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VOL. XIII.—NO. 33. NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 15, 1903. PRICE 2 CENTS.

SHALL THE UNIONS GO INTO POLITICS?

By John Spargo.

In every labor union in the land, and in well nigh every lodge—of the powerful organizations of the "skilled" trades no less than of the less powerful organizations of "unskilled" workers—this question is being raised and discussed with an intensity of earnestness which alone would be sufficient to mark it as the most urgent and important question of the time.

But the full significance of the question only becomes apparent to us when we remember that it is generally conceded by all intelligent trade unionists, quite irrespective of their attitude upon the particular proposal before us, that the trade union movement has been called upon to face a great and unforeseen peril, which, it is claimed by the advocates of political action, cannot otherwise be overcome. There is no escaping the fact that it is a question of the most vital importance to every trade union and to every individual member of every union. It is a question which we cannot ignore without the most serious risks, and the "labor leader" who would ignore it, who, ostrich like, would bury his head in the sand of fear, prejudice and unreason, is unfitted to lead any body of men. A candid and absolutely fearless discussion of the question is above everything else necessary.

The advocates of this new departure are, almost without exception believers in what is called the theory of the class struggle. They say that history is but the record of struggles for supremacy between classes with opposing interests. The labor movement to them is nothing more nor less than the struggle of the oppressed working class. But the opponents of the proposal to adopt political methods deny that there is such a class division. They denounce the men who talk of a class struggle, and themselves talk eloquently of the "real identity of interest" existing between the workers and their employers. And the employers and their representatives, just like some workers and their representatives, are continually talking in the same strain. Upon the idea of the existence of such unity of interests Civic Federations and Conciliation Boards have been formed at which capitalists like Senator Marcus Hanna, and labor men like Mr. John Mitchell of the United Mine Workers Union have joined together in singing the same tune. To them it is only a question of misunderstanding each other, this great and ever present industrial strife. If this view is the correct one let us know it, and if it is not the correct view let us know it. And in either case let us make known the result of our investigations.

Why Do We Organize?

Let us get down to fundamentals, to bottom principles. Why do we organize? Why was the first union started and why do we pay our money to maintain unions now?

The first union was not started because the men who started it did not understand their employers, or were misunderstood by them. The explanation involves a deeper insight into things than that. The facts were somewhat as follows. When the individual workingman, realizing that out of his labor, and the labor of his fellows, came the wealth and luxury of his employer, demanded better wages, or shorter hours, or better conditions of labor, he was met with a reply something like this from his employer, mind you, who understood the workingman's position perfectly well—much better in fact than the workingman himself. The employer said, in substance; "If you don't like this job and my terms you can quit, for there are plenty of others outside who are ready to take your place." The employer understood the position of the worker, that he was dependent upon the job which he, the employer, controlled; otherwise he could not have made such a reply. And the worker understood perfectly well that so long as the employer had the power to discharge him and to fill his place with another he was powerless. It is an unequal combat.

Nothing remained for the individual workingman but to join his fellows in a collective and united effort. So organizations of workers now appeared and the employers could not dismiss the matter so lightly. When the workers organized they could take advantage of the fact that there were no organizations of the employers. Every strike added to the ordinary terrors of competition. The manufacturer whose men threatened a strike often surrendered because he feared most of all that his trade, in the event of a suspension of work, would be snatched by his rival in business, and so, by playing upon the inherent weakness of the competitive system as it effected the employers, the workers gained many substantial advantages. There is no doubt whatsoever that under these conditions, we, the wage-working class, got better wages, better working conditions and a reduction of hours. But there was an important limitation of our power—we could not absorb the "man outside": we could not find a job for every man. That is the essential condition of the capitalist system under which we live and work. Rare indeed are the times when all the available workers in any given trade are employed, and the time has never yet been when all the available workers in all trades were employed.

Capitalists United Now.

Still, notwithstanding this important limitation, it is incontrovertible, it seems to me that we were benefited by our organization to no small extent. But only for a time. There came a time when the employers began to organize into unions also. That they called their organizations by other and high-sounding names does not alter the fact that they were in reality unions formed to combat the unions we had formed. Every employers' association is, in reality, a union of the men who employ labor against the union of the men they employ. Now, when as organized workers we went to the individual boss who feared his rival as much as he feared us, or, rather, who feared us most of all because his rival was waiting to snatch his trade, he was afraid very often to resist us because resistance on his part would mean that his rival would get his trade. But when the bosses also were organized it was different. Then when we went to the individual employer or boss he said: "Do your worst. I, too, am in an organization." Then it was a battle between organized capital and organized labor. We struck in the shop of one employer and other employers locked out our brothers upon whom we had depended for financial support. Or, in many cases, when we went on strike against one employer he got his work done by some other employers where our own members were working, the very members again on whom we had to depend for support. So we were brought face to face with this difficulty; either we had to withdraw those men, and so cut off our means of supply, or we had to submit to being beaten by our own members. And the result was the same in either case. It was "Hobson's choice" anyhow.

Under the changed conditions we were beaten time after time. It was a case of our cupboards against the warehouses of our masters; our purses against their bank accounts; our poverty against their riches. How unequal the combat! How slight our chances! A strike means that the workers on the one side and the employers on the other seek to tire each other out by waiting. More truthfully perhaps it might be said that they seek to force each other by waiting patiently to see who first feels the pinch of hardship and poverty. Time after time we went on strike—went out to sit and play the waiting game. We waited and the employer waited. Finally we went back tired of waiting. We were not convinced that our demands were unreasonable or unjust. No, we were just beaten at the waiting game, that was all. We were beaten because while we waited we fasted and there came a point at which hunger forced us to give in. And all the while the employer had waited without suffering. He could stand it for he feasted while he waited.

Organization Met by Monopoly.

When the masters of the means of life, the masters of our jobs, organized their forces they set narrow and sharp boundaries to our power. In any struggle where it might suit them to make the fight we were bound to be beaten. Henceforth we had to learn by bitter experience that we were powerless practically because the opposing forces which we could no longer divide owned the means, the only means, whereby we could live.

Meantime, too, we had learned that we were not only exploited as workers, as producers, but also as buyers, as consumers. And because we were consumers almost to the last penny of our wages, because we had to spend almost every penny we earned, that was quite as important to us as the other form of exploitation. But against this form of exploitation our unions were absolutely powerless to do anything whatsoever. So that not a few of our "victories" mocked us. When we had succeeded in getting a little better wages prices often went up, most often in point of fact, so that the net result left little to our advantage. In many cases, where the advance in wages applied to only a restricted number of trades, the advance in prices becoming general, the total result was against the working class as a whole, and little or nothing to the advantage of the few who received the advance in immediate wages. At that point the need of a social revolution which would give to the workers as a class the control of the implements of labor, and also of the full control of the product of their labor, became evident. In other words, at that juncture the need of adopting independent action directed to the socialization of the implements of labor, and the product of labor, became apparent.

But we did not as a whole realize this. We continued to pin our faith to the old methods. It is not easy to break away from old methods and to embark upon new and untrodden paths. A few there were who saw the necessity, but for the most part we were blind. With splendid devotion and courage, but nevertheless blindly and wildly, we kept up the fight. Strange to say, it was not us but our masters who were destined to take the fight into the political arena. They took it there for their own purposes and interests, true, but in taking it there they were destined to reveal to us, sooner or later, our power and our duty.

Militia — Injunctions — Suits.

This was what happened. In the struggles which took place it did not always suit the employers to play the waiting game. There was always the "man outside," the unemployed man ready to accept almost any kind of employment, and if he could be set to work upon our jobs we were beaten. The unemployed workers thus constitute the reserve army of the capitalist class. To his employment there was but one obstacle—our resentment and rage. A hundred times, maddened to the point of violence, we showered anathemas and blows upon the "scab." And the employers could only use the "scab" so long as they could protect him. This was not the only cause of violence, however, for not infrequently the employers themselves deliberately provoked violence for reasons of their own. For one thing it was a convenient method by which public sympathy might be alienated from our cause. Then, too, sometimes in desperation we resorted to violence not because of the employment of "scabs," but to obtain food. Particularly did this happen in cases of lockouts when we were resisting attempts to cut down our all too scanty wages. But whatever the cause of the disturbance and violence the result was the same. In thousands of cases all the powers of government—police, militia, and federal troops, have been used against us. In every state in the Union this has occurred, no matter which political party happened to be in power. From the "bull pens" of Idaho and Colorado; from the coal fields of Pennsylvania and West Virginia; from Homestead, Hazelton, Chicago, New York, Pittsburg, Omaha, St. Louis—in a word, from almost every industrial center, the blood of workers who have been shot down at the shambles bears witness to the terrible fact that the powers of government have always been used on the side of the employers.

Further than this, we have had to face the still more powerful opposition of the makers and the interpreters of the law. No more powerful blows have ever been directed against us than those which have been directed by the judges from their proud position and in the name of justice. Injunction upon injunction has been issued, robbing us of the most elementary rights of manhood and citizenship. To serve the interests of our masters there have ever been judges ready to declare illegal what the constitution and statute law have declared to be legal; and when laws have been enacted which gave us some slight advantage, some little improvement in our condition, they have promptly declared it "unconstitutional." And now, as a climax, following the decisions of the British House of Lords, they are sequestering our funds. The employers were not slow in setting the judges of this country to work upon the lines laid down in the famous Taff Vale railway case. In the Taff Vale case the English railway workers had to pay damages to the extent of $115,000 to the railroad company, who claimed that they were entitled to recover the losses sustained by them in the strike which the men had waged against them. It Rutland, Vt., a lodge of the Machinists' Union has been ordered to pay, under like circumstances, $2,500. A writ was served upon every other man in the lodge and the property of every one of them was attached. In Danbury, Conn., the American Federation of Labor and the United Hatters of North America have been sued for $250,000 damages, the suit being directed against the right to boycott and even the use of the union label as a means of discriminating against "scab" products. The bookbinders of Chicago have been sued for $30,000, and in the same city the building trades unions for $50,000, the brass workers and electrical workers for $30,000, and the Candymakers' Union for $20,000. Altogether there are suits pending against labor unions for considerably over $1,000,000. That a large number of them will be decided against the unions is a foregone conclusion.

Our Only Choice.

And yet there are among us, in all our unions, men who are asking whether we ought to go into politics! They are asking themselves and us whether we can transfer the industrial battle to the political arena!

To them I reply that unless the unions are speedily saved by intelligent political action there will be no unions to save. But it is not at all a question of whether or no we want, or are willing, to transfer the battle to the political arena. It is not a question of transferring the fight. The fact is that the battle can be fought nowhere else. We must fight where the enemy is or nowhere. It is either a question of fighting the masters in the political field or being licked by them from their entrenchments in the political field. That is the only question for us. They took the political field as the battle ground, and if we would win we must follow them.

THE FIRST TIME THAT A POLICEMAN'S CLUB OR THE RIFLE OF MILITIAMAN OR SOLDIER WAS USED AGAINST A STRIKER; THE FIRST TIME THAT AN INJUNCTION WAS GRANTED AGAINST A TRADE UNION, OR THE FUNDS OF A TRADE UNION WERE ATTACKED UNDER THE PRECEDENT SET BY THE TAFF VALE DECISION, THAT WAS A SIGN THAT THE EMPLOYERS HAD MADE THE FIGHT A POLITICAL ONE. THEY HAD LEFT US NO ALTERNATIVE; EITHER WE MUST FIGHT THEM AT THE BALLOT BOX OR BE WIPED OUT.

To seek the best and least dangerous way of defeating the enemy, in the battle of industry as well as in other kinds of war, is the essence of generalship. But our labor generals, the "leaders" of our great unions, who oppose political action, have never yet been able to indicate, even vaguely, another method of attack except the antiquated and discredited methods which the legal decisions already referred to have relegated to the scrap-heap where our intelligence ought to have cast them long ago. Neither Mr. Gompers, Mr. Mitchell nor any other opponent of the proposal that the unions should adopt political action, has ever yet attempted to show how we can beat the employer with his policemen, soldiers and judges except by taking them from him through the ballot box. Here, then, is the crux of the question. The strongest weapons of the employing class are governmental, or political, in their nature. In this country, the workers, having votes and being in an overwhelming majority, must be held responsible for the use made of governmental power. So that when a striker is shot down, or clubbed, or imprisoned; or when an injunction is issued against a union, or a union's funds are attacked, the workers themselves must be held responsible. That is the truth which the Socialist in the trade union is continually insisting upon. And, again, let it be said with all possible emphasis that whichever of the capitalist parties be in power matters nothing at all. Democratic or Republican matters not in time of strike; both alike have in the past used all their powers to crush down the workers, and both stand ready to do the same thing at the first opportunity.

Don't Scab on Election Day!

Now, there can be no escaping the fact that the strongest weapons at the disposal of the master class are the political weapons, bludgeon, bullet and injunction, which have been so effective in breaking strikes in every industry and crippling our organizations. Equally there can be no doubt whatever that whosoever aids the masters to maintain control of these weapons aids them to defeat every attempt we make to better our condition by organization. WE CALL THE MAN WHO HELPS THE EMPLOYER TO DEFEAT US BY GOING TO WORK IN THE SHOP AFTER WE HAVE DECLARED A STRIKE A "SCAB." BUT WHAT SHALL WE SAY OF THE MAN WHO GOES INTO THE BALLOT BOX AND HELPS HIM THERE TO DEFEAT US AND BREAK UP OUR UNIONS? IS HE NOT ALSO A "SCAB?"

Aye, "scab" he is of the most dangerous type imaginable. "Scab" he is even though he may carry a union card and his every garment bears a union label. The trade union movement has far less to fear from the man who "scabs" at the factory or mine than from the man who "scabs" at the ballot box. And the fact is that the most dangerous kind of a "scab," the man who "scabs" on election day, is not yet regarded as a "scab," but may, indeed, be the most trusted officer in the labor movement. So little do we realize the tremendous importance of this that we are willing to condone the most harmful and dangerous form of "scabbing" while condemning the lesser form of it. Not till we learn this lesson, that labor's worst foe is within its own ranks, giving its strongest weapons to the enemy, shall we be able to rise free and redeemed from the curse of ill-paid toil.

Strike at the Ballot Box!

The leaders of the trade unions which are opposed to the adoption of a definite polital program cry out that it will destroy the unions. If so, it would still be better for us to destroy them than that the masters have the chance to do it. And there is absolutely no question that they will do it if they continue with their injunctions and their raids upon our funds. But what nonsense to say that we shall destroy the unions by taking from the master class the power to hurl injunctions at them, to attack their treasuries and shoot us who are members of them! Could there be folly greater than the timid wisdom of these men?

They cry out that Socialists are disrupters of the unions, and all the while they are supporting and urging us of the rank and file to support by continuing to vote for interests other than our immediate own, the very forces which are NOW destroying the unions.

The Socialists who are urging this question upon the attention of their fellow trade unionists, appealing from the fear and cowardice of the "leaders" to the courage and faith of the rank and file, are beginning to see the result of their labors. The day is not far distant, its dawn-streaks are already appearing, when in every labor organization the cry will be heard: "We must strike at the ballot box! We must strike there to break our chains; to become masters of our own lives—of our own bread—of our own tools—of the fruits of our own toil!"

The Socialist movement—the Socialist Party—will save trade unionism and lead its hosts to victory in the strike of strikes: the strike of class conscious and class loyal workers at the ballot box.

"Shall the unions go into politics?"

Yes! to save themselves. The blood of the murdered dead upon a thousand hills, from Cœur D'Alene to Homestead and from New York to San Francisco, cries for vengeance, and if we would avenge it there is but this answer.

