the mining district, where we had gained a majority in the last election (1899), we have lost our seats, and kept only a minority in the councils. The charges of general incompetence seem to be based on two instances—those of Quaregnon and Heristal; at least those are the only ones that are definitely cited. In the former place it is said that the Socialist administration left the city treasury bankrupt. In Heristal it is alleged that eight of the nine Socialist councillors "did not possess the rudiments of education." Considering that councillors must be over thirty years of age and that popular education in Belgium is a thing of the last few years, wrested from the ruling class by the aggressive action of the Socialists, it is not surprising if many of the Socialist councillors so far elected, being poor workmen, are lacking in education; nor is it necessarily discreditable to our party, especially since it is not denied that the Socialist councillors, however ill educated themselves, have used all their power to extend and improve the school system.

If we have lost the majority in some twenty councils, these are but one-fifth of the hundred that we carried in 1899, and the loss is partly balanced by our conquest of several communes in the agricultural and heretofore overwhelmingly Clerical province of Luxembourg. In still more places we have elected one or more councillors where we were before altogether unrepresented. Four years ago we elected about 800 councillors in less than 200 municipalities. This year we have won about 1,200 seats in over 350 municipal councils.

Current Literature

STATE EXPERIMENTS IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND. By William Pember Reeves. Two vols., 391 and 397 pp.; maps and index. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1903. Price, \$7.50.

It is to be regretted that the price of this volume renders them comparatively inaccessible to most readers. For Mr. Reeves has given us the clearest, fullest, fairest, and most readable account of what is one of the most interesting subjects in recent politico-economic history. His book, we feel, requires notice somewhat beyond the ordinary limit of reviews in this paper.

The development of the Australasian colonies cannot be too interesting, in account of certain peculiar conditions—their geographical aptness, their characteristics of soil and climate, the almost exclusively British origin of their population, and, especially, the recency of their settlement. If the word "experiment" can ever be justly applied to new political or social institutions, it is applicable to these faraway lands, full of vast natural opportunities and even more remarkable natural difficulties, in which an "Anglo-Saxon" population has established itself, not by the slow process which prevailed in North America, but rapidly and with little opposition from aborigines, carrying with it into that new environment the arts and habits and thoughts of a highly developed capitalist state. If their contemporary history cannot be too interesting and suggestive to us, on the other hand the greatest caution should be exercised in inferring from Australasian experience conclusions to be applied to the solution of American or European problems. The differences between Australasia and America are far greater than those between America and Europe. Political methods and institutions which work well in the one region might be very ill adapted to the others. We have still to see whether the measures adopted in Australia and New Zealand will succeed in permanently and materially modifying the development of the capitalist system there away from the line of its normal development in other countries; and if they do, the question still remains whether similar methods and measures would have similar effects, or rather, the presumption remains that they would not, and the question, how far and in what way they would differ.

Mr. Reeves devotes his first fifty-eight pages to a vivid description of "A Continent and Some Islands," the field of the state experiments, and the forty-four following to a brief characterization of the methods and spirit of the Progressive movement—a movement thoroughly English for thoroughly English methods and aims, and thoroughly American in its spirit, expediency as its chief ideal and uncompromisingly adhering to the rule of compromise. The rest of the work is given to an account of the several "experiments" of the past quarter-century. Space compels us to pass over the chapters on Australian federation, women's suffrage, preferential voting, liquor laws, and immigration laws, and devote our attention to the economic "experiments" which have attracted so much attention to the Antipodes and which fall mostly under the heading of the land laws, the old-age pensions, and the labor laws.

The seven colonies have an area of over 3,000,000 square miles and a population of less than 5,000,000. Considering only that third of the area which is not difficult to settlement, the population is less than five to the square mile, hardly one-fifth as dense as that of the United States to-day, barely denser than that of the United States in 1789. Yet the land question is an old one, a source of strife almost from the earliest days of the colonies' growth. This seeming anomaly is accounted for by the fact that the raising of sheep and cattle was, owing to climatic conditions, the first great industry to arise, together with the fact that before Australian history had got well under way—say by 1851, when gold was discovered and rapid immigration began—the power of capitalism was developed to the point where it was alert to foresee and able to forestall future sources of profit in land. Vast tracts of Australasian land were granted, freely or for nominal considerations, to whoever had influence with the governments, and equally vast tracts were usurped by "squatters" who, with the growth of the country, became giant pastoral landlords. The land so acquired was generally, of course, that of the best quality, and the gradually expanding agriculture of the country soon found itself hemmed in and oppressed, while the immigrants who had more strength and energy than money, and little or no opportunity to establish themselves as independent proprietors.

