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The Worker.

A FEW OBJECT LESSONS.

There is a veritable state of war at | enormously increased. The work and Waterbury, Connecticut.

The street railway employees, patient and long-suffering, grew weary at last and determined to resist a system of espionage, browbeating, and insult, aggravating their permanent conditions of excessive work and miserable

They have struck and all their townsmen, except a few who live in comfort without doing any useful work and count that a badge of respectability, are in sympathy with them. The strike is as effective as strikes can be.

On the one side are a few dozen poor workingmen. On the other side is the Philadelphia Trolley Syndicate. No work from the men, means no profits for the syndicate.

So the state has stepped in to "settle" the strike. That is, to break the strike. A state government composed of Republicans and Democrats always does that. They know who puts up the Republican and Democratic campaign funds. The state has sent sixteen companies of militia, under the command of a colonel who is also an officer of the company, to "keep the peace."

In Greater New York the street-car men have not dared to strike for several years. They remember the clubs and bayonets and bullets they got the last time. They will get desperate after a while-they have reason enough-and strike again.

Meanwhile it is the passengers who complain-the passengers, who must pay their nickels every morning and evening for treatment a little worse than that accorded cattle on a Western cattle-train.

They complain. Greatsinger and Winter and Vreeland and Widener and Brady and Whitney laugh. Running cattle-cars for human cattle is profitable. The Republican-Democratic Railroad Commission orders reforms-with a quiet wink. The Magnates laugh again. The passengers still complain.

In New Jersey, the other day, there was a railway collision. Over a score of lives lost. Engineer to blame. Of course. He always is. He is dead. It is easy to blame a dead man.

Next day, in Arizona, there was a still worse collision. Telegrapher to blame. Of course. It is always a wage-worker who is at fault.

Every railroad man, even every observant traveller, knows that with modern mogul engines, numerous and heavy trains, high speed, and long runs (to say nothing of defective equipment), the physical and nervous strain on railway workers has been for all.

FOR THE DAILY.

News of Work for the Daily Globe Fair.

Only Six Weeks Left and Great Pr parations to Be Made-Growth of the Socialist Daily Fund.

the opening of the Fair and Exposition for the benefit of the "Daily Globe," the work in connection with it is progressing finely.

Presents are arriving daily at the office, and it is expected that the num-ber of donations will far exceed those collected for the fair held in 1901. Comrades are requested to bring in their donations immediately, not to wait until a week before the opening.

The Fair Committee has received its advertising cards from the printer and requests comrades to call for a supply and see that they are displayed in the most conspicuous places in their respective districts. The entire city ective districts. The entire city ould be placarded within the next

The Fair Committee also desires to Journal" is to issued, and comrades are equested to call at the office, secure "dummies," and start to get advertise-ments, as the Committee expects to realize a handsome profit from this journal.

Those who have made pledges to the Socialist Daily Fund should remember that Secretary Butscher is now a very busy man and save his time by sending their instalments to him at the Labo m, 64 East Fourth street, instead

Important Meetings.

On Monday evening, Feb. 9, th Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association will hold its semi-monthly meeting and all members are requested to attend and help along in the worl

On Thursday, Feb. 12, the Dally Globe Conference meets. All delegates from trade unions and other organiza-

So far as possible settlement for tickets so far sold should be made at these meetings, as the Committee needs considerable money to pay the exconsiderable money to pay the ex-penses involved in the Fair as it pro-

responsibility and worry and tension wears them out. Some day, the telegrapher's mind for a moment fails to work quickly enough or the engineer's sight is for a moment dimmed. Then

High speed and heavy trains and long runs mean big profits for the owners. Extra men enough to do the extra work safely would take away part of that extra profit. Therefore rallway men are worked to the verge of prostration and therefore we have "accidents."

a score of lives are crushed out-and

the workman is to blame.

In the long run, such "accidents" pay-pay the capitalists.

We had a holocaust in the New York Central tunnel a few months ago. The Vanderblits and their man Depew did not go to prison for it. Reformer Jerome got Engineer Wisker indicted for it.

The men whose greed for profit caused the horrors at Westfield and Tucson will not be punished. Not while parties pledged to the maintenance of the profit system are in power. Mild censure will be the most they will get.

The Goulds and Vanderbilts and Rockefellers and Harriman and Whitney and Brady and Widener-these and a few good friends of theirs are on one side in all these affairs. When an occasional passenger gets crushed to death at the Brooklyn Bridge or on an "L" train, it is either the Goulds and the Philadelphia Syndicate or the Rockefellers and Vanderbilts and the Syndicate that crush him. When a trolley worker in Connecticut is bayoneted, it is the Philadelphia Syndicate and the Rockefellers that stab him. When men and women are roasted in a wreck in New Jersey or Arizona, it is the Rockefellers and Vanderbilts or else Harriman and the Goulds that roast them.

To put it more broadly, it is the system of private ownership and operation for profit that makes it necessary for people to be thus stabbed and crushed and roasted.

Socialists think the whole people should own the means of production and transportation, operate them for the public good, give the whole product to the producers and none to the

That would mean the end of strikes. No need of strikes, no need of bayonets.

It would mean a short workday, workmen in good condition, the best possible equipment, the minimum of danger and the maximum of comfort

peeds with its work, and is dependent largely on the receipts for tickets sold in advance to meet these current ex-

Growth of the Fund.

The Worker holds over for a eek the detailed acknowledgment of pledges and payments for the Socialist Daily Fund made by Secretary But-The list shows new pledges of \$20, bringing the total pledged to \$7,606.50; payments on pledges, \$68.25, and cash contributions, \$36.28, bringing the total paid on pledges to \$2. sing the total of pedges to \$2.861.70, and the total of cash contribu-tions to \$1.449.83, a grand total of \$4,311.52 cash received up to Feb. 2.

"NOTHING TO ARBITRATE."

The Incubus sat on the Workingman's shoulders.

"Get up." said the Incubus, as he stuck in his spurs; "this is a question as to whether we or the miners are to run our business." "But I cannot keep on carrying you

unless I get more to eat," said the Workingman.

"You have a full dinner pail,' said the Incubus, as he ordered a bottle and a bird: "as for me, although God in His infinite wisdom has given me con-trol of the property of this country. man, I get no more than board and

clothes."
'But," objected the workingman, "I often do not get that." "I will give you a library to carry on your back," said the Incubus.

"How could the like of me get a chance to read?"

"Be content," said the Incubus, "in please me and God to call you."

"But you grow heavier all the time," said the Workingman.
"Every man has a chance to ride,"

said the Incubus. "Why didn't you get up here?' There's plenty of room at the "I think," said the Workingman, "it

was intended that both of us should walk.' "That." said the Incubus, "is blasphemy. If I should get off your back, it would shake the foundations of so-

ciety."-'Life. -Cold weather and dear coal make people think, but it is our business as Socialists to help them to think right. Circulate Socialist literature.

AGAINST THE CONSTITUTION.

Municipal Fuel Yards.

o Says the Supreme Court—Socialist: Will Appeal from Legal Procedents to Present Needs and Sense of the People-Anti-Socialist Campaign Is

BOSTON, Jan. 31.—The Suprema Court of Massachusetts on Thursday last sent its opinion to the Legislature as to the establishment of municipa as to the establishment of municipal ceal and wood yards, as asked for in the resolutions presented by Represent-ative MacCartney. The Court is unan-imous as to the unconstitutionality of municipal ownership, but six of the seven judges say that in some emer gencies cities and towns could act as

an agent to supply people with fuel. The Court takes the ground th under the constitution private property cannot be taken from its owner excep for a public use, that the establishmen of a business like the buying or sellin of fuel requires the expenditure of money, that the only way to obtain such money is by taxation, and that money cannot be raised by taxation except for a public use.

In the course of the opinion the Court really attempts to present an ar gument against Socialism by stating that a system of conducting busines by the people collectively is not possible under the constitution.

MacCartney, in an interview upon the subject, said that "the decision cleared the atmosphere and the fight would go on for a constitutiona amendment."

The decision is hailed by the Boston "Herald" as a knock-out blow for So cialism, which, it says, is now lawed as a practical policy in Massa-chusetts, until the constitution is changed," and that this result can hardly be brought about within a gen-eration. The "Herald" continues eration. The "Herald" continue "Probably Socialism itself will under go a radical metamorphosis first.

It is more probable that the next generation will not wait for the constitution to be changed to make Social ism a practical policy in the Bay State

past week has been the last for introducing bills, and the three Socialist members have presented their full quota, all of these being similar to those of former years. MacCartne, got ahead of the Republican leaders of Thursday, when he filed a set of res lutions endorsing the Employers' Lia bility Act introduced by Senator Lodge in the United States Senate. The Re publicans will now have the pleasur of adopting a Socialist resolution or of declaring against their boss's bill.

Anti-Socialist Campaign.

That the campaign against Socialism in Massachusetts has already begun was shown by a four column article published in the Boston "Herald" on Monday last. The article was a bodgepodge of distorted statements of fact and culpable misrepresentations, and the evident intent was to save the trade unions from being "captured" by the horrid Socialists.

The article could well have been written by one of several prominent trade union leaders whose past records are a disgrace to the labor movement and who can see their finish in the growing tendency of trade unionists to embrace Socialism. In view of the American Federation of Labor conven tion meeting in Boston next November, it is just likely that the "Herald's" opposition to Socialism is being used a a medium to strengthen the anti-So-

cialist element in the unions As a last resort this will prove failure. Those who are identified with the Socialist Party in Massachusetts are better trade unionists than their opponents could ever be, and the time is past when the actions of a De Leon and similar characters can be cited to keep the workers of Massachusetts away from the political party they be long to, even though men whose repu-tations smell to heaven suffer deserv-

Wentworths concluded their New England tour at Lewiston, Me. on Thursday. Their meetings at Whit man, Boston, Lynn, Plymouth, Port land and Lewiston were all successful and gave universal delight and satisfaction. It can be said without exaggeration that the lecture by Franklin Wentworth and the readings of Mario Craig Wentworth are not to be ex celled anywhere. They are filling most valuable and inspiring function in the Socialist movement at this time

Carey-Stimson Debate.

The debate between Representativ James F. Carey and Frederic J. Stim son, to be held at Faneuil Hall on Sat urday evening next, Feb. 7, is being eagerly looked forward to. The com-mittee has selected Representative MacCartney as chairman. The debate will begin promptly at 8 o'clock. The Plymouth comrades made

The Plymouth comrades made strong fight at a special town meeting held last week for the articles for mi nicipal fuel yards sent out by the State Committee. Comrade Hallinan writes that the fight was made along close party lines, but the conservatives wor number of workers being unable t be present, as the meeting was held a 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The Social ists are not at all discouraged, but will put a full ticket in the field at the

oming spring election.

A conference of the Socialists of coming spring ele Central Massachusetts will be held i Worcester on Sunday, Feb. 8, at 2 P. M., at Essenic Hall, 566 Main street. All the clubs in Central Massachusetts are expected to be represented and plans for organization and agitation work will be outlined. State Organ izer White will be present. The conference will be followed in the even ing by a public meeting at Common wealth Hall, same building

WILLIAM MAILLY.

THE WASTE OF CHILD-LABOR.

Massachusetts Cannot Get A Physician's Statement of the Facts.

> What Child Labor Means in Death and Disease to the Tollers' Babes-Kings-My's Torribly True Phrase.

Dr. Louise Fiske Bryson, a physician who has given especial study to the ondition of the children of the working class, spoke on that subject last Saturday at a meeting of the Consum-ers' League. Her treatment of the subject was strictly scientific and is worthy of attention as a sober state-ment of one of the evils which the capitalist system inflicts upon society. She said in part:

"Damned Into the World."

"To thousands of children at work in the sweatshops, mills, tenements factories and other crowded and pris on-like localities our country is free in one sense only; Free to die in. Yet no one means to be unkind. The parents not mean any harm; they think they need the money. The employer has no evil intent. The consumer is merely thoughtless, the voter indifferent. Yet between us all we manage to inflict a monstrous wrong on a host of pathetic and bewildered little creatures, who eem, "as Charles Kingsley puts it, 'rather damned than born into the

"Just as the plant needs outdoor air, sunshine, water and suitable food for its maintenance and growth, so does the little child need in generous measure these same agencies for his orderly development. And play, rest, exercise obedience, countless spo re as necessary to the anima part of the young child as they are to the thoroughbred colt. These life stuffs must be supplied generously for the normal unfolding of physical power. Something more is needed to bring the child into a state of complete human-ness. Does child labor afford it? On the contrary, it thwarts the plant part of him; injures him on the animal side side; and, in the majority of instance leaves him forever hopeless and for-lore, in the ranks of unskilled labor, and in the sub-human class.

"Children, then, are so constructed that shutting them up, remote from outdoor air and sunshine, is sure to invite disease and disaster. 'God will forgive you, is the way Richter speaks of this special cruelty, for stinting your children in bread when it is so dear: But what will He say to you for depriving them of His free air? But the air, alas! is not free in Amer-ica; not free to the children. These defrauded little ones fare badly Crowding and poor ventilation reductive power to resist disease; and the rebreathing of air that has passed through the mouths and lungs of oth ers is in itself dangerous on account of the poisonous particles this air contains.

Child-Labor and Tuberculosis.

"And so the little prisoners of tol like all prisoners everywhere, are peculiarly prope to contract a hideodisease, one that every year brings to an untimely grave more victims than war, famine, plague, cholera and typhold fever combined, and that is to berculosis. This dreadful scourge, at the very lowest estimate, costs the United States in loss of life over \$330. 000,000 annually. And tuberculosis is known to cause at least two-thirds of all the sorrow and pain in the world. Would you help stamp it out, efface it utterly? Then abolish child labor in the stores, shops, factories, in mills and laundries, and in the street at night.

"Boys delivering milk during the dark hours of early morning, from four till nine o'clock; little children wash-ing dishes in cheap restaurants and hotels after dark or before the sun is up; lads of six and eight trudging up long flights of tenement house stairs to deliver papers, or selling them in the streets after dark; small girls assisting anltors to clean out palis and cellar boys, telegraph boys, little parcel de-liverers, rushing to and fro from one rii-night place to another, are each in urn doing all they can to invite tuberculosis, which is a disease that literally walks in darkness. The germs that cause it die in a few hours when ex-posed to the direct rays of the sun. They will live for years in a dark will live for years in a Tuberculosis is distinctly preventable and unnecessary; and in the majority of instances perfectly curable, according to modern methods of treat ment. In view of these facts, condi-tions of darkness, damp and over-crowding that favor its spread and deent constitute a barbaric mer

"Another maining and disfiguring disease which overtakes little wax an gristle children when defrauded of sun shine, light, air, liberty and the par known as rickets. It is due to mal nutrition, and is a most prollife source of nervous disease later in life. The bones are too soft, a defect that results in grotesque deformities of the produces curiously misshapen bodies bandy legs, knock-knees, thick wrists and clumsy fingers, and appears any time from infancy to early adult life Poor food, the habit of long standing living in half-dark rooms, favor its de

"The Dangerous Trades."

"Since child labor is everywhere, it must naturally prevail to a greater or less extent in all the dangerous trades." There are seven classes of the so-called 'dangerous trades,' seven classes of oc-

cupations in which some form of poison or disease is incidental to the trade liself as at present carried on. The character of the substances used renders these employments technically dangerous, as lead in glass polishing arsenic in wall paper, mercury in rub berwork, the use of certain poisonous dyes for textile fabrics, and the merchandling of animal products, such as wool, hides and furs, in which lurk the germs of deadly disease. In Mr. W. E. Walling's able report about sixty forms of industry are given that come under of industry are given that come up the head of 'dangerous' in this tech nical sense, all of them regulated by acts of Parliament in England and by definite special legislation in almost all of the other countries of Europe, Here in America there is no law con cerning any dangerous employment ex cept that in reference to emery wheels a law adopted by seven states only, This special branch of factory legislation, deemed of the utmost importance elsewhere, is practically ignored in the United States. The factory inspectors and little children hidden away in all manner of places where they have no real right to work at all, crouching down out of sight behind bales of paper where arsenic is used; find them exposed to the poison of lead, mer cury, phosphorus, copper and other toxic influences; and to the ills of the artificial humidity essential to the spin ning of cotton, flax, wool and silk. The difficulty is to 'catch them at it,' to dis-cover them really at work, and then prove that they are under the age re quired by law, for, as these little peo-ple say themselves, 'It is easy to fix the Board of Health certificate if you know how. 'Lead poisoning or plumb ism causes loosening and dropping out of the teeth, frightful colic, blindness, paralysis, and sometimes death in con vulsions. Phosphorus ulcerates the gums, causes decay of bone, terrible disfigurements, and often death, blindness and paralysis of the wrist. Mer cury gives rise to anaemia or blood-lessness, to spongy gums, loosened teeth and paresis of the limbs. Nurse acid, used for cleansing, may cause in-stant death. The germs of lockjaw re-

side in hides, wool and fur. "Among copper workers, as in all hemical industries, there is an unusual rate of mortality and great suffering from neuritis or inflammation of the nerves. Those of us familiar through experience with tri-facial neuarigia or sciatica know something of what copper workers endure. Is there any occupation not disgraced by the presence of child labor? Only one. It is known positively that little children are never employed in the cutting, pol-ishing and mounting of precious stones and gems. This fact may add to our delight in their bright beauty, to the glowing loveliness of jewels, since none of their charm is manufactured from the blood of bables.

"Worn Out at Seventeen."

"Public opinion that permits child labor, condemns the child to a short, dreary life, and to some form of hidleath that is too often distinctly preventable. Worn out at seventeen without hope, without strength, if he lives longer the child who has worked for money is pretty sure to drift into the ranks of the lapsed and the lost, to become some sort of a public charge at thirty-four or forty, either as a pau per, a drunkard, a criminal or an in sane man.

"The remedies for this state of things? They are bound to radiate in the clari fled atmosphere of self-interest like a sudden rainbow of light. Agitation discussion, education among the people at large upon this special subject, to enlighten the voter the consumer the employer, the parent, as to the true piace of the child in nature and in the state, is naturally the first step in the right direction. In this way alone can knowledge become general that child who is deprived of education, health, standards of right conduct, of the compan ionship of equals, of air, sunship and normal human intercourse, of the veloped and made efficient for highest usefulness, is bound to become a men-ace to public peace and safety, a burden and a danger. This cannot be re-

"Next in order comes a revision of the compulsory education law, which should enforce school attendance every day and every hour of the entire school year until the age of fourteen; with a clause making it a misdemeanor for any child to work for money during vacations. To best protect public hearth, an entirely new law prohibit-ing child labor in the tenements would prove most efficacious."

COLONIAL HALL LECTURES.

The Colonial Socialist Club holds public meetings every Sunday evening at 8 p. m., in Colonial Hall, 101st street and Columbus avenue, New York. The program of free lectures for February is as follows: Feb. 8-Algernon Lee: "Labor Poll-

ties and Socialist Polities."

Feb. 15—Charles Frederick Adams "Should the Masses Be Only Em-Feb. 22—Courtenay Lemon: "The So-cialist View of the State, State Inter-

ference and State Capitalism." WEST SIDE LECTURES.

The West Side Socialist Club holds public meetings every Friday evening at 8 p. m., in Clark's Hall, northwest of Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, New York. The gram of free lectures for February is as follows: Feb. 6-H. Gaylord Wilshire: "The

Inevitability of Socialism."

Feb. 13-Kate Richards O'Hare "Woman's Share in Labor's Struggle." Feb. 20—Mary E. Lease: "The Re ligion of the Twentieth Century." ligion of the Twentieth Century."

Feb. 27—Charles Ufert: "The Co-

EMASCULATING TENEMENT LAW

One More Example of Capitalist Perfidy.

The Very inadequate Reforms Made In the Building Code Are Now Being Quietly Nullified at Albany-Democrats Lead in the Evil Work.

In the years 1900 and 1901 we heard a great deal from the old-party poli-ticians about the need of laws more strictly regulating the building of tenements, so as to guard the lives and health of those who were to live in them. 'The Citizens' Union people talked a great deal about the tenementhouse problem. They needed it in their business, as the phrase goes. Not to be left behind, a good many of the Democrats took up the strain and bubbled over with sympathy for the poor

The Social Democrats heartily endorsed all that was said about the infamies of the tenements as they are. "It is true," we said, "that the tenements in which the majority of the workers of the city live are firetraps and hotbeds of disease. But do not for get that they are profitable to their owners-that the number of working people's lives lost in fires and the num ber of working people and their babie dying for the want of fresh air and sunlight are a pretty accurate to the unearned revenues of the landlords who live on Fifth avenue and not forget that it is these men and men of their class who control the Republican party, the Citizens' Union, and the Democratic party alike. Do not expect that they will give you any real and lasting relief. If you would do away with such a menace to civilization and disgrace to humanity as the New York tenements, you must sup-port a party of your own class and put in office men freely chosen by you and pledged to overthrow the whole system of which the tenement horror is only a part."

Time has proven us right. A new Tenement House Act was passed, indeed. It was a slight improvement on the old law, although so slight as to be hardly worm speaking of. Its chief provisions were that every new tenement should have an air-shaft of at least eight by fourteen feet and that every room, in new or old tenements, must have at least one window. It was a pitifully small me to be born of such a dignified mountain as the "reform" movement to which we owe a Low and a Jerome.

But it was something, the optimist will say. Yes, and now that it has served its purpose as political capital, that something is to be taken away and with it may go even some of the safeguards of the old law.

Quietly, insidiously and indirectly, the old-party politicians at Albany are now preparing to "amend" the law in such a way as to undo all the good that was done and give the landlord full "individual liberty."

Demograts Lead in Evil Work.

Several bills have been introduced for this purpose, backed by the influence of the various Property Owners' Associations. It is worthy of note that the two which are most likely to be passed are fathered by Democratsrepresentatives of the party of which Mr. Hearst alleges Labor to be the "natural ally"—Joseph Wagner, of the Ninth Senatorial District, Brooklyn. and H. H. Dale, of the Fifteenth As sembly District, Brooklyn, the one builder, the other a lawyer.

Senator Wagner's bill pro amend chapter 334, laws of 1901, by adding a section saying:

"Exempted from the provisions of this act are all three-story flat houses arranged for the occupancy of three families erected prior to the passage of this act or herafter to be erected."

That is, houses which are only three stories high, which are not designed for the accommodation of more than three families, precautions for light air, sanitation, for health generally and precautions against fire and vicio habit, shall not apply!

An Ingenious Bill.

In case this is too sweeping, there is an ingenious bill, introduced by As semblyman Dale. It has some sugges tions in the interest of builders which seem harmless-for instance increas ing the height of stair steps one-hall an inch, putting iron laths in place of wooden laths in entrance halls, etc. These are merely to give an air of rea-sonableness and of a fair endeavor to "perfect" the law. The bill as a whole owever, is one that would establish have caused all the tenement-house agitation in Manhattan.

Mr. Dale's bill would make numerou changes in the law in order to lower the standard of tenements. These changes would relieve three-story houses from all provisions of the ne pled by five, instead of three, families not counting the family in the base ment." The changes would allow building on 75 per cent. instead of 70 per cent. of the land; they would cut down the size of air and light shafts; down the size of air and light sharts; taking space occupied by water closets out of the allowed building space; elim-inate the requirements for ventilating skylights; reduce the height of rooms; abrogate provisions for sanitary ap-pliances; relieve the landlord of the duty of seeing that old wallpaper is removed before new is put on, and would permit the janitor to live else-where than in the house he is in charge of night and day.

cialist literature Company, 184 William Under the law as this bill would mu-

WHAT THREE SOCIALIST LEGISLATORS HAVE DONE.

liberty.

The three Socialists in the Massachu- | dition of progress and fearless love of setts Legislature have already done one great service in the present session. They have put the two old parties in all three departments of the state government clearly on re-ord on the fuel question, which has happened, this winter, to be the pressing phase | have already carried the fight into the of the one great question of our daythe conflict between private profit and the public welfare.

They alone, of all the law-nunkers of the land, have dared to go to the root of the matter-to propose in good faith and energetically to support, not mere temporary palliatives, but radical measures to remove the cause of the evil and to guard against its recur-

Applying in this special instance the general principles of Socialism, they have proposed that Legislature do two things: First, That it call on the national government to make the coal mines public property, to be operated for the public good, not as now for private profit; second, that it authorize the cities and towns of Massachusetts to establish public fuel yards, substituting the rule of public good for that of private profit in the retail distribution of this necessity of life.

To these propositions the Republican majority has replied with the one familiar word-"Unconstitutional!" And the Democrats have acquiesced in timid silence. The Republican Attorney-General has supported the oldparty legislators by echoing the word. "Unconstitutional!" The Socialist members have forced the issue before the judiciary, and the non-partisan or bi-partisan judges of the Supreme Court have joined in the chorus, "Unconstitutional!"

Massachusetts has produced many public men whose names will live in history. Massachusetts pretends to be proud of those men. The party now dominant in Massachusetts and in the nation lays claim to most of those men-and has long dishonored their memory by its conduct. Hancock and the three Adamses, Garrison and Phillips and Sumper-these were not men who took refuge in great crises behind the word "Unconstitutional," When the Supreme Court of the United States made that word a veto on any measures for the restriction of the slaveholders' arrogant power, it was a Massachusetts man who said:-

"ANYTHING FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN CONSTITUTIONAL."

What the venerable historian Momm en has said of the Socialists of Germany can be said with equal truth of Carey, MacCartney and Ransden, and the thirty-five thousand voters who stand back of them-that they alone uphold the splendid Massachusetts tra-

tilate it, there would be no fireproof bulkhead required for the roof; only

nouses containing eight (instead of six

families would have to comply with present regulations as to light and the width of courts, and in public hall-

ways the light would merely have to be

by, and basement dwellings would not

be required to be more than six fee

high—that is, not high enough for a tall man to stand up in. All the changes

are proposed in behalf of builders and

not be able to stand up straight in his

basement dwelling. Halls would be dark to save the builder the expense of

Would Remove All Protection.

lished in the current issue of "Chari

This warning against the bills is pub-

"They strike, and are intended to

strike, at the essential features of the law. If adopted, they would permit

the erection in Brooklyn and in the

Bronx of houses such as have made certain parts of Manhattan Island just-

ly infamous. They would take away

infection, from indecencies; they would

restore to speculative builders and buy

ers of tenement-house property oppor tunities for exploiting their wage-earn

ing tenants; they would increase the

death rate and increase the number of

dark and uninhabitable rooms; they

would lessen the chance of recovery

from illness, and they would promote all of those forms of vice, disease, and

destitution which have been so long

recognized as a direct result of the

It is the old, old story. Parties pre-

tending to represent all classes and act-

ually dominated by the capitalist clas-

will not and cannot make or administer laws in good faith in the interest of the

working class. When we have half-a-

dozen workingmen at Albany, elected by the working class on the working-

class platform of the Social Democratic

Party, there will be a different story

bor Politics" circulating in your shop or your union. You can get ten cop for 20 cents or fifty for 85 cents.

-Keep a few copies of Lee's "La-

New York city."

g conditions in the older part of

from tenants protection from fire, fro

providing light.

fficient to "see" instead of to "read"

victory in the Supreme Court decision reported this week. They will find it a disastrous triumph. The Socialists town meetings, awakening memories of Revolutionary and Anti-slavery days. There and at the polls they will appeal from the Supreme Court's dietum. There the voters who make legislators and judges will rule that it is not constitutional for working people

The reactionists of Massachusetts

profess to think that they have won a

to perish of coal that Coal Kings may grow richer; that the use of constitutions is to safeguard the people's liberty, not to fetter their will and rivet the chains of their economic bondage; that "new occasions teach new duties, time makes ancient good uncouth"; that ANYTHING FOR SOCIAL WEL-FARE IS CONSTITUTIONAL.

Nor need the enunciation of this principle wait on the slow processes of constitutional amendment. We have abundant proof these days that constitutions mean just what judges make them mean, and that judges make them mean whatever best suits the interest of the dominant social and political forces of the day. Mr. Dooley has told us in humorous phrase: "Wan thing I've learned from this Porto Riky decision; whether th' Constitution follows th' flag or not, th' Supreme Coort follows the iliction rayturns." And so conservative a canitalist authority as the New York "Evening Post" has told its patrons that judges and juries "CAN MAKE OLD LAW MEET NEW EMERGEN-CIES."