Yes! Helpless babes in the mills cry for succor, and if we would succor them we must answer this question with an unmistakable Yes!

WARNING!

Piano and organ workers are urgently requested to stay away from the works of the Pease Piano Company, Forty-third street, between Eighth and Ninth avenue, New York City, as the men are on strike.

By order of The Executive Board of the Piano and Organ Workers' International Unions of Greater New York.

FOR THE DAILY.

The Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association will meet at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, Wednesday, Nov. 18, at 8 p. m. sharp, for the election of officers and managers and for the transaction of such other business as may come before it.

FEDERATION CONVENTION.

President Gompers' Report Marks No Advance.

In the Face of Changed Conditions and New Dangers, He Supports the Old Policy of Timid Conservatism—Vigorous Discussion Expected.

We do not attempt this week to give any detailed account of the sessions of the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor, which met on Monday and whose first days are largely taken up with work of a routine character.

President Gompers' annual report, while showing a considerable increase in the membership of affiliated bodies, certainly did not mark any advance on his part over the timidly conservative policy of past years. In fact, the document is even duller and more spiritless than those of 1902 and 1901.

At considerable length, President Gompers dwells on the industrial depression that looms so large in the immediate future. He recognizes that the usual cutting of wages has already begun and advises that it be resisted. Beyond this he has nothing to say on the subject, never suggesting that the workers might try to find a means to put an end to the weary alternation of periods of overwork and periods of hungry idleness.

He declares emphatically against the tendency to "industrial organization" and urges the delegates to adhere to the old system and "hew to trade union lines," and incidentally to this he makes a general declaration against sympathetic strikes.

He makes a formal argument against the "open shop," but significantly omits all reference therein to the Miller case and President Roosevelt's decision.

The record of lobbying is the same old dreary record of flat failure—Eight Hour Bill defeated, Anti-Injunction Bill turned inside out, Immigration Bill not passed in the form desired by the unions, the few existing labor laws violated and "representations" thereon to the President of the United States met with the usual assurance that they will be "taken under consideration," complaints of shameful oppression of seamen under treaty provisions also "taken under consideration," anti-trust laws turned into anti-labor laws and protests "taken under consideration," and so on to the end of the chapter. The one thing President Gompers can boast of under this head is that the Federation lobbyists succeeded in defeating a bill to authorize "crimping" of seamen. "The mountain has labored and brought forth a mouse."

The time-worn policy to which President Gompers and the other "great leaders" of the Federation still adhere in face of the changed conditions that have arisen will find plenty of opponents and will be thoroughly discussed in this convention. Next week we shall be able to tell how far the progress of the rank and file in independent thinking has registered itself in the words and votes of the delegates.

PLAIN WORDS TO GOMPERS.

The following is the text of a letter addressed by Carpenters' Union No. 309 to the President of the American Federation of Labor and here published by request of the union:

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.:

"Dear Sir:—In reply to your circular letter dated Sept. 7, 1903, requesting us to advise you of the action taken by our body, we have resolved to vote for neither capitalistic party, but we shall endeavor with all our means to obtain and capture the legislative as well as the executive powers, to spare the working class the degradation, as recommended by you, of begging capitalistic politicians to help us to get what we deem are our rights.

"It ought to be expected that, through your long experience as president of a large confederation of working people, you are convinced of the fruitless efforts of your tactics, which tend to divest the workingmen of America of all self-esteem and independence and are certainly corrupting the fidelity of their political convictions.

"We have always sacrificed much and stand ready to sacrifice more for an eight-hour day for everybody, but we must state that much doubt exists as to the honesty of your exertions, as you and other officers of the A. F. of L. have granted privileges to the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union to undermine our success in regard to the eight-hour day, as these scabs have not only occupied the places of our striking and locked-out members, but also strive to enter into agreements with our bosses to work for them for lower wages and 54 hours weekly, where the standard of 44 hours has been established by our organization.

"Therefore, the 1,300 members of this local union have assembled in a special meeting and resolved to lay your letter on the table until such time when the A. F. of L. will advocate such a course as will lead the working class of this republic out of its slavery to economic as well as political freedom, to which the most useful members of our community are certainly entitled.

"Yours respectfully,

"BENJ. FRIED, Sec'y.

"For L. U. No. 309, U. B. of C. and J."

NEW YORK VOTE.

Official Returns for Eighteen Counties Now In.

Almost Without Exception, They Show Gain for the Social Democratic Party and Losses for the De Leonite Faction.

Complete returns of the vote cast for Matchett on the Social Democratic state ticket and for De Leon on that of the S. L. P. have been received from the county clerks. These figures are given in the following tables, compared with the number of votes cast in each county for the head of the state ticket of each party in 1900 and in 1902.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC VOTE.

Counties.	1900.	1902.	1903.
Allegheny	12	15	60
Chautauqua	47	99	539
Chemung	42	26	304
Essex	44	68	74
Genesee	27	33	127
Madison	69	56	102
Orange	28	142	230
Putnam	24	14	12
Saratoga	15	43	85
Schoharie	4	5	14
Schuyler	2	2	9
Seneca	3	10	63
Suffolk	39	45	148
Sullivan	3	5	25
Washington	24	117	74
Wayne	14	20	60
Westchester	258	700	761
Wyoming	6	6	26

S. L. P. LOSSES.

Counties.	1900.	1902.	1903.
Allegheny	14	45	27
Chautauqua	57	194	106
Chemung	137	49	47
Essex	12	29	41
Genesee	66	43	30
Madison	49	32	22
Orange	77	187	101
Putnam	7	7	5
Saratoga	26	97	63
Schoharie	6	4	10
Schuyler	6	5	5
Seneca	31	28	42
Suffolk	33	48	61
Sullivan	7	6	15
Washington	21	55	20
Wayne	8	29	15
Westchester	416	557	302
Wyoming	11	15	25

PEEKSKILL, N. Y., Nov. 6.—We lose 15 votes in this village, getting 101 for Matchett as against 116 for Hanford last year; in the outlying districts of Verplanck's Point, Croton, and Montrose, we have 27, as against 2 last year; in the whole town of Cortland we have 128, a gain of 10. De Leon has 28 in Peekskill, a loss of 20, and 6 in the rest of the town, a loss of 14—34 in all, as against 68 a year ago. We shall start at once and get in shape for 1904.

PEEKSKILL, N. Y., Nov. 7.—In the Third Assembly District of Westchester County, our candidate, John J. Heleker, Jr., has 150 votes, a gain of 31; the S. L. P. has 65, a heavy loss. Unofficial reports give our candidates in the other two districts of the county, Lehner and Haas, 307 and 220, respectively; the S. L. P. has 164 in the First and had no candidate in the Second. A. F. Simmonds, our candidate for Justice of the Supreme Court, is credited with 673 in the county and our other candidates on the county ticket with 635 to 652, the S. L. P. candidates getting from 243 to 267.

SCHENECTADY, N. Y., Nov. 9.—Matchett has 432 votes, a gain of 296 for the Social Democratic Party. De Leon has 203, a loss of 84 for the S. L. P.

NEBRASKA AND IOWA.

OMAHA, Neb., Nov. 7.—Every place heard from in Nebraska, except one, shows an increase. These are Blair, Dakota, Grand Island, Memphis, Pender, and Plattsmouth. In South Omaha, which is also in Douglas County, a gain of 152 is reported, while in Omaha proper 600 or 700 of increase is conceded. The county may therefore double its vote for the state ticket last year, and if the same increase already reported from the small towns obtains in other places the state vote may be doubled.

From Iowa reports are that the vote has decreased in Dubuque, Davenport, and Sioux City, but in many smaller towns the vote climbs appreciably. Notable among these are Clinton, Hiteman, Keb, Logan, Missouri Valley, Muscatine, Waterloo and Grinnell. In Dubuque County a bitter fight was made against the party by the Catholic church and newspapers.

The Socialist Party had 3,157 votes in Nebraska last year and 6,300 in Iowa.

NEW JERSEY RETURNS.

CAMDEN, N. J., Nov. 7.—The Socialist Party raises its vote here from 191 in 1902 to 350 this year. We have worked hard and see the results of our labor.

WEST NEW YORK, N. J., Nov. 6.—The Socialist Party casts 58 votes here, as against 20 last year. In three wards which give us 38 the S. L. P. has 22.

GARFIELD, N. J., Nov. 6.—In this township, part of Bergen County, we raise our vote from 21 to 35. The S. L. P. had no ticket.

RIDGEFIELD PARK, N. J., Nov. 6.—This place, in Bergen County, gives the S. P. 26 votes; last year 31. The S. L. P. had 5 last year and none this time.

WESTFIELD, N. J., Nov. 7.—We have 22 votes here. The S. L. P. has 9. Last year we had 45 and the S. L. P. 8. A part of the town has been cut off during the year, so no fair comparison can be made till we have returns for the whole of Union County.

NEWARK, N. J., Nov. 8.—The County Clerk's statement gives the following figures for the Socialist vote in Essex County:

Socialist Party: For Board of Works—Edw. C. Wind, 794; Geo. A. Kiepe, 790; for Trustee of the City Home, David Rubinow, 816; for Assemblymen, from 971 to 974.

S. L. P.: For Board of Works, 579 and 583; for Trustee of the City Home, 596; for Assemblymen, from 714 to 718.

Last year our candidates for the Assembly had from 1,144 to 1,148 and those of the S. L. P. from 811 to 814.

The official canvass may improve our showing slightly. It is certain that in many districts our votes were either counted for the S. L. P. or not counted at all—all because we did not have watchers enough. The result shows the need of better organization, stricter system in our work, every man armed and on the line of battle. Now is the time to prepare on this basis for next year's conflict.

PATERSON, N. J., Nov. 10.—The County Clerk gives the following statement of the vote of the Socialist Party in Passaic County: For Senator, Wm. Glanz, 336; for Sheriff, Jerome Fulhaber, 330; for Assemblymen, from 324 to 386; for Mayor of Paterson, G. A. Neustadt, 215. The S. L. P. has from 255 to 261 votes for its Assembly candidates and 207 in Paterson for Mayor. Last year we had 394 for Congress and from 438 to 441 for Assembly and the S. L. P. had 297 for Congress and from 352 to 360 for Assembly.

JERSEY CITY, N. J., Nov. 7.—The seventh precinct of the Tenth Ward gives us 22 votes, a gain of one; the S. L. P. has 4, a loss of 10.

PENNSYLVANIA.

ERIE, Pa., Nov. 7.—This city gives 576 votes for the head of the Socialist state ticket, with from 560 to 595 for our other state candidates and from 589 to 627 for our local candidates. The rest of the county gives 42 for our state ticket, bringing the total up to 618.

This means that we have not, in this very quiet campaign, held the extraordinary gains that we made last year in the excitement and indignation of the coal strike. In 1900 we had 293 votes in the county. In 1901, owing to the trick that deprived us of our place on the ballot, we had no way of fairly testing our real strength. Last year we had 1,567. Our vote of 618, therefore, shows that we are making real progress, even when exceptional circumstances do not favor us.

MILLVALE, Pa., Nov. 6.—The candidates of the Socialist Party polled 28 votes here, a gain of 21. The S. L. P. (Anti-De Leon) had 2.

YORK, Pa., Nov. 5.—Unofficial reports give us 248 votes, as against 288 a year ago. The total vote was very light.

DUQUESNE, Pa., Nov. 6.—The Socialist Party has 74 votes for the state ticket and 75 for the county ticket; of these 70 were straight. A year ago we had 29 for our state ticket.

WILKES-BARRE, Pa., Nov. 7.—While we do not hold the whole of the extraordinary vote of last year—as, indeed, we had no expectation of doing, it havin gbeen largely a protest vote, due to the strike—we keep our official standing and have about three times as large a vote as in the presidential election. The vote for the state ticket of the Socialist Party runs from 797 to 965, the highest being for the head of the ticket. Our county candidates get from 874 to 1,035; the lowest being for District Attorney and the highest for Clerk of Courts. In the Third Ward of Duryea and the Eighth Ward of Nanticoke we have a majority.

HARRISBURG, Pa., Nov. 7.—We polled 66 votes in this city for the Socialist ticket. This is 21 votes more than was polled in the whole of Dauphin County last year.

CHARLEROI, Pa., Nov. 7.—The Socialist Party received twenty-two votes in this town. Our percentage is higher than last year.

Armstrong County cast 52 votes for state ticket, a gain of 32.

Bucks County vote was 66, a gain of 44 over last year.

Cambria County looms up with an increase of 52 votes over last year.

Columbia County gave state ticket 45 votes, an increase of 9 votes.

Fayette County cast 104 votes for our ticket, a gain of 16 over last year.

Lebanon County increased its vote to 57; last year it was 18.

Sullivan County polled 13 votes. Last yaer there was not one vote cast in the county for our ticket.

Venango County polled 96 votes for the Socialist Party, an increase of 8.

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND.

RICHMOND, Va., Nov. 5.—The Socialist Party has 155 votes here. Last year we had 23. The total vote was 2,167

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 8.—Crabill, Socialist candidate for Governor of Maryland, is credited with 807 votes in Baltimore and Bachman, for Attorney General, with 1,884. Washington County, including Hagerstown, gives us 82 straight votes, as against 11 last year. Allegheny County gives us 134, a gain. The vote in the state will undoubtedly run above 2,500, assuring us official recognition. Practically no work was done outside of Baltimore and Washington County, but our gain is general. At the last general election our vote was 908. The ballot is very confusing. The voter has to make twenty marks to vote a straight ticket.

FROM THE FAR WEST.

RUGBY, Colo., Nov. 4.—The Socialist Party polls 12 votes here to 10 for the S. L. P., 7 Democratic and 4 Republican. If every city, town, and

(Continued on page 4.)

"TO FIGHT THE LABOR UNIONS."

Likewise to Meet "the Imminent Danger of Socialism."

That, Says the New York "Times" Is the Object of the Citizens' Industrial Association, A New Adjunct of Parry's Society.

From the New York "Times" of last Sunday we take the following account of the aims and methods of the Citizens' Industrial Association, a newly-organized adjunct of Mr. Parry's National Association of Manufacturers:

"It is the purpose of J. T. Holle of Brooklyn, who was chosen Third Vice-President of the newly organized Citizens' Industrial Association, to use all the means within his power to induce business men and others to join the movement and give it hearty support. Mr. Holle, who is Secretary of the Manufacturers' Association of the State of New York, was seen at his offices, in Montague street, Brooklyn, after his return from the Chicago conference, several days ago, and said:

"'To preface and qualify anything which I may be quoted as saying, I must ask that you report my interview as being purely personal and unofficial. If I understand the object of the Citizens' Industrial Association of America, it is to do things rather than to air itself as to what it intends to do. This, of course, implies the existence of conditions requiring action. The one thing which should impress itself upon every thoughtful citizen is the imminent danger of Socialism, or, rather, the set of agitators (labor and others) who claim to represent Socialism. From the testimony of reliable witnesses from all parts of the country, we have a cancer upon the body politic which must be cut out or it will work the ruin of our country. The time has come to call a halt to organized lawlessness, and not only to call that halt, but also to impress upon the judiciary the demand for full and complete execution of the law without fear or favor.'"

[For lack of space we have to omit some harrowing tales of violence alleged to have been committed by workingmen who objected to having scabs imported to take their jobs and drive them on the road to starve until they were willing to scab in their turn.]

"'Our association stands for the principle that every man, woman, or child in the United States shall have the right to work or not to work, and that this right must be maintained if it takes every soldier in the United States to do it.