The agrarian legislation, which has been called forth by this overwhelming land monopoly is not a consistent system, but a mass of various and often contradictory makeshifts. The details of the many regulations for the sale of government lands, limiting the amount to be taken by each purchaser and requiring some minimum of residence and improvement (regulations similar, in a general way, to those adopted in the United States—and evaded as persistently), need not concern us here. Of the methods adopted in dealing with the land question, however, some call for special mention—the perpetual lease.

Land taxes are levied in all the colonies except Queensland and Western Australia, but those of New South Wales and Tasmania are merely revenue measures, while in the other three colonies they have also the avowed purpose of breaking up the large estates. The Victorian law (1877) and that of South Australia (1884) are half-hearted measures, however, and have failed even to check the growth of land monopoly. The New Zealand law of 1893 is more drastic and a little more effective. Personal property and improvements are exempt; so are ground values up to \$500; above this, the tax is a penny

in the pound, or about two-fifths of one per cent; in addition, there is a graduated tax on all estates worth more than \$5,000, ranging from one-eighth of a penny up to two pence in the pound on estates worth over \$250,000. Thus the richest landholders pay a total of about one and one-fifth per cent on the unimproved value of their land. Absentees pay 20 per cent more than do residents. So far, the reduction in the number and acreage of very large estates is slight, though noticeable. There is also a graduated income tax.

Land repurchase laws have been adopted in all the colonies except Tasmania, beginning with New Zealand in 1892 and South Wales coming last in 1901. The New Zealand law authorizes the Ministry of Lands to borrow up to \$500,000 a year, at an interest rate not above 4 per cent, and spend it in repurchasing private lands; land may be bought by friendly arrangement or by compulsory process—compulsory only in the case of large tracts. Lands purchased by the government are sold in lots not more than 640 acres of first-class land or 2,000 of inferior land and leased in perpetuity, preference being given to landless applicants, at an unchangeable yearly rental of 5 per cent on an initial valuation, which must be high enough to cover the interest paid on the money borrowed for the purchase and other expenses. These leaseholds may be transferred or mortgaged, like other estates. Under this law, in the five years ending in March 1902, one hundred and seven estates, aggregating 448,349 acres, had been bought, at a cost of \$2,250,000; of this, 387,000 acres had been let to 2,633 tenants and the revenue was more than covering the cost to the government. The Australian repurchase laws are conservative compared with those of New Zealand. In none of the Australian states has the government the power of compulsory purchase; in Queensland, Western Australia, and Victoria the repurchased lands are sold in small allotments, under certain restrictions as to residence and improvement; in South Australia they are leased in perpetuity, as in New Zealand; in New South Wales they are leased for nine-year terms, with a revision of the rental every twenty years.

As we have said, there is little consistency in this whole body of agrarian legislation. Colonies that are yearly borrowing money for the repurchase of large estates to be divided up and resold or leased are simultaneously selling large tracts of public lands in fee simple, without any effectively limiting the amount to be held by one owner. The only consistent purpose through it all has been to encourage subdivision and occupation, and this has been effected only to a small extent. So far as the land legislation is concerned, it is ridiculous to point to the Antipodes for examples of "practical Socialism." On the contrary, it is distinctly remedial legislation, intended to modify the tendencies of capitalist development by maintaining or bringing into existence a middle class of independent individual producers and small capitalists. The one partial exception is the New South Wales law, which, we may note, is among the latest of the "experiments" and is limited in its scope.

Remembering the smallness of the population of Australasia, we should expect the chapter on the labor question there to read like the famous chapter on the snakes of Ireland. So it is in this from being the case that almost the entire volume is given to an account of the factory laws, minimum-wages and arbitration laws, and other labor legislation, with the connected subject of old-age pensions.