Both sides can play at that game. Let the workingmen of Massachusetts voice their demands in the town meetings as they are already being voiced in the legislative hall, next November let them again treble their Socialist vote, and even though the Socialist legislators are still a minority, the Supreme Court will find excuses for gracefully changing its views on the constitutionality of measures which that growing and indomitable minority,

As in Massachusetts, so elsewhere, In another year or two Socialist legislators in a dozen other states will be forcing the old-party politicians and judges to go on record and carrying the appeal back to the voters. Courts and precedents and constitutions will not long stand in the way, once the working class learns to use its polit-

ical power. "There are three words to speak. "We will it," and what is the foeman but the dream-strong wakened

and weak?"

SOCIALIST LITERARY SOCIETY. The Socialist Literary Society, at 241 East Broadway, New York, is growing in membership and in usefulness. The lectures are well atended and the reading room, which is open from 7:30 to 11:30 every evening and all day on Sundays and holidays, has many visitors, attracted by the large number of periodicals kept on file. The program of

free lectures for Sundays in February is as follows: Feb. 8, 3 P. M.—Mrs. Alex. Fraser: The Tragedy of the Machin of construction, a six-foot man would

Feb. 8, S.P. M .- Daniel K. Younga Feb. 15-George D. Herron. Feb. 22-Margaret Haile. Saturday, Feb. 14, the society wih

give a concert and entertainment HERRON WILL SPEAK

Comrade George D. Herron will speak on "The Religion of Life" at the Manhattan Liberal Club, 220 East Fifteenth street, New York, on Friday evening, Feb. 13. The Manhattan Liberal Club, which was founded in 1860, is an organization for the attainment and diffusion of information on scien jects by means of lectures and free discussion. Its meetings, which are beld every Friday evening, are open to the

DEBATE ON SOCIALISM.

There will be a debate on the question, Resolved, That we favor State State Socialism," held next Saturday night, Feb. 7, at the Cooper Union De bating Society rooms, in Cooper Union, first floor. The platform is open to volunteers, and it is hoped that some comrades will be present to give an intelligent exposition of the Social Dem-ocratic side of the question.

THE "FORWARD" BALL

The masque and civic ball to be held daily "Forward" in Madison Square Garden on Saturday evening, Feb. 7, will undoubtedly be a great success and an occasion of thorough enjoyment for all who attend. Tickets can be sion at the door will be 50 cents; hat checks, 25 cents. The doors open at six

BUY UNION MADE GOODS.

The Worker. AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY (Known in New York State as the Social Democratic Party.) PUBLISHED WEEKLY

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THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

THE NATIONAL HEADQUAR-

The rank and file of the Socialist Party will no doubt be considerably surprised when they learn that the National Committee has decided to remove the headquarters to Omaha and as refused to submit that decision to general vote. The choice of Omaha rather surprising. But that, when that city was chosen by a bare majority and its opponents demanded t rendum, the majority saw fit to retuse to submit the question in any form to the rank and file-this gives od ground for indignation. We are not used to such politics in the Social-ast Party, and we do not like the inno-

Several of the National Committee men, seeing the necessity for rebuking such high-handed methods, gave notice of their intention to advise the locals in their several states to adopt the fol wing resolutions, demanding a refer

To the National Committee of the So-

dum vote of the party the following propositions:

be removed to Chicago.
That the Local Quorum until the next national convention be comsed of the members of the National simulties from the states of Illinois. That all acts of the National

Committee at its last annual session in conflict with the above provisions be rejected and declared inoperative." In order to compel the submission of

this proposition it must be adopted by at least five locals in three states, as may be seen by reading Article VIII of the Constitution, together with Artiele IN and Article III Section 1.

The Worker heartily advises the docals to move at once in this matter. Under this plan the Local Quorum will consist of the elected representatives of five states which cast, in November, about 51,000 votes, or over one-fifth of our total strength. With such a Overum with so experienced and judicious a man as Comrade Mailly for National Secretary, and with the clear instructions expressly or tacitly given by last week's meeting of the National policy, we have great confidence that the incoming national administration will be a wise and successful one.

Further comment on the proceeding of the National Committee may well be delayed for a week.

National Secretary Greenbaum say in his annual report that "New York Blinois, and Wisconsin have withheld from publication in their official or eens that part of the National Secre tary's reports showing that said states are in arrears." It is only just to say that so far as this is true of Th Worker, the whole responsibility rests with the Editor, he having received n os on this matter from the State Committee. The statement is

not, however, quite correct. We did n one or two occasions, at the beginning, publish the National Secretary's statement in regard to New York's arrenrages, noting also that such state nents were entirely misleading and explaining the false basis on which they were founded. We then thought and still think that it would be idle to go on publishing and correcting such meaningless figures. We have at no time suppressed any statement of the amounts paid, but have only refused to give official statements of the amounts that the National Secretary thought ought to have been paid.

The workingman who tries to please his boss in the hope of securing a pension in his old age is a shade more of a dune than the one who is kept docile by the hope of a corner lot in the New Jerusalem.

Things are not always as they seem One might suppose that the "five and ten-cent stores" were typical smallcapitalist concerns forming a notable exception to the rule of capitalist concentration. Public attention has just been casually called to the fact that one corporation-the F. W. Woolworth Company-owns a whole chain of such stores in the feading cities of New England and New York and is now invading Pennsylvania. Such facts coming to light from time to time show that trustification is already far mor complete than it appears.

In looking through the financial columps of the papers for the last month. one must be struck with two facts: First, that the annual statements of almost every large railroad, mining. manufacturing, or financial corporation show unprecedentedly high "net earnings"-profit and interest; second. that in the reports of corporation elections something like a score of familiar names appear again and again, each of the "big men" being an officer or director of many companies in many lines of industry. The former fact shows the existence of prosperity; the latter shows to whom the prosperity

Are the Brooklyn people satisfied with the result of their complaints about the street-car service? "As a concession to public opinion, Mr. Greatsinger has given up or been compelled to give up the presidency of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit. Now it is earned that his successor, Mr. Winter, is the man who has actually, though unofficially, dictated the cold-andcrowded-car policy of the B. R. T. for many months past. We opine that the Brooklyn people-and also those of Manhattan and other places-will continue to be frozen in winter and smothered in summer and jammed in like cattle the year round, until they vote for public ownership as demanded by the Social Democratic Party.

A syndicate of American capitalist has acquired over nine million acres of land in Northern Mexico-a tract as large as Massachusetts, and Rhode Island taken together-including valuable asphalt and petroleum fields. The syndicate is supposed to represent the Standard Oli Company. Now look out for another Venezuela affair and more 'manifest destiney."

It is hard to see why anyone should be surprised or shocked at the conduct of that eminent Republican statesman. General Grosvenor. To get something for nothing, if you can, is recognized everywhere in respectable society as the chief end of man. General Grosvenor has lived up to Mr. Carnegle's ideal of "getting around men cleverer than himself." His methods were somewhat unusual, but they served the sacred purpose of money-making, so why find fault? Perhaps the sin was in getting caught and exposed.

A Jersey judge has resigned lately on the ground that his salary of \$9,000 a year was not big enough. He talked very pathetically about the sacrifices required of him. He says: "In these times for a man competent to be judge the salary is utterly inadequate A man quelit to be able to live on his salary and not be required to use up his resources and investments. He ought to be able to support his family in a style and manner in which they ought to be supported, and to carry a reasonable life insurance, have reason able recreation and save something." He added that the fees paid the state on the organization of new corporations last year amounted to nearly \$500,000, and that inasmuch as the judges really had to declare the law for the whole country on this subject they should receive adequate compe sation for the work. We would sne gest that it might be well to give the judges a percentage on the capitalization of all trusts and mergers, in whos favor they give decisions. That would be a business-like scheme and would perity." The old-party papers suppor the judge in his plea. One of then "There is a lesson in the resignation of Supreme Court Justice Col ce Collins resigns in order that at the practice of the law he may no

only earn a generous living, but also make provision for the future comfort

and security of his family. This he is

unable to do on the salary of \$0,000 a year, now paid to Supreme Couri justices." Nine thousand dollars a year is equal to \$24.66 a day, Sundays included, or a little over \$1 an hour, day and night. These same judge who say it is impossible to live on such pay cheerfully issue injunctions to break the strikes of manual workers who are dissatisfied with wages of \$1 a day, and the capitalist papers applaud their injunctions and denounce "the wicked agitators who stir up dis content among the well paid and pros perous laborers of America.'

Paste this up somewhere, you Nev Yorker who voted for Coler because "he was just as good a Socialist as Hanford and had a better chance of election." Read it over now and then. It is an interview with Coler, printed in the Washington "Post" of Jan. 25:

Asked as to his views on Judge Parker as a possible presidential candi-date. Mr. Coler said: "A better man could not be chosen, but what his pros pects are I cannot say. It is high time for the Democratic party to get back on solid ground. Especially is it necessary for the party to repudiate most emphatically the doctrine of federaliz ing public utilities or certain kinds of industries. I think the carrying out of such a Socialistic policy would prove the ultimate destruction of our liberties and the ruin of our natural exist nce. It would lead to a despotism nore stringent than that of Russia. and sooner or later would enslave the American people. The best way to avoid such a fate is never to take the first step in the wrong direction."

This was the man whom Hill selected as your candidate to stand on the Democratic "coal-mines plank." And he accepted. What do you think of Coler? What do you think of Hill? What do you think of yourself for voting that ticket?

Our > Exteemed Contemporaries BBB (and OTHERS) BBB

A careful reading of the pension scheme convinces us that, instead of othing more nor less than a system of which, in effect, condemn those who have passed years of faithful service with the companies to nothing more nor less than slow starvation. After hedging the "pension" around with conditions which practically eliminate all possibility of any of the em ployees ever being eligible to receive it. it is announced that "for each year of cent. of the average regular monthly

ng retirement" will be allowed. Thus, if an employee has been in the service for twenty years and has a good record for all that time and has received on an average \$75 per month for the last ten years previous to re-tirement, if the Pension Board so de-sires, he will be allowed a pension of \$15 per month. Ten years of good faithful service un-

pay received for the ten years preced

der the same conditions will entitle an employee to seven dollars and fifty cents per month. * * *

This scheme of Mr. Harriman is about on a parallel with that of the Steel Corporation of offering stock to its employees; both of them inspired with the one purpose, to make abject slaves of the employees, and both con-taining features which leave the pos-sibility of the employee receiving any benefit whatever entirely to the will

of the company.
It is notorious that Mr. Harriman has for some time been devising a means of getting rid of some of the old em-ployees of his lines. Young blood is what he wants-men who are in the prime of life, who have not had all their vitality sapped out of them by-the hurry and drive and privations of a raffroad man's life. The raffroads have driven these aging men day and night for years, in Harriman's estimation they are only fit for the scrap heap; and so they are to be retired on a pension, sent to the Harriman Alms House, which will allow them less than enough to pay for the rent of a decent

A pension from a master, a bone to a dog; the heart and soul of every man worthy of the name should revolt at

For ten, fifteen, twenty years, all but a bare hving has been stolen from the worker and when Age creeps upon him his master flings him a pittance which is not sufficient to furnish the wherewithal for an animal to exist, to say nothing of a human being.

So much for the tender mercles of a corporation, so much and no more, is the reward for faithful service And Mr Harriman hopes that by daugling a promise of this kind before his employees that he can get them to be "faithful" employees, abject slaves; that because of the promised Harriman paradise they will be satisfied to accept whatever treatment, whatever pay the omnany tenders them.

Mr. Harriman, you are mistaken ok and line is too plain, the bait has no attraction for free Americans.

CAMPAIGN FUNDS

Organizer J. N. Wood acknowledges pledges and payments for the auxiliary campaign fund as follows: S. Panzet pledged \$5, paid \$1; W. J. F. Hann mann, pledged \$5, paid \$1; Geo. D. Herron, paid \$50; total to date—pledged \$83, paid \$57,25.

following additional tions to the campaign fund of 1902 are acknowledged: Workmen's Singing Society, List 6056, \$2; Central cigar factory, \$4.10; Henry Rieth, \$1; Work-ingmen's Educational Association, List

ingmen's Educational Association, L'st 6051, \$5; total to date—\$2,951.45. For the parade fund the following sums have been received: Liederfafel Egaitté, \$2; Carpenters and Joiners, \$2; Bakers and Confectioners, \$3; Kranken

The more you work, the m

NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Report of Proceedings at St Louis

Mailly Chosen as Mational Scoreta padquarters Removed to Omal ndum Benied-Fusion Cen commed and Attitude to Unions De-

The National Committee of the Sc cialist Party, consisting of one delegate elected by the party is each or ganized state, began its second annua neeting in St. Louis on Thursday, Jan 29. and finished its work on S Feb. 1. The following members we present: Californin-N. A. Richardson.

Connecticut—Geo, A. Sweetland, Florida—W. R. Henley,

Illinois B. Berlyn. Indiana-Wm. Maheney. Iowa-John M. Work. Kansas-Walter Thomas Mills Kentucky-Chas, Lobbs. Massachusetts Jas. F. Garey. Minnesota—Geo. H. Lockwood proxy for C. C. Talbott. ouri-Ged. H. Turper Montana Chrenes Smith. Nebraska C. Christenson. New Hampshire-Sumner F. Claffin New Jersey—Geo. H. Goebel. New York—Morris Hillquit. North Dakota—R. C. Massey. Ohio-W. G. Critchiow. Pennsylvania-J. Mahlon Barnes South Dakota-S. Lovett. Washington—Geo. E. Booner. Wisconsin—Victor L. Berger. Local Quorun—E. Vat. Putnam.

Brandt, and G. A. Hoehn On the senting of Lockwood as proxy for Talbett, the Committee stated explicitly that it was based solely on the ground that Comrade Lockwood is a resident of Minnesota and known to be connected with the

Ballard Dunn, James S. Roche, Wm.

The Committee on Credentials consisted of Goebel, Berger, and Work; that on Rules and Order of Business, of Hillquit, Turner, and Carey; on Organization, of Goebel, Carey, Milis, Critchlow, and Work; on Resol Berger, Hillquit, Mahoney, Richard son, Barnes, and Massey; on Finance, Healey, Turner, Sweetland, Massey, and Claffin; on Propaganda, Lockwood, Boomer, Lovett, Berlyn, and

The National Secretary octed as secretary for the Committee and a chairman was elected daily. Richardson presided the first day.

In the first session, before the adop tion of rules. Work moved that the priving them of votes in the Committee; the motion was ruled out of order. In the afternoon Turner moved to ask for the resignations of the Quorum; this was referred to the Committee on

The National Secretary, immediately after the adoption of rules, presented the "St. Louis resolutions," calling for the resignations of Greenbaum, Dann, Putnam, and Roche, because of their stand on the labor party question. These, with the resignation of Brandt. were referred to the Committee on Oranization. Hillquit and Goebel rec ording a protest against any action of the "St. Louis resolutions."

The National Secretary then read his report, which was received.

Second Day.

Carey presided on Friday. Mills made the report for the Committee on Organization. The first paragraph read as follows: "That the Nationall Committee on the adoption of this paragraph proceed to elect the Secretary for the ensuing strike out words "on the adoption of this paragraph" and substitute "before final adjournment." Seconded by Berger. Hillquit offered as substitute "that we elect a National Secretary in on session January 31 the aftern

Hillquits substitute was lost, the roll being: Yeas-Berlyn, Mahoney, Carey, Hiliquit, Barnes, Boomer, Berg Brandt, Dunn, Hoelm, and Putnan 11; nays—Richadson, Sweetland, H 11; nays-Richadson, Sweetland, He tey, Work, Mills, Dobbs, Lockwoo Turner, Smith, Christenson, Claffin, Goebel, Massey, Critchlow, Levett, and Roche-16.

The original paragraph

- National Socretary

The question being on election of Na-ional Secretary, nominations were tional Secretary, nominations were made as follows: William Mahoney of Indiana, by Dobbs. Mahoney declined. W. G. Critchlow of Ohio, by Mills, econded by Goebel.

William Mailly of Massachusetts, by Hoehn, seconded by Hillquit, Brandt, Carey, Dobbs, and Mahoney. M Work of Lowa, by Berger

Vork declined in favor of Critchiow. James Oncal of Indiana, by Berlyn. Two ballots were taken. resulted as follows: Mailly, Critchlew, 9; Oneal, 3; Work, 2. Mailly, 10: second, Mailly, 14; Critchlow, 9; Oneal, 2. Work 1. A final vote was then taken by roll-call, resulting as follows: For Mailly-Sweetland, Berlyn, Ma-

honey, Dobbs, Carey, Christenson, Claffin, Hillquit, Barnes, Lovett, Boomer, Brandt, Dunn, Hoehn, Patnam. Roche-16. For Critchlow-Richardson, Healey

Work, Mills, Lockwood, Turner, Smith, Goebel, Massey, Critchlow-10. For Oneal—Berger. Mailly was declared elected.

The second paragraph of the report

"That on the adoption of this para graph the Committee proceed to elect the place of the national headquarters and that in so doing some place be selected conveniently located for the prose of selecting the member quorum; no two members of the sa cal and not more than two men esidents of the same state."

The following cities were no St. Louis, by Hoehn.

Omsha, by Richardson.
Chicago, by Boomer.
The question arose whether the two cities receiving the largest votes or only the one leading be submitted to referendum. Mahoney, Dobbs, Carey, Hillquit, Berger, Brandt, Dunn, Hoehn, Putnam, and Roche voted for the submission of two: the other seventhe submission of two: the other seventeen for the submission of only one. On roll-call the vote for

Omaha - Richardson, Sweetland Healey, Work, Mills, Lockwood, Smith, Christenson, Claffin, Goebel, Massey, Critchlow, Lovett, Boomer—

Indianapolis-Mahoney, Dobbs, Hilljuit, Berger, Brandt, Dunn, Hoehn,

Chicago-Berlyn. St. Louis-Turner and Barnes Washington—Carey. Omaha was thus declared selected

Putnam, Roche-0.

or submission to general vote. Hillquit moved that Indianapolis be also submitted. Berlyn moved to in-clude Chicago in the minority report. On a point of order the chair ruled submission of minority report to be constitutional. Goebel appealed from ruling and Hillquit was rece as protesting against the appeal. Goe-bel's appeal was sustained by the votes of Richardson, Sweetland, Healey, Work, Milis, Turner, Smith, Christen-son, Claffin, Goebel, Massey, Critch-low, Lovett, and Boomer-14 in all

The Trade Union Question. The Committee on Resolutions re-ported the following, which were unanimously adopted: ously adopted:

"The National Committee of the Socinlist, Party. in nanual session as-sembled, hereby reaffirms the attitude of the party towards trade unions as expressed in the resolution on the subject adopted by the Indianapolis con-

"We consider the Socialist movement and the trade-union movement as inseparable parts of the general labor movement, produced by the same economic causes and tending towards the same goal, and we consider it the duty of each of the said movements to give its hearty co-operation and support to

the Ger in its own sphere of activity, "But we are also mindful of the fact that each of the said movements has its own mission to perform in the struggle for the emancipation of Launions to conduct the economic struggles of the working class; that it devolves upon the Socialist Party to conduct the political batties of the work. ing class; and that the interests of Laber as a whole will be best conserved by allowing each of the said move-ments to manage the affairs within its special field of activity without active

interference by the other.
"The Socialist Party will continu support all economic struggles of Labor, regardless of the affiliation of the trade unions engaged in such struggle and without taking sides in any dissensions or strife within the tradeunless movement. The party will also continue to solicit the sympathy and support of the trade unions, without wing itself to be made the ally of ment agninst the other."

II. "Whereas, The history of the labor movement of the world has conclusively demonstrated that the Socialist Party is the on'y political organization able to adequately and consistently conduct the political struggles of the

working class; and "Whereas, All 'radical' and 'reform' parties, including the so-called 'Union Labor parties,' have, after a brief existence, uniformly succumbed to the influence of the old political parties and have proven disastrous to the ulti-mate end of the labor movement; and "Where s, Any alliance, direct or in-direct, with such parties is dangerous t othe political integrity and the very existence of the Socialist Party and

the Socialist movement; and "Whereas, At the present stage of development of the Socialist movement of this country there is neither ecessity nor excuse for such alliance herefore be it "Resolved, That no state or local or

ganization or member of the party sha't hereafter under any circumstances fuse, combine, or compromis with any political party or organiza tion or refrain from making nomina-tions in order to further the interests of candidates of such parties or organ-

Removal of Local Duorum. In the evening session Mills moved.

"That this Committee does now re-move the Local Quorum from office." Putnam and Roche sought to have the reason for removal stated by moving the amendment: "That Comrades Putuam, Dunn, Roche, and Brandt be now removed as members of the Quo-rum because of their support of the fesion policy adopted towards Union Labor party by the San Francisco and Los Angeles locals." On a point raised by Healey, the chair ruled the amendment out of order.

Berger then sought to get a fair hearing for the four comrades by moving. "That the Quorum be now given a chance to explain their policy during the last year," but his motion

Hillquit and Berger still opposed the arbitrary procedure advocated by Mills of putting upon the Quorum the stigma of removal without making charges or giving the members t chance to defend themselves. The proposed "That the Committee proceed to elect a temporary Quorum." Goebel objected and the motion, in two forms, was lost by a vote of 7 to 13 each time—the Quorum members not voting, and Berlyn, Mahoney, Dobbe Carey, Hillquit, Barnes, and Berger opposing summar The question fi nmary removal. on finally came on Mills

'In voting yes on this re-

amendment to keep the headquarters at St. Louis till the referendum is completed, but was defeated. Hillquit raised the point of order notion of removal. The roll was; Yeas-Richardson, Sweetland, Hea oval would be unconstitutions ley, Work, Mills, Dobba, Lockwood Turner, Smith, Christenson, Claffir Goebel, Massey, Critchlow, Lovet the ground that no referendum is nee Nays-Berlyn, Mahoney, Carey, Hill quit, Barnes, and Berger-6. Reasons Recorded.

the ground that no referendum is nec-ussary unless demanded by five locals. Hillquit appealed, but the chair was sustained by a vote of 11 to 7—the seven being Berlyn, Mahoney, Dobba, Carey, Barnes, Boomee, and Hillquit; Berger paired with Smith. Millio's motion was then passed by a vote of 12 to 5—Berger, Mahoney, Dobba, Boomer, and Berger voting in the negative; Hillquit, Barnes sud Ourcy, opposing the motion, were re-Richardson, Mills, Smith, Christer son, Massey, Critchlow, Lovett, Boom er, and Lockwood recorded explana-tions of their votes for removal as fol-

wish to state that I do so with regret having previously voted twice for the proper election of the new Quarum and only consenting to this motion because I feel that it is the only way to settle corded as refusing to vote, on the ground that the mater was brought before the house in an unconstitutions and improper manner.

Fourth Day.

a long and painful debate. In so vot-ing I do not wish my vote to be con-strued as in any way reflecting on the

personnel of the comrades of the I

Others who voted for the Mills, m

Dobbs: That he did so because h

onsidered that the Local Quorum had

orfeited their offices by going counte

to the expressed principles and policie

of the party in advocating fusion; bu

removal without charges as a flagran

richtion of the rights of the person

involved, a sacrifice of principle to ex-pediency and a course of action which if persisted in would make Socialism a hissing and a byeword.

Critchlow: "I came here with in-structions to vote for removal of the Quorum in order to not allow them to

nullify the vote of five states. I have

matter previous to this but in a spiri

of justice I refrained. However, sinc

session, and more voice than anyone else. I feel that there is no other way

settle this than to immediately re

move the Quorum without any furth

Healey: "I vote yes, because I be

lieve that every member of this Con mittee fully understands the question

at issue; we are only retarding the

liscussion." Lovett: "I vote yes for the reaso

that the attempts of a recognized ma-jority of the Committee to conciliate matters have been repeatedly frus-

tactics of the Local Quorum, and that instead of an amicable adjustment be-ing effected it is very evident that the

matter continues to grow worse and

Goebel: That he did not believe that

five opmrades representing simply themselves, and in reality simply offl-

the right to cast a vote in this body

normal to the votes of delegates repre

senting five states; and particularly in view of the attitude of the Local Quo-

Richardson: "I vote yes. I have no

intention to debur the members of the Local Quorum from opportunity to de

fend themselves before this body

against any charges that may be made against them, and shall defend them

in their right to do so. No charge

have so far been formally made, and I

must not assume that such action will be taken. Four members of the com-

rittee Comrades Roche, Brandt, Put

confessedly

nam, and Dunn-are confessedly friends to the so-called fusion policy

and that in itself constitutes full an

sufficient grounds for removal of any

Socialist from any official position without formality other than a motion

and rote thereon. Comrade Hoelra

was extended an opportunity to be ex-

cepted from removal, but declined it for reasons that I know not and it

which I have at this time no concern

Hillquit: "I vote no for the rea

o the unfair und unsocialistic

that I do not desire to be made a party

ceeding of punishment without charges or trial; that I do not wish to

sacrifice principle for convenience and am not inclined to plead the baby act

by shifting the responsibility of such

ction on my sinte organization." Carey: "The motion in itself mounts to a charge against our com-

rades of the Local Quorum and it at

the same time contemplates taking from them the right to defend them-

elves. I cannot support such a mo

Berger: "Lyote no, although I cam-

to fight them for their stand taken during the last year. Yet, I always

fight aboveboard and not with dagger

and I do not want to outrage the good

name of the Socialist Party and of the organization in Wisconsin, by lending

aid to such outrageous proceeding as

is going on here to-day. I know that the grand solid organization of Wis-censin will be with me on this point."

Barnes: "I vote no; not for the rea-on that I favor the course of the Lo-

eal Quorum, but I consider an affirma

ive vote on this question a conviction

Berlyn: "I am for the removal of the

Local Quorum, but I nm compelled to vote no on this proposition, because it outrages decency and is unsocialistic."

Mahoney: "I vote no; not that I do not desire to have the Local Quorum

removed, but I feel that it would be the

height of extreme unfairness to the members of the Local Quorum and to the members of the Socialist Pariy to

remove the members of the Querun

opportunity to explain their action in

A third paragraph of the report of

Organization was adopted, providing

that "not more than one member of

the Local Quorum shall be a membe

of the same local and not more than two mebers residents of the same

In the evening session resolutions

were adopted providing for uniform

systems of reports to the national or

ennigation and giving out of informa

Mills, for the Committee on Organiz

tion, moved that Work, Turner, Lovett

and Lake, of the new Local Quorum, be instructed at once to remove head-quarters to Omaha, selecting one of

their number to act as temporary Na

Berger offered a substitute and an

tional Secretary till Mailly arrived.

reference to such charges."

without preferring charges and giving

ers of the Local Quorum at

tion. I vote no."

The opponents of summary removal were recorded as follows:

rated by the dilatory and filiba

nore complicated."

rum concerning fusion.

work of this body by prolonging this

have broken faith with us

tiring Local Quorum."

On Sunday, Goebel presiding, the re-port of the Committee on Finance was taken up. It was decided: 1. That the present dues-paying sysem be retained.

2. That an earnest effort be made to

iquidate the party's indebtedness and impress on state committees the need of promptness in paying du 3. That if at the end of the next aree months the payment of the debts the near future sems doubtful, they

be apportioned to states on the basis nbership. 4. Providing means, of settlement with states for expenses of Committee

The National Secretary was in-

structed to cal for nominations of delegate and alternate to the Austerdam Berger introduced the following.

which was carled unanimously:
"That the National Committee of the Socialist Party of America, while dis-agreeing entirely with some of the ac-tions and the policy of the Local Quorum of St. Louis and the former National Secretary, Leon Greenbaum, at the same time acknowledges the good will an . the loyalty of these comrade to the cause of Socialism and the So cialist Party, and hereby expresses heartiest thanks for the same."

A resolution making it obligatory of party mebers who are eligible to trade being dropped from the membership of the party was ruled out of order. A resolution was adopted expressing admiration for the magnificent stand and stendfast courage of the German comrades, together with an expresion confidence in their ultimate triumph Dobbs rose to announce that Ke

tucky donated to the national organiration the entire expenses of his at-At 2 P. M. on Sunday the Committee

adjourned sine die

HILLQUIT'S OBSERVATIONS.

Writes of St. Louis Meeting. When I left for St. Louis to attend the annual session of the National Committee I expected that the com-

New York National Committeema

mittee would have to deal principally with two propositions, the fusion pol-icy lately adopted by our California comrades and the party's attitude in the controversy between the American Labor Union and the American Fedcration of Labor. And I fully believe that his expectation was shared by every other member of the commit-tee. Most of the members and instruc-

tions on the subject, most of them were brimful of arguments on the sub-ject, a battle royal was expected, and every one of us was prepared to break a lance for the purity of our party pol-ities and for the wisdom of steering clear of all entangling alliances. Alas for the many beautiful speeches we had prepared! Our session lasted over three days and hardly a word was said on the vexed subjects. The anti-fusion resolution and the trade union resolution were read, adopted unanimou without debate, and the next order

business was taken up.
It should have seemed that a meeting in which such complete unanimity reigned on the most important que tions would be touchingly harmonious in all other respects, but it must be con-fessed that this was not always the case. At times the discussion became quite heated, on several occasions the delegates evinced considerable excite-ment and, if the truth be told, the state of New York contributed its honest share towards the latter variety.

There were no differences of prin ciple or views, there was no tangible issue, still there was a vague, undefined division among the delegates which assumed more definite shape towards the close of the session. The ssue was drawn on geographical lines During the last year or two our covement has made rapid progress in

the West, new locals have sprung up the scores and new state organiza have been effected. From all I could learn and observe the movement is clean and healthy and full of promise, but it is as yet very young, and the men in it somewhat inexperienced in the methods and workings of our ome men in our parry, who should have known better, have apparently made it their business to conjure up an antagonism between the West and the East. An appeal to our sectional prejudices and local patriotism is always the ensiest and cheapest way to gain nenularity. The first note in that direction was sounded at the last Indianapolis convention. It was quite weak and insignificant at that time, but it has grown louder and more definite since. In the St. Louis meeting it was the rather unconscious, but nevertheless real, source of all disagreements. The prejudice was not exected in the discussions on onestions of principle, for on those committee was a unit, but it cropped out in a variety of small matters, and when it came to the selection of the party headquarters, it took definite shape and form in the demand for Omaha, Neb.

There is no good reason why Omaha should have been selected for that purpose at the present stage of our me ment. The city is too far removed from the heart and centre of the proleterian class struggles, our movement in Nebraska and in the adjacent territory is as yet in its infancy, and yet by no means definitely shaped. All of this is certainly no reason for dis eriminating against the very well meaning and sincere comrades of that locality, but it is certainly also no reason for giving them the administration of our national party affairs to experi-ment with. And no other sufficient reasons have ever been advanced by the advocates of Omaha. They simply demanded Omaha; Omaha was made a kind of test of strength between the East and the West, and "the West" prevailed. In using the words "East" be understood not only in their usually accepted sense, but also as denoting a certain apirit. As a matter of fact

that I am tempted to call a "geographical dislocation." Connecticut and New Hampshire voted solidly with the West, while Wisconsin and Illinois, which had in olden times prided themselves as representing the far West, took shamefacedly their

seats with the East. All of this may seem trivial and un-worthy of attention, but I cannot bein eeing a rising danger in this unreases ing prejudice so utterly out of place in our movement, and which, however,

ome men in our party do foster. It was by these means that a standing majority was obtained against the wily schemers of the East, and it must be confessed, the power of this mafority was not always very wisely used. It was positively abused in two instances—in the manner of the removal of the local quorum and in the 'interpretation" of our national stitution.

The local quorum might have erred on a few occasions in the past, but they had not offended against the party principles or constitution. They did not commit the party to the fusion policy, although most of them ap-proved of it individually, their attitude on the trade union movement was sub-stantially indersed by the committee, and there was no imputation of malfeasance in office against any of them. They had served the party in a diffi-cult position to the best of their ability and without remuneration for over a year, and even at the meeting they rendered valuable services in a true spirit of comradeship. Greenbaum, Roche, Putnam and Dunn in turn kept the minutes and rendered other

There were not satisfactory and it was our good right to elect another quorum, but why accompany the prosult of "removal from office," and if the delegates had decided upon "re moval" by all means, why not state the reasons, and give them a chance to vindicate themselves?

Surely the Socialist movement car gain nothing by the introduction of such arbitrary and unfair methods.

But still more arbitrary was the interpretation of our constitution. The subject to the "interpretation" was the following articles

ARTICLE VII. HEADQUARTERS.

The headquarters shall be located at St. Louis, Mo. But said headquarters may be changed by the National Counmittee, subject to a referendum of the party.

ARTICLE VIII. AMENDMENTS. This constitution may be amended by a national convention, subject to a

majority referendum vote of the party or by a referendum without the action of such a convention, and it shall be the duty of the National Committee to submit such amendment to a referen dum vote within thirty days after be ing requested to do so by five locals in different states.

ARTICLE IX.

REFERENDUM. Section 1. All acts of the National committee shall be subject to referendum vote after the same manner as provided in the preceding section.

Sec. 2. All propositions or other mat-er submitted for the referendum of the party shall be presented without

It will be seen that while Articles VIII. and IX. relate to all constitu-tional amendments and acts of the National Committee, and the referendum is made applicable to such only when demanded by five locals in three states, Article VII. relates exclusively to the change of headquarters and provides specifically that such a change shall be made by the National Con-mittee subject to the referendum of the party. It will also be noticed that this article precedes the others and does not refer to them in any way. It

is complete in itself. On the second day of the session Carey, who was then in the chair, upon ovestion raised, interpreted the section as a mandatory direction to sub-mit any change of hendquarters to a general vote, and on the same day a specific motion was also passed that the city receiving the highest vote in the selection of hendquarters shall be submitted to a general vote. The docision of the chair stood unchallenged, and the motion was not reconsidered, when Comrade Mills surprised us by a motion that the headquarters be re point of order raised, Comrade Smith who was then in the chair, ruled that the selection of Omaha need not go to

a general vote. The decision was thus clearly trary to the express provisions of the constitution and to the previous decision of the meeting, and appeal taken from it. But to no avail. majority was determined to have its way. "What is the use of arguing: It way. "What is the use of arguing: It will do no good anyhow." was the terse but eloquent way one of the majority supporters put it-and it did no good. The chair was sustained over whelmingly. It was a rather unex pected scene, not devoid of some his n.or. Berlyn, of Chicago, was the first to regain consciousness from the stag-sering blow. He arose slewl, from his seat, and rubing his eyes he communicated to his brother delegates that he limd dreamt of a previous cision by the chair and of an express resolution that the choice of headquarters be submitted to a general vote He was allowed to continue his in anyhow. "Well, what do you think of that?" I asked Carey. "Oh, what is a constitution between friends?" au-swered the sage statesman from Masenchusetts.

These were the two principal instances which served to mar the genral impression of the otherwise exellent work of the committee

MORRIS HILLOUIT. New York, Feb. 2

-Now when we are reading so outh in the daily press about railway service, rates, wages, and profits, is a good time to circulate Hanford's "Railroading in the United States," one of the best Socialist pamphlets ever writ-ten. Price. postpaid, 5 cents a copy; ten or more at 2½ cents each. Socialist Literature Company, 184 William

PARTY NOTES. ****************

At a special meeting of the Execu-ive Committee of the Socialist Party clubs of Massachusetts held on Feb. 2. Daniel A. White was elected Secretar to fill the vacancy caused by the elec-tion of William Mailly to the position of National Secretary.

ganizer Dan A. White has been working in the western part of the state He has visited Orange, Athol, North Adams, Adams, Pittsfield, Spring-field, Holyoke, Westfield, Chico-pee, South Hadley Falls, Tuners Falls, Warren, Wane, Northampton and Eas ampton. He addressed public meet ings at Pittsfield. Orange and Varren, all of which were su New. clubs were organized in Orange and Athol, and more will materialize during the coming week.

All party members in Boston wh can sing or play any musical insrumen are requested to communicate with Jo seph Spero, 330 Shawmut avenue.

The convention of the Socialist Party in Manchester Township, N. J., was held on Saturday, Jan. 31. Comrado Meyer acted as chairman and Comrade Jucrgens as secretary. The following nominations were made: For Freeholder, Samuel Buser; for Assessor Rudolph G. Hoeksems; for Collector Paul Hueck; for Township Committee man for three years, Malcolm B. Mc Farlane; for Township Committeemar for one year, Joseph H. Hardcastle for Commissioner of Appenis, Paul Schink; for Constable, Paul Weid-

Local Pasale County, N. J., holds public meetings every Sunday after-noon at 3 o'clock sharp, in Helvetla Hall, 54-56 Van Houten street, Paterson. The program of free lectures for the next two Sundays is as follows: Feb. 8, Dr. Charles P. De Yoe, on "Sur-plus of Labor;" Feb. 15, George H. Strobell, on "Is the World Rendy for

The Bloomfield, N. J., branch of the Socialist Party has arranged to have lectures at the Labor Lyceum every Sunday at 3 P. M. Several other large meetings will be held during the spring campaign, which is to be a hot one The Campaign Committee is mapping out a great deal of work and funds will be needed to carry it out and le the people of Bloomfield know what the Socialists stand for. Contributions should be sent—as liberally and as quickly as possible-to the treasurer Albert Schmidt, Myrtle street, Bloom

By invitation Comrade Neben spoke last week at the annual smoker of the Brotherhood of Painters, No. 241, of Montelair, N. J., which covers th northwestern part of Essex County. was listened to with attention and his presentation of Socialism war warmly applauded. He distributed to hundred copies of "Labor Politics and Socialist Politics" in the union.

Regular Sunday evening lectures are held under the auspices of Local Phil-adelphia of the Socialist Party at city headquarters, 1305 Arch street. Sunday W. L. Ross spoke on "Private and Public Property." On Feb. 8 Edward Moore will discuss "Socialism and What It Seeks to Accomplish. W. J. Frost will be the speaker on Feb. lowing Sunday Dr. G. Metzler will speak on "The Position of the Socialists in America." Admission is free.

Local Toledo favors the acoption of the Arm and Torch as the official em blem of the party in Ohio.

The meeting in Memorial Hall, To jedo, O., on the evening of Tuesday, Jan. 20, addressed by Comrades T. McGrady and James F. Carey, was a record-breaker. The hall was filled, floor and galleries. About fifteen hundred tickets were sold at ten cents each, netting a neat sum after paying all expenses. Comrade Carey spoke first, and spoke for forty-five minutes. This was his first appearance in Toledo and he captured the house. When he was given loud and long ap-Comrade McGrady follo for an hour and twenty minutes. He was laboring under the disadvantage of trouble with his throat, but he poured hot shot into the capitalist system, interspersed with witty stories, in a manner greatly to please the au-dience. This was his second appearance in the city, and his reception shows he can come again and be sure of a crowd. Carey and McGrady made a great team. It was a bad night, and friend and foe were more than surprised to see the crowd. Comrade ere present from Fremont, Tiffin, and worth of literature was sold, Me-Grady's "Clerical Capitalist" being the

City, Ia., have requested the publica-tion of their endorsements of the St. Louis resolutions given in our issue of Jan. 25, calling on Comrades Greenbaum, Dunn, Putnam, and Roche to resign their offices. In view of the ac-tion of the National Committee it is not necessary to give the text of such

Comrade Lamb, of Dryden, Mich. writes that "Socialism is advancing by rapid strides" in his neighborhood, that the party is holding well attended meet-ings and that a general-interest in the movement is manifested.

Comrade Acker, of Milwaukee, Conrade Acker, of Miswaukee, writes: "We are having splendid So-cialist agitation here and in the state. The party is growing rapidly and we have reason to be proud of our work."

Local Yonkers, N. Y., at its last meeting, elected the foldwing officers: Dr. P. J. Bauerberg (address 41 Hudson street, Organizer); J. Smith, Recording Secretary; J. Wilsoh, Financial Secretary; C. Schuyler, Treasurer; G. Lehner, Delegate to State Committee, It was decided to hold a "package party" on Peb. 9 at Teutonia Hall for the purpose of raising funds. It was

also decided to have a course of lec-tures during February, March and April. The party's headquarters are Broadway, the rooms of the Buildin Trades Council. Tickets for the Glob Fair are being pushed just now by the comrades. Yonkers will send a good

Local Peekskill holds its nominating convention Friday evening, Feb. 6, in Labor Hall, on South street, and will put a full ticket in the field.

New York City.

Leaflets on the coal crisis and in crease of Socialist vote can be obtained at the Office of the Organizer of Local New York. Price, \$1.50 a thousand All Assembly district organizations should get these leaflets at once.

The semi-annual general meeting of the Social Democratic Women's So-ciety was held in the Clubhouse, 206 East Eighty-sixth street. The financial report from August to January was as follows: Receipts, \$258.63; ex penditures \$221.81; balance \$36.82. The delegates from the different branches reported good meetings. The following officers were elected: Finan-cial Secretary, Mrs. Wyand, of Br. 1: Treasurer, Mrs. Murdoch; Revisors. Mrs. Stanislaus of Br. 6, Mrs. Hoepf-ner of Br. 8, and Mrs. Vester, of Br. 7 Branch 8 took 300 tickets and eight donation books for the Daily Globe Fair. Branch 10 donated \$5 to the Fair and also \$5 to the Socialist Party of New-

Frank P. O'Hare speaks Sunday evening, Feb. 8, for the Social Demoeratic Educational Club of the 8th A. D., at \$1 Orchard street. His subject is, "John Mitchell's Men." The Club is very active. Comrade Bosenzweig lectured last Friday and Comrade Pollack last Sunday. On Saturday a well attended entertainment was held and Comrades Panken, Weinstein and Epstein spoke. The classes for instruc-tion in the English language and the United States constitution met on Monday. On Tuesday was the members' meeting. On Wednesday Com-rade Reches gave his second lecture on the French Revolution. Thursday was a debate between Comrades Weisman

The Secretary of the 19th A. D. reports that he last regular meeting was very poorly attended and hopes the comrades will wake up and turn out in good force at the meeting of Wednes day, Feb. 11, at 1824 Broadway. There is going to be "something doing" in the Nineteenth and the aid of all com-

The 22d A. D. has aranged an enter tainment and ball for Thursday, Feb. 12, at Emrich's Hall, 214 East Forty first street. The proceeds will be us for carrying on a vigorous campaign for Socialism in the district. Tickets cost 10 cents and can be had at Em richs' Hall of at 774 Second avenue or 953 Second avenue. A good entertain-

Margaret Haile will lecture on "Woman and the Social Problem" be-fore the Socialist Educational League, 953 Second avenue Sunday evening, Feb. 8. All comers are welcome.