"'Everybody is familiar by this time, I think, with the position taken by D. M. Parry, and his reply to the labor leaders in Indianapolis was the keynote. The Citizens' Industrial Association convention comprised representatives of a number of different kinds of organizations, and various views were expressed, but I think you may say that the association was thoroughly Parryized, as shown by our selecting him for president, although it was not his desire to take the position. He consented to serve only because he has the cause at heart.'

"Mr. Holle urges that all who are in accord with the movement affiliate with some of the associations which have a representation in the Citizens' Industrial Association. Names may be sent to him. Besides Mr. Holle, Brooklyn was represented by Charles N. Chadwick, who was one of the most influential men in the conference and made a telling speech which brought the Eastern and Western men into harmony on a conservative basis. New York was represented by Secretary Marshall Cushing of the National Manufacturers' Association. As Mr. Parry is president of this association as well as of the new Industrial Association, it is supposed that the two organizations will work together to some extent.

"Another of the Eastern men who attended the conference was A. H. Bullard of Bridgeport, Conn., who served on the Committee on Resolutions. Mr. Wile, of Wile & Ovlatt, lawyers at Rochester, N. Y., was made a member of the committee which is to revise the constitution and report at the next convention in February. Of the sixty cities and towns represented in the conference, by far the greater number was in the West, where the Citizens' Alliance has taken up the labor question with a great deal of energy."

THE STULTIFICATION OF LABOR.

The folly of attempting to secure from the representatives of capitalist interests any measure of real value to the working class is rather comically illustrated by the action of the Workingmen's Federation of the State of New York. This body, which is the state branch of the A. F. of L., has decided to abandon its customary issue of a blacklist against members of the state legislature, and has notified the organized workers of the state of its intention.

But the reason given for the omission this year is not that there were none deserving to have their names recorded in its columns, but that, on the other hand, hardly a single member could be found who had not voted against one or more measures brought up for the benefit of labor. The Federation, therefore, finding that it would have to blacklist them all, decided that it could not see its way clear to do so, and abandoned its customary publication.—Erie People.

—A great victory has been won in Haverhill. The Republicans and Democrats combined and actually beat the Socialists.—Erie People.

The Worker.

AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

(Known in New York State as the Social Democratic Party.)

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

AT 184 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK,

By the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association.

P. O. BOX 1512.

Telephone Call: 302 John.

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Invariably in Advance.

One year	$0.50
Six months	.25
Single copies	.02
Bundle Rates:	
Less than 100 copies, per copy	.01
100 copies	1.00
200 copies	1.20
300 copies or more, per hundred	.50
Weekly Bundles:	
5 per week, one year	1.75
10 per week, one year	3.25
25 per week, one year	7.50
50 per week, one year	12.50

Address all business communications, and make money orders, checks and drafts payable to The Worker. Communications concerning the editorial department of the paper should be addressed to the Editor of The Worker. Communications for the "Volkszeitung" or the State Secretary of the S. D. P. should always be separately addressed.

Receipts are never sent to individual subscribers. Acknowledgment is made by changing the number on the wrapper, the week following receipt of money.

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As The Worker goes to press on Wednesday, correspondents sending news should mail their communications in time to reach this office by Monday, whenever possible.

Complaints about the business or editorial management of the paper should be addressed to the Board of Directors, Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, 184 William street, New York.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post Office on April 6, 1891.

In the state of New York, on account of certain provisions of the election laws, the Socialist Party is officially recognized under the name of Social Democratic Party, and its emblem is the Arm and Torch, as shown above.

The Socialist Party (or Social Democratic Party in New York) should not be confused with the so-called Socialist Labor Party. The latter is a small, ring-ruled, moribund organization which bitterly opposes the trade unions and carries on an abusive campaign of slander against the real Socialist movement, which supports the trade unions.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic Party of New York) has passed through its second general election. Its growing power is indicated and its speedy victory foreshadowed by the great increase of its vote as shown in these figures:

1900 (Presidential)	97,730
1902 (State and Congressional)	229,762

CAMPAIGN FUNDS.

The New York "Evening Post," perhaps the most consistent supporter of the "Reform" combination—as is to be expected of a paper partly owned by Mr. Low—notes without surprise the case of "a well known financier in Wall street" who "contributed a handsome fund in equal parts to the Tammany and Fusion funds." Though such practises are probably not generally suspected by the mass of the voters, there is, indeed, no occasion for surprise and those who are "inside" know that such cases are not uncommon. The men who own the factories, the franchises, and the tenements and live by profit and rent drawn from the labor of the working class understand well that both old parties stand for their class interests and that both sets of politicians must be subsidized. They may have their preferences for one set or the other. Some may value more highly the efficient organization of Tammany Hall, in spite of the higher scale it charges the capitalists for its service; others may prefer the more economical and business-like methods of the Citizens' Union; but they all know that the essential thing is to keep the mass of the workers thoughtlessly divided between two parties that have no care for and feel no responsibility to Labor, so that the capitalists may go on fleecing the workers under forms of law, merely paying a higher or a lower commission to the old-party politicians for protection in the process. The campaign fund account books of the old parties, if we could get at them, would be very interesting reading. But they are in no danger of being offered to the public. There are too many state secrets recorded there. The Social Democratic Party can afford to tell all the world, not only how it spends its money, but where the money comes from; and that is one of the surest guaranties of its fidelity to the interests of the working class.

THE HARD TIMES COMING.

The business failures reported by Dun for last month are larger than for any October since 1893, the liabilities aggregating $18,387,567. December of 1895, August, September, and December of 1896, and May of 1900 are the only months in the last ten years whose failure records have been worse.

The shut-downs and reductions of working force made during the month emphasize the gloomy significance of these figures. Three railroad systems laid off 4,000 men; 20,000 miners were thrown into unwilling idleness in Montana; thousands of cotton-mill operatives in New England and of steel-mill workers in Pennsylvania shared the same fate; in all, it is estimated that the army of the unemployed was augmented by at least a hundred thousand during the month.

It looks very much as if the United States was in for a period of "hard times" in the very near future, similar to that of 1893, and such as should be expected to follow the "era of unexampled prosperity" (for the capitalists) that we have been passing through.

Under such circumstances it especially behooves Socialists everywhere to devote all their efforts to sound education and close organization of the working class, that we may do our part to give articulate and intelligent expression to the wide-spread discontent that is sure to come and to make possible constructive progress instead of the mere outburst of destructive indignation.

THE REAL FUNCTION OF THE STANDING ARMY.

General Allen advises strongly against the reduction of the strength of the United States army and the capitalist papers applaud his words. One of these, the New York "Times," shows what the capitalists really want a big army for when it says:

"The infantry and cavalry are needed not only as an indispensable nucleus of our national defense, but also for a national police. They are more urgently needed for this purpose in view of the position in favor of free riot taken by many of the labor organizations, and of the efforts of those organizations to weaken the militia. A force unaffected by local or class sympathy, which can be trusted to enforce the law and maintain order, without fear or favor, is all the more necessary."

The German Kaiser would utter a hearty "Amen" to these words, and Tsar Nicholas would chime in. For us, we say that any social system which, under the form of popular government, needs a large and permanent armed force, "unaffected by class sympathy," to protect it against popular discontent, is a bad system for the mass of the people and ought to be changed by them through the prompt use of peaceful methods, lest the day soon come when the iron hand of militant class rule will throw off the velvet glove of constitutional forms and frank despotism become the order of the day.

NIP THE EVIL IN THE BUD.

Eternal vigilance is assuredly the price of success in such a movement as ours. Regrettable as is the necessity of the action taken last Monday by the Pennsylvania State Committee with reference to the case of D. O. Coughlin and the Luzerne County Committee, as reported in another column, it would be a hundredfold more regrettable had the State Committee shirked its plain duty for the sake of apparent and unreal "harmony."

Comrade Coughlin is probably much less to blame in the case than the members of the County Committee. Since he became a member of the party, we are informed, he has consistently looked to the party organization for guidance, frankly saying that, as a lawyer and not an actual member of the working class, he felt that his individual judgment might not always be a safe guide. This makes all the heavier the responsibility of the members of the County Committee, who seem utterly to fail to understand the essential principles of Socialist politics.

To say that, acting under their direction, Comrade Coughlin did not accept the Citizens' party nomination, but just passively allowed it to be made, is a quibble of the cheapest sort. The law provides means by which a man can easily prevent anybody from nominating him against his will and if, under such circumstances, he does not decline, the public rightly understands that he tacitly accepts.

To plead that the Citizens' party is not a regular party, but only a temporary and non-partizan movement, is no better. No political organization can be neutral on the question of Socialism and the class struggle. If it is not for Socialism, it is against the working class, and we must oppose it, whatever name it sails under.

To plead that Comrade Coughlin is an honest man, sincerely desirous of advancing the Socialist cause, and that he made no pledges to the "Citizens" does not improve the case. It is to guide honest men in the party, not merely to restrain rascals who may creep in, that our party rules are made. If those rules are to be set aside in the case of any party member whom we consider sincere and well intentioned, whenever we think we can gain a few votes by so doing, then we may as well be honest with ourselves as a party, throw over our party rules and our principles, and frankly go into ordinary give-and-take personal politics for what there may be in it.

The members of the County Committee cry out vigorously, of course, against "narrowness," "intolerance," "cast-iron rules," and the like and protest that the State Committee is making a mountain out of a molehill. But the unimportance of the incident in itself is not a reason for overlooking it, any more than in the case of the girl who, when taken to task for having a child before she had a husband, pleaded in extenuation that "it was such a small one." The rule against fusion or the acceptance of endorsements is one that our party cannot afford to relax in the least. The downward path is proverbially easy. It is much better that petty violations be dealt with promptly and firmly, that compromising tendencies be nipped in the bud, than that they be allowed to grow, as they soon would, until they threaten the party's integrity and can be corrected only by extreme measures.

The Brooklyn "Eagle" never had much space to spare for the discussion of Socialism and had still less for presenting news about the movement, until last week, when the Massachusetts Socialists received a temporary setback. Then the "Eagle" editor got out his goose-quill and wrote an article about it. He is mightily pleased, of course. Of course, also, he has to tell a few falsehoods, in order to make our loss in Massachusetts appear bigger than it is. Of course, again, he quite ignores the growth of our vote in New York and other states—even in his own city and borough. But best of all is his explanation of the defeat in Massachusetts. "The Socialists and the labor unionists are one," he says, and are much given to blowing up houses, shooting into street cars, and other like diversions, disturbing to the peace and dignity of the community. That is why we lost. He adds: "Socialism, pure and simple, has much to commend it, especially to the weak and unfortunate, but a Socialism ruled by the walking delegate, that put the intruding shoe laster above the resident banker, merchant, lawyer, doctor, teacher and preacher, was no Socialism and so thinks Massachusetts. * * * It was believed that if Socialism proved itself possible, the first trial of it would be in Massachusetts. This election promises breathing time, and it also indicates what the public is beginning to think of labor unions." Oh, wise "Eagle" editor! For this helpful information, much thanks. Now tell us why Socialism gained in New York, please, and we shall be doubly grateful.

The "barrel" back of the crusade against Socialism in Massachusetts is evidenced by some of the campaign methods used—as, for instance, the insertion of long articles maligning the Socialist Party and glorifying Avery, Goldstein, and their fellow renegades, as paid advertisements in the daily newspapers. One such article, whose insertion did not cost less than $25, lies before us—"lies," we may remark in both senses of the word. Great is the "barrel." But in the long run it doesn't work, because greater yet is the independent thought and cheerful devotion of honest, class-conscious men and women.

Three days before election the officers of the Ohio State Federation of Catholic Societies gave out a formal statement explaining that their organized campaign against the Socialist Party must not be construed as applying against the Honorable Too Much Johnson. This was very good of the clerics, but it doesn't seem to have helped Johnson to any great extent. That gentleman's picturesque attitude gains an added beauty from the incident. Wherever Socialism is strong in the state, his campaigners were out telling the workingmen that Johnson was just as much of a Socialist as Cowen or Debs or any avowed representative of the Socialist Party. Simultaneously, Mr. Johnson's friends in the Catholic Federation came out and said in cold type that he is no Socialist at all, and is therefore perfectly safe. However, Mr. Johnson may now be considered as a feature of past history and it doesn't matter much what he was.

THE RACE QUESTION IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

To the Editor of The Worker:—You have given ample space to the discussion of Dr. Pyle's appointment to a non-partisan position by Mayor Jones of Toledo. I trust you are going to discuss with equal clearness and force the vastly more important question involved in the constitution of the Louisiana "Socialists," so-called, who have embodied in their manifesto a declaration denouncing any semblance of equality or union between the white and colored races.

The Secretary of the Socialist Party of Louisiana states that it is necessary to denounce the colored race in order to secure white members.

It has been clearly shown, over and over again, that the desire to hold the colored man in subjection as an inferior has its origin in capitalistic schemes to profit by his alleged and enforced "inferiority." It is one of the most vital principles of Socialism that such schemes be exposed and traced to their selfish, commercialized sources.

Is it not just as important to do this in Louisiana as in Pennsylvania? And if the Louisiana people cannot bear the truth of the Socialist point of view, is it not a proof that they are not yet ready to uphold the cause of Socialism?

"No compromise" must be our motto with capitalism in all its phases, North, South, East and West! If we cannot unite with capitalistic parties in the North (to secure a temporary advantage), because we know that the continued triumph of capitalism means the continued degradation and robbery of the worker, how, then, can we unite with the political, social, and economic powers of the South to crush the dark-skinned proletariat for the sake of the profit that lies in his degradation?

We do not want either material profit or political profit purchased at such a cost—the sacrifice of our principles. The National Committee is clearly right in withholding a charter from the Louisiana people on account of their declaration in favor of "racial distinctions"—a smug phrase for negro degradation.

Such a sentiment has no place in any Socialist constitution in any country that the sun shines upon. To admit it for the sake of expediency is to lower our standard and convict ourselves of shameful hypocrisy.

CAROLINE PEMBERTON.

Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 8.

HIGH-PRICED SPEAKERS.

Editor of The Worker:—Opinions differ as to high-priced speakers and low-priced speakers, and a recital of what has been done in Michigan the past summer may be of interest. Over one thousand meetings have been held in this state since May 20, 1903, addressed by twenty-five speakers in 250 towns. Not one of these speakers asked what he was going to get for his services, and among them were many men who are as competent to expound Socialism as are many of our high-priced speakers.

It is true that people generally do not expect much of a speaker who does not set a high price on his services, and Socialists are no exception to this rule. We do measure a speaker too largely by the financial estimate he places on himself, and in doing this we too often disparage and discourage even better and more deserving men and speakers. Even Socialists must learn not to estimate a speaker by the glitter of his price mark. Nevertheless there are two sides. Eugene V. Debs, speaking in a capitalistic town, will make his regular Socialist speech to a crowded house at 35 or 50 cents admission charge, whereas it is possible that if he were to charge nothing his audience would be much less. Ordinary people have confidence in high-priced goods—they think low-priced goods are too cheap to be of much account. They judge the quality by the price mark. Ordinary people do, but Socialists ought to know better than to do that.

I have noticed more than once when the Socialists of a town have "thrown themselves," that is, worked hard and dug deep into their pockets for an expensive meeting, that the effort left them with a sort of tired feeling for a long time. It seems as though that sort of exertion has a depressing effect, especially if the comrades happen to be wage-workers, and more especially if there happens to be a deficit and a possible Shylock ready to take his full pound of flesh.

On the whole, it would probably be better for wage-working Socialists to leave our high-priced speakers to charge capitalists all the traffic will bear. Dress suit lectures do actually sound better to most people than the same speech from the rough and ready soap box hustler, but Socialists really ought not to be fooled that way.

C. J. LAMB.

Dryden, Mich., Oct. 24.

AND NOT ONLY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

To the Editor of The Worker:

The platform of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts has this among its immediate demands, that Election Day be made a legal holiday. The need of such a provision appears plainly when one reads the following from the Lawrence "American" of Oct. 31:

"Notices were posted in the mills Friday containing information about Election Day, which comes next Tuesday. According to the notices, no employee will be allowed to go out during working hours to vote. All employees are to vote either before coming to work at 8 o'clock or at the noon hour. In accordance with the law, work in the mills will not start until 8 o'clock on Election Day."

It would be an easy matter to disfranchise hosts of working men simply by the other voters crowding to the polls in the morning and at the noon hour. The fear of discharge and the certainty of losing a half-day's pay would prevent a large part of the factory workers from voting.

The party should also insist on town meeting days being holidays, as the workers pay for all.

E. DAWSON.

Andover, Mass., Nov. 1.

GERMANY.

In an action against the "Leipziger Volkszeitung" for majestäts-beleidigung the government has taken the novel course of summoning the entire staff of the paper to give evidence as to the authorship of the offending article, the manuscript of which a careful research of the premises, not only of the paper but of all the editors, had failed to bring into their hands. These arbitrary proceedings have caused the deepest indignation in all ranks. The business premises of the paper had to be closed for some hours during the hearing of the proceedings, as the entire staff were in court. The "Frankfurter Zeitung" wants to know if the readers will be summoned next.

It has been especially satisfactory to note that at practically all the meetings which have been held to consider the report of the delegates to the Dresden Conference strong resolutions have been passed approving of the resolution against revisionism, and that in places where revisionism was believed to be strong it has been shown that that did not represent the proletariat, who remain revolutionary; moreover, organs of the party which had made themselves conspicuous by their revisionist attitude have been brought to book. What has come out since the congress as to the relations of certain prominent members of the party with the bourgeois press, and the wire-pulling which preceded the congress at Dresden, has completed the discomfiture of the revisionists. The party executive will undoubtedly have to consider how far certain members can be allowed to continue their membership in view of these revelations.—London Justice.

—The Russian paper "Iskra" is of the opinion that the revolutionists are responsible for Minister von Plehve's railway accident, and that they wished to punish him for his cruelty to many persons during the labor disturbances in Ufa.

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

AGAINST ALL THE WORLD.

By Horace Traubel.

It is said that the new British Ambassador at Washington once wrote a novel in which he prophesied some sort of alliance of the "stars and stripes and union jack against all the world." It is characteristic of the old regime to be "against the world." It is always dreaming of conquests, disputes, severances. It is always seeing men in small corners. Men hiding. Men in fear. Races. Sharp boundary lines. One nation sworn against another. It is always seeing mankind in parts rather than in wholes. It is not inclusive. It is exclusive. Against the world.

The new regime is not against the world. It is for the world. It is for the whole world. It knows no world with anything left out. War is not the world. Wages are not the world. Slavery is not the world. The stars and stripes are not the world. Nor is the union jack. Nor are stars and stripes and jacks together the world. Love alone is the world. The absorption of the welfare of the individual in the welfare of the mass is the world. The world can never be anything little. It must be something big. Your parish politics are not the world. Nor is the President with his cabinet. Nor is any king with any premier. The world is too big to be tied up by a country court. And too big to be sequestrated between the leaves of a catechism. And too big to be arrogated into an Anglo-Saxon plaything. What would you do with the world after you had choked it into your province? The world cries to you for help. Then you go and rob the world of itself.

Against the world. The world is not against you. Why are you against the world? What has the world done to you that you should be against it? What has religion taught you? What has the state said to you on the subject? What does trade say? Why are you always against something? Who has taught you the sort of economics which says it is cheap to be against the world? Who has convinced you that you can afford to be against the world? What sort of humanity is it you have to talk about? Is that the best thing you can do with your stars and stripes? With your union jack? Poor stars and stripes. Poor jack. You might have given them a meaning that is good. But you have preferred to give them a meaning that is evil. You might have made them in favor of the world. You have made them against the world. You might have squared them with the new economics. With the economics which have declared for the eternal peace of the communal equities. With the economics which do not cease at the shores of seas. With the opened doors. With the unshuttered windows. With everything that will tend to bring men together. But you have given out pirate bids. You have closed the seas. You have narrowed life to border lines. You have made it impossible for men to know each other. Just as we are about to get acquainted you slap the door shut in my face. You do not offer treaty. You offer war. You do not offer to smoothe difficulties away. You create new difficulties. I hear the tramp of your armies. I see the ships of war on your seas. I read your tariff schedules. I know what you think and what you say about saved races and damned races. Your race is superior and some other race is inferior. Your millionaires are superior and the men who make your millionaires possible are inferior. You are against the loyalties of the communal faith. You are sworn to private allegiance. To subserve the interests of a fragment instead of the interests of the total. You jostle the earth into your back yard. You exile the big. You cosset the little. That is what you have done with your stars and stripes. With your union jack. You have soiled their beauty. You have covered their general meaning with your local mud. The world might have expected your better self. You give it your worst self. Not your trusted hand. Your knotted fist. The world that you might have been for. The world that you have preferred to be against.

When will we ever get a world in which nobody will be against anybody else? When will we get a world in which no man will pull against any other man? When will we get a world in which we will all pull together? In which property will not pull against man but in which property and man will pull together? In which the economic verities will possess themselves of the heart? In which state lines will disappear in favor of universal lines? In which there will be but one blasphemy. The blasphemy of the man who is against the world. What is the use of talking. Anything short of this is so much short of civilization. You are against the world. So is Rockefeller. Rather, so is the system which has produced him. We are going to destroy that against. We say that the time has come in which you have got to array yourself on the side of interracial good will. You can no longer cultivate your private field with the tools of the general chest. You can no longer steal your fire from the general flame. You must see that everything belongs to all and that nothing belongs to anybody. You must see that against is robbery and that for is benefaction. You must see that against is murder and that for is rescue. You must see that no pettifogging can longer hold you back from the service of a genuine democracy. You have fooled yourself long enough. You must now stop. Get down to business. Business is not your declaration of war. It is your promise of peace. I have been listening for a long time while you have told me how impossible it is for you to trust man. Now I will wait until you have told me how possible it is to trust man. What in God's name have you to hope for in a new century of fratricide? Have you not killed enough? Have you not robbed the poor enough? Have you not bragged about your Anglo-Saxon honesty enough? Why should you be so noisy about your honesty? Why not let other people talk about that? Do you suppose we believe your boasts? Put them into a scale. What do they come to? They do not budge the scale. They are as empty as a vacuum. You are a nice civilizer. Against the world, eh? I am not without humor. But I confess that the picture of Uncle Sam and John Bull going forth together arm in arm against the rest of the earth does not make me laugh. For this thin Sam and this fat John are historically so selfrighteous that their robber manias seem more than commonly offensive. They are always telling the world how they love freedom. And they are always showing the world how they can stab freedom in the back.

You who are the conservative lyrists go on monotonously reciting the story of your regime. You have told it with such variations of tense and with such distortions of data that I am afraid to trust you. And you have always made a great deal of the peril that would attend a change. You point us out with scorn. You sneer at our radical propaganda. Well—let me tell you something about that. You have tried to make clear what you will do and what you will not do. Let me tell you what we propose to do. We may be cranks and fanatics. But when we are in control of this world it will be a world of peace. Not the sort of peace that you speak of now. Not the sort of peace that consists with robbery and is not peace. Not the sort of peace that condones masters treating with slaves. Not the sort of peace that exists by the leave of bosses. Not the sort of peace that aureoles the wage system. Not the sort of peace in the hearing of whose bluster many men cannot find work to do, and other men who work are underpaid, and women and children must miserably piece out a mill requiem of death. My God, no! When we come to the world offering it gifts it will not be gifts of disaster. Our peace will make government of no consequence and man of every consequence. Will force private property to the wall. Will refuse to put one man over another. Will rebel against the slavery of the tool. Will not be afraid of night lest men steal and of day lest men starve. Will not house people here in palaces and there in holes. Will not give the man who does not work everything and give the man who does work nothing. Will get and keep the idlers busy and will reduce the hours of the industrious. Will use the state for universal man or abolish it altogether. Thas is what our peace will do. It will not sneak round corners upon weak nations or weak men and reduce them to captivity. It will enter into no alliance against anybody. It has learned its lesson well. It is a lesson of unbounded comity. It has no reservations. None of race. For it says all races are of one race. None of property. For it says that all property is one property. None of ownership. For it says that the best ownership is no ownership at all. None of freedom. For it says that freedom is freedom only when all are free. None of bargain and sale. For it says that a system which entertains a thing sold entertains a soul sold and therefore must be abolished. Why should our peace have reservations? We want to get rid of all the old bars. We know that this task to be done right must be done without equivocation. And it can never be done without equivocation while any state or any race or any interest within or without is against any other interest. For the interests of men when men live in chaos claw and destroy each other. But the interests of men when men live in order coalesce for one result.

THE SOCIALIST RADICALS OF FRANCE.

The Radical Socialists, as they are called, who might be more accurately described as socialistic radicals, recently held their party congress at Marseilles. Among the most noteworthy utterances was that of the chairman, who, in his opening speech, defined the difference between themselves and the collectivists to lie in the fact that his party in no way desired or worked for the destruction or abolition of private property. A declaration of that kind helps to clear the issue. Where, however, the Socialism comes in, it is not easy to see. It is probable, however, that they are only a little bit in advance of the "Ministerial" Socialists, who are already in a fair way to the same position, with this difference, however, that the Radical Socialists are consistent anti-Clericals; that is their sole plank, and on that they were ready to vote against the Ministry, when it did not act up to what they thought right, but the "Ministerial Socialists" have been Ministerial through thick and thin. There is no principle they have not been ready to sacrifice, and no insult from the Ministers they are not ready to take.

ITALIAN SOCIALISTS MAKE TZAR ABANDON VISIT.

The Tsar's visit to Rome has been abandoned indefinitely at last in consequence of the thereatened hostile demonstrations of Italian Socialists, who proposed to receive him with hisses instead of cheers. The Italian "Revisionists" were opposed to this plan, but it was pretty certain that Ferri had the majority of Italian comrades with him, and that worked on the nerves of the great Russian autocrat to such an extent that the Tsar has decided to stay away. It implies a great moral triumph for Italian Socialism, and especially the revolutionary section, and puts the Russian government, as well as the Italian, in a foolish position.

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

THE CREEPING DARK.

By Franklin H. Wentworth.

In Paris, when you traverse the rue des Francs-Bourgeois until you come to the rue Sevigne, you will find upon the corner a building of agreeable architecture erected in the sixteenth century for a Breton family named Kernevalec. From 1677 until 1696 Madame de Sevigne lived in it. It belongs now to the city of Paris and contains a collection illustrating the history of the city and of the revolution.

In a room of the second floor, in a corner near a fire-place, there is the portrait of a man, painted in oil. Under this portrait in a glass case is a long double-coil of rotten rope connected at intervals by short sticks, and a clumsy, broken saw.

The portrait is the likeness of a Frenchman named Latude.

The rope and sticks are the remains of a ladder by which he made his escape from the Bastile.

The Bastile was a stupendous old castle built for Charles V. in the fourteenth century and which was left standing when the boulevards were levelled in 1670. With its massive walls, ten feet in thickness, and its eight sombre towers, it rose just at the entrance of the city, and the cannon on its battlements commanded the adjoining suburb of St. Antoine—the quarter occupied by the working classes.

Up to the 14th of July, 1789, when the revolutionists battered it to pieces and liberated everyone in it, that is to say, for a period of one hundred years and over, the Bastile was a favorite place in which to put people and forget about them. Charles' wonderful story, "A Tale of Two Cities," is founded on such an incident.

Latude escaped from the Bastile a few years before its destruction.

He had spent thirty-six years in one of its dark, cold, vermin-infested dungeons and had retained his reason. He went into his cell a young man and came out, down this rope-ladder, an old one.

He had harmed no human being and had committed no crime, but he had done something which in that day in France was worse than either.

He had referred slightingly in public to a courtesan of Louis XV.

There were then commonly in use amiable little epistles called lettres-de-cachet. These were blank commitments to prison signed by the king. If the king were fond of you he would sign one of these blanks and give it to you, and when you came across a man who was not to your mind, you had only to write his name in the blank space provided and give the paper to the commanding officer of the Bastile.

He would do the rest. The prisoner would need to be charged with nothing and he need not know why he was sent nor who sent him. He would never come to trial.

If he had influential friends you could write a bogus name in the lettre-de-cachet, but be sure the officer got the right man. Then there would be no record to trace him by; he would just disappear.

Madame Pompadour made out a lettre-de-cachet for Latude when she heard he had spoken of her. She did the same for many another man of whom the world will never know.

Mme. Pompadour was the flower of a system of exploitation. She was neither better nor worse than her compeers. Opportunities were hers to have her will, and the public machinery had been so ordered that private malice might be served by it.

In the United States to-day the first step has been taken toward ordering the legal machinery of the nation for private ends in criminal proceedure. This fact may not be generally recognized, but it is true.

In the middle of a peaceful and orderly meeting of American citizens in Murray Hill Lyceum, New York, secret service detectives of the United States, authorized by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor at Washington, arrested John Turner, an Englishman, chief organizer of the Retail Clerks' Union of Great Britain and a member of the London Trades' Council.

The detectives had no civil warrant; they had no authority other than that of the Department of Commerce and Labor.

The Department of Commerce and Labor has thus publicly demonstrated for the first time the reason for its establishment; it is to do the dirty work that no other department would scarifice its dignity to. Its servants took Mr. Turner to Ellis Island, a federal government reservation, where a "special board of inquiry," whose proceedings were not made public, decided that he was an "Anarchist" and therefore subject to deportation under the federal law.

Turner had made no incendiary utterances in this country; he had not, in the words of the law "advocated the overthrow by force or violence," of any organized government. It had simply been reported in advance of his coming to America that he had ideas of government differing from those commonly accepted.

Clearly and literally this man is arrested, tried by a secret court, and remanded to jail without bail by a United States court, awaiting deportation, because he professes to have ideas differing from those of other people.

It is to this mean and vulgar level that plutocracy has dragged a once noble and dignified nation. A people once peerless in the Congress of the World now stoops to practices that in France made even a harlot infamous.

The Goddess of Liberty has been translated into a Pompadour. Her once chaste outlines have been degraded by public debauchery. She has been foully betrayed by those whom the people elevated into high places to guard her virtue, and the men who once walked proudly in the purity of her shadow hang their heads in honest shame.

Whom the gods destroy they first make mad.

You cannot fright the pest with border fortresses.

Social wrongs cannot be righted by killing individuals; and revolutions cannot be averted by deporting them. You cannot hit a thought with a shotgun. Men who kill and men who suffer for liberty are effects, not causes. They are the products of collective wrong-doing.

The same crime that Leon Czolgosz committed against William McKinley, the United States government, administered in private interest, is now committing against John Turner. One crime is as futile as the other.

After using the American government to enrich themselves and impoverish the people, a comparatively small number of men are now beginning to use this same government to stifle criticism, as the Pompadour did.

Unless there soon comes to the flood in United States politics an influence which is not fatuously deceived by plutocratic wiles; an influence which has a principle for its guidance; unless that futile and vulgar ignorance which stands by in stupid apathy while the giant bulk of a great government is used to bully a single defenseless man is soon dispelled, the American Republic will soon be distorted into a bawd compared to which the Pompadour was a Delphic Sibyl.