False as is the inference the Single Taxers draw from the fact, it is a fact that monopoly of land generally precedes and gives birth to monopoly of other means of production and the capitalist antagonisms arising therefrom, and this has clearly been the case in Australia. A fourth of the people of New Zealand live in four cities, nearly half the Victorians in three cities, a third of the people of New South Wales in one city, over a third of the South Australians in one, nearly a fourth of the Queenslanders in one; the swainship was quite in vogue already fifteen years ago; the army of the unemployed has for many years been a chronic feature of Australasian society, and an alarming one in the periodic crises which come there as in the other countries; and there have been many strikes and lockouts as bitter and proportionally even more extensive than any the United States has seen.

The labor parties of the colonies (under various names) though tinged with Socialist ideas, have not, until within very recent years (and now only on a small scale), approached the definiteness of aim, the closeness of organization, or the intransigent policy of the working-class parties of the Continent, the United States, or even of Great Britain. "One step toward a more generally held motto and bargaining with other elements their method. Despite the rhapsodies of the late Mr. Lloyd, it may be seriously doubted whether, in the remarkable body of social and labor legislation in carrying which they have had a part, they have gained enough of good to make the game worth the candle and still more seriously doubted whether the good they have got is not closely combined with those that they will have to struggle to lose in the future. The author is an avowed, though a very modest, champion of the legislation in question, having had a considerable hand in its making; but putting his account together with the most recent news, our doubts are rather strengthened than allayed.

The Old Age Pensions Law of New Zealand (1898) commands warm, if not unqualified, admiration as a measure for mitigating one of the most heinous evil effects of capitalism. Every needy person over sixty-five years old who has been living in the colony for twenty-five years (excepting aliens, Asiatics, criminals, and persons of notoriously drunken or immoral habits) is entitled to a state pension. Persons whose other income is not over £4 (about \$170) a year receive a pension of £18; for each pound of

other income over £24, a pound is subtracted from the pension. The rules in regard to examination of claims seem to be free from red-tape and humiliating conditions as is consistent with the practical administration of any relief measures of the sort. During the first three years of the law, 14,413 pensions were granted; 2,008 ceased, four-fifths of them through death, and the end of that time, of the 840,000 people in New Zealand, 91,353 of whom were over sixty-five years old, 12,406 were receiving pensions, over 10,000 the full £24 a year. That, even in a new country like New Zealand, two-fifths of the people should, on reaching the age of sixty-five, be in such poverty as to come within the provisions of this law is a terrible enough answer to the thrift-and-industry cant commonly preached to the working class. It cannot be doubted that in the United States the proportion is still greater. Within two years, New South Wales adopted a law modeled on that of New Zealand, but a little more liberal in some of its provisions. About the same time, Victoria adopted a similar plan.

We may now turn to the Australasian labor laws, strictly so-called—to us far the most interesting of all the "state experiments." The laws regulating sanitary conditions and guarding machinery and restricting the working hours of women and children are not very different in principle from those of our various states; nor, with some exceptions, are they more stringent than the best of ours. The same may be said of the provisions for early closing of shops, the employers' liability laws. In some of the colonies, at the state employment offices, the laws had been to prevent withholding of wages or payment in "truck" by contractors, and the limitation of working hours in the mines are a little better than anything in force in the United States, though not ahead of some laws enacted in some of our states and declared unconstitutional by the courts—a trick the Australasian courts do not seem to indulge in. The colonies have done more to provide work for the unemployed than has been done in the United States, but the unemployment problem still exists, even in prosperous times. But all these are minor matters compared with the Wage Board system of Victoria (1896) and South Australia (1900) and the Compulsory Arbitration system of New Zealand (1894), New South Wales (1901), and Western Australia (1902).

The enactment of the Victorian law followed upon an investigation of the sweating system, which had shown the employer of a large number of frightfully overworked and underpaid workmen. It provided that for six specified trades—and for such other trades or industrial processes (with a few specified exceptions) as the executive with the consent of one legislative branch, might see fit subsequently to bring under the operations of the law—there should be set up permanent trade boards, each consisting of from two to five representatives elected for a term of two years by the employers of that trade and an equal number similarly elected by the employees, with a chairman agreed upon by them; if either side refuses or fails to elect representatives or if the representatives fail to agree on a chairman, the Governor appoints. The board has power to fix minimum time wages (defining the standard work day and the rate for overtime) and piece rates and to fix the maximum proportion of apprentices to be allowed. Up to the time of Mr. Reeves' writing (September, 1902), some thirty-eight boards had been established for as many trades. The law does not forbid employers to strike for more than the wages specified in the determination of their Wage Board; it does forbid the employer to pay less, even by the consent of his employees. All the employers and employees of a regulated shop may participate in the election of their respective representatives, regardless whether or not they are organized. The government does not have to wait for an application from one side or the other nor even for a dispute, but may act on its own initiative in bringing any trade under the law. The South Australian law is a close copy of the Victorian.

The New Zealand law, the occasion for which was a series of violent strikes and lockouts, differs considerably in its method and is more extended in scope, but is not dissimilar in its general effect. The colony is divided into districts in each of which a Board of Conciliation may, on petition, be set up, composed of equal numbers of representatives of employers and employees, elected by the members of registered (virtually incorporated) associations or unions and trade unions in the district, with an impartial chairman. Any party to an industrial dispute may appeal to the Board; which has power similar to that of a law court in summoning witnesses. The award of the Board of Conciliation has the force of law, but either party may within a month appeal from it to the Court of Arbitration of the colony. This body consists of a Judge of the Supreme Court designated by the Governor and two representatives elected by the employers' associations and the workers' unions, respectively, all for a term of three years. This Court's award has the force of law for the district whence the case comes or for the whole colony, and there is no appeal. For violation of such an award the aggrieved party can recover damages from the employer or the trade union at fault, in no case of over \$500. Non-union workers are individually responsible to the extent of £10. In practice, the award is binding on all employers of the trade and district affected, whether organized or not, and on all trade unions, whether registered or not. Awards may deal with wages, hours of labor, proportion of apprentices, holidays, the right of employers to refuse to employ unionists or of the latter to refuse to work with non-unionists, or any subject, not covered by statute law, on which an industrial

dispute may arise, as well as enforcement of union regulations, payment of dues. In many cases the Court has ruled that unionists must be given preference in employment, if equally competent. When an award has been made, for an employer to institute a lockout or for a union to strike against it is a violation for which damages may be recovered. An employer is, of course, free to shut his works wholly or in part. An employer may pay higher wages or grant shorter hours, etc., than those awarded, but the workmen may not conceivably demand a strike for them; he may not lower wages or require longer hours than are awarded, even though his employees individually consent thereto. After three years, either party may apply for revision; otherwise, it remains in force. New South Wales and Western Australia have followed the New Zealand law pretty closely.

As to the workings of the scheme, it seems that in the majority of cases the law has been invoked by the employees and that the majority of the decisions have been in their favor, and that it has pretty effectually prevented strikes and lockouts. It must be remembered, however, that the experiment was begun at the end of a period of depression and the beginning of a period of prosperity which seems only now to be nearing its close. During this period, wages would certainly have risen and conditions of labor improved without Wage Boards or Courts of Arbitration, though it must be admitted that strikes and lockouts would have been involved. It remains to be seen whether, in the hard times now approaching, the Wage Boards and Courts of Arbitration will do much to prevent the reduction of wages; and that they can at all prevent the shutting down of works or the laying off of a portion of the workers is not claimed.

The compulsory arbitration or legal minimum wage system is not "Socialist" in name or doctrine, nor any kind of Socialism whatever. It is an absolute recognition of capitalism and an attempt to render it tolerable (and therefore, implicitly, to perpetuate it) by regulating it. It may be a step toward Socialism—but only in the sense that a victorious Socialist party might use it for a purpose contrary to its present function—or it may not. In exactly the same sense, the power of condemning property now used principally to enable railway companies to acquire rights of way, might conceivably be turned into a method of confiscation for Socialist purposes; or the vagrancy laws, the conspiracy laws, and the power of injunction might prove very useful to a working-class administration in carrying out Socialist projects.

The advocates of the scheme frankly abandon the free-contract theory which logically and historically belongs to capitalism, and they recognize the disruptive tendencies of capitalism, which, growing up by means of free contract, has ended by rendering free contract impossible. The Socialist agrees with them in repudiating the contract theory. But they hark back to a theory of status, belonging to earlier class societies, to find a means of checking these disruptive tendencies. The Socialist, on the other hand, holds that the disruptive forces generated in the mature development of any economic system are potentially the reconstructive forces that are to build up the succeeding system.

The closest historic parallel that occurs to us—and it is a close one—is that of the French situation in 1789. It was hoped, even by many of the bitterest critics of the existing conditions and most strenuous clamorers for change, that the States-General, representing the privileged and the oppressed classes, would be able, by effecting certain compromises, to establish a workable modus vivendi between the classes and perpetuate the old system. It is easy to say that, if the workers and the clergy had not been quite so stubborn, this hope would have been realized. But it was psychologically impossible for them to be otherwise; and, what is more, it was economically impossible for them to yield anything worth while without being thereby compelled to yield more and yet more. Had they been less stubborn, the Revolution would have been less sudden and perhaps quite bloodless, but it would not have been prevented.

So we may say that, if the capitalists are wise enough to make timely and liberal concessions, it will, while not preventing the social revolution, much relieve its asperity—provided those concessions be of such a character as will not only improve the material condition of the working class, but simultaneously increase its capacity for collective thought and for purposeful united action. And this is the greatest positive objection that the Socialist will raise against the plan of compulsory arbitration, that it tends to narrow the views and diminish the collective assertiveness and self-reliance of the working class.

"New Zealandism" is no longer the disturbing fact it was in the American Socialist movement two or three years ago. But it is not unlikely that similar plans will gain some of the front rank in this country and that the Socialist Party will have to be prepared to criticize them intelligently. Mr. Reeves' book will be of the greatest use in such preparation.

It is reported that Italy, following the example of France, is about to enter into an important treaty with Great Britain, whereby the two countries shall be at liberty not to go to war with one another should they both be unwilling—Punch.

"If I had my way," said the man of high principles, "there would be no money in politics."  
"But," said Senator Sorghum, "if you didn't put any money in politics, it isn't likely you could have your way."  
—Exchange.

The duty of the Socialist is to make Socialists of other people. One of the best ways to do that is to distribute party papers. Try an occasional bundle of *The Worker*. One hundred copies for 75 cents.

GRAPES OF WRATH.

By Horace Traubel.

You are on top, dear masters. You are having a good time. You eat, drink, clothe, travel, swagger, and, of course, die. I say: Have all the fun you can now. The time is soon coming when no man will be able to steal his fun. When every man will have to pay value received for fun. Your extra will all be cut off. You will no longer live on bounties, margins, or piracies. You are planting for the harvest. But the harvest will not be the harvest you expect. I am not a prophet of evil. I am a cryer of good. Of universal and eternal good. I do not backbite your surplus. I sympathize with the other fellow's shortage. But for his shortage your surplus would be secure. But for your surplus his shortage would not exist. The law of the one is the law of the other. The repeal of the law will wipe out the flood and the drought. There will be plenty of fun left. It will not be the sort of fun you experience over the prostrate body of labor. Eat yourself fat now while you can. Drink yourself drunk now while you may. Clothe yourself in the livery of the autocrat now while your rags continue. Palace yourself in arrogant luxury now while the bill remains unrepaid. You have had the most of your allowance. The rest of your time is short. The current processes very strong on your way. You think the tide is fixed for you with a turn. Wait till it sweeps back. Then see whose victory is paid most for. See whose victory is most worth having. You are so strongly entrenched you cannot concede any doubt of your ability to stand the siege. And I admit that no casual assault could endanger your estate. But your enemy is no casual enemy. It is history. It is national law. It is the irresistible impetus of the awakened human spirit. Have you supposed things could keep on their course, the tree to be conserved in the foliage instead of at the root? Can the cornice make faces at the foundation? Suppose the foundation gets a notion to get out from under? What will your cornice do? You have planted seeds of disintegration. Rebellion has not made itself. Rebellion is your own offspring. It is your most direct descendant. Every dollar of bank deposit income in your hand or mine is so much powder constituting the ominous collateral of your own doom. You do not bed with reaction and get up in the morning with revolution. I do not try you by my tests. I try you by your own tests. I quote your own law against you. By your own laws you will be destroyed. I see that your time is near at hand. A few more victories. A few more years of feasts and fetters. You are blind. Appetite is always blind. So is greed. So is a good clothes. So is a trip to Europe. So is your sidewalk. I do not see how I can give you sight. You insist on keeping your eyes shut. I will warn you in a loud voice. I can only strike an alarm for you to hear. I can only make you uncomfortable with my reiterated prophecies. And you can learn to hate me. You can send your sheriff to levy on my property. You can send the law with its gag. You can lose your bounds on my track. But I am never so choked with warning as in the chase. And the more you run me down the more you gain the chase, becomes for you. And you take me home in your bag. You exhibit me to the ravished consciousness of your caste. And then I am more than ever dangerous to you. I follow you now to your dinner, to your parlor, to your office, and sound the calm note of my quarrel. You cannot go to worship in your church without hearing me dissonantly in the prayer of the priest and the hymn of the choir. I am the resurrection and the life. You try to kill me. To stop my voice. To huddle my will. But it is not me you can kill. It is you who are dead already. You talk about the earth a corpse left over from a funeral. You are busily at work calling the roll of the dead. What will you be prepared to do on the day of judgment? I am a sinner of alarm. I come to gather the harvest you planted. You planted in all the innocence of guilt. You planted interests expecting interests eternally to grow. You planted your own private glades in return. You planted your children against the children of the world. And you expected the social compact to make itself whole in the result. But I tell you one part of this world can be successfully planted against any other part of this world. That no harvest can be successfully the harvest of one man or a few men. That no man can successfully plan except for the total good. Any other motive will poison the vineyard. And the crop of the sower who sows greed is the crop of anger and desolation. And he who gathers against the need of all will find their palms scorched with the sin of the aggressor. That is why I say your food does not feed you. That your clothes do not clothe you. That your houses do not house you. That while any man anywhere is without food or clothing or shelter your spirit starves and is naked and is abandoned. And that anything you do only in your own name is a charge made against the assets of all the rest. And that the feeblest voice you raise for all goes straight to the throne.

—A clairvoyant was fined \$100 yesterday for telling fortunes. Yet President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay are still at large, notwithstanding the display of second sight that led them to have a naval force all ready for a Panama revolution before it happened.—New York World.

—Socialist and Social Democratic are virtually interchangeable terms. The Social Democratic Party of New York and Wisconsin is identical with the Socialist Party of other states. It is the party of the working class against all parties of capitalism. Its emblem in New York is the Arm and Torch.

—We are glad to send sample copies of *The Worker* gratis to all who request them. If you know some persons who ought to be acquainted with the paper, send in their names and addresses for sample copies.

—The text of the New Zealand law in its present amended form is given in the Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor for Nov. 1903, together with an extended report on "Labor Conditions in New Zealand" by Victor S. Clark.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

All Comrades and Organizations are hereby informed that an Industrial Labor Exposition and Food Show For the benefit of the Labor Press, "THE WORKER" and the "NEW YORKER VOLKSZEITUNG," is being arranged, and will take place April 23 to May 6, 1904, at the GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, Forty-third and Forty-fourth Streets, New York. Organizations are requested to consider arranging Festivals Accordingly. THE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE.

FACSIMILE OF TICKET! GRAND LABOR Industrial Exposition and Food Show APRIL 23 to MAY 6, 1904. Grand Central Palace, Lexington Ave. 43d & 44th Sts. New York. Admission 10 CTS. No. 96449. Concert and Other Entertainment For the Benefit of the Labor Press. Retain This Ticket.

THE CLASS WAR IN AUSTRALIA.

Employers' Federations Raise Funds to Fight Socialism in Federal Elections.

Australian capitalist papers describe a formidable movement by federated employers' associations of the Commonwealth to oppose Socialism in the Federal elections, which take place this month. The movement began with the Pastoralists' Union of Queensland, "the Pastoralist," which may be explained, is the name given in Australia to the owners of the great cattle and sheep ranches. At a meeting held at Brisbane in August the plan of uniting all capitalist interests in a campaign against Socialism was commenced and £2,000 subscribed for the purpose. The fund was to be increased to £10,000 in Queensland alone. The Employers' Federation of New South Wales, the next state south of Queensland, immediately took up the plan and undertook to raise a fund of from £10,000 to £15,000. The Employers' Federation of Victoria, it was stated, would raise £20,000.

The Sydney (N. S. W.) "Daily Telegraph" says of the movement: "There is no secret about its objects. They are definite and downright. They are aggressive. The main point is the building up of a strong fund for fighting purposes—in short, for fighting the Socialist Labor Party at the polls when the Federal elections come on. The Employers' Federation of each state proposes to raise a large sum of money for the specific purpose of assisting present political organizations to band together in opposition to the Socialist Labor Party." The details of the fighting platform have not yet been completed, but, roughly speaking, it is intended to assist candidates for the Federal Parliament who subscribe to the platform of this organization to secure election. Mr. R. S. Walpole, Secretary to the Employers' Federation of Victoria says: "The object of the defense fund is to assist present political organizations in banding together in opposition to the Socialist Labor Party."

It is intimated that an attack will be made on the arbitration laws already in force in several states and on "state interference with private enterprise in any shape or form." Whatever the immediate result of this move, no doubt its ultimate effect will be to strengthen the definitely class-conscious and independent Socialist movement, which has been growing for some years, in spite of the concessions made in the way of arbitration laws, but which is still comparatively small.

PARTY MEMBERSHIP.

The following table shows the average membership of the Socialist Party in each of the 35 states now organized, for 1902, for the eleven months so far elapsed of the present year, and for the three months ending Nov. 30, 1903. The figures are derived from the National Secretary's reports of dues paid, by dividing the amount of dues which each organization has paid in each period by the amount of one member's dues for such period—60 cents for a full year, 25 cents for three months, or 15 cents for the last three of these months. The table does not include the membership of locals in some fourteen unorganized states and territories.

Table with columns: States, 1902, 1903, 3 mo. Last. Rows include Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin, Florida and Idaho have paid no dues.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

ROOKLYN ORGANIZATIONS, Attention!

For the convenience of the members of the Brooklyn organizations affiliated with the Labor Secretariat, a branch office has been opened on Monday, Dec. 14, in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 349 Wallingbury Avenue. Office hours are from 2 to 6 p. m. work days. All Brooklyn cases can from now on be submitted to above branch. The Labor Secretariat. H. E. KINTLEN, Ass't Secretary.

Monster Discussion Meeting.

held by the 30th Assembly District, S. D. P., this SUNDAY, DEC. 20, at 2 o'clock p. m., in the Clubhouse, 203 E. 86th St. Speaker: J. MANLON BARNES of Philadelphia. Subject: The Recent Revolution of the U. S. of A. and the Socialist. FREE DISCUSSION.

FIRST GRAND Entertainment and Dance.

given by the Social Democratic Party, BRANCH 2, VAN NEST, ANNEXED DIST. AT BACHMANN'S CASINO, Unionport Road, Van Nest, Saturday Evening, Dec. 19, 1903. Commencing at 8 o'clock. TICKETS, including Hatcheck, 15c. each.



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being Chapter XLIII of this book, has been printed as a pamphlet, together with opinions of the press and the chapter headings of the book. It will make a splendid propaganda pamphlet. Price, single copy, 5 cents; twelve copies for 40 cents, and such lower in larger lots. Agents for this work wanted everywhere. Write for terms. Address all orders to Blankenfeld & Burrows, 1232-45th Street, Borough of Brooklyn, N. Y.

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since August; North Dakota has paid none since July.

It is not pretended, of course, that the figures given are more than approximately correct, since in some cases a state organization may in one month by dues-stamps enough to last for several months and in other cases the state secretary may neglect his duties for some time and members willing to pay dues may consequently have to wait some time for their stamps. The shorter the period of time, the more weight would these accidental considerations have, since a state in which there is a real working organization would not allow the paying of dues to be neglected for many months and, on the other hand, no state is likely to buy stamps for more than two or three months in advance, at the most. The figures in the first two columns may be taken as pretty accurately showing the average membership for the year 1902 and for the first eleven months of 1903, respectively.

STILL INNOCENT.

"Senator, what was the nearest you ever came to being bribed?" asked the girl who always blurs everything right out. "It was the time I voted for the postal box bill and received 7,000 shares of stock in the concern that was to make the boxes when the bill gave it a monopoly on the business." "It should thank that was a clear case against you." "No. The measure didn't go through and the stock never amounted to anything."—Chicago Record-Herald.