A large and most enthusiastic meet ing for the discussion of the coal ques tion was held under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party in New Irving Hall last Thursday. Comrade Weinstein presided, and Comrades Lee, Felm. Fieldman and Eastein spoke gurs well for the progress of the move ment on the East Side. Several new party members were gained.

A few members of the Colonial So cialist Club have formed a class for the discussion and investigation of Social-ism and the development of such speaking ability as may be found, Comrade Sel Fieldman is acting as tutor, whose aim is not so much to develop oratory as to ground the class in a thorough knowledge of the subject, so that they may be able to present their ideas in a clear and forceful manner and avoid common mistakes. He is instructing in methods of voice culture and furnishing us statistics with which ings have been very interesting. There is room for more members, either male or female, and such as may be interest-ed may get any information they desire by addressing the Secretary, W. Edwards, 152 West Eighty-fourth street, city.

George H. Strobell will speak at the Socialist Propaganda Club, Wurzler's Hall, 315 Washington street, Brooklyn, Sunday evening, Feb. 8, on "The So cialist Solution of the Liquor Prob-

THE ANNUAL REPORT

Of National Secretary Greenbaum t the National Committee.

[The annual report of the National Secretary to the National Committee is a voluminous document. It is important, however, that party me should have a chance to examine closely; the national organization will probably supply copies only to the local arganizations as such, not to indi-yidunis; and for these reasons, as well as in justice to the outgoing National Secretary and Local Quorum, whom we have taken occasion to criticize, Th Worker feels constrained to present it nearly in full. The "exhibits," or finan-cial tables, are omlitted, the informa-tion given by them being duplicated in the text. The length of the report compels us to divide it, reserving for next week the part dealing with the relations of the Socialist Party to the

trade unions...]
St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 29, 1903.
To the Members of the National Com-inities of the Socialist Party:

Comrades—I take pleasure in pre-senting herewith my annual report, from January 1, 1902, to December 31.

1902, inclusive.

The report is in six sections, under the following headings respectively:

1. Introduction.
2. The Semi-Annual Report.

4. Trade Union Policy.

5. The American Labor Union. 6. The California Situation.

Introduction.

The minutes of the last annual ing of your committee embodied cerand myself, which have been carried out as reported to you in our weekly

Conditions existing at the time ren-dered some of these instructions of your Committee of immediate momen cause of the attending circumstances, as follows:

stances, as follows:

1. The reorganization of Utah, which was then involved in a factional fight.

2. The referendum on amendment to Article 4, Section 4 of the National Constitution which had to be submitted within 30 days.

3. Uniform due stamps and supplies

which were at the time being demand ed by and furnished to many of the party organizations.

4. Arrangements with state and local

organizations for national propaganda, including tours of Comrades Vail and Chase, who were then in the field; and later, acording to the plan of the Labor Lecture Bureau as adopted by refer-endum of your Committee.

5. In addition to the above instruc tions, financial conditions in the party generally made it immediately advisa-ble to begin "a system of financial secretaries' and treasurers' books for locals," as provided by Article 3, Section 3 of the National Constituion.

3 of the National Constituion.

Other instructions given by your
Committee, and which have been duly executed, are as follows:
6. Compilation of Constitution and

7. Referendum on Fraternal Dele-gate to Canada. By-Laws for locals.

8. Referendum on Party Emblem. 9. Call for submission of campaign 10. Popular subscription for propa

ganda fund. 11. Dues increased to 10 cents in unorganized states. The following measures ordered by rour Committee we have been unable

to accomplish, for reasons herewith 12. Bond for National Secretary, because of objections raised by bonding companies, having a technical bearing on the Quorum Committee plan of or-

13. Uniform stationery for party use and blanks for reports by local work ers to locals; by the latter to state ittees and thence to National Committee, for two reasons-first, be cause of the expense of the printing ond because the plan, if inaugu rated, involved an increase of clerical force at national headquarters, both of which reasons in view of financia and other conditions, which will be hereinafter shown, rendering the exe-cution of this measure, however dedrable, impossible under the circum-

14. Estimates of cost of printing Unity Convention Report and submis-sion of plan of publication to referendum of national committee for the reason that financial conditions which will be hereinafter related precluded the possibility of said publication.
Other matters have arisen since the

last session of your Committee, and have occupied much of our time and labor in the following order: (a) A factional fight in North Dakots, which resulted in the revocation of the state charter by request of both

parties to the controversy. (b) A factional fight in Nebraska which resulted in the revocation of the state charter, in obedience to a direct request from a majority of the local in the state.

(c) Issues raised by the American

Labor Union involving the Socialist Party in its conflict with the American Federation of Labor.

(d) The Anthracite Coal Strike and raised by conflicting policies of

the Pennsylvania State Committee and the National Committee.

te) The Semi-Annual Report of the
National Committee and the issue of "state autonomy" involved in same.

f) The tactics of the Socialist Party of California toward political organi

zations formed by the trade union movement in certain localities.

It becomes proper at this point to call the attention of your Committee to the fact that out of twenty specific propo-sitions quoted in the foregoing, fiften of a character involving immediate ac tion were precipitated upon us within the six months following the January sesion. By previous arrangement twelve states represented at that ses sion deducted the expenses of their representatives from national dues during the same period. Unfortunately other states became in arrears, some executive duties weighed upon us with unrelenting and ever greater pressure including the heavy expenses involved, while the financial support which we had a right to expect failed to ma-

Among the heaviest expenses during this period were the January meeting, \$635.41; National Secretary and assist-\$635.41; National Secretary and assist-ant salarles, \$690; stenographers, \$522.55; postage for party, Labor Lec-ture Bureau and strike bulletins, \$360.93; printing, party and office supplies and Labor Lecture Bureau, \$513.93; propaganda and organization (mainly in Pennsylvania, Utah and Western states), \$307.67; rent, \$152; stenographic reports Unity Convention, \$125, and unclassified expenses \$125, and unclassified expenses. \$147.35. During the period mentioned every effort was made to minimize expenses, and neither the Local Quorum or myself were able to find an avenue of retrenchment.

However, criticism having bee raised in certain quarters, the Local Quorum submitted an itemized state ment of expenditures for April (the heaviest month's expense in the half year) to the members of your Committee, together with a referendum, the result of which was that your Com-mittee indorsed the general conduct of affairs at National Haedquarters.

When I inform your Committee that in every month following the January meeting from ten to sixteen state co mittees have been in arrears, as can be paying states, while in addition it must be borne in mind that states besides those above mentioned were de-ducting the cost of the January meeting (which amounted to more than any one month's receipts during said period), you can form some STRICTLY EIGHT HOURS WORK.

idea of our financial difficulties, which

and August.

During the month of June nations dues decreased 50 per cent, while in August they decreased 25 per cent. Angust they decreased 25 per cent. This occurred at the very time the national organization was at the height of its activity in the furnishing of uniform supplies to all party organiza-tions, in defraying the expense of the reorganization of Utah, in arranging Comrade Chase's tour to the Pacific Coast and in organizing national So cialist relief for the anthracite miners. Heavy bills for party supplies con-tracted in previous months came due at the same time. A financial statement will be placed before your Committee, showing that had the state committees fairly met their obligations to the national organization we could have met all demands upon us for curnonthly surplus for the payment of all debts devolving upon us by the act of the Unity Convention.

While the national organization was

straining every effort in the midst of these complications, rallying thousands of comrades to the strikers' relief in the name of Socialism and the wage working class, a number of state com mittees apparently found it necess tional dues for state purposes. Incon-trovertible evidence will be placed be-fore your Committee, showing that during the above named period \$115 in national dues was diverted by the Illfmittee, neither of said sums having been paid up to the time of this report. Such sums appear comparatively triv-Such sums appear comparatively trivial in the ordinary course of events, but at the time in question such were the straits of the national organization, that he deflection in question led to the climax of our troubles, when on August 27 we found fourteen state com-mittees in arrears, the national or-ganization in debt for deferred current obligations, and furthermore that the national organization was indebted to special funds for current expenses. The latter situation was subsequently readjusted but the conditions which caused it still remaining and appearing to be growing from had to worse, your Local Onorum, after considering all the cirunistances which were placed before it without reserve, and all the po consequences involved in that act, de-cided to embody these conditions in its semi-annual report, which was sent out under date of September 12, 1902,

The Semi-Annual Report.

In view of the misapprehension in certain quarters with regard to the isnance of this semi-annual report and the criticisms to which it has given rise, some of which have been quite severe upon the Local Quorum and the National Secretary, it is but just to all concerned that due explanation be made herein with regard to the points raised by some of our comrades. Bearing in-mind that Article 3, Section 2 of the National Constitution provides that "the National Committee shall prepare a semi-annual report of all the financial and other business of the party and issue the same to all state and territorial organizations:" orades who criticise us for Issuing said report in the midst of a campaign must either place the blame on the National Co institution itself or with ods (in violation of the spirit and let ter of the National Constitution) were responsible for difficulties against which we had long and patiently labored, and which resulted in inexcusable conditions in the party organiza-tion which we could find no warrant for omitting in an bonest statement to

It may be well at this point to state in detail the difficulties created in the relations between certain state organirations and the national organization. all of which can be traced to the "state autonomy" provision of the National Constitution.

1. Irregular payments of national dues by the state committees of Colo-rado, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Nebraska, New York, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Ore-gon, Texas and Wisconsin. Our accounts show that on January 1, 1903, we had fourteen state committees in arrears for a total of forty-five months. They were as follows: Colorado, 3 months; Idaho, 2 months; Illinois, 2 months; Iowa, 2 months; Kansas, 10 nonths; Michigan, 1 month; Nebraska 3 months; New York, 3 months; North Dakota, 3 months; Oregon, 2 months; Texas, 4 months, and Wisconsin, 2 months. Some of these state committees have since paid, but this circum-stance does not alter the fact of their chronic irregularity in the payment of national dues.

2. Wisconsin has a provision in its State Constitution providing for quar-terly payments of dues that so oper-ates as to conflict with Article 4, Sections 1 and 6 of the National Constitu

2. Kansas has totally discontinued payments of national dues and has abolished the dues paying system in the state. The state was organized under the direction of the National Committee, and when state charter was issued there were thirty-six locals on a dues paying basis.

4. The fact has been previously al-luded to in this report that the Illinois State Committee withheld \$115 and the New York State Committee \$200 in national dues, presumably diverting same to state purposes. This occurred during the most acute period of the anthracite strike, when the national or ganization was in severe financia (Continued on page 4.)

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cial Reformer." Bound. \$1.00 Bersford, Thos. "Useful Principles of Deville, Gabriel—"The People's Marx."

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SOCIALIST PARTY

AND LABOR PARTIES. [We present under this heading som further communications on the ques tion of the attitude of the Socialist Party toward labor parties, as brought to the attention of the party by the action of the San Francisco and Lo Angeles comrades.]

VI.

In The Worker of Dec. 14 I notice under the heading, "The California Affair," two resolutions which were adopted by Local New York and also a three-column article enlarging on the position set forth in the second resolu-tion, which is the generally accepted

position of our party.

Inasmuch as I have taken an active part in the "California Affair" and have only recently left New York, my duty to state as clearly a I can the reasons for my action and why I supported the California posi-

on and continue to support it. First, let me say that the first resolu tion which is an unqualified condemna tion of our action will and can have but little effect. The vast majority of the comrades in both San Francisco and Los Angeles believed and still be Here that the act was a necessity, and it is certain that if it had not been, in their opinion absolutely suicidal, they would have entered the field as usual, as proposed in the second resoluti

Neither have the members of th East been apprised of the facts leading to this local change of policy. The only statement of fact that I have seen in your New York papers is that made by Comrade Appel of San Francisco, where he states that the main tro between two factions in the movement, namely, the middle and the working class, and that the policy in question was that proposed by the midle class; that Comrade Mills was the man who had most to do with the adoption of this policy, and wrecking Local San Francisco, and placing this middle class in the

I have not the least hesitation in stating that Comrade Appel's state ment is incorrect. Whether Comrade Mills, agitation is good or bad has absolutely nothing to do with the ques-tion, inasmuch as Local San Francisco yes rent in twain long before his arrival in that city. The quarrel was fully on at the time of the state convention which was held in Los Angeles prior to the Mills agitation. However sincere Comrade Appel may be in mak ing his statement, and however wel such a statement may serve to uphold the position which he takes, yet it requires but a glance to see that it is no n individual but a policy that is in question and to which his statement will in nowise fit. Neither is it middle-class policy, since the policy in question favors the organized portion of the working class and not the middle

The main facts are as follows: Before the split in the Socialist La bor l'arty in 1800 the members of Sec tion San Francisco organized a Social-ist Trades and Labor Alliance. For a long time the Socialists in San Francisco had been "boring from without," which had developed considerable an-tagonism between them and the unions. The S. T. & L. A. intensified this feeling. During the painters strike a few years ago the members of the S. L. P. lined Market street, which is the main street of San Francisco almost every night and spoke against the union strikers. They were "smash-ing the painters' union." There was a bitter feeling in a large number of the unions against many of the most active

After the split in the S. I., P. the attitude of the Socialist Party toward the unions was changed, but theirs toward us was not. It required time to change their attitude toward us. We had not regained their confidence.

men in our party, and, indeed, against

It will readily be seen that under such a state of facts the Socialists could have but little, if any, influence with the unions in that locality; and our men had practically no influence in the unions, except in the German s, which was due to an adverse These facts are almost paralleled by the New York situation.

After the S. L. P. split the Socialist Party carried most of the old S. L. P. vote, which was on an average of yet had time to undergo much change Shortly after the last Presidential

election a great strike developed in Sa Francisco, thoroughly arousing no only the working class but the entire ulation of the city. It was by rea of this strike that the Union Labo party developed at that time.

The Socialists sent a delegation to

their party convention who, if I am correctly informed, invited them to toin the Socialist Party, as the recent New York resolution provides. Or their refusal, our platform was pre bented; and as a matter of course, the not understanding it, declined to adop it. The committee then withdrew and as the recent New York resolution pro vides, our party conducted an inde pendent campaign. As the campaign grew warm the enmity of the two or ganizations became manifest. men, on the streets, from the platform, Ou Labor party a "scab party," a "reform party," a "capitalist party," etc., The reason for this conduct was that our men saw in the Union Labor party their chief antagonist, for at least that campaign, and because we had no sufficient influence to hold them strictly to a working-class party. The result First, that two-thirds of the 2.200 Socialists of whom we-were so proud left our party and voted for the Union Labor party; and, second, that Local San Francisco was rent in twain for a large number were opposed to the

When I arrived in this state in August, 1902, I found that the Unio Labor party had decided to put up candidates for Congress in San Fran cisco and that the unions of Los An geles had practically decided to enter the political field in the fall municipal campaign. There was absolutely no way, even if desirable, by which this action could be prevented. A little later, our state convention was held, in | are domin

above policy and began to change front

which a motion was presented provid-ing that "any local may refrain from uninating a ticket in opposition to a maide working-class party whose minees are working-class men."

It was in support of this proposition that I wrote the article which has been frequently criticised but, in my judg ment, not answered. It must be re membered that at this time the elec tion law of California provided that the name of a nominee for office should not appear on the ticket of more than one party on the official ballot, and that nominee should certify to the officer as to which party he hose to represent.

With this in view, the Union Labor

party, both of San Francisco and Los Angeles, refused to affiliate with either the Democratic or Republican parties but with one or two exceptions nated all union men, and in the case of Los Angeles a large number of the es were Socialists. In Los Angeles they openly endorsed the unio men on the Socialist ticket, but refuse to endorse any union man on the Demo cratic or Republican tickets and de-clared in their platform for the aboiltion of the wage system. This policy was forced on the leaders by the membership. The Democratic party nomi-nated two of the Union Labor party in Los Angeles, one of whom promptly declined, while the other accepted. His name was stricken from the Union-Labor party ticket and another name inted in the petition by unanim

In San Francisco, however, two of the Union Labor party candidates were nominated by the Democratic conven-tion after they had both certified that they wished to represent the Union La-bor party. Both these candidates af erwards entered the courts, had the elec tion law above mentioned declared unconstitutional and forced their name on the Democratic ticket. membership were not responsible for. and many claim that this was the cause of the heavy falling of of the vote fo those men. There was no way under the law of California by which these men could be removed from the Union Labor party ticket.

The results of this action are that the quarrel is still on in Local San Francisco, each policy having its devotees, with a growing majority in favor of the policy in question; also that our average vote was again raised to about what it was previous to the formation of the Union Labor party. But the independent Socialist candidates who opposed the policy and openly fought the Union Labor party received less than half the average Socialist vote. It is said that many Socialists refused

In Los Angeles we raised our vot about 300 per cent. We cast over 2.000 votes, more than half of which were thrown out on account of technical errors in our ticket.

Our relations to the unions in Los Angeles are all that could be desired. Our men are among the most influential in the unions and have their confidence and are most frequently as delegates to conventions and other itions of trust.

Local Los Angeles has been disare in a better condition than before the question arose. The work turbed only slightly by the action. We the question arose. The vast majority endorse the act of refraining from nominating a ticket in opposition to the Union Labor party, and I am satisfied would again refrain if confronted with the same facts.

We did not adopt this policy because we thought by so doing we would greatly increase our vote, although this, of course, was desirable, but because we held, and still hold, that our place in the working class movement was and is with the organized portion of the working class whenever they are act ing as a class, whether in the economic or political field; and because we be-lieve in the theory of economic, rather than political, determinism.

The Union Labor party conventions both in San Francisco and Los Angeles positively refused to in any way ally themselves with any capitalist party and entered the field this year as a strictly working-class party. Later complications were due to treacherous above stated, and not to the desire of

Our position was taken solely be cause the Union Labor party was a strictly working-class party, represent-ing the economic interests of their class, and because we were and still are convinced that we can further the sts of the labor movement, which includes the Socialist propaganda work, by avoiding an open breach and fight, by developing friendly relation between the two organizations and by maintaining our propaganda organiza-tion and urging all individual Socialists to enter the Union Labor party and help, first, to maintain the strictly working-class character of that party and, second, to conduct our propagand

York resolutions.

The first resolution, which is an un qualified condemnation of the so-called "California position," must be dis missed without discussion. Section Los Angeles of the S. L. P. passed simi har resolutions, adopted the policy pro psed, and conducted their independen campaign, with the net result that their section was split on this very question of economic vs. political de-terminism, while they aroused the enmity of the workers generally and re-ceived such a ridiculously small vote that even we, their opponents, are ashamed to see it in print.

The second resolution states clearly and concisely the generally, hitherto, accepted position of our party and urges all the locals of the party to continue in steadfast support of that policy regardless of conditions and con-

This resolution presumes: That the trade unions, as a rule, understand the Socialist movement and will support the position taken in the

2. That the Socialist Party, local and in general, has the power to and should resist the unions and hold the political field from them should they decide to organize a working-class party and to enter and fight in the political field as they have entered and fought in the economic field, i. e., that political pow-

economic new, h. c., that power.
cr is uperior to economic power.
3. That each of these organizations
are dominated by different interests

namely, the Socialist Party by "general

and ultimate interests," and the union by "immediate and separate interests." 4. That there is a difference between political and economic interests, that is, that the "immediate and separate in-terests" of the organized portion of the working class do not contain the elements of their "general and ultimate

5. That the unions will not and can not organize a permanent working-class party, and if they could and should their interests would not lead them into Socialism, but into "compromises with the political foes of their

6. That the Socialist Party is the only safe-guardian of the political in-terests of the working class and it alone can successfully fight the politi cal battle because it is guided by "gen eral and ultimate interests," and that a trades union party is and always will be unsafe and can only work success-fully in the economic field, because they are guided by "immediate and

separate interests."
7. That the unions can therefore be trusted to take charge of the economic interests, but cannot be trusted to take charge of the political interests of the rorking class.

Hence, the locals of the Socialis

Party are called upon to resist and fight the unions to a finish in case they should not endorse the New York resilutions and should actually enter the political field.

There are many party members wh consider this question one purely of expediency, while others hold it to be a question of principle. We will there-fore, accept the discussion from either

standpoint. 1. Do the unions, as a rule, sufficient ly understand Socialism to intelligently heed the call in the second New York

upon consideration, no on will hold that they do. For if they al-ready understand Socialism the call would be useless, inasmuch as their past and present conduct would mean that they had already rejected it.

But if it is acknowledged that the unions do not sufficiently understand Socialism to either accept or reject the resolution, then the call is useless and meaningless to them; and this gives rise to the second proposition, namely

"That the Socialist Party, local and general, has the power to, and should. resist the unions and hold the political field from them should they decide to organize a working-class party and to enter and fight in the political field as they have in the economic field,, 1. e. that political power is superior to economic power.'

Here is raised both the question of ower (or principle) and the question

Has the Socialist Party the power to hold,by sheer force,the political field from the trade unions if they desire to enter? The S. L. P. thought so, and

they have most ingloriously failed.

The entire philosophy of economic determinism arises he c. The interests of the economic organization always have and always will determine the political policy of the class supporting that organization.

The resolution overlooks the fact

that all interests are fundamentally economic, and that political institu tions and measures are only means by which those economic interests are preserved and furthered. The economic interests are, therefore, the pro-pelling power, and not the political. The economic is the cause, the political the ways and means. Being bound together by economic interests, the unions will adopt such political measures as seem to them best; and it is apparent that there is no power capa-ble of resisting them in the political field which is not able, first, to overthrow them in the economic field, and especially if they enter the political fields as a working class party.

The S. L. P., holding to the theory of political determinism, organized the S. T. & L. A., hoping to control it with purely political conceptions. But the political conceptions as ultimate propositions became of minor imports while the immediate econests became the controlling factor.

The principles of ultimate and gen-eral interests may be applied to the immediate interests of the economic organizations, but they can never bethe controlling factor as oppoto such immediate economic interests

This fact puts the economic organization in the political saddle if the economic interests are thereby furhered, and no purely political organi zation, no matter what may be their principles, can withstand them, nor win the constituency of the economicpolitical organization from the interests propelling and inspiring that or-ganization.

Not having the power to resist and prevent the unions from entering and taking the political field if they so decide, it surely will not be held that we have the power to decide for them whether or not they shall enter. If then they should decide to jump

our political claim and should take by sheer force the political field, what is the expedient thing for us to do? The question needs no discussion. It is The resolution under consideration holds that the economic interests of

the working class may be safely en-trusted to the trade unions but that the political interests may not. This brings us to the third proposi-tion, "that the unions are dominated by immediate and separate interests," while the Socialist Party is dominated by "general and ultimate interests"; and, fourth, that these interests are so different that the "immediate and

different that the "immediate and separate interests" do not involve the elements of the "general and ultimate These propositions can scarcely be maintained. The general and ultimate interests spring from the "immediate and separate interests," otherwise they

and separate interests," otherwise they would be entirely utopian. But no fact is more apparent than that "immediate and separate interests" give rise to "general and ultimate interests." Witness the recent great coal strike. There the "general interest" of preserving the union was the direct ougrowth of the "immediate and separate interests" of the members of the union. Will anyone undertake to say that that "general interest" cannot be furthered by the direct political action of the Miners' Union? Or will anyone say that the Miners' Union could not be trusted if they should so act? As a

matter of fact, would they not be the most potent and vital power in furthering those interests by political ac-tion? Who would dare fight them

should they enter?

The ultimate interests likewise arise from immediate interests. Every workingman is ultimately interested in the abolition of the wage system. The eason is that the wage workers can-ot, as a class, be recipients of profits. They can never receive, as a class more than they produce. Hence, as a class, they can receive no profits; hence, they are interested in the abolition of the profit or wage system. This is the one ultimate interest which in-volves the entire Socialist philosophy and which, as shown, arises from the immediate interests of the workers.

But these interests are purely economic. Political parties, legislation, and governments are only methods by which these interests may be realized. Can it, therefore, be held that the conomic organizations, which are naturally formed around these interests for their protection, cannot legitimate-ly enter the political field to further

As a matter of fact, political action is the logical step which economic de velopment will force the economic or-ganization to take, and the "ultimate general political interests" are the logical deductions from the "immediate and separate interests."

those interests, and could not be

trusted if they did so enter?

If these ultimate interests are not the logical deductions from the im diate interests of the class, then they are utopian and had better be at once forsaken. But if they are the logical deductions, then the union labor movement will develop into a Socialist movement, in which case the present alarm is unwarranted.

The ultimate and general interest of the working class are vital and potent only as they involve the immediate and separate interests of the workers. As a matter of fact there is no difference between the vital, ultimate and general interests represented by the Socialist Party and the "immediate and separate interests" represented by the trade unions. If the trade unions can be trusted with the onduct of the fight for the interest of the workers in the economic field, they can be trusted with the fight for the ame interests in the political field. At point for them to conclude that they are in every way capable of making the political fight? Why should they

trust it to others? This leads us to the fifth proposition that is, "That the unions will not and cannot organize a permanent workingclass political party"; but if they could and should their interests would not lead them to Socialism, but into "comremises with the political foes of

The unions actually have entered the political field in California, and the character of their political party is developing into a more and more distinctly working-class party. They have entered and taken the field in places by sheer force. Whether they will be permanent or temporary is for the future to tell. But to presume that their interests would lend them to "compromises with the political foes of their class" is to presume that the interest out of which the unions arise leads them, as unions, to compromise with their economic foes. To say that the unions cannot be trusted with the entire interests of the working class is say that the working class cannot which defeats our entire philosophy The interests are identical in both the political and economic field, and such conclusions are entirely false. The moment the unions enter the political field they will be forced to take up class legislation in precisely the same manner and on the same lines as they fight economically. Hence they will at once take up practically the same questions as would the Socialists were they in power. In fact, the Socialist Party cannot succeed until the unions become active in it and actually dominate it. Hence the interests for which the unions are now fighting will be-ome the immediate political issues of the party they dominate, whether it be the Socialist Party or the Union Labor

The question of ultimate aims is matter of education, in which the ma-jority will not be vitally interested. That is to say, the majority of the constituents of the Socialist Party, or the Union Labor, party, or who name the movement may finally adop will not vote the ticket because of their knowledge of ultimate interests and aims, but because of their immediate interests. The fact that they gain power and advantage by politica action will develop a more and more distinctly class party and cause them to demand more in proportion as they succeed. The tendency will therefore be for the Union Labor party to develop away, from compromises an into a political as well as an economic class fight, and also into a permanent

party, wherever they see fit to take political action, political action.

Since the economic interests determine the political policy of the class interested, it becomes apparent that the political party of that class may form with safety according as their interest determine But whatever form it may take, must be dominated by the economic is terests, and controlled by the econom organization, if for no other eason than that the economic organization has the power to control the policy. To power we must all yield. We cannot politically resist superior economic power We may change the direction of activity by showing an advantage in the change, and by no othe way. It is within the power of the trade unions to decide whether or not they will enter politics and not within the power of the So-cialist Party. We can only decide what to do in such cases. Their past political policy is pointed to as a failure. Granted. But it must be acknowledged that the finlous determined the policy.

The fallncy has led the Socialists enter politics on independent lines, and the same facts that forced us to inde pendent action are likewise forcing the unions. When they enter, it will present to the Socialists the golden opportunity for propaganda work for which we have so long waited. We can make no greater mistake than to use such an opportunity for developing I commend your attention to the colduct and failure of the S. L. P. of this line. They fought well and died

hard, but they are dead.

Political determinism is their philsophy, but economic determinism has crushed them.

Whoever causes the working class to narch en masse toward Socialism will first teach them how to defend and further their immediate interests and so continue until the co-operative commonwealth is developed. The workers will never march to that goal solely because of its ultimate allurements Imendiate advantages will lead then there, but ultimate allurements will never draw them there. Hence the great political strength of the U. L. P. If we avail ourselves of the oppor tunity we can easily add our ultimate

nims to their immediate demands.

To say that if the U. L. P. should de velop into a permanent party, it would not necessarily develop into a Socialist party, is to say that the working cla cannot, under the most favorable cir cumstances, be convinced, either by argument or by economic development, that Socialism is to their advantage or that it is inevitable. Whether the U. L. P. will become general and permanent, or remain local and sporadic, is for the future to tell. Our optnion will not alter the facts.
Whether general and permanent, or

local and temporary, so long as it is a class movement, it is safe and not dangerous to Sociatism, for their every de mand is revolutionary in character. It should be welcomed, and not hindered It should be left to its own development and not urged into the field before it is mature. We should rejoice to see the workers move politically as a class, for we can never move or con-vince them as individuals. They must be moved by interests and not ideals or ultimate hopes. It is a mass move-ment that we want in America, instead of a movement of teachers. If in touch with the immediate interests of the masses, teachers are irresistible but if not, they become powerless, if not useless. JOB HARRIMAN.

ANNUAL REPORT (Continued from 3d page.)

stralts, the knowledge of which was made duly known to said state committees. Your Committee may form its own conclusions from the circumstance that our reference to the stand ing of Illinois in the Semi-Annual Report was referred to in the "International Socialist Review" by a member of the Illinois State Committee as "official tenderness" about dues at National Headquarters. While the New York State Committee was withholding national dues Local New York was passing resolutions criticising us for elent activity in strike propa-

5. In February, 1902, the Thinois. State Committee passed resolutions protesting against our course in notifying the locals in said state that the State Committee was in arrears. They called our attention to the state omy clause, and warned us not to repeat the offense.

6. The Monthly Report Books for locals, 100 of which were furnished by us on credit to the Illinois State Contaittee (which have not yet been paid fer) and which contained a duplicate report to be sent monthly to the Na-tional Secretary, were sent out by said State Committee to its locals, with said duplicate reports removed from

7. New York, Illinois and Wisconsin have withheld from publication in their official organs, that part of the National Secretary's Reports, showing that said states are in arrears. Thus under the operation of "state auton emy." a state committee can on the one hand forbid the national comm its arreages to its locats, while on the other hand, suppressing said knowledge in its official organs.

 Wisconsin refuses a list of its locals to the national organization.
 When the National Committee organized strike relief, strike subscription blanks were sent to the Wisconsin State Committee for distribution among its locals. Said subscription blanks were never returned to the Na tional Secretary. The Wisconsin State Committee notified us that they were lost.

Being thus unable to reach Wisconsin locals, it followed that it was the only state in which the national or ganization received no co-operation whatever from the party locals in the collection of strike relief funds

herein so that your committee may better understand why the Local Que rum in its semi-annual report sug gested to the consideration of the comrades such constitutional steps as may be necessary for holding a national convention of the Socialist Party. Under the literal construction of article 6 section 4, of the National Constitution commonly known as "state auton-ony," the above mentioned state com-mittees acted strictly within their rights, for said provision gives them jurisdiction of the m residing within their respective terri tories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the organization and financial affairs within such state or territory, and the national committee and subcommittee or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the re-spective state or territorial organizations" Realizing that no remedy for these conditions in the form of an ments to the constitution could be offered that would not conflict with the sole jurisdiction and sole control claimed by the state committees, it ap-peared to us that necessary changes could be made in the constitution with less friction and a better understand-ing among the rank and file, through a national convention rather than by amendments drafted by one of the paramendments drafted by one or the par-ties to the controversy and thus sub-mitted to a national referendum. The reference in the semi-annual report to the weakness of state committees, un-der the present form of organization, was made with a knowledge of facts already presented herein, in addition to which it was he stated that since

to which it may be stated that since

nsin had signed credentials for 588 to 493. New York had signed cre-dentials for 1,880 members; its mem-bership has declined to 1,100. Kentucky has declined from 119 to 86; Texas from 177 to 83. In the past from 177 to 83. In the past twelve months, disintegration in both ocals and membership has occurred in Idaho, Michigan, Missouri, Minnesota Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah and Washington

paid no dues for three months prior to November 1; in Kansas, 49 out of 51; in Missouri, 25 out of 51; in Washington, 24 out of 96; in Colorado, out of 75; in Minnesota, 11 out of 28; and in Michigan, 10 out of 21.

Inability to preserve the organization, to collect dues, the withholding of dues collected, and other defects de

In Pennsylvania, 87 locals out of 130

tailed herein, ample evidence of whice exists in official files at National Head quarters, are offered to your commit tee as proof of the weakness of state committee as at present constituted. That portion of the semi-annual r

port referring to unsatisfactory meth ods of propaganda and organization was based on the ground that the party organization must be the highest co All criticisms of this position thu

far offered seem to be based on the activity of party propaganda and the gratifying growth of our party vote. We submit that from the latter standpoint the party assumes the dentally organizing sufficiently to pur to be voted for. The gres tickets up number of propagandists in the field compared to the very small number o organizers, accounts for the remarks extremely slow growth of our organ zation.

From our point of view, the organ zation is the only true measure of movement.

This being conceded it follows that membership in the party organization is just as necessary and important a votes for it. A party membership i mutually sustaining, but mere vote do not know each other, and the latte are not secure without the former.

We submit that it is just as important for a Socialist voter to be a ber of the party as it for a striker t be a member of his trade union.

That propaganda and organization conducted under forty-five different state managements independent of each other, instead of co-operating as far as practicable under one national head, is not alone planless, confusing and wasteful, but also an injury to all of the state organizations, as proved by their condition herein disclosed, i a proposition in the semi-annual state-ment that requires no further elucida-tion here. In the competition between state organizations and locals for proongandists, the strongest organization have secured the most and the ables speakers, thus bringing the law of th survival of the fittest into operation against the weaker organizations which by reason of their very weak ness, should have received special asdistance at the expense of the move-

nent at large.

An understanding of this condition will explain why in nearly all of the states a greater or less number of the locals have a precarious existence. I niso reveals in a great measure how propaganda and organization become nore or less sectional, segregated and at cross purposes. The result of this that the weaker state and local or systematic methods and efficient co

peration along national lines. In issuing the Semi-Annual Report, we were not presumptuous enough to assume that we were expected to pre-

scribe or apply remedies.

We understand that it was our duty
to issue the report; to state without fear or favor the conditions in the party to the best of our knowledge and belief; and to place the facts upon which our report was based before the party membership, having supreme faith in the wisdom and ability of the movement to devise and apply rem dies should it deem them necessary.

Financial.

Statements are herewith submitte your committee as follows: Exhibit A. Showing assets and

and receipts and payments on account of same from August 1, 1901. Exhibit B. Purposes for which cash as received and expended and the

total amounts thus received and ex pended during the year 1902. Exhibit C. Showing the quantity of supplies purchased during the year

Exhibit D. Showing quantity of dustamps received from printer and furnished to party organizations.

In order to aid your committee in a thorough understanding of these stateents we have prepared a synopsis as

Assets and Liabilities.

Exhibit A shows that the total liabil ities of the party, at the conclusion of the Unity Convention, including cost of stenographic reports, were \$1,976.80. The total assets at that time, including convention piedges were \$387.65, leaving net liabilities of \$1.380.15 The total liabilities of the party on January 1, 1903, were \$1,835.62; total assets, \$1,307.08, leaving net liabilities of \$528.54. The reduction in net liabili-ties from August 1, 1901, to January 1, 1903, amounts to \$860.61. In accounting the assets of the party

on August 1, 1901, we have been ob-liged to omit \$310.90 included in the assets of the Sprinfield N. E. C., which have proven non-collectible. the same being disputed by some of the state committees or otherwise impossible of verification.

In accounting assets of the party or January 1, 1903, we have omitted \$334.75 in delinquent dues, contracted during the reconstruction period fol-lowing the Unity Convention, by various state committees, who have since disavowed liability for same. We have disavowed liability for same. We have also omitted any claims against those state committees wherein said state committees do not owe us for drestamps, we having no other basis whereupon to compute our claims.

The assets of the party on January 1 1903 which we have incorporated to

the Unity Convention, the party mem-bership has declined in the states of Wisconsin, New York, Kentucky and Texas. At the Unity Convention, Wis-1, 1903, which we have incorporated in our statement are as follows: Due the National Committee for due stamps, \$614.05; for supplies, \$117.22; office, Every Reader of The Worker should decorate his home with the

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It is an effective allegorical picture, based on the heroic struggle through which the anthracite coal miners have passed, and pointing the way to the emancipation of the workers and the inauguration of a system under which such struggles will be unknown.

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furniture and operating equipment (estimated at one-third original cost), \$115.25; balance on account of Spring-field N. E. C., \$89.65; cash on hand, \$370.91; total, \$1,307.08.

The liabilities of the party, and payments on account of same since the Unity Convention, are as follows:

Springfield N. E. C., \$608.27, of which \$72.70 has been paid, leaving a blance of \$535.48; Chicago N. E. B., \$982.45, of which \$25.00 has been paid leaving a balance of \$957.45; steno graphic reports Unity Convention \$386.08, paid in full; National Commit tee meeting, \$635.41, paid in full; Charles H. Vall, contract from August, 1991, to April, 1902, \$804.14, of which \$502.85 has been paid, leaving a bal-ance of \$301.20; George E. Boomer, \$80.00, paid in full; H. C. Darrah. \$293.90, paid in full; bills payable Jan uary 1, \$41.40; total liabilities from August 1, 1901, to January 1, 1900 \$3.831.65; gross payment, \$1,996.03; net liability January 1, 1903, \$1,835.62.
We call the attention of your com-

mittee to the fact that of the \$1,835.62 in liabilities on January 1, 1903, the sum of \$1,492.93 was inherited by us from previous National committees, together with a contract with Charles H. Vall, on which we still owe \$301.20, which leaves only \$41.40 in liabilities on January 1, 1903, which can be charged to the initiative of this com

nittee. The liabilities of the party on January 1, 1903, would average \$100.00 per month for the eighteen months follow-ing the Unity Convention two-thirds of which are counterbalanced by our

assets amounting to \$1,307.08.

If your committee will take these as tets into consideration, together with the heavy losses in dues, which we have sustained for reasons hereinbefore stated, it constitutes proof that had the state committees lived up to their obligations, we would have liqui-dated every dollar of the party's liabillties.

In conducting the party's finances, we have been obliged in the very nature of things to give preference to current obligations; otherwise final disposition would have been made of the debts of former National Commit-

Receipts and Expenditures

Exhibit B shows that our cash balance on January 1, 1902, was \$60.88; on January 1, 1963, \$370.90; an increase of \$310.02.

received in national dues for twelve months \$5,930.44, which avernges payment on 10,000 members per month. At the Unity Convention month. At the Unity Convention signed credentials were exhibited for 7,000 members, and the chairman of the Credentials Committee (Comrade Hillquit of New York) stated that the showing indicated that the convention represented about 12,000 dues-paying

members.

We mention this fact at this point, as tending to confirm statements here inbefore made, regarding the decline

Receipts for party supplies (consisting of printed matter and party em blems) during the year amount to \$628.81. This amount added to the \$117.22 mentioned in our assets as due us for supplies, makes the total sales of supplies for the year amount to \$746.03.

In furnishing supplies to the party organizations we have been guided in so far as practicable by your instructions to furnish same at a price which would average not more than ten per cent. above cost. Statistics can be placed before your committee if de sired, showing that the average profit on these supplies has been slightly in excess of ten per cent., but we submit that even if our operations in this channel were conducted at a loss it would represent a very great economy to the movement at large.

Receipts for Propaganda Fund and Donations during 1902, amounted to \$736.46. These moneys were contrib-uted at times when the National Committee by reason of critical conditions hereinbefore related was compelled to make special appeals for aid, and for this reason said donations operated as mainstay of the national organiza the very nick of time.'

Receipts for strike relief amounted to \$9,062.81, of which sum \$9,027.81 was contributed to the United Mine Workers of America, the balance be ing contributed in small sums to other organizations which were engaged in strikes of lesser consequence. Other receipts during 1902 were: On

ecount of Labor Lecture Bureau \$31.93; miscellaneous sources, \$69.21, making total receipts for the year \$16,520.51. Exhibit B also includes an itemized

account of total expenditures for the year of \$16,520.51, less \$370.91 balance on hand January 1, 1903. Of the total expenditures \$9,062.81 was for strike f and \$746.03 for supplies for which we were reimbursed by party organizations. This leaves a net total expenditure for the year of \$6,340.70, an average of \$528.31 per month.

According to the reports made to the Unity Convention, by their respective National Secretaries, the expenses of the Chicago N. E. B. for the preceding eight months averaged \$440.03 per onth, while those of the Springfield N. E. C. for the preceding twelve mouths averaged \$341.44 per month. While the statement of the Chicago N. E. B. includes \$2,391.97 for an official organ, it does not include any ex-penses for propaganda or organization. The statement of the Springfield N. E. C. includes \$1,543.05 for propaganda an official organ. While the present National Committee has not be dened with the expense of a party pullcation costing \$2,301.97 in eig months, nevertheless we have had to meet obligations unknown to the Chi-



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cago N. E. B. as follows: For propaganda and organization, \$1,165.35; National Committee meeting, \$035.41; Unity Convention reports, \$361.68; old indebtedness, \$52.20; total, \$2,214.13. From the exhibits herewith presented to your committee it is self-evident that the volume of business trans-acted by us, has been incomparably greater than that of previous National Committees, nevertheless our expenses have averaged only \$82.28 per month more than those of the Chicago N. E. B., being at the same time \$259.16 per month less than the combined exp

of said committees.

The above statements are made here. not for the sake of invidious compart sons at the expense of our prede-cessors, but to defend ourselves against charges (that have been made) of conducting an extravagant head-quarters. If said charges are to be sustained, it must be shown that we have undertaken labors not ordered by by the constitution; otherwise judg ment must be prenounced upon some other ground than the standard of government established by previous a

ministrations. (Exhibits C and D show quantities of supplies printed-1,047,850 pieces in all; of letters, cards, and packages sent out-44,161 in all; and of stamps-130,890 sold and 82,590 on hand.)

CARPENTERS' BALL.

Brooklyn Carpenters and Joiners. Local No. 12, hold their fifth annual ball and flag dedication in the new Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby avenue, aturday evening, Feb. 7 of tickets (for couple) is 25 cents; hat check, 10 cents.

1

WHAT WORKINGMEN'S VOTES CAN DO. "What Workingmen's Votes Can

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

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