No matter who the man is who is accused, the beginning of these secret examinations in one case, is the beginning of secret examinations in other cases. A precedent once established, nothing is easier or more insidious than the spread of such evil practices.

The vapidly unintelligent law under which John Turner is suffering outrage and persecution is the prelude to the lettre-de-cachet. It is the first step in a progressive encroachment upon individual liberty of thought by centralized and irresponsible authority, and its ultimate logical consummation is the imprisonment or death of every man or woman who dares to challenge the outrages of organized wrong.

John Turner is the beginning.

The end will be Latude.

UNION OF FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTIES.

The Three Groups Opposed to Ministerial "Revisionism" Are Definitely Merged as the Socialist Party of France.

The long desired and long delayed unity of the Socialist forces of France—excluding, of course, those who, following Jaurès and Millerand, reject revolutionary principles and policy based on the class struggle and aim at what they consider practical progress through the collaboration of classes—seems to have been definitely accomplished at the recent congress of Rheims, completing the work begun at the conference of Ivry. By this action, the alliance of the French Labor Party (Parti ouvrier français), the Socialist Revolutionary Party, and the Communist Alliance becomes a permanent and absolute union under the title of Socialist Party of France, with no recognition in the provisions of its organization of the former autonomous existence of the three bodies.

Guesde and Lafargue and Delory of the Labor Party, Vaillant and Laudrin of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, and the others who took a prominent part in the organization of unity at Rheims have had their bitter fights in the past, and they and the other veterans of the movement in all three divisions must have found it no easy thing to give up the associations and wipe out the animosities of so many years. But they have done it—and apparently to the great surprise of the followers of Jaurès and Millerand.

Among the one hundred and four delegates to the congress were nine members of the national Chamber of Deputies—Bouveri, Constans, Cantaut, Dejeante, Delory, Dufour, Thivrier, Vaillant, and Walter—six members of departmental general councils, three arrondissement councillors, seven mayors of cities, and seventeen municipal councillors.

The new organization has about 20,000 dues-paying members, organized in thirty-nine departmental federations (France is divided into eighty-three departments), with local groups in twelve other departments. Fourteen of the departmental federations have party papers—one daily, three appearing twice a week, and ten weekly. The central organ is "Le Socialiste," published at Paris.

Among the messages of congratulation received were those of the Executive Committee of the German Social Democracy, of Karl Kautsky, and of George Plechanoff. Kautsky wrote in part: "It is a great and noble task you have undertaken. * * * You will show that implacable opposition to the existing capitalist system is quite compatible with the practical struggle for the present amelioration of the condition of the proletariat; that, in fact, the only way to extort such amelioration from capitalist society is by fighting it, not by reconciliation with it."

As the antagonism between the ideas held by the Socialist Party of France and the "revisionism" of Jaurès and Millerand will be fought out on the floor of the international congress at Amsterdam next year, it was resolved that another congress of the party be held shortly before the date of the international gathering, to prepare for that conflict.

The question of the general strike as a revolutionary method will also be taken up at that time, and it is significant that the motion to this effect was made by Jules Guesde, who has always opposed that policy as strongly as Vaillant and others of the old Socialist Revolutionary Party have advocated it.

—When you have finished reading this paper, give it to a neighbor. After giving him two or three numbers, get him to subscribe. Then start in on another man.

PARTY NEWS.

October Financial Report.

The National Secretary's financial report for the month of October shows total receipts of $1,371.41, of which $904.75 was for dues from organized states, $66.10 dues from locals in unorganized states, $138.65 for the Special Organizing Fund, $64.40 from sale of supplies, $78.86 from Hanford's tour, and $28.65 from miscellaneous sources.

Expenditures for the month were $1,723.49. The balance on Oct. 1 was $1,029.50. The balance on Nov. 1 was $677.42.

Receipts for dues were as follows: Alabama, $10; Arizona, $15; Arkansas, $10; California, $02.15; Colorado, $15; Connecticut, $34.25; Illinois, $70; Indiana, $40; Iowa, $25; Kentucky, $19; Massachusetts, $75; Michigan, $25; Minnesota, $25; Missouri, $50; Montana, $10; New Hampshire, $26.40; New Jersey, $70; New York, $100; Oklahoma, $18.55; Ohio, $50; Oregon, $7.35; Pennsylvania, $100; Texas, $11.30; Vermont, $5; Wisconsin, $90.75; from locals in unorganized states—Delaware, $1; Georgia, 70 cents; Indian Territory, $7.30; Louisiana, $10; Maryland, $5.80; Nevada, $1; North Carolina, 70 cents; Rhode Island, $8; South Carolina, $1.10; Tennessee, $9.10; Virginia, $4.60; West Virginia, $8.10; Wyoming, $6.50; Washington, D. C., $2; members-at-large, 20 cents.

The principal items of expense were: Salaries—Wm. Mailly, $83; W. E. Clark, $75; office help, $109; on old debts of Springfield N. E. C., Chas. H. Vail, $80; debts of Chicago N. E. B., A. S. Edwards, $80; expenses of National Committee meeting, $44.25; agitation and organization (tours of Goebel, Ray, Bigelow, Bennett, Hyland, Towner, Brown, and Toole, and grants for special purposes to state committees of New York, Iowa, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Connecticut), $745.63; donation to Haverhill campaign fund, $50.

The report indicates a dues-paying membership of 20,556. The National Secretary says: "Now that the state elections are over, this number of members should be increased so that the Socialist Party can enter the campaign next year with every acknowledged Socialist in its ranks."

Organizers and Lecturers.

Charles H. Matchett of New York will fill dates arranged for him by the National Secretary at Philadelphia, Nov. 12, and at Washington, D. C., Nov. 14.

Winfield R. Gaylord, State Organizer for Wisconsin, will fill several lecture dates during December in Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama, on his way to Florida to act as National Organizer for several weeks.

James F. Carey of Massachusetts was under promise to take a Western lecturing tour under the direction of the national headquarters in case he was defeated for re-election to the Massachusetts Legislature. Arrangements will now be made to have this tour begin in January if possible.

John W. Brown of Connecticut, taking up the tour of Ben Hanford, who had to leave the road on account of sickness, began his work in the West on Nov. 8 at Omaha. Further dates are: Nov. 10, North Platte, Neb.; Nov. 11, Gering; Nov. 12, Mitchell; Nov. 14, Cheyenne, Wyo.; Nov. 15, Denver, Colo.; Nov. 17, Carbondale; Nov. 18, Aspen; Nov. 21, Ouray; Nov. 23 and 24, Albuquerque, N. M. After filling several dates in Arizona, Brown will enter California.

George E. Bigelow will close in Arkansas on Nov. 18 and fill ten dates in the Indian Territory before entering Oklahoma for three weeks.

George H. Goebel will work in Texas until Nov. 24, entering Louisiana next day to work for two weeks before returning home for Christmas and a rest.

M. W. Wilkins begins in Montana at Kalispel on Nov. 11, under the direction of State Secretary Cooney, and will remain in that state for two months.

Harry M. McKee returns from Arizona to work in the Northern districts of California.

John M. Ray will get through in Tennessee on Nov. 11 and enter Georgia to stay there until near Christmas.

P. J. Hyland will close in Wyoming on Nov. 17 or 18 and probably return to Omaha.

Chas. G. Towner will work in the Northern district of Virginia, where good results are promised, and make a state organization possible.

Actions of National Committee.

The National Secretary reports the action of the National Committee upon several motions, mostly concerning the question of Mills' conduct in speaking for the bogus Socialist Propaganda Club in Omaha, as follows:

Dobbs of Kentucky moved: "That Comrades Work of Iowa and Christensen of Nebraska prepare a statement of the case against Mills, with his reply or explanation, the same to be transmitted to the Kansas State Committee with a request for action on the same." The vote stands: Yes—White of Connecticut, Healey of Florida, Dobbs of Kentucky, Fox of Montana, Claflin of New Hampshire, Halbrooks of Oklahoma, Barnes of Pennsylvania, and Boomer of Washington—8; No—Floaten of Colorado, Miller of Idaho, Work of Iowa, Mills of Kansas, Talbott of Minnesota, Christensen of Nebraska, Hillquit of New York, Critchlow of Ohio, and Kerrigan of Texas—9; not voting—Richardson of California, Berlyn of Illinois, Reynolds of Indiana, Fox of Maine, Carey of Massachusetts, Turner of Missouri, Goebel of New Jersey, Massey of North Dakota, Lovett of South Dakota, Berger of Wisconsin—10. The motion is lost.

Christensen of Nebraska moved: "That the National Committee express its disapproval of Comrades Mills' and Critchlow's actions in this matter as unworthy of Socialist Party members, and particularly members holding responsible official positions, and as injurious to the movement of the party in Nebraska and the Socialist movement at large; that members of the party, whether acting in an official capacity or otherwise, are expected to uphold the laws laid down in the National Constitution, Section 4, Article 6 included, and to observe the rules and regulations of state and local organizations where they may reside, whether permanent or temporary; and that state and local organizations are recommended to enact such laws as will guarantee the enforcement of the National Constitution, and particularly Section 4, Article 6 of same, and be prepared to act at once and effectively upon any violation of state autonomy committed by a member in any other state than that in which the violator of said law holds membership." The vote stands: Yes—White, Fox (Mont.), Christensen, Hillquit, Halbrooks, Barnes, Kerrigan, Boomer—8; No—Floaten, Healey, Miller, Work, Dobbs, Mills, Talbott, Claflin, Critchlow—9; not voting—Richardson, Berlyn, Reynolds, Fox (Me.), Carey, Turner, Goebel, Massey, Lovett, Berger—10. The motion is lost.

Mills of Kansas moved: "That the motions of Comrade Christenson and Dobbs be declared out of order." The vote stands: Yes—Turner, Mills, Claflin, Massey, Critchlow, Goebel, Lovett—7; No—Richardson, Floaten, White, Healey, Berlyn, Work, Dobbs, Fox (Mont.), Christensen, Halbrooks, Barnes, Kerrigan, Boomer, Berger—14; not voting—Miller, Fox (Me.), Carey, Hillquit—4. The motion is lost. The National Secretary asked instructions as to whether Mills and Critchlow might vote on questions affecting themselves and was answered in the affirmative by a vote of 18 to 3 (Floaten, Claflin, and Kerrigan voting against), with Miller, Fox (Me.), Carey, Halbrooks, and Berger not voting.

Richardson of California moved: That if P. J. Hyland, as a member of the last state convention of Nebraska, spoke or voted for the proposed resolution requiring that 80 per cent. of the applicants for a local charter be wage-workers, he be not commissioned as a national organizer for any state or territory whatsoever. This motion is lost by a vote of 21 to 3—Richardson, Turner, and Kerrigan supporting it, and Miller, Reynolds, and Fox (Me.) not voting.

Work's motion to abandon the campaign book project is carried by a vote of 14 to 7.

Questions now submitted to the National Committee are:

Motion by Mills: "That the matter of the protest or charges of the Local Quorum of the state of Nebraska against myself be declared out of order."

Questions submitted on request of Critchlow: "1. Is National Committeeman Critchlow of Ohio guilty of any breach of party tactics, principles, or responsibilities as preferred in the charges against him by the Nebraska Local Quorum? 2. If guilty, what punishment is to be accorded him?"

Motion by Kerrigan: "That the meeting of the National Committee to be held in January, 1904, be passed and that the National Secretary be instructed to take such steps as are necessary to ascertain if this be the wish of the party at large."

The vote of the National Committee on these matters will close on Nov. 30.

Three motions have been made on the Louisiana affair reported last week: By Talbott, that the action of the Louisiana comrades be confirmed and the state charter granted; by Work, that the charter be withheld until the negro clause is eliminated from the state platform; by White, that the charter be withheld till all declarations regarding separation or discrimination against the negro race be formally withdrawn or repudiated by the state membership. These motions are not yet submitted for action, as the Louisiana comrades are considering their course and may voluntarily change their decision.

The National Secretary has referred to the Quorum two propositions from J. A. Wayland, that the National Committee assume the publication of the "Appeal to Reason" and that the National Secretary appoint a cashier for that paper.

Last Monday was the day set for closing the vote of the National Committee on the proposed form of circular for submitting to the membership of the party an amendment to the national constitution of the party providing for proportional representation of states in the National Committee. It is proposed to amend the first division of Article I, Section 1, so as to read: "There shall be a National Committee, composed of one member from each organized state or territory, each committeeman having one vote for every hundred members of his state, or majority fraction thereof, the number of members to be determined by computing the average dues-paying membership per month for three months prior to time of voting."

Other National Affairs.

Charters were granted last week to the following new locals in unorganized states or territories: Adamston, Rodes, and Coal Run, W. Va.; Roff and Bennington, I. T.; Frostberg, Md.; Dalton, Ga.

The National Quorum, consisting of National Committeemen Work of Iowa, Berger of Wisconsin, Berlyn of Illinois, Reynolds of Indiana, and Dobbs of Kentucky, will meet on Saturday, Nov. 14, at the national headquarters in Omaha, as agreed upon at the July meeting. Business of importance will be transacted and a statement of the prospective organizing and lecturing work of the national headquarters for the winter will probably be made to the membership.

The North Dakota State Quorum has unanimously adopted a resolution heartily endorsing the suggestion of A. M. Simons for the selection of a National Secretary for Municipal Affairs, and requesting the National Committee to bring the matter before the next national convention.

Local Sedalia, Mo., by a unanimous vote on Oct. 23, adopted the following resolution: "Resolved, That this local heartily endorse the action of the Omaha Local in the Mills controversy. We do not approve of any of our public speakers speaking under the auspices of any pretended friends of our party against the protest of any local, state, or national organization of the party."

Special Organizing Fund.

The following contributions have been made to the Special Organizing Fund since last report: Jas. B. Palmer, The Dallas, Ore., $1; Job Trotter, Macon, Ga., 25 cents; C. Miles, Jerome, Ariz., $1; A. L., New York City, 25 cents; C. H. Happersete, Paris, Ill., 10 cents; Local Cheyenne, Wyo., $1; Local Abita Springs, La., monthly contribution, 50 cents; J. E. Carnahan, Ingersoll, Okla., $1; Local Millvale, Pa., 50 cents; Joseph Menide, Oregon City, Ore., 50 cents; J. W. Sawyer, Grand Junction, Colo., 50 cents; Tenth Ward Branch, Local St. Louis, Mo., $1; Local Gibbonsville, Idaho, 50 cents; J. Siwczynski, Porterville, Cal., $2.50; S. H. Cantwell, Chester, Idaho, $1; Local Valley City, N. D., $1; Branch 23, United Silk Workers of America, Hoboken, N. J., $2.79; Chas. Ufert, W. Hoboken, N. J., $1.21; Local Lewistown, Mont., 50 cents; W. D. Hurt, Pleasant Hill, Mo., 25 cents; Peter Saurez, Philadelphia, Pa., $1. Total to noon, Nov. 7, $18.85. Previously reported, $2,152.37. Total, $2,1..22.

New York City.

The General Committee of Local New York will meet Saturday evening, Nov. 14, in the W. E. A. Club House, 206 E. Eighty-sixth street. This is a regular meeting, the same as would otherwise be held on the fourth Saturday, as the hall could not be secured for that evening in November and December. Delegates should bring their membership cards and be on time.

At the special meeting of the Kings County Committee on Nov. 7, resignation of F. E. Coddington from the party was received and referred to assembly district branch. Financial secretary reported balance on hand $208.75. Comrades Schaefer and Butscher were chosen to act in conjunction with Labor Lyceum Committee in arranging lectures to be held in the Labor Lyceum. Next regular meeting will be held Nov. 15.

The 6th A. D. of Brooklyn held a meeting the day after election, with larger attendance than usual, and discussed ways and means to conduct immediate and effective propaganda. A systematic plan of house-to-house agitation will be followed. Each election district will be taken up by two comrades residing therein, with the purpose not only to make new Socialists, but to get every S. D. P. voter into the party organization. Six comrades volunteered to go to work immediately and report on results at next meeting.

The Scandinavian Social Democratic Society meets at 233 E. Thirty-eighth street on the first Sunday of each month at 10.30 a. m., and holds agitation meetings at the same place on the third Sunday at 7.30 p. m. This Sunday, Nov. 15, Algernon Lee will be the speaker of the evening, and members are requested to bring as many friends as possible, as entertainment will probably follow after the lecture and discussion.

Courtenay Lemon's lecture at the Verein für Volksbildung, at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, on Sunday evening, Nov. 15, will be preceded by a concert and followed by dancing, and the members of the various Young People's Clubs are especially invited to be present.

The Socialist lectures of the 1st, 3d and 5th A. D. will be continued every Sunday evening through the winter. The speaker for next Sunday is not yet decided upon, but on Nov. 22 Louis B. Boudin is slated to speak on "The Philosophy of Socialism." On Nov. 29 Algernon Lee will deliver the first of a series of three lectures: "The Capitalist System;" on Dec. 6, "The Development of Capitalism;" on Dec. 13, "The Socialist Movement a Product of Capitalism." These lectures are being held in the rooms of the Endeavor Club, at 59 Morton street, near Hudson.

The 21st A. D. has swung into line for next year's campaign. At a largely attended meeting last Friday Comrades Abrahams, Saphro, Seigert, Egerton, Van Name and Paschberg were elected as a committee to devise ways and means for the strengthening of the branch, increasing its membership, and to formulate some plan whereby the branch can further The Daily Globe project.

Pennsylvania.

State Secretary Stick gives out a statement in regard to D. O. Coughlin, the candidate of the Socialist Party for District Attorney in Luzerne County in the campaign just closed, whose name, as the State Committee learned on Oct. 24, appeared also on the Citizens' ticket. On inquiry, the County Committee stated, what appears to be the fact, that Coughlin had not solicited nor accepted the endorsement nor made any pledges to the Citizens' organization. The State Committee, nevertheless, demanded that he formally and publicly decline the nomination. This demand was so far complied with that Coughlin published in the local labor paper a statement that he had not asked nor accepted any nomination but that of the Socialist Party, and that he did not desire the vote of any man who was not a Socialist. Further than this, the County Committee declined to require him to go. The State Committee, therefore, at its meeting of Nov. 9, holding that Coughlin's failure legally and decisively to refuse the Citizens' nomination must be considered as a tacit acceptance and a violation of Socialist principles and of the party constitution, decided to revoke the charter of the Luzerne County Committee and to call upon the locals of that county to take action against its members.

Ohio.

Convoy, Ven Wert County, Ohio, has been organized by Geo. R. Kirkpatrick. They expect to make rapid progress and will soon have a strong Socialist organization.

Marietta, Washington County, Ohio, has been organized, and the Socialist workers there promise to have one of the very best locals in Ohio before another campaign rolls around.

Referendum proposed by Local Toledo was sent to a vote of the state on Nov. 10, and will remain open until Dec. 10.

Referendum vote upon the election of a member of the National Committee from Ohio for 1904 is being held back pending the answer to letter from State Secretary to C. Retscher, asking his acceptance or declination of the nomination. All other candidates have replied. As soon as his answer is received referendum will immediately be submitted.

New England.

State Secretary Berry of Maine spoke at Waterville on Nov. 1 and organized a new local with seven charter members.

The Socialist Women's Club of Boston will open a Socialist Sunday School Nov. 15, 3 p. m., at the party headquarters, 699 Washington street. Winfield P. Porter, as superintendent, will give an address, and Dr. Antoinette Konikow will speak. Mrs. W. P. Porter will conduct the singing. Charles Kerr's "Socialist Songs" have been adopted. Parents are requested to bring their children.

Here and There.

Local Omaha has unanimously adopted resolutions protesting against the action of the Jackson County Socialist Club of Missouri in giving membership to George E. Baird, who, so the resolution states, "was expelled from the Omaha Local of the Socialist Party of Nebraska on being proved a corruptionist and a boodler in the pay of the Republican party in 1900."

The "Railway Employees' Journal," organ of the Brotherhood of Railway Employes, which has heretofore been issued as a four-page weekly, will come out in future as a monthly magazine, beginning with the November issue, published on Nov. 15.

"The New Commonwealth," published weekly at Westwood, Mass., is the latest addition to the Socialist press. The editors and publishers are G. E. Littlefield and C. E. Ordway, with George Willis Cooke as associate.

T. J. McKelgue, an active member of the Social Democratic Party in Janesville, Wis., represents the Trades Council of that city at the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The Central Trades and Labor Council of Vallejo, Cal., sends J. B. Dale, a member of the Socialist Party in that place.

THE NEW YORK STATE REFERENDUM.

Editor of The Worker:—For the information of the comrades, I offer some light on the points involved in the motion of Locals Yonkers, Buffalo and Syracuse, now submitted to a general vote of the party in New York state. The motion is to change Article II of the state constitution.

The proposed changes are indicated in the following comparison:

Present Section 1: The affairs of the state organization shall be conducted by the State Committee and by the general vote.

Proposed Section 1. The affairs of the state organization shall be conducted by the State Committee and by the general vote.

Present Section 2: The State Convention shall elect nine members residing in the city of New York to constitute the State Committee. They shall serve until the next convention.

Proposed Section 2: The State Committee shall consist of one delegate from each county of the state of New York, except Local Rochester. The latter shall elect five members residing in the city of Rochester to constitute the Local Quorum. This State Committee shall serve until the next convention.

Present Section 3: The locals of the city of New York shall have the authority to fill vacancies in the State Committee, and the power of removal.

Proposed Section 3: Local Rochester shall have the authority to fill vacancies in the Local Quorum and have the power of removal.

Present Section 4: Any organized county may send at its own expense one delegate to the State Committee.

Proposed Section 4: The state delegates from each county shall have the right to attend the meetings of the State Quorum at the expense of the county each delegate represents.

Present Sections 5, 6, and 13: 5. The State Committee shall elect a recording secretary, a corresponding and financial secretary, and a treasurer, and such other officers as the committee may deem proper. 6. The committee may compensate its officers from the treasury of the state organization. 13. Locals of the city of New York shall elect a committee of three to audit semi-annually the books of the State Committee.

Proposed Sections 5 and 6: Sec. 5: A meeting of the State Committee shall be held twice annually on the last Saturday in January and in July for the purpose of supervising the work of the Local Quorum, auditing the accounts, and to transact such other business of importance as may be required, the expense to be paid by the locals; the Local Quorum to meet twice a month. Sec. 6. The Local Quorum shall elect a recording secretary, treasurer, corresponding secretary, to be known as State Secretary, and financial secretary. The State Secretary may also be the financial secretary and receive compensation for his work.

Proposed Section 7: The State Secretary shall notify the state delegates of all business transacted by the Local Quorum and notify them of the semi-annual meetings of the State Committee.

Present Sections 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12: 7. It shall carry on and supervise the agitation and campaign work throughout the state. 8. It shall pass upon all applications for charters and forward same. 9. It shall distribute to the locals, at the price of ten cents each, monthly due stamps furnished by the N. E. C. 10. It shall furnish to the locals quarter-annual report blanks. 11. It shall call the state convention. 12. It shall make a report of its work, together with its receipts and expenditures, to the state convention.

Proposed Sections 8, 9, and 10: Sec. 8 The State Quorum shall carry on and supervise the agitation and campaign work throughout the state; it shall pass upon all applications for charters and forward same; it shall distribute to the locals, at the price of ten cents each, monthly due stamps furnished by the N. E. C.; it shall furnish to the locals quarter-annual report blanks; it shall call the state convention; it shall make a report of its work, together with its receipts and expenditures, to the state convention. Sec. 9. The State Committee at its semi-annual meetings shall furnish to the locals an itemized report of its income and expenditure for the previous six months. 10. All reports of a referendum vote shall be submitted to the locals in a tabulated form. (The practice prevailing now is to publish a tabulated report in the party press.)

Present Section 14: In case of conflict between any provision of this constitution and the national constitution, the latter shall take precedence.

Proposed Section 11: In case of conflict between any provision of this constitution and the national constitution, the latter shall take precedence.

A mere glance at the above will show that the only change proposed is the removal of headquarters from New York to Rochester. The only local in Monroe County is Rochester. The nearest local east of Rochester is Syracuse and west of Rochester is Buffalo. Therefore, with headquarters in Rochester, the quorum will have to be composed of members of Local Rochester only.

The present State Committee is composed of members elected at the state convention of 1902 and delegates from organized counties, as follows: Members elected at the convention of 1902: From New York County, I. Phillips, Emil Neppel, Leonard D. Abbott, H. Reich, H. L. Slobodin, James N. Wood; from Kings County, Chas. L. Furman, Hugo Peters (in place of Bowerman, resigned); Delegates from counties: Richmond, now vacant; New York, Courtenay Lemon; Kings, Wm. Struempfler; Queens, Chris Bub; Westchester, Dixon; Orange, G. J. Lindboe. The officers of the State Committee are: Henry L. Slobodin, corresponding secretary; Courtenay Lemon, recording secretary; Emile Neppel, financial secretary and treasurer; Herman Reich, literature agent during the campaigns of 1900 and 1902.

Notwithstanding any prevailing notion to the contrary, the State Committee at no time paid any compensation whatsoever to any of its permanent officers for their services. The State Committee had ample power to do so if it deemed it necessary. But neither the state secretary, financial secretary and treasurer, recording secretary, nor the literature agent ever asked or received compensation for their work.

A financial and membership statement will shortly be published.

HENRY L. SLOBODIN.

LECTURE CALENDAR FOR NEW YORK

Lectures for the week under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party and auxiliary organizations, whether by Socialist or non-Socialist speakers, and by Socialist speakers before other organizations, are listed below. Unless otherwise stated, lectures are called for 8 p. m.

FRIDAY, NOV. 13.

West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall, northwest corner Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, second floor. Dr. G. Fish Clark: "Co-operation vs. Competition."

SUNDAY, NOV. 15.

Verein für Volksbildung, 64 East Fourth street. Courtenay Lemon: "The Socialist View of the State, State Interference, and State Capitalism."

Socialist Literary Society, 232 East Broadway. Leonard D. Abbott: "The Socialist Spirit in Art and Literature."

Colonial Hall, 101st street, near Columbus avenue. Dr. G. Fish Clark: "An Essay on Socialism."

Scandinavian Social Democratic Society, 233 E. Thirty-eighth street, 7.30 p. m. Algernon Lee.

Brooklyn.

FRIDAY, NOV. 13.

William Morris Educational Society of Brownsville, Tobac's Hall, corner Thatford and Pitkin avenues, 8:30 p. m. Courtenay Lemon: "The Socialist View of the State, State Interference, and State Capitalism."

SUNDAY, NOV. 15.

Wurzler's Hall, 315 Washington street. Margaret Haile: "The Earth for the Human Race."

SPANISH MINERS WIN STRIKE.

The strike of the iron miners of Bilbao, Spain, led by the Socialists, is reported to have ended in a brilliant success, in spite of the calling out of ten thousand soldiers to quell it. The miners, 35,000 in number, stood firm and the workingmen of other trades showed their sympathy in an unmistakable way. After a fight in which four of the strikers were killed and many wounded, the government decided to use its influence to induce the employers to settle, lest the strike develop into a formidable insurrection. As a result, the men went back to work last week, with the promise of weekly payment of wages, abolition of the truck system after Jan. 1, and abandonment of the rule which required them to live in the miserable barracks owned by the companies. The right to maintain a union is, however, denied them, and the dispatches say that this will lead to further trouble.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

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CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INT. UNION No. 90—Office and Employment Bureau, 64 E. 4th St. The following Districts meet every Saturday: Dist. I (Bohemian)—331 E. 71st St., 8 p. m.; Dist. II (German)—50 E. 1st St., 8 p. m.; Dist. III—Clubhouse, 206 E. 86th St., 7.30 p.m.; Dist. IV—342 W. 42d St., 8 p. m.; Dist. V—3309 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VI—1997 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VII—1432 Second Ave., 8 p. m. The Board of Supervision meets every Tuesday at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Ave., 8 p. m.

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THE SCANDINAVIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY OF NEW YORK meets first Sunday of every month, 10:30 a. m., in Link's Hall, 233 E. 38th street, New York. All Scandinavians are welcome. Agitation meetings every third Sunday, at 7 p. m. Secretary, G. Sjoholm, 321 E. Ninth street, New York.

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IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Two Straight Socialists in Provincial Parliament.

Nanaimo and Newcastle Send Men Pledged to the Principles of the International Movement — A Third Barely Defeated by a Trick—Miners Vote as They Strike.

In our issue of Oct. 25 we noted the election of two candidates as Socialists to the provincial parliament of British Columbia and spoke with some doubt of the quality of their Socialism. We are glad to be corrected by a letter from O. Lee Charlton of Victoria, who says "I cannot attach any blame to you for your doubts when I consider the source of your information." We present the main facts given by Comrade Charlton.

The law of British Columbia requires each parliamentary candidate to deposit $200, to be forfeited if his voe falls below half that received by the winning candidate—an almost prohibitive tax on third parties. Nevertheless, the Socialist Party had ten candidates in the field in nine "ridings" or constituencies (some ridings elect more than one member), out of a total of forty-two seats in thirty-four ridings. These candidates were:

John T. Mortimer, Vancouver City, who received 1,338 votes.
A. R. Stebbins, Vancouver City, 950.
J. C. Watters, Victoria, 699.
J. H. Hawthornthwaite, Nanaimo, 486.
Ernest Mills, Greenwald, 332.
Parker Williams, Newcastle, 289.
J. R. McPherson, Fernie, 209.
S. Shannon, B. A., Ferguson, 179.
J. W. Bennett, Revelstoke, 152
John Riordan, Grand Forks, 242.

The Two Elected.

Of these, Hawthornthwaite and Williams were elected. The former had 486 votes against 325 for the Conservative and 294 for the Liberal-Labor candidate. Williams was successful in Newcastle, where the coal, railway, and land magnate, Dunsmuir has just beaten the miners in a big strike. Williams got 289 votes to 217 for the Conservative and 202 for the Liberal. Here and at Nanaimo there will probably be a straight fight next time between the Socialists and a combination of the other parties, but the comrades do not fear the result.

Defeated by a Trick.

In Greenwood, Ernest Mills was defeated by a plurality of 9, and that only by a neat trick. In the town part of the riding the polls closed at 7:30 p. m. and in the rural part at 5 o'clock. The old-party managers held back their vote in town until they heard the results from the country booths; then, learning that the Socialist was leading, with the Liberal second, they instructed the town Conservatives to abandon their own candidate and rush in their votes for the Liberal.

In Vancouver, the S. L. P. also had a candidate, named Griffiths, who polled 284. The S. L. P. has been organized there for five or six years, but has no foothold outside that city.

Watters and Stebbins lost their deposits, as did also Griffiths, but the other five Socialist candidates each polled more than half as many votes as their respective successful opponents.

This was our first attempt as a party. The only previous attempts were in 1900, when McLain ran in Vancouver and got 684 votes, and in 1902, when Williams ran in North Nanaimo and got 156.

Large Aggregate Vote.

The aggregate vote of our ten candidates is 4,876 (exclusive of the S. L. P. 284). This is 12 per cent. of the total vote in the districts contested and almost 9 per cent. of the total in the province. Comrade Charlton points out that this beats any state in the Union and says: "We hold the banner. Do we feel proud? We admit it—proud of the vote and proud of our party and its platform.

For Straight Socialism.

This election day, Oct. 3, was the second anniversary of the organization of the Socialist Party of British Columbia. The platform adopted in 1901 and reaffirmed by the convention of 1902 is a clear and straightforward statement of Socialist principles and declares allegiance to the movement of the international revolutionary working class. The party constitution says: "Under no circumstances shall the Socialist Party of British Columbia fuse or act with any other political party." Every applicant for membership in the party signs the following statement:

"I, the undersigned, desire to be enrolled as a member of the Socialist Party of British Columbia. I recognize the class struggle between the Capitalist Class and the Working Class to be a political struggle for power (namely to capture the reins of government), which necessitates the organization of the workers into a political party distinct from and opposed to all parties of the capitalist class. I hereby sever my relations with all other political parties, and pledge myself to support by voice, vote and other legitimate means the ticket and the program of the British Columbia Socialist Party."

The Liberal and Conservative parties are almost exactly equally represented in the new parliament, so that the two Socialists, with one Labor candidate, hold the balance of power.

We are sorry to have doubted the genuineness of the Socialism of the men elected, and heartily glad to learn that our doubts were unfounded. It seems certain that Socialism in British Columbia is on a sound basis and is making excellent progress.

—There is a report that the Countess Oriela, in disguise, attended the convention of the German Socialist Party in Dresden, and that she has been giving the Socialists important information.

ELECTION RETURNS

(Continued from page 1.)

village did as well, King Morgan would be out of his job.

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah, Nov. 4.—M. A. Isaacs, Socialist candidate for Mayor, polls 806 votes. In the last city election, two years ago, our candidate for the same office, Charles Stewart, had 484. Last year we had 939 in the city for Governor. This result is not as good as we could wish, but lines were drawn sharp this year and we can count that the 806 who voted our ticket yesterday will stick to the colors under any and all circumstances. The election of 1903 is over and the campaign of 1904 is on. We buckle on our armor with greater determination than ever for the renewal of the fight.

From National Headquarters.—A heavy decrease is reported from Colorado, notably in the mining districts, where the Populist candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court, Owers, seems to have received many votes cast last year for the Socialist Party. Increases are reported from a number of places, but not enough to offset the falling off elsewhere. The Socialist vote for Governor last year was 7,562, but it is not likely this year's vote will reach more than half that number.

In San Francisco the lowest Socialist vote cast was 1094 as against 915 at the last municipal election.

OHIO VOTE.

DAYTON, O., Nov. 9.—Election returns are as yet rather meager owing to the comrades in many places being unable to get the complete figures up to date. Here are some of the returns at hand, compared with last year's vtoe:

	1902.	1903.
Toledo	1,571	850
Cleveland	2,038	1,297
Hamilton County	4,375	4,267
Montgomery County	1,007	903
Clark County	603	345
Franklin County	145	321
Auglaize County	18	28
Guernsey County	17	63
Knox County	10	33
Licking County	12	85
Madison County	3	18
Mercer County	9	21
Miami County	42	82
Muskingum County	156	209
Perry County	14	89
Preble County	12	21
Union County	8	21

It appears from present indications as if we would make a gain over last year, but as to the exact amount it is impossible to say, as the returns are so uneven as to upset all calculations.

TOLEDO, O., Nov. 8.—The officially reported vote for the head of the Socialist ticket in Lucas County, including this city, for the last four years is as follows: In 1900—661 votes; in 1901—445 votes; in 1902—1,605 votes; this year, 908. The rest of our state ticket this year runs from 974 to 1,089.

To those who take more than a superficial view it will be seen that the uncompromising vote in this county is steadily increasing. This year we had to go up against a "sure thing" fusion between "Golden Rule" Jones' non-partizan machine and Tom Johnson's machine in this county—"Socialists too," you know.— What the old-line Democrats and Republicans did to the fusion candidates must make some "Socialists" feel like emigrating.

Toledo Socialists feel much encouraged at the local results and prospects. We have votes in every precinct of the city, and all the time more and more are coming to understand what is ahead for our party and the necessity for clear cut, uncompromising action. Revival methods or appeals to people pinched by coal combine may get votes, but they do not always make Socialists.

CLEVELAND, O., Nov. 6.—The Socialist candidate for Governor, Isaac Cowen, has 1,297 votes. Last year our candidate for Secretary of State, the head of the ticket, had 2,098. "Too much Johnson" explains the loss. Eight hundred half-baked Socialists thought Johnson had a chance of election and that he would "do something now," and so they threw their votes away.

XENIA, O., Nov. 5.—Last year we had 156 votes here. Now we have 215.

TIFFIN, O., Nov. 5.—Senaca County gives the Socialist Party 105 votes for the head of the state ticket; the other candidates run a little higher. Last year we had 150; two years ago, 67; three years ago, 72. The S. L. P. has eight, as against 12 last year, 10 in 1901, and 4 in 1900. It is known that Socialist votes were thrown out in some districts.

CANTON, O., Nov. 8.—Stark County gives 383 votes for Cowen, candidate of the Socialist Party for Governor. Our other candidates have from 378 to 414. Last year we had 265 for the head of our state ticket and in 1900 we had 94. The S. L. P. has 82.

SPRINGFIELD, O., Nov. 4.—The election here was more like a funeral. Only about half the voters went to the polls. We have 320 votes for Cowen. Last year we had 603 in the whole of Clark County and in 1900 we had 55. The S. L. P. has 28 in Springfield. Our votes were nearly all straight.

THE GLASS WORKERS.

The third annual ball of the Glass Bevelers' Union, or Local 25 of the Glass Workers' International Association of America, was a great success, despite the fact that this organization is now in the twenty-first week of a strike. General President J. J. Morris was present with a number of delegates from the trade councils of St. Louis, Chicago, Belleville, Ill., Philadelphia, and elsewhere, on their way to the A. F. of L. convention in Boston, and as they are all good Socialists, they lighted the fire of enthusiasm for the strikers and for the struggles of the working class at large. At the convention they will make every effort towards bringing the long strike of the glass workers to a victorious end. President J. Martin of Local 25 was presented with a handsome gold medal by General President Morris in the name of the International Association.

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

TAFF VALE LAW IN INDIANA.

Employers Are Successfully Suing Unions for Damages Caused by Strikes or Boycotts.

The Gibson Circuit Court in Indianapolis has decided that a union is responsible for any loss which an employer suffers through a boycott. The decision was rendered against the local union of carpenters, which was sued for a large sum by a contractor whom the carpenters had boycotted.

The case is being taken to the higher courts by the national organization of carpenters. The decision that lack of incorporation does not prevent the unions from being responsible for the result of their boycotts is a very important one to all labor organizations, as a dozen or more are now being sued in different states.

This marks one more step in the progress of what is known as "Taff Vale law"—the rule laid down in the famous Taff Vale case in England, about a year ago, and first successfully applied in this country against the machinists of Rutland, Vt. Unless the workingmen very soon decide to put men chosen by and pledged to their class alone upon the bench as well as in legislative and executive chambers, this new application of law by capitalist judges bids fair to render the unions practically helpless.

THE SEAMY SIDE OF "PROSPERITY."

Reaction Is Already Hitting the Working Class Hard—Lay-offs and Wage Cuts the Order of the Day.

READING, Pa., Nov. 9.—A notice was posted to-day at the tube mill of the Reading Iron Company of reduction of wages to take effect Monday, Nov. 16. The puddlers will be reduced from $4.50 to $4 a ton and all other classes from 3 to 10 per cent. The Phoenix Iron Company has also posted notices advising its workmen of a 5 per cent. reduction.

BALTIMORE, Md., Nov. 10.—The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad has reduced the working hours of the various car and locomotive shops to conform with a similar cut made in the maintenance of way force. This is a reduction from a ten-hour day to a nine-hour day, and carries with it a 10 per cent. reduction in wages.

OMAHA, Neb., Nov. 10.—Along with other plans for cutting expenses for the winter comes the report that the Union Pacific will materially reduce the force in the shops along the line of the road. Shopmen say the reduction will not be the regular winter's curtailment of help, but will be a cutting of the force to just one-half of the present number.

The reduction comes in line with the order of E. H. Harriman two weeks ago to cut wherever possible. Almost one-third of the working force in the engineering department of the road has been discharged within the last week.

"SCOTCHED, NOT KILLED."

That the capitalists of Massachusetts, after the first moments of exultation on the electoral victory, begin to realize that, after all, Socialism is by no means dead, is shown by an editorial from the Lawrence "Sun," which we print entire.

But first we must quote the concluding sentence of another editorial in the same issue, referring to Carey's defeat:

"Now that he is gone, the House will breathe easier, for many a legislative scheme never saw the light of day merely because Carey of Haverhill would be sure to shoot at it, and he had a faculty of hitting the bullseye pretty often."

On the general situation, the "Sun" says:

"The material falling off in the Socialist vote in Massachusetts is not so reassuring to persons who fear Socialist ascendancy in the affairs of government. The defection of 10,000 Tuesday leaves the party with over 20,000 votes remaining, which may reasonably be accepted as the normal strength of the Socialist Party. The 10,000 voters who have evidently renounced the doctrine of Marx and Liebknecht were probably attracted to the party last year on account of the intense popular dissatisfaction over the strike in the anthracite coal fields. The conclusion of the strike and the return of warmer weather have operated to calm these 10,000 disgruntled ones, who yesterday renewed their affiliations with the two old parties.

"In the meanwhile, the 20,000 votes polled Tuesday by Chase represent a number of radicals which seems all too great in the opinion of anti-Socialists. For those 20,000 have stuck to the principles enunciated by the 'soap box' orators in the face of a withering fire from both of the old parties, who were quick to take advantage of defections of prominent Socialists and exploit them to the fullest extent in an effort to stem what is regarded as a more or less dangerous political and economic movement.

"Industrial troubles gave the Socialists the very substantial grip that they have on Haverhill, and repetitions of strikes such as that in the anthracite region will give them a pretty good grip on the state and nation. If the dangerous growth of Socialism must be checked, therefore, some effective solution of the industrial problem must be advanced and quickly."

Indeed it must. But what effective solution will you find, gentlemen, short of slavery on the one hand or Socialism on the other?

—If you have a friend who believes in Socialism and votes the ticket but does not see why he should become a party member, get him to read "The Socialist Army." You can get the pamphlet from the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York. Price, 2 cents a copy, or 75 cents a hundred.

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

SOCIAL CHANGE: ITS MEN, ITS MOTIVES AND ITS MEANS.

By Peter E. Burrowes.

"The desire for change is characteristic of all bad men," say those whose incomes are fixed or on the increase. But the despotical, the satisfied, and the conventional share the love of change with us because change is the law of life. The despot first loves it for himself, then he loves to be the cause of it in others; and the satisfied loves to keep a string on it; and the conventional loves to be, or to hold, the program for it. The radical looks for it and the Socialist makes it.

There is a sure anchorage and limit for the necessary changes of human personal life, and to find that anchorage and give it that scope is the virtue of society—to the individual the virtue of change, to society the virtue of secure basement upon change as determined and called for by the sum of new experiences.

This generation of workers, and the one or two preceding it, have passed their years under the wheels of this law of change. Never before in the world's history has change been so manifestly the order of the day. Never have the heads of nations boasted so vehemently of the results of this great law of change and yet so vehemently fought against its entering their own properified and privileged reservations.

It is not to figures but to facts that one may securely turn to fortify the perception that change has been the most evidential thing of the century. Party politicians and property partizans may play fim-flam with figures to prove, for instance, that there is an American unit called "the people," which is getting fatter all the time, better fed, better clad, taking life easier, and having a bigger balance at its banks. But the unstatistical mind can get its facts contra from life, and as the statistician triumphantly concludes his demonstration by crying to labor: "You see by these figures that there are no classes in America." Labor answers: "Sir, your logic is irrefutable, but you lie; I am here, all right. I am the great all wrong class if the community which has merely remained under the wheels of change, while all the rest of the folk were evoluting."

We do not count up the facts of life, we experience them and know them; and even when governmental arithmetic proves otherwise we still know, without that sort of science, and in spite of such figuring, that we are right in it as the victims of change. Carrol Wright and Casson Wrong may impress the page of paper on which they prove it, with the statement that the proletarian class is a vanishing quantity in American politics, vanishing into that unit of prosperity known as the People. These writers do do it, nay they do do do it, but yet they leave it undone, for the sigh of the great majority answers "I am here."

Figures, sometimes called facts, take on somewhat of a mercurial character when they go into sociology or politics. When they stay by the scales and the measures of things they behave themselves scientifically, but in economics they vary as the figure of a cat varies in the pursuit of a mouse. Only one conclusion you may be sure of: you always find that cat near the hole that contains the mouse.

The material city is the sociological map of the changed classes. Never mind arithmetic but look at the rookeries and the palatial districts. The upper and lower are always found apart, and the remaining hybrid middle class is to be found everywhere the dollar rolls. It appears as if the great law of change were devoting itself mainly to the middle class and resulted only in throwing people from thence down to No. 3 or throwing them up to No. 1. Vicissitude seems to be in that middle only, while fixity takes her rest at either end. There may be changes in the personnel of the classes, but nevertheless they are fixed states. The penitentiary changes its personnel, but prison life goes on. This one may get out and that one may get in, but in spite of patriotism's "Hush" the class walls are there, with the American population behind them.

The first class owns, or keeps for its own use, lands and houses and social controls. It does nothing useful, but as a luxury and of its own volition. It takes tithe of all men. Its sole business is to own and keep.

The second class is but the first in the course of formation. Its business is the art of owning, sometimes losing, at which times it descends home to us of the third class. Ownership is its goal, but in the interim it owns only while awaiting sales; its property is commercial. It is a working class, but it works under its own stimulation and as a profit producer it retains the whole of its own product.

The third class begins at six o'clock in the morning and leaves off at six, except when it works later, and it neither controls, initiates, owns nor keeps anything but what slips down its throat and gets under its waistband.

The first class resides in the West End, with an army of literary, political and clerical laundrymen to keep it looking clean. The second class stops near the bank, market, depot and telephone. The third sweats where labor is saleable—none of them lives. Labor grinds out all that which the other two grasp for. Its reward is not personal or real property; its reward is the bitterness of itself—labor on hire. It just gets bread enough for the laborer of to-day to be the laborer of to-morrow. The middle class rush is a rush away from itself only; eagerly going to the upper class on the first offer, but involuntarily falling into the under class a great deal oftener. It is men with the middle class mind, born in one fictitious change and always tending to another, who have no idea that there are classes in America. Nay, even after they get into one or other of them they still retain the mind that cannot see it until the classes as two armies begin to move, and the middle mind is being trod upon by the live mind of the world.

To avoid death they have been whirling around themselves, playing the shadow dances of fictitious change, while waiting for the approach of the fundamental fact, still moving because all must move either in the fact or the fancy of change. The aristocrat is found whirling over the earth for change of scene. Alas only of scene, but never change of eyes. His only change resolves itself into the differences of character and bearing which he fancies he sees in the variety of slaves that different nations surround his person with at the bidding of his dollars. He forgets, poor rich man! that all servants have but one character and all masters the other one. Again, among the slave class of industry, what does the Mover find? It finds the world circle of art reduced to the revolutions of a spindle; men condemned to hard labor for life standing before some mechanical ticker which marks a dot, or punches a hole, or does some other cursedly small thing for ever; the brain of the whole class on the very eve of ossification but for the story papers and the newspapers and the playhouses and the sermons, which keep them languidly alive with fairy pictures of a life outside as they stand tolling in their tombs.

These two ulterior classes have been kept apart, ripening their antagonisms for one another. The death of the middle class is the resurrection of both.

The great swing of change has been from combat to construction. The middle class battle was itself but a shadow battle; its combats and competitions were but subterfuges, delusions, postponements of real issue. The middle class was a windy, watery lie, a band of pickpockets in the livery of a mounted cavalry, a hollow hypocrisy arrayed in the ruddy face, the ample paunch and bluff speech of a Falstaff, and therefore all the more a disgusting hypocrisy. But that lie is now worked out of life, and life takes up its two facts and places them face to face. What will they do?

Had the middle class contented itself with the role of mediumship between two conscious classes antagonizing each other, the three classes might long have remained in history, working, writing and fighting out the science of change. But the lower class had not been taught its consciousness; it had rather been deceived away from it, while the medium which should have remained the communicator of class consciousness from one true economic class to the other became, in a bastardly sort of way, conscious of itself as a middle class, and then very hastily conscious of a desire to become the upper class. To that end, therefore, the men of the middle class began to smite down labor with its golden feet, mounting upon the shoulders of their own weaker associates first, and they upon the next weaker, and they upon the stronger of the laborers, until the top middle was able to lead the way into the windows of America's aristocracy, leaving all the human rounds of the ladder that fell short to fall down into seething poverty. He who treats the subject of labor in a fundamentally new way will soon find that he has fundamentally changed all other subjects of speculation. Labor is the mountain of the landscape towards which all the remaining details of the mental picture are arranged. Thus every system of philosophy now known to mankind is arranged in subordination to the concepts of a land or a financial aristocracy. Even the principles of evolution have been waylaid and constrained to do service conformable to aristocratic and slave arrangements.

It is impossible to have any importantly new science amidst old economic thoughts. No revolution worthy the name takes place by mere transposition of man and master. The element of newness is the class that works, because it is the element of reality. Mastership is but an afterthought suggested to others by labor's stupidity. But the present order of society assumes that lordship, not labor, is the fundamental factor of society, and upon this assumption stands our entire thought fabric of law, religion and letters.

In spite of our own revolutionary agitation there is much difficulty experienced by Socialists in throwing off the silken toga of aristocratic thinking. We cling to the idea that labor is going up to Congress to mingle among its greater men, and we do not appreciate the vital fact that our revolution must work the other way. Our program is to establish an order of society wherein work precedes and produces all personal culture—a society whose affairs shall be administered by those who make the world's affairs. Because industry is the life of the commonwealth, it shall be an industrial commonwealth. The organization of the world's workers into the world's politicians, no longer by any class outside of themselves to be ruled. The class of parasite aristocracies shall not thereby be destroyed as men out of the human family, but "benevolently assimilated" into co-operation with its workers, and for a factitious nobility there shall be conferred upon them the true nobility of participation in the necessary life of man. When in course of time there shall come out of this red earth of the necessary life, leisure and culture, it will be the leisure and culture of the whole, no longer alien and dangerous to, but the universal blessing of man. It is, according to our thoroughness as to the proletarian being the man for the Socialist revolt and the subsequent Socialist government, that we are revolutionary Socialists, and as we recede from this we approach Bernstein and the accommodationists. We do not think out our great revolutions, however greatly we may be able to think. Our poor race has a long time yet to travel before its thoughts can motive its revolutions. Poverty alone, when it has entered into the experience of self-consciousness and solidarity, can give us that motive energy which is sufficient for the next great social change.

Sentiments of liberty, equality, fraternity and patriotism are well enough after dinner, but revolutions are troublesome affairs and dangerous, and all men hate trouble and danger. So you may rely upon it, no after-dinner sentiments are able to propel the next and greatest of revolutions.

What motive, then, can we find that is equal to this contingency? What but the need of maintaining our right to bread. This alone is big and strong enough to face all the inconvenience and danger to be met with in carrying out the overthrow of capitalism. The majority of the people beloig to the mute creation on all other subjects but bread, and this subject is alone able to give us the agitators and the motive for Socialism.

Must we wait, then, for famine to give us the speech and the men of Socialism? No; fear and fierce desire will run ahead and anticipate hunger. The famines of the past have given all men a farsightedness in this matter. We can not only see our bread gone, but we can see it going, and we can see it not coming. Privation has become educated in the course of many centuries.

And then look outside of our own immediate surroundings. Look through the plate glass that separates us as a class from the wealth, beauty and splendor of civilization. Think how much we have learned to know under the caption "NOT OURS." While the fact of famine, or the fear of it, urges us from behind, the fiercer desire to belong to our age and share in the good things of our creation calls us on, and together they will surely give that motive that will man the ranks for the next revolution.

Now as to the means. They will be what they always were.

The instrument of revolution is that which, we being deprived of, has made us what we are. Bread may be the motive of social revolution, but the instrument of it is that which socially made the famine.

We look around us for that instrument to use it. We ask what was that which kept us so near starving last winter, and we find that it was the landlord's rent, the grocer's bill, and the key of the factory on the wrong side. The landlord's rent we had always paid before last winter and the grocer's bill. What is it that precipitated our famine last winter? The key of the factory. We look over the whole field of suffering among our immediate neighbors and we find the key of the factory to be the key of our famine, and therefore the key of the next great social change which is called for by the workers. But behind and outside of the factory we have left entrenched the independent powers of rent and profit who nail up the doors and leave us to fry in our own fat.

We discover then that we have left the biggest part of the trouble yet untouched. They go to law with us to recover what they lost by the change of the factory key. They are only a handful, but they harass us mightily. So that the key of our factory proves, after all, not to be the only key of our work. All the time they have been smiting us by acts of Congress and by acts of soldiers and policemen, who were directed in their acts of hostility, one and all, by one and the same thing—law. It is plain that we have not averted famine while they have law on their side. So, then, the factory key is not the instrument of revolution quite. No; the key of the White House. That is the instrument of revolution. But the White House is rightfully already occupied by the majority's representative? No; the majority is not there, for we are the majority. When that which seems to be is, when the fact of our democracy accords with its theory, Socialism will be established through the worker having learned to use their own majority.

LABOR SECRETARIAT.

At the last meeting credentials were presented by Carpenters' No. 309, for H. Folgner; German Engineers' No. 334, for Chas. Schadewitz; Machinist No. 313, for John Clement; Machinist No. 516, for Chas. Tugend; Carriage and Wagon Workers No. 110, for E. Daffy; Carpenters' No. 513, for Aug. Planthaber; Bakers' No. 7, for Ed. Schuetz; Bakers' No. 93, for J. Ronner; Painters and Decorators' No. 51, for Ed. Gaa and Geo. Campbell. All credentials were accepted and delegates seated. The counsel, J. Hillquit, gave an extensive report of his activity for the Secretariat during the past month. This report showed that many claims for wages and actions to recover damages were settled in the interest of the members. The report of the Board of Directors was read and after a debate endorsed. The recommendation of the board to grant Morris Hillquit a credential to represent the Secretariat at the International Socialist Congress, to be held next year at Amsterdam, was endorsed, with the amendment made by Larsen that Comrade Hillquit should be requested while at the congress to make himself familiar with the Labor Secretariat movement in Europe, and on his return give a detailed report of his investigation. J. Lazard, of Bakers' No. 1, reported about the fight of his union against the White Standard Baking Company, 157-159 E. Second street. The delegate showed how stubbornly the firm refused to grant the demands for shorter hours and living wages. The financial report of the last quarter showed that the Secretariat is steadily growing in membership. The auditing committee reported having found the books of the financial secretary and treasurer in the best of order. All delegates who will volunteer for committee service in the interest of the Labor Secretariat may report to the secretary what nights would be convenient and which organization they would prefer to visit. Bernhard Neubert was unanamously re-elected as treasurer. Delegates J. Kern and H. Foigner were elected as delegates to the Board of Directors. The following organizations failed to return their quarterly report blanks: Brewers' No. 9, Beer Drivers' No. 24, Iron Workers' No. 42, Bakers' No. 1, No. 3, No. 7, No. 25 and No. 50, Bricklayers' No. 9, Engineers' No. 1, Carriage and Wagon Workers' No. 127 and No. 135, Laborers' Protective Union No. 4 and No. 9, Jewelry Workers' No. 1, Machinist No. 518. All above mentioned unions are kindly requested to instruct their financial secretary not to delay the returning of said report.

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

National Platform of the Socialist Party.

[Note.—In New York and Wisconsin this party is officially recognized under the name of Social Democratic Party. The party emblem in New York is the Arm and Torch.]

The Socialist Party of America in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit, and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system: the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such measures we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts, and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age, the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, and to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing, and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

SOCIALISM AND TRADE UNIONISM.

The following resolution was adopted, along with the foregoing platform, by the National Convention at Indianapolis, July, 1901:

The trade-union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. The trade-union movement is the natural result of capitalist production, and represents the economic side of the working-class movement. We consider it the duty of Socialists to join the unions of their respective trades and assist in building up and unifying the trades and labor organizations. We recognize that trade unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned.

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

The two following resolutions were unanimously adopted by the National Committee at its annual meeting at St. Louis, January, 1903:

RELATIONS OF PARTY AND UNIONS.

The National Committee of the Socialist Party in annual session assembled, hereby reaffirms the attitude of the party toward the trade-union movement as expressed in the resolution on the subject adopted by the Indianapolis convention of 1901.

We consider the trade-union movement and the Socialist movement as inseparable parts of the general labor movement, produced by the same economic forces and tending towards the same goal, and we deem it the duty of each of the two movements to extend its hearty co-operation and support to the other in the special sphere of activity.

But we are also mindful of the fact that each of the two movements has its own special mission to perform in the struggle for the emancipation of labor, that it devolves upon the trade unions to conduct the economic struggles of the working class, that it devolves on the Socialist party to fight the political battles of the working class, and that the interests of labor as a whole will be best conserved by allowing each of the movements to manage the affairs within its own sphere of activity without active interference by the other.

The Socialist Party will continue to give its aid and assistance to the economic struggles of organized labor regardless of the affiliation of the trade unions engaged in the struggle, and will take no sides in any dissensions or strifes within the trade-union movement. The party will also continue to solicit the sympathy and support of all trade organizations of labor without allowing itself to be made the ally of any one division of the trade-union movement as against another.

We also declare that we deem it unwise to invite trade unionis as such to be represented in the political conventions of our party.

ANTI-FUSION RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, The history of the labor movement of the world has conclusively demonstrated that a Socialist Party is the only 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 ultimate end of the labor movement, and

Whereas, Any alliance, direct or indirect, with such parties is dangerous to the political integrity and the very existence of the Socialist Party and the Socialist movement,

Resolved, That no state or local organization, or member of the party shall, under any circumstances, fuse, combine or compromise with any political party or organization, or refrain from making nominations in order to further the interests of candidates of such parties or organization.

CAREY TO DEBATE.

Democratic "Friend of Labor" Made Rash Challenge and Will Be Held to the Mark by Worcester Socialists.

WORCESTER, Mass., Nov. 5.—We have had the chance to put a prominent local advocate of capitalism to the test and have not failed to use it.

James H. Mellen is a well known Democratic politician who has represented this city in the Legislature for eighteen years. He poses as a "friend of Labor" and is naturally much opposed to the growth of Socialism.

On Oct. 21, speaking before the Central Labor Union, he declared, that he would be glad to meet in debate any Socialist "who would not get into a passion and make wild statements."

On Oct. 25, Thomas P. Abbott, a well known veteran of the Socialist movement here, took up this challenge through the daily press, saying:

"If I do not come under the head of 'objectionable' Socialists that you have reference to, I shall not only be pleased, but I very much desire to meet you in a friendly debate either publicly or before the Central Labor Union, and I will offer the following questions for your consideration:

"'Resolved, That Socialism, or the collective ownership of the tools and natural opportunities of production, is the only solution of the labor problem.'

"'Resolved, That the laboring class, as a class can be benefited permanently only through a political party of their own class.'

"'Resolved, That no one can represent two classes whose economic interests are opposed to each other in an executive, legislative, or judicial position and be true to both classes.'

"'Resolved, That no legislative enactment can benefit the wage-working class, as a class, economically and retain the system of doing business for profit.'

"These questions may be transposed so that you can take the affirmative and open the debate if you like, provided the sense is not destroyed, or you may frame a question to suit yourself on the subject matter of Socialism and the labor question."

Mr. Mellen waited till the day before election and then published a letter declining to debate with Comrade Abbott on the ground that Abbott was not a "recognized leader" of the Socialist Party, but that he was willing to meet James F. Carey. Perhaps he thought this would let him out, but it will not. Despite the supercilious tone of Mellen's letter, Abbott replied courteously in the next day's paper, expressing his complete satisfaction with the proposition that Carey take the Socialist side of the debate and undertaking to make every effort to arrange the meeting at an early date.

Mellen is editor, by the way, of the "Wage Worker," a paper newly established for the purpose of fighting Socialism, and is assisted in his editorial labors by the Avery-Goldstein-Gordon clique of would-be leaders who deserted the party because it would not bow to their dictation.

THE HAVERHILL FUND.

The following additional contributions to the Haverhill Socialist campaign fund have been received by The Worker and "Volkszeitung":

Previously acknowledged, $49.37; J. J. Crouse, Turner's Falls, Mass., 50c.; M. Koeniger, $1; Annexed District, S. D. P., New York, $5; A. L., $1; W. King, Lynn, Mass., 50c.; O. W. Ricker, Philadelphia, Pa., $1; Local Jamestown, N. Y., $1; 20th A. D., Br. 2, S. D. P., Brooklyn, $2; J. Sedlmeier, Brooklyn, $2; Anton Scholze, Lebanon, N. H., 50c.; W. D. Hurley, Derby, Conn., $5; D. J. van Emmerick, Camden, N. J., 50c.; collected by the Social Democratic Progressive Society of Brownsville—Workingmen's Progressive Society $5, Mrs. Hugwitz 40c., M. Levin 40c., Tepper 25c., J. Britch 15c.; Angus McDonald, Brooklyn, $1; O. Feinstein, Minneapolis, Minn., $2; Chas. E. Ehrhardt, Flushing, L. I., N. Y., $1; Jos. Gruditzer, $1; C. Anders, $1; D. M. Romm, $2; J. Weisbecker, Newark, N. J., 55c.; Local College Point, S. D. P., $2; D. Michailowsky, 25c.; Socialist Party, Luzerne, Pa., County Committee, $2; Jos. Kohn, 50c.; Ch. Williams, 50c.; A. Williams, 50c.; J. Libskie, 50c.; Bushwick Lodge No. 516, I. A. of M., $5; H. Fischer, West Brighton, $2; L. Schaufuss, Lawrence, Mass., $1; Hy. Kuhn, Jersey City, N. J., $1; total, $89.37.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE RUSSIAN SCHOOLS.

Von Plehve, the Russian Minister of the Interior, has issued a confidential circular to the department of education—which, as often happens to government documents nowadays, did not stay confidential—calling attention to the growth of the revolutionary movement in the schools. It is shown that a revolutionary paper devoted especially to propaganda in the secondary schools is being widely circulated under the very