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# The Worker.

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VOL. XII.—NO. 37. NEW YORK, DECEMBER 14, 1902. PRICE 2 CENTS.

## REPORT OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY VOTE.

## FOR THE DAILY.

Dr. Hlmowich..... 3.00  
A. Halpern, Brooklyn..... 1.00  
M. Aronson..... .25  
Harry Baron..... 1.00  
Carl Schmelder..... 2.00  
Mr. & Mrs. Geo. D. Herron..... 600.00  
H. Schumaker..... 1.00  
Previously acknowledged..... 1,863.70

## FRAUD IN HAVERHILL.

## "LABOR, DEMOCRACY'S NATURAL ALLY."

### IN THE NATION.

The Socialist Party has gained at least 133 per cent. in two years—Increase All Over the Land—Figures for Twenty-five States.

Although it is not yet possible to give a full and accurate report of the vote polled by the Socialist Party (called in New York the Social Democratic Party) in November, throughout the nation, we can give a general idea of what has been accomplished.

We elected, on Nov. 4, three members of the Massachusetts Legislature, five members of the Montana Legislature, an alderman in Saginaw, Mich., and several minor officers. Last week we elected two mayors, three aldermen, ten councilmen, and some minor officers in Massachusetts cities.

In general, our increase was so widely and evenly distributed over the country that it does not yet show itself in victory at the polls. This is very satisfactory, for it means that our growth is steady and solid and that when, in another two years, we shall make another such forward step as we have this time, we shall carry a large number of places simultaneously and shall be sure of holding them.

The following table gives the vote of the Socialist Party, in 1900 and 1902, for the twenty-five states which we are now able to report.

States.	1900.	1902.
Colorado	684	7,360
Connecticut	1,741	2,857
Idaho	1,800	1,800
Illinois	9,687	20,167
Indiana	2,374	7,134
Iowa	2,742	6,360
Kansas	1,605	3,236
Kentucky	760	3,065
Maine	878	1,974
Massachusetts	9,716	33,629
*Michigan	2,826	6,000
*Minnesota	3,065	10,000
Missouri	6,128	5,335
*Montana	708	5,000
Nebraska	823	3,157
New Hampshire	790	1,937
New York	15,289	22,400
Ohio	4,847	14,270
Oklahoma	815	1,963
Oregon	1,494	3,532
Pennsylvania	4,831	21,910
*Utah	717	2,927
*Washington	1,609	5,100
Wisconsin	7,095	15,957
Wyoming	552	552

Totals..... 78,804 208,338

(The star prefixed to the names of five states in the table indicates that the figures given for 1902 are not official, but represent a safe estimate.)

Fourteen other states, in the election of 1900, gave us 18,826 votes. In some of these we had this year only Congressional tickets in a few of the districts, so that no comparison can be made; from others we have no approximately full reports.

To sum up, we may say that the vote of the Socialist Party has risen in two years from 87,640 to at least 227,164 and probably to about 240,000.

Our gain is at least 133 per cent. It may be added that in Colorado at least 5,000 of our votes were undoubtedly counted out, as the law there gives no protection to minority parties; in Missouri and some parts of Pennsylvania many of our votes seem to have been stolen; and the same thing has doubtless happened to some extent in other states.

### NEW YORK STATE.

Social Democratic Party Gains Over 73 Per Cent and Takes Third Place On the Official Ballot.

The official figures for the vote in the state of New York were given out by the Secretary of State last Saturday. The vote for Hanford, candidate of the Social Democratic Party (known in other states as the Socialist Party) for Governor is given by counties in the following table, in comparison with the Social Democratic vote for the same office two years ago.

Counties.	1900.	1902.
Albany	65	123
Allegany	12	15
Broome	10	21
Cattaraugus	23	17
Cayuga	63	30
Chautauque	47	90
Chemung	42	26
Chenango	19	41
Clinton	10	5
Columbia	15	19
Cortland	7	2
Dutchess	7	2
Essex	401	300
Franklin	13	8
Hamilton	111	465
Herkimer	170	234
Jefferson	396	308
Kings	2,575	4,381
Levittown	7	7
Livingston	5	6
Madison	69	50
Monroe	1,019	2,108
Montgomery	18	28
Nassau	25	24
New York	6,288	10,885
Niagara	27	51
Oneida	114	147
Ontario	352	367
Orleans	20	11
Rensselaer	28	142
Saratoga	20	11
Schenectady	25	17
Schoharie	12	10
Schoharie	12	10
Seneca	24	14
Saratoga	638	1,037
Rensselaer	103	223
Richmond	110	129
Rochester	32	40
Saratoga	27	33
Schenectady	35	43
Schoharie	4	5
Schoharie	4	5
Seneca	3	10
St. Lawrence	47	185
Suffolk	39	45
Sullivan	3	5
Tioga	1	4
Tompkins	23	34
Ulster	6	29
Warren	11	59
Washington	24	117
Wayne	14	20
Westchester	258	700
Wyoming	6	8
Yates	5	4

Totals..... 13,463 23,400

**Third Place on Ballot.**  
The S. L. P. receives 15,886 votes, as compared with 13,762 in 1900. The Prohibitionists have 20,400 votes. Thus the Social Democratic Party advances from fifth to third place on the official ballot and the "union-smashers" go back from fourth place to fifth.

It will be observed that in the table given above comparison is made with our gubernatorial vote in 1900. In the table of states we use our presidential vote in New York as in all other states for comparison. The presidential vote of the Social Democratic Party in New York two years ago was 12,860, and that of the S. L. P. was 12,662.

### NEW YORK CITY.

Social Democratic Party Gains In Every Borough and Assembly District and Polls a Total of 19,432 Votes in the City.

The increase of the Social Democratic vote in the various boroughs of New York City from 1900 to 1902 is shown in the following table:

Boroughs.	1900.	1902.
Manhattan and Bronx	6,288	10,885
Brooklyn	2,575	4,381
Queens	698	1,037
Richmond	110	129

Totals..... 9,741 16,432

**Manhattan and Bronx.**  
Assembly Districts..... 1900. 1902.  
First..... 11 23  
Second..... 63 85  
Third..... 38 62  
Fourth..... 430 814  
Fifth..... 54 65  
Sixth..... 123 240  
Seventh..... 44 77  
Eighth..... 153 457  
Ninth..... 51 90  
Tenth..... 403 656  
Eleventh..... 89 119  
Twelfth..... 351 534  
Thirteenth..... 149 152  
Fourteenth..... 320 492  
Fifteenth..... 100 108  
Sixteenth..... 220 450  
Seventeenth..... 162 123  
Eighteenth..... 105 177  
Nineteenth..... 57 81  
Twentieth..... 68 128  
Twenty-first..... 112 180  
Twenty-second..... 101 105  
Twenty-third..... 155 346  
Twenty-fourth..... 208 373  
Twenty-fifth..... 33 55  
Twenty-sixth..... 384 581  
Twenty-seventh..... 19 39  
Twenty-eighth..... 438 628  
Twenty-ninth..... 42 69  
Thirtieth..... 515 939  
Thirty-first..... 100 220  
Thirty-second..... 269 450  
Thirty-third..... 106 181  
Thirty-fourth..... 288 485  
Thirty-fifth..... 564 1,032  
Thirty-sixth..... 61 136

Totals..... 6,388 10,885

**Brooklyn's Vote.**  
In giving the vote for Brooklyn (identical with Kings County) we use only the total for 1900, because in that year the vote was reported by wards, not by assembly districts. The following table shows this year's vote of the Social Democratic Party in Brooklyn by assembly districts:

Assembly Districts.	1900.	1902.
First	59	99
Second	37	60
Third	64	100
Fourth	100	193
Fifth	100	193
Sixth	93	203
Seventh	149	38
Eighth	38	38
Ninth	92	92
Tenth	52	52
Eleventh	71	71
Twelfth	159	159
Thirteenth	258	258
Fourteenth	126	126
Fifteenth	354	354
Sixteenth	188	188
Seventeenth	50	50
Eighteenth	135	135
Nineteenth	372	372
Twentieth	1,025	1,025
Twenty-first	550	550

Total, 1902..... 4,381  
Total, 1900..... 2,575

**Amounts Pledged.**  
Following is a statement of amounts pledged for the Socialist Daily Fund up to Dec. 8th:

Aug. Fies, Glendale, L. I.	\$3.00
Wm. G. Smith, Glendale, L. I.	3.00
Chas. Kircher, Glendale, L. I.	3.00
Geo. Lochat, Glendale, L. I.	3.00
At the Thompson, Glendale, L. I.	3.00
Irving F. Roney	10.00
A. Halpern (additional pledge)	10.00
S. Goldbarth	5.00
Serbin	10.00
Classman	10.00
Ann. Roosevelt	6.00
Morris Green, Newark	5.00
Harry Baron	5.00
Previously acknowledged	6,984.80
Total pledged	\$7,004.80

**Cash Receipts.**  
The following amounts have been received on pledges and donations:

PAID ON PLEDGES.	
J. Looptoff	\$ 80
Wilson	25
A. J. Georgian	1.00
Dr. H. M. Rubinoff	4.00
Dr. H. Schwartz	1.00
Cramer, Newark	1.00
H. Henry, Newark	15
Joanna Epstein	2.00
Dater-Kaessling, Danville, Ill.	50
W. G. Smith, Glendale	25
Chas. Kircher, Glendale	25
Geo. Lochat, Glendale	25
Aug. Fies, Glendale	25
Dr. L. Ortmann	9.00
Sam'l Bernstein	5.00
Dr. Pauline Ortmann	2.00
S. Zechnowitz	5.00
H. Goldberg	5.00
Richard Beck	1.00
J. Goldstein	2.00
John Newman, Seymour, Conn.	1.00
Dr. H. Schwartz	5.00
Max Diamond	2.50
S. Greene	1.00
Dr. Jos. Harvitt	5.00
A. Caspe	3.00

**NEW HAMPSHIRE.**  
DOVER, N. H.—In the city election our candidate for Mayor gets 217 votes. On Nov. 4 our candidate for Governor had 196. A year ago we had 84 for Mayor. This gain is made in spite of the fact that we have the open ballot in the city elections; if we had the secret ballot our vote would have reached 300. The comrades are enthusiastic.

**FRANKLIN, N. H.—**The Socialist candidate for Mayor gets 280 votes, as against 519 for the joint candidate of the old parties. Everyone is surprised at our gain.

—You don't mind paying from ten to twenty-five cents for capitalist papers which give you only the other fellow's side of the news. Why not spend one cent a week, 50 cents a year, on a subscription for The Worker, which gives you the workingman's side?

### Volunteers Are Wanted to Work for the Fair.

Tickets to be Distributed and Sold. Prizes Collected, and Much Other Work—Ladies Are Enlisting—Report of the Fund.

The Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association held its monthly meeting at Labor Lyceum on Monday, Dec. 8, when considerable business was transacted relating to the coming Daily Globe Fair to be held at Grand Central Palace from March 28 to April 5, 1903.

Among other things, the secretary reported that donation books were ready for distribution. Every comrade is urged to get one at once and begin collecting donations for the fair.

Within a week the Fair Committee will have a regular office establishment in working order, where all business in connection with the fair will receive attention. All comrades who succeed in obtaining prizes are requested to immediately forward them to the fair office, of which we shall give further details next week.

One hundred thousand fair tickets are also ready for sale and distribution and secretaries are requested to obtain a supply at once for their respective districts. Work has been begun on the Fair Committee intended, with the help of the comrades, to dispose of the entire number of tickets before the fair opens.

We need a large force of active comrades who will stand ready to work for the fair in whatever capacity they can best serve, and all who wish to see the Daily Globe succeed in time for the next campaign are requested to volunteer their services and notify Comrade Butcher to that effect.

The Daily Globe Fair is to be the grandest attempt of its kind the workingmen of this section of the country have ever attempted, and in order to insure success in every department a large force of active workers will be required. Enlist now and help in the work to the fullest extent of your abilities.

On account of the Association being unable to secure meeting rooms in the Labor Lyceum on the first Monday in the month, a motion was put that the constitution be amended, changing meeting night to the second Monday. This amendment will be voted on at the next meeting of the Association.

**The Ladies at Work.**  
Many ladies of the Socialist Democratic Party have organized to work for the fair and have decided to work for the Daily Globe Fair by selling tickets, collecting donations and prizes, etc., and doing the co-operation of all lady members and sympathizers of the party.

They intend to form other ladies' clubs in different cities in the vicinity of New York and for the purpose of arranging matters properly a conference will be held at the rooms of the Socialist Educational League, 953 Second Avenue, on Monday evening, Dec. 15.

Women's clubs and societies in sympathy with the Socialist movement and organized labor are invited to send two delegates each to this conference. Also all ladies of the party, or those in sympathy with it, are invited to attend and join. Mrs. Dr. J. Halpern, 250 East Broadway, is the secretary.

Comrades who have made pledges for the fund are requested not to neglect the regular payment of installments. The Secretary should not be obliged to spend his time in collecting on pledges. He has plenty of other work to do. All payments are to be made to the Secretary, William Butcher, who has an office at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street.

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Dr. H. Schwartz	5.00
Max Diamond	2.50
S. Greene	1.00
Dr. Jos. Harvitt	5.00
A. Caspe	3.00

### Board of Registrars Counted for Watson Enough Blanks to Overcome Socialist Plurality—Case Goes to Supreme Court.

HAVERHILL, Mass., Dec. 6.—The eyes of all Socialists have been turned toward Brockton this week. Haverhill rejoiced in the Brockton victory, but has no occasion to apologize for herself. Of all the strenuous campaigns ever waged here, that just ended was the hottest. But, indeed, it is not ended yet.

As things look now, Parkman B. Flanders, Socialist, will be Mayor of Haverhill in January, but we have to fight for it, to checkmate Republican fraud.

The result of the vote as reported by the precinct officers gave Watson, the Republican candidate, the election by 14 votes. Yesterday a recount was held at our demand. Our representatives found that the Board of Registrars were counting blank votes for Watson, and they continued to do so regardless of our protests. The result was that they counted us out by giving Watson a lead of 12 votes, Flanders gaining three and Watson one.

In order to make it plain how these votes were miscounted, the following copy of the manner in which the names appear upon the ballot is given:

MICHAEL T. BERRY, Socialist Labor.	X
PARKMAN B. FLANDERS, Socialist.	
CHARLES KELLY, Democratic.	
HENRI R. WATSON, Republican.	

The voters are supposed to mark an X opposite the name of the candidate they wish to vote for, but in the case of the ballots in question—15 or 20 in number—the X was marked opposite the blank space underneath the name of Watson. This blank space is reserved to voters to write the name of a candidate, if they do not choose to vote for any of those that appear on the ballot. The Board of Registrars decided that these ballots were intended for Watson, and so counted them, in spite of a decision rendered by the Supreme Judicial Court declaring ballots so marked should not be counted for any candidate.

The decision of the Supreme Court in the case referred to (O'Connor vs. Matthews, and others, 177 Mass., 518) has been reported as follows:

"The second ground on which the petitioner alleged the said recount to be erroneous and illegal, was that there were 17 ballots which were counted as blank, as to the vote for Mayor, and which should have been counted for the petitioner. The ground for this contention was that the petitioner's name was marked at the bottom of the list of candidates for Mayor on the official ballot, and that next below it was a blank space, as provided by law, in which the voter might write the name of some person other than the names printed on the official ballot, and that on the said 17 or more ballots a cross was made in the square on the right of and opposite to the blank space and in the square next below the name of the petitioner, which was directly at the right and opposite to the petitioner's name, and the petitioner averred that each of said crosses so made by the voters was intended as a mark opposite to his, the petitioner's name; and that it was erroneous and illegal to reject said ballots, or to count them as blanks, and that the same should have been counted for the petitioner.

"As to the 17 ballots with crosses against blanks, the statute clearly intends that the cross shall be against the space for which it counts, sections 194 and 224. The physical arrangement of the ballots bears an unmistakable meaning, and, whatever may be conjectured in cases like this, it is impossible to treat the crosses as if it had been put in a different square.

"It will be seen that the case is exactly parallel and the ruling very clear. We do not see how the court can fail to decide for Flanders. The State Executive Committee has voted to give all the assistance in its power to the Haverhill comrades to pushing the matter, and it may become necessary to ask for financial assistance from the comrades at large in order to carry the case through the courts. Were it not that we believe Flanders entitled to be declared elected Mayor of Haverhill, we would not incur the trouble and expense in pushing the case. We hope, however, to expose the methods of our opponents when they are in desperate circumstances, even if we do not accomplish anything else.

**HAVERHILL'S VOTE.**  
Examination of Returns in Detail Shows that the Socialist Vote Was Generally Solid, While that of Old Parties Split on Personalities.

The Haverhill "Gazette" says of last week's city election that "there was a great deal of independent voting all over the city, tickets were split all to pieces, and in many cases the personality of the candidates made big differences." The Socialist vote, it is admitted, however, showed an exception to this rule. Our candidate for Mayor, Parkman B. Flanders, ran somewhat ahead of his ticket, but hardly more than is accounted for by the observed fact in all elections that a considerable number of negligent citizens of every party vote only for the head of the ticket. Flanders' vote was 2,388. The seven alderman candidates (who, in Haverhill, although nominated by wards, are voted for throughout the city at large) received from 2,070 to 2,109 votes, so that our highest and lowest vote on the general ballot varied by only 268 votes—much less than the usual range of variations in Massachusetts city elections.

The Republican vote for Mayor was 2,388, the highest Republican vote for Alderman was 2,996 and the lowest was 2,060. The Republican range of Alderman was thus 936 votes. The Democratic vote for Mayor was 1,663 and the Democratic vote for Alderman ranged from 823 to 1,102—giving a variation of 840.

It is also a suggestive fact that where the Republican candidates for Aldermen ran especially high, the corresponding Democratic candidates ran low and vice versa. This would indicate that where Republicans or Democrats scratched the ticket they did it each in favor of the other party rather than in favor of the Socialist ticket.

**GRAND CONCERT.**  
Remember next Thursday evening, Dec. 18, the grand concert at Cooper Union, for the benefit of Local No. 10, 22, 40 and 50 cents and \$1. See that the hall is filled.

### IN ROCHESTER.

The Year Will Close With a Week of Pleasure—Seven Nights' Bowling Contest, Followed by New Year's Eve Ball—Work of Education Going Steadily On.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Dec. 7.—The last week of the year will be devoted by the Social Democrats of Rochester to a round of pleasure and social intercourse which will serve the double purpose of recreation for those who participate and of providing funds for the hot campaign which is going to be carried on here.

There will be a seven-nights' bowling contest, Dec. 24 to Dec. 31, inclusive, beginning each evening at 8 o'clock, at Kaufman's bowling alleys, 845 St. Paul street north. Ten cents for three balls will be the charge and prizes to the value of \$50, including four watches and many other articles, will be awarded. On New Year's Eve, Dec. 31, will follow a good entertainment and ball at the same place.

While pleasure is thus being provided for, the work of education is not being neglected. The Sunday afternoon lectures and discussions of the Labor Lyceum, held in the City Hall, are attracting much attention, and the Social Democrats are doing their share to make the sessions interesting and instructive. The program for the next few weeks is as follows: Dec. 14, "Killing the Trusts," Philip Jackson; Dec. 21, "What is Anarchy?" Salvatore Vella; Dec. 28, "Trade Unions and the Socialist Movement," George Suter; Jan. 5, "John Ruskin," Our Modern Prophet," J. M. Dana; Jan. 12, "Child Labor in the North," S. McAllister; Jan. 19, "Sidney Lanier, the Man and His Work," Rev. Clarence A. Barbour; Jan. 26, "The Workingman Afraid of Himself," Prof. George Waldron.

Besides this, a class in social economics has been organized for those who wish to make a careful study of the subject. Comrade Jackson will take charge of the class, which will meet every Sunday evening, at 8 o'clock, in the Social Democratic Reading Room, 65 Main street. All who are interested will be heartily welcome.

The Worker.

AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY (Known in New York State as the Social Democratic Party). PUBLISHED WEEKLY. BY THE SOCIALISTIC CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION. P. O. BOX 1512. Telephone Call: 302 John.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Table showing Socialist vote in the United States for various years: 1888 (Presidential) 2,068; 1890 13,331; 1892 (Presidential) 21,157; 1894 33,193; 1896 (Presidential) 36,564; 1898; S. L. P. 82,204; S. D. P. 9,545; 1900 (Presidential); S. D. P. 96,918; S. L. P. 33,450.

Nothing of the sort do we find—not one solitary recommendation does he make, unless the reference to the proposed department of commerce be considered as coming under the heading of the labor question.

It will be worth while for workingmen to preserve for future reference the portion of the message supposed to deal with the relations of labor and capital, and we therefore spare the space to reproduce it. It is really worthy of a careful reading, if only as a splendid example of "the use of language to conceal the absence of thought." President Roosevelt says:

THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

NOW IS THE TIME TO ACT.

The Worker heartily second the recommendation of the "Volkszeitung" that the city organization of the Social Democratic Party inaugurate a movement to demand of the city government that it take immediate and strenuous measures to relieve the fearful hardships now prevailing among the working people because of the high price of fuel.

Hundreds of thousands of working people in this city are shivering in their wretched homes; thousands of babies and sick or aged workmen and women are in daily danger of dying for lack of warmth—all to secure the capitalists' profits.

Low and Jerome and their friends in office are not disturbed about this. They and the people of their class have coal. They will not act or think or care unless we compel their attention by arousing their fears.

Let Local New York of the Social Democratic Party call upon all the labor organizations of the city to join in a tremendous demonstration, to demand that the workers who have made the city have coal to keep them warm, no matter where it comes from, no matter what it costs the capitalists in increased taxes.

We can do this. We can do it effectively. Let it not be neglected. Now is the time to act.

We have ceased to wonder at the systematic falsification of facts relating to the Socialist movement perpetrated by the Associated Press. We see "a method in its madness." We are not surprised to see that the Social Democratic Party having received 25,400 votes in the state of New York, the Associated Press gives us less than 20,000 and that the "union-smashing" S. L. P. having polled less than 16,000, the Associated Press gives it over 25,000. The Associated Press knows what it is about, perhaps. And perhaps the leader of the S. L. P. knows equally well. However, the truth will come out. Much as the capitalists controlling the Associated Press might like to boom the S. L. P., they can hardly prevent the Social Democratic Party from taking third place on the ballot in this state next year.

A number of the capitalist papers of New York are finding great comfort in saying that, while the Socialist vote as a whole increased in the state, it

fell off in some counties. They neglect to say, however, that, wherever there was any considerable falling off, it was the S. L. P. that lost. As to the vote of the Social Democratic Party, we may call attention to some of the figures. We lost votes in fifteen counties, it is true; but the best of these counties (Madison) gave us only 69 votes two years ago; the whole fifteen gave us but 286 out of our 13,853 votes two years ago, and our total loss in these counties was but 135; on the other hand we gained in forty-two counties, and the total of these gains was 10,042. The capitalist papers speak especially of Socialist losses in Erie, Oneida, Onondaga, and Oswego counties; in Erie, as a matter of fact, the Social Democratic Party gained 105 votes, or 26 per cent.; in Oneida we gained 33 votes, or 28 per cent.; in Onondaga we gained slightly; and in Oswego we lost but 8 votes. This will show how much reliance can be placed on the "news" of the Socialist movement printed in the capitalist papers.

THE PRESIDENT ON LABOR.

President Roosevelt has, in form, departed from the traditional way of treating the labor question in presidential messages. In a message of less than the usual length, he has given much more than the usual space to this subject. The number of words he devotes to it is really quite formidable. But, alas! when we have read the passage through, we find that there are words and nothing more.

Considering the extent to which Roosevelt's intervention in the coal strike was used as a campaign argument in the late campaign we might have expected of him, even as a politician, that he would make some sort of definite recommendations—ridiculously inadequate, no doubt, but at least somewhat tangible.

Nothing of the sort do we find—not one solitary recommendation does he make, unless the reference to the proposed department of commerce be considered as coming under the heading of the labor question. It will be worth while for workingmen to preserve for future reference the portion of the message supposed to deal with the relations of labor and capital, and we therefore spare the space to reproduce it. It is really worthy of a careful reading, if only as a splendid example of "the use of language to conceal the absence of thought." President Roosevelt says:

"How to secure fair treatment alike for labor and for capital, how to hold in check the unscrupulous man, whether employer or employee, without hampering and cramping the industrial development of the country, is a problem fraught with great difficulties and one which it is of the highest importance to solve on lines of sanity and far-sighted common sense as well as of devotion to the right. This is an era of federation and combination. Exactly as business men find they must often work through corporations, and as it is a constant tendency of these corporations to grow larger, it is often necessary for laboring men to work in federations, and these have become important factors of modern industrial life. Both kinds of federation, capitalistic and labor, can do much good, and as a necessary corollary they can both do evil. Opposition to each kind of organization should take the form of opposition to whatever is bad in the conduct of any given corporation or union, not of attacks upon corporations as such nor upon unions as such, for some of the most far-reaching beneficent work for our people has been accomplished through both corporations and unions. Each must refrain from arbitrary or tyrannous interference with the rights of others. Organized capital and organized labor alike should remember that in the long run the interest of each must be brought into harmony with the interest of the general public, and the conduct of each must conform to the fundamental rules of obedience to the law, of individual freedom and of justice and fair dealing toward all. Each should remember that in addition to power it must strive after the realization of healthy, lofty and generous ideals. Every employer, every wageworker, must be guaranteed his liberty and his right to do as he likes with his property or his labor so long as he does not infringe upon the rights of others. It is of the highest importance that employer and employee alike should endeavor to appreciate each the viewpoint of the other and the sure disaster that will come upon both in the long run if either grows to be habitual an attitude of sour hostility and distrust toward the other. Few people deserve better of the country than those representatives both of capital and labor—and there are many such—who work continually to bring about a good understanding of this kind, based upon wisdom and upon broad and kindly sympathy between employers and employed. Above all, we need to remember that any kind of class animosity in the political world, if possible, even more wicked, even more destructive to national welfare, than sectional, race or religious animosity. We can get good government only upon conditions that we keep true to the principles upon which this nation was founded and judge each man not as a part of a class, but upon his individual merits. All that we have a right to ask of any man, rich or poor, whatever his creed, his occupation, his birthplace or his residence, is that he shall act well and honorably by his neighbor and by his country. We are neither for the rich man as such nor for the poor man as such; we are for the upright man, rich or poor. So far as the constitutional powers of the national government touch these matters of general and vital moment to the nation, they should be exercised in conformity with the principles above set forth."

It is earnestly hoped that a secretary of commerce may be created, with a seat in the cabinet. The rapid multiplication of questions affecting labor and capital, the growth and complexity of the organizations through which both labor and capital now find expression, the steady tendency toward the employment of capital in huge corporations and the wonderful strides of this country toward leadership in the international business world justify an international demand for the creation of such a position. Substantially all the leading commercial bodies in this country have united in requesting its creation. It is desirable that some such measure as that which has already passed the Senate be enacted into law. The creation of such a department would in itself be an advance toward dealing with and exercising supervision over the whole subject of the great corporations doing an interstate business, and with this end in view the Congress should endow the department with large powers, which should be increased as experience might show the need."

Not even the sainted McKinley could have said less in so many words. The strenuous Teddy is learning his lesson well. Think of it: To say nothing of innumerable other strikes, lockouts, and boycotts, with injunctions against unions and arrest of union men, all over the land, we have had this year a strike of one hundred and forty-seven thousand coal miners, against a little coterie of mine owners; this strike has lasted almost six months and was hardly ended (or suspended) when the President began to write his message; it has involved terrible hardship for the men engaged in it and for their wives and families, and it has stirred the sympathies and called forth the willing sacrifices of hundreds of thousands of other workmen of all trades; the President himself has taken an ostentatious part in "settling" the strike, and during the conferences held in his room the Coal Kings have shaken their fists under his nose and demanded in insolent terms that he mind his own business; the questions involved in the strike are still unsettled, although the men are again at work, and there is at least a strong possibility that the conflict may be re-opened next year; meanwhile, at the moment the message was sent to Congress, the sudden coming of winter weather had brought keen suffering to millions of people, because of the high price of coal. In the face of all these facts, the President has nothing more to say than that we ought to have "wisdom and broad and kindly sympathy between employers and employed."

Think of it, again: Congress has before it an Eight-Hour Bill, an Anti-Injunction Bill, and many other bills of more or less importance, bearing directly upon the labor question, which have been introduced at the request of and petitioned and begged for by the American Federation of Labor. On not one of these measures does the President dare to make a solitary recommendation.

The only approach to a recommendation is that relating to the proposed department of commerce. Does President Roosevelt think that he will solve the labor problem by creating a cabinet position and a few comfortable jobs to be used as rewards to conservative labor leaders, men who neglect the interest of their organizations in order to cultivate "broad and kindly sympathy" with the workers' enemies? Doubtless this is what the President thinks, so far as he thinks at all on the subject. The increase of the Socialist vote in November and the vote on the Socialist resolution at the New Orleans convention of the American Federation of Labor might have taught him something. But—we may say fortunately—"Bourbons forget nothing and learn nothing." It is only the people who learn.

WHY HAVE WE NO COAL?

Cold weather has come. Hundreds of thousands of workmen, all over the country, are enduring great hardships and, in the case of the children, the aged, and invalids of the working class, are in positive danger of their lives, because of the high price of fuel. It is well that the workers should think now, think hard and long, so that they will not forget within a twelvemonth, as to the causes of this fuel famine.

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used the power of government to protect them—or them, and them alone, rests the responsibility for the suffering which the coming of winter now brings to the workers of the country. But, after all, it is not so important to say WHO is to blame as to say WHAT is to blame.

It does little good, no—is it altogether fair or reasonable, to make this a question of personal condemnation, of imposing blame upon the capitalists and their agents, as men.

Baer and Stone and the rest of them are probably not much more greedy and cruel and faithless than the average of men. Men's conduct depends chiefly on the social system in which they live and the position which they occupy in that system. The conduct of the capitalist, whatever his personal inclinations, cannot, in the nature of things, be otherwise than greedy and cruel and faithless. It is only by such conduct that he can maintain himself as a lord of industry; and if he fails to exercise those evil qualities which contribute to capitalist success, he will not benefit the workers, but will only give place to some competitor less handicapped by ideas of kindness and honor.

What we have to look to is not the men, good or bad, who are to blame that we have no coal, but to look to the social system which gives those men the power and the motive to interrupt industry, to drive the workers to desperation, and so to deprive all of us of one of the prime necessities of life.

It is the capitalist system that is to blame—the system of private property in means of production socially produced and operated, the system which makes private profit the sole motive power of the industrial world—it is this system that is to blame. And if we would guard against the recurrence of such conflicts, involving such terrible and widespread suffering as now prevails, and which are sure to recur under capitalism, now in one industry, now in another—if we would guard against this growing danger, we have to think, not of petty reforms or changes in the mere personnel of government, but of the radical change of the industrial system which will remove their cause.

In a word, the cold weather should make workmen think seriously about Socialism—and it will.

The French parliament is contemplating the abolition of all titles of nobility. This is an outrage, a violation of sacred rights of property, and Mr. Roosevelt should intervene on behalf of the American citizen—er, at least, the American ex-citizen—es—who are interested. Think of poor Anna Gould, who, by the exercise of industry, frugality, and business sagacity, honestly acquired the title of Countess Castellani. And now a wicked government proposes to confiscate the title and make her plain Madame! If this sort of thing is to be allowed, there will be no incentive to effort left to the people of Newport and Fifth Avenue.

WE AGREE AND DISAGREE. The Brooklyn Eagle reports a part of a lecture by Leonard D. Abbott at a meeting of one of the Brooklyn districts last week. Commenting on the President's message, Comrade Abbott said:

"It is remarkable with what a large portion of the President's message Socialists can agree, without holding the same reasons for so doing nor arriving at the same ultimate conclusions. We might, for the sake of being agreeable, consent to his statement that 'never before has material well-being been so widely diffused among "our" people,' though the advance of thirty-three per cent. in the cost of living, without a commensurate advance in wages, leaves this open to serious question. The question, also, of the injurious effect of this well-being of 'our people' upon the well-being of the people of other nations, and how soon their consequent ill-being will react upon us, are worth thinking of. However, whether the statement of His Majesty be true or not, it is certainly true that never in the history of the world has labor produced so abundantly and never has it, with the wages received, been able to buy back such a small percentage of its products. In other words, never has the capitalist class so successfully exploited the wage-earning class, the figures of Labor Commissioner Wright showing that labor is enabled to regain only one-fifth of its product."

"We agree with His Strenuous Excellency that there must be incentive to 'individual energy' and that this is in no wise inconsistent with power to act in combination for aims which cannot so well be achieved by the individual acting alone." Further, that "our aim is not to do away with corporations (meaning concentrated industries); on the contrary, these big aggregations are the inevitable development of modern industrialism." Mr. Roosevelt must have been reading Karl Marx, else the prophecy of the latter has been so clearly fulfilled that a capitalist President, even though lacking the ability or the courage to reach the conclusion of the logic of Marx, adopts his fundamental premises.

"We agree again with Mr. Roosevelt that 'a fundamental basis of civilization is the inviolability of property,' but we believe also that it is only by investing the collectivity with the ownership of land and capital that this end can be accomplished, for certainly the wage-worker's property in his product is not held inviolable so long as four parts out of five are absorbed by means of private ownership; with its stock watering, tariffs and other forms of general robbery. It all comes to the question of what can be properly regarded as private property."

The ghost of Hamlet's grand-child will be permitted to stalk over the stage in view of an admiring public sometime during the next session of Congress. It may stalk, it may even talk, but the anti-trust bill of Senator Oulien will never do more. To manifest the hopes of good Republicans concerning what Hamlet's grand-child might have been if it hadn't died in a sewerage we feel so something. If ever Oulien's bill gets out of committee the miscarriage is ready for it all right. Still, for political purposes, the ghost may walk.

The key of the situation in every capitalist country is possessed by that man who sees in the Chambers of Commerce and the innumerable other unnumbered combines of sinister dollars an all the year round league of war directed against the right or the ability of labor to strike against, or resist, its own subjugation. France has the device of these money conspirators are converging on the strike of the stokers and firemen at Marseilles. Not being a Protestant country, the leaven of hypocrisy has not yet so generally descended from clergy to people there, as with us; and so they are still able to call a spade a spade though they only see a war between rich and poor. The same crowd who besought our own government on behalf of suffering humanity to knock down the coal miners are trying that same dishonest ruse on the French legislature against the stokers. But so far the Minister of Commerce declares against taking sides with the companies (openly) and for recognizing the right of labor to strike. These words are all right; anyway, they are much clearer than our official words on a similar occasion. Whether clearer or not, let next week tell. But be assured of this—to reduce labor to slavery is the program of capitalism everywhere; and there is nothing in the French government, or our own, but capital.

The best, therefore, that labor can expect will be a truce of expediency.

The billionnaire combine known as the Kansas Beef Packers, is the only band of American gentlemen patriots who have forgotten their political catchword and are about to appeal before the Supreme Court with a plea of general hard times as an explanation of their conspiracy price. This nation is about as clear as mud as to

Mosquito Bites By PETER E. BURROWS

It is hard to know whether our magistrates make greater fools of themselves when they have a bad motive or a good one. There is a poor widgeon woman with a boy to look after and provide for while she is at work in one of the big department stores. The boy takes to thieving and lying like the son of a U. S. recruiting sergeant, so the latter habit has been inherited, the mother whips him with a rope; the Gerry Society man therefore takes away the child from her and has her arrested. The magistrate, good man, is so indignant over the whipping that he refuses bail and throws the woman into prison over Thanksgiving Day, and, of course, loses and she her place. Now, because "this poor woman is not wiser than all of our civilization, because she does not know how to do better than the wisdom of all our laws combined; because she follows the same course of "penology as the sainted Brockway of Elmira; because she gave the very same thing to the boy that the highly indignant moral magistrate does to her, viz.—punishment; she is branded as wicked. Which of us judges will tell and show this woman—what she should have done. No man among you knows.

The man who represents Colombia at the court of President Theodore Roosevelt, D. C., may be a good fellow, but he is a back number for Washington, inasmuch as he has allowed the constitution of his country to stand between the capitalists of his country and a good deal with the capitalists of another country. This constitution forbids the conveyance away of sovereignty over any part of Colombian territory. That phrase was overcome by conveying something else called "perpetual control." Now, because Concha could not see the difference he has obtained the grand bonnet. "Our commercial statesmen were the first, of course, to make the remarkable "discovery" that Concha's constitution did not specifically forbid the use of this phrase. What a splendid instrument for perpetual fraud in the hands of a ruling class is a constitution! There is manifestly no end to the art of discovering things it has not specifically forbidden. Fancy our own poor old document meeting its modern self in a lonely place, how they would stare at each other!

The fierce desire of the capitalists, of all minor shades, to have that canal, through lies thick or lies thin, is in itself some reason for the workers to pause and consider that canal. In all probability since capitalism blows so many for love in our times, though poverty afterwards bids them mourn for their love. But they are not the only people who live to be sorry for their marriages; a recent Postoffice order forbidding man and wife to hold office at one time is followed by a general break for the divorce courts up at Washington, Oh, ye gods, how those Socialists break up the family!

Lieutenant Cornelius Vanderbilt has just passed what the newspapers assure us was a strict examination for promotion in the regiment of unfortunates known as the N. G. of New York. His Highness astonished the examining board with his proficiency (Highness always do, especially in telling how he would mass and mobilize troops at and from various points of the state. His acquaintance with the Vanderbilt system of railroads and where the company would require guns to put down strikers was good. It was all a con amore science to Cornelius. I wonder when will the public conscience be ashamed of the incongruity and treason of placing troops under the command of public offenders like the Vanderbilts.

This government has been threatened by the sentimentalists with all sorts of deterioration, including moral deterioration, through its mingling with the semi-barbarous people of the Philippines. Up to date, however, the barbarians have distinctly the credit of raising us morally several notches above the pure ethics of commerce. What, for instance, will the elevated corn corners of our native land think of such a descent into paternalism as that of our strictly business administration, literally going into business to better rice than to cover so as to prevent strict American principles from taking advantage of the recently threatened famine and of starving the people. Whence comes this change of heart, this work of grace? Is it by expansion into savage lands that we are at last destined to be taught humanity, or is this only a gentle hand feeling for the jugular?

Can it be possible that after all her chances the former Miss Gould gave herself away, matrimonially, for nothing. There surely must be a screw loose in the heredity machine if this has happened. What a wall will go up from the daughters of Wall Street if the proposition now mooted in the French parliament to re-abolish titles really comes to law. Fancy the little Count What-you-call-him, now husband to the daughter of Jay Gould, without a title. What would you call him?

In order to dispose of those billions of surplus home products which the wide-awake Yankee is too sleepy to demand and too creasy to run for the ball and box, we have been placed under constraint to convert China's millions to our Christianity and the Chinese silver currency into our own blessed gold currency at a depreciation of a quarter on the dollar and more on the man. To put it mildly, we have paralyzed the heathen Chinaman who finds himself up to his cue in debt to

whether high prices mean good or bad times; so it is likely that a muddily decision will follow. President Harrison once declared that "cheap cost meant cheap man"; therefore, dear meat means fine men. Hurrah for America and the packers who maintain our dignity in the stockyards.

Bishop Brewer of Montana declared that Christian men should go into politics and get possession of the legislative halls, executive chairs and government offices all over. This seems no more than fair seeing that politicians have taken possession of all the bishoprics, altars and pulpits.

How simply and truly the class struggle theory of society covers all the facts of political life in every country! The whole of bourgeois, clerical and clay-eating Junkers of Germany are willing to cast all constitutional rights to the winds, and to put their necks into parliamentary halter, to call back the Jesuits or any old thing if they can thereby throttle the Socialists. Now what dreads interest is that for which Socialism stands and against which so many evils are ready to unite to the point of parliamentary extinction. Why labor, of course. If the working class rise they must fall. Away with constitutional government, away with party distinctions and theological squabbles, and welcome anything that will take away from them the measure of labor saved itself from their clutches. Anything to keep their slaves, for without slaves they are only men.

As the head of the property class militant (called the state), the Emperor of Germany is to-day as willing as our old friend Henry VIII. to place himself at the head of a reformation movement; a go back, such as would re-Romanize democracy out of the empire, if it ceases to be a bourgeois democracy, or threatens to become a democracy of labor; and, as far as his heads and their purposes are concerned, there would be as much religion in the one reformation as in the other.

If the modern family were such a blessedly sweet arcadian affair as our property class cracks it up to be; let it not be forgotten that the people and principles that build up one family on property lines break up, and render impossible, more happy marriages than ever the poor starved heart of human nature will tell—though any clear-headed person may appreciate the vast measure of sordid and desolate love it makes outside the home of the working people, who alone can marry for love in our times, though poverty afterwards bids them mourn for their love. But they are not the only people who live to be sorry for their marriages; a recent Postoffice order forbidding man and wife to hold office at one time is followed by a general break for the divorce courts up at Washington, Oh, ye gods, how those Socialists break up the family!

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us without ever having dealt with us, at all. A gospel attested by such a miracle as this ought to capture the Chinaman body and soul; and—well, it has captured his body; but his soul, like John Brown's, is still marching on.

A collection of books and pamphlets dealing with labor and social problems has been purchased by a public library in Chicago for its reference department. This the capitalist commentators of the daily papers declare to be quite an innovation in library management; but they say, with a sigh, Labor has assumed such proportions of late that there is a demand for such reading. Labor has not assumed any new importance; it is as kicker and voter that he calls this new attention to himself.

It is amusing to see what "softies" our upper class people are, and what sums of money even hard-headed business people are willing to pay a man for tickling them, when they could tickle themselves to the same purpose for nothing. Here is Jules Hurst from France tickling the thick-skinned members of our Alliance Francaise with a yarn concerning his great interviews with Socialist leaders in Europe, and his great discovery that the common Socialists are not Socialists, but only discontented people, and the big Socialists are still all patriotic Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, etc., ready to take up arms against each other like the rest of us. Some tickling is dangerous; as the old author of Valentine Vox shows in the case of Goodman, who went crazy by feathering the soles of his feet.

It may seem strange that the Secretary of the Treasury in his financial report deems it germane to the finance business to deal specifically with the secret service of the government and to put in among his growing columns of dollars a recommendation for "the investigation of secret associations which are maintained in all the seats of industry," and which the Secretary says are anarchistic. On dit. If you know they are anarchistic, W. S., why these grants of money for secretly investigating them? If such societies are maintained in all the centres of industry, why is it we have so few assassinations? If the Secretary does not know any more than his "think," is he not seeking to set up a Viduog regime of spies in the labor unions? If there be anything at all but black reaction in this suggestion, why should it come from the dollars rather than from the brains and patriotism of the nation? It is truly nothing more than a war between the moneykind and the mankind of the world, and Shaw is only in command of the American detachment of moneykind. As to the anarchists, I doubt if there be enough of them anywhere outside of Wall Street with sense enough to associate for anything. Anarchy is but the capitalists' Pecoskiffian name for Socialism. Through that door they hope to stab progress in the back.

PARTY NOTES.

Comrade Schenberg, of North Chelmsford, Mass. writes to Secretary Burtch...

Local Ashtabula, O. at its last meeting voted to establish a "Worker subscription bureau"...

Ex-Mayor John C. Chase of Haverhill will lecture on Socialism in the Opera House at Hartford, Conn. Sunday evening, Dec. 14.

The International Association of Car Workers is organizing rapidly in the New England states and especially in the shops of the New York, New Haven and Hartford railway system.

At the next regular meeting of the American Branch of Local New Haven the attitude of the Socialist Party toward "union labor" parties and the recent action of the party in California will be the subject of discussion.

Algermon Lee will lecture at the Socialist Party headquarters in Newark, N. J., at 124 Market street, Sunday evening, Dec. 14, on "Socialist Politics and Old Party Politics."

The Philadelphia dailies, especially the "Ledger," are full of discussions on Socialism these days—editorials against the movement and letters in reply to the editorials.

Comrade Dorne of Rome writes, "Our comrade, Rev. A. L. Byron-Curtis caused quite a sensation by reading a paper on 'Socialism and the Church' before an association of clergymen."

Terre Haute comrades are hard at work. Headquarters have been established at 311 Ohio street and weekly meetings will be held.

The Idaho "Socialist" weekly, which has been in existence only about six months, will double its size with the first issue in January.

Wisconsin will be one of the next states to send Socialists to the Legislature. Two of our Assembly candidates in Milwaukee were defeated by only 300 and 71 votes, respectively.

On Monday evening, Dec. 15, Sol Fieldman will speak to the workingmen of Peekskill at Labor Hall. Local Fieldman is in excellent condition and is preparing to carry on a systematic propaganda of Socialist ideas.

In our issue of Nov. 23 we inadvertently gave the Social Democratic vote of Albany County as 123 in 1900 and 65 this year.

Comrade Fieldman's tour of the state, which was to have begun this week, has unavoidably been postponed for a few days.

There is to be a debate on Socialism between E. R. A. Seligman, Professor of Political Economy at Columbia University, and Comrade H. Gaylord Wilshire on January 16, at Cooper Union.

At the West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall, N. W. corner of Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, this Friday evening, Dec. 12, Algermon Lee will deliver a lecture on "The Capitalist System."

Dr. G. Fish Clark and E. D. Knapp will be the speakers at the Brooklyn Socialist Club, Fulton street and Ralph avenue, Sunday evening, December 14.

THE CALIFORNIA AFFAIR.

At the general meeting of Local New York last Saturday, called to consider the action of the Socialist Party of San Francisco and Los Angeles in fusing with the U. L. P. after lengthy discussion two resolutions were adopted, one dealing specifically with this affair and the other dealing with the general attitude of the Socialist Party towards trade unions engaged in independent political action.

The first resolution, which was proposed by Comrade Slobodin, is as follows: "Resolved, That Local New York, in general meeting assembled, unqualifiedly and unreservedly disapproves the tactics of fusion in practice and compromise in principle adopted and pursued by the California Socialist Party during the late elections and still pursued now, and urge the California Socialist Party to revise its methods and place itself in accord with the non-fusion and uncompromising principles and tactics of the Socialist Party of the United States."

The second resolution, moved by Comrade Hillquit: "In view of the recent occurrences in California, Local New York of the Socialist Democratic Party hereby makes the following declaration of its attitude towards trade unions engaging in independent political action, and recommends the said declaration for adoption by the National Council of the party at its next annual meeting."

"To accomplish its own emancipation, labor must conduct its struggles against the oppression of capital on the economic and the political field with equal efficiency."

"The economic struggles of the workingmen concerning their immediate and separate interests, and are most efficiently conducted by organizations of separate trades, independently or in conjunction with each other. But the political struggles of the workingmen concern the general and ultimate interests of their class, and can only be conducted successfully by a national party of labor, with branch organizations in the various states and municipalities, trained in political battle, and standing for the ultimate abolition of the entire wage system as well as for all measures of temporary relief of labor conditions."

"And while the two kinds of organizations are parts of the same labor movement and require the most cordial support and co-operation of each other for their mutual success, the special mission of each should be limited to its proper sphere of activity."

"The Socialist Party of the United States has shown itself fully capable of waging the political struggles of the working class in this country, and with the co-operation of the trade unions, it has every prospect of bringing about the political supremacy of the working class in this country within a time not far distant. When, therefore, trade unions as such organize for political action in opposition to or independent of the party, adopting different platforms, and at times compromising with the political foes of their class, they impair their own usefulness as an economic factor as well as that of the Socialist Party as a political factor, and injure the interests of the labor movement as a whole."

"We, therefore, call upon the trade unions of this country, in their own enlightened interest, to support the political struggles of the Socialist Party instead of putting obstacles in the way of its progress by forging rival local organizations, and we call upon all subdivisions of the Socialist Party to maintain their positions as the political organizations of the working class in their respective localities, and not to yield that position to any other political parties of labor or otherwise, nor to fuse or compromise with such parties."

At the meeting of the 20th A. D. held on Dec. 4 at 421 First avenue, Comrade Gibbs was chosen as Recording Secretary. Comrades Kendall and Gibbs as delegates to the Daily Globe Conference, and Comrade Cramer as delegate to the General Committee. The district will hold an entertainment on New Year's Eve at the Labor Lyceum; admission will be 10 cents. A committee was chosen to find a hall for lectures. The next business meeting will be held Dec. 17 and all Social Democrats in the district are invited to attend and join the party organization.

Two new members were admitted at the last meeting of Local Richmond. Comrade LeGrand, was chosen as Organizer. It was decided to arrange a series of lectures on Socialism to be held at the Labor Lyceum, Roff street, Stapleton. A delegate to the Globe Conference was elected and the local pledged \$20 for the fund. Plans were also made for the Comrade festival in March.

The Bronx Borough Agitation Committee held a special meeting on Nov. 28 and a regular meeting on Dec. 2. The terms of the present members expired at the end of this month and the branches are called upon to elect their delegates for the ensuing term. On Jan. 5 occurs the regular general meeting of all comrades in the Bronx and it is hoped that every one of the hundred and ten members will be present, so that the work of the new year may be started with vigor and good spirit. A number of campaign fund lists are still outstanding; they should be turned in at once, so that all old accounts may be settled. On Thursday, Jan. 15, a propaganda meeting will be held in the twenty-second election district of the 35th A. D., of which further notice will be given. The Progressive Workingmen's Societies of the Bronx will hold their regular spring festival for the benefit of the borough campaign fund. The splendid gain made this year in the Bronx only shows how much more can be done next year if every comrade does his duty, instead of leaving all the work to a few members. Solid organization, with good officers and unremitting work by all members will be sure to bring inspiring results next fall.

At the last meeting of the Young People's Social Democratic Club of Yorkville a number of young men of the club volunteered to act as ushers at the concert of Local New York in Cooper Union on Dec. 18. The club accepted an invitation to assist at the "christening" of the new Downtown Young People's Club; the progress of the Yorkville club will be reported there. The discussion of the evening was on the attitude of the Social Democratic Party toward the trade unions.

One of the new features of the Social Democratic movement in the city is the beginning of a series of German "family evenings" at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, under the auspices of Comrade Tamm. The series was begun last Sunday with great success and all German-speaking Socialists and working people are invited to attend every Sunday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street. At each gathering there will be a short lecture or informal talk on some topic of intelligent interest, together with musical and other entertainment of a high character, and an opportunity will thus be given for social intercourse among the numerous progressive working people of the downtown districts which will doubtless be both very enjoyable and very advantageous to the movement.

At the last meeting of the 16th A. D. five new members were enrolled. The committee having charge of the sale of The Worker reported the sale of the average of fifty copies a week. After election we started with but twenty-five. Comrade Reich reported that on Thursday, Dec. 25, Comrade Lissauer is obliged to lecture before the district organization in German; his subject will be reported next week. Comrades who have not yet voted on the election of a National Committeeman should attend the meeting of the district on Thursday evening, Dec. 11, at 8-10 Avenue D, Lafayette Hall.

SEE OUR WATCH OFFER.

THE CALIFORNIA AFFAIR.

On motion it was ordered that in pursuance of the state constitution of the Social Democratic Party, the Locals of the City of New York be called upon to elect a City Committee: Local Kings, five; Local Queens, two; Local Richmond, one. The delegates to meet as a temporary City Committee at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, on January 3, 1903, 8 P. M., and to elect a permanent City Committee. On motion it was ordered that Comrade Sol Fieldman be engaged as state organizer for a short period, his services and expenses to be shared by the Association for the Socialist Daily.

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Republican Mayor-elect Henri H. Watson (elected by a plurality of 14 votes over Parkman B. Flanders, Socialist candidate), discussing the result of the city campaign in the Haverhill "Gazette," says: "I think that the result is disappointing to the Republican friends who fought with me. I expected a larger vote, and can see that I did not get it because of the advent of Mr. Kelly (the Democratic candidate)."

"I am pleased with the showing made by my party. It has been a splendid campaign, one of the best, and I am satisfied."

It is the general feeling of Socialists that, even though the recent report of the vote (which is by no means certain, we may be well satisfied with the result. The Republican and Democratic parties in Haverhill, as in Brockton, are being slowly but surely forced together and the lines drawn between Socialism on the one side and capitalism on the other.

"The Republican 'Gazette' recognizes that the Socialists have good ground for satisfaction. Editorially the 'Gazette' speaks as follows: 'The Republican candidates for Mayor and Aldermen of the city for the coming year have been elected and the attempt to once more place the city in the Socialist column has been defeated. Naturally enough the victory is a matter of congratulation among the successful candidates and their friends, but to the great majority of the party, and to any one who is concerned in maintaining the reputation of the city as a conservatively governed community, there is something more than the spirit of exultation in the consideration of the election figures. A plurality of 14 votes in a total vote of 5,400 is a small achievement for a party which in a vote of 5,800 at the state election secured a plurality of nearly 1,200, and indicates that something is wrong. Where the fault lies, and the means of remedying that fault, it should be the duty of the Republican party in this city to search out."

NEW YORK CAMPAIGN FUND.

Table listing names and amounts for the New York Campaign Fund, including names like A. D. Wm. Vassler, C. J. Furman, and others with their respective contributions.

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Session of the State Committee of the Social Democratic Party of New York, Nov. 25, 1902. Present: Dr. Chas. Furman, James N. Wood, Henry L. Slobodin, I. Phillips, Herman Reich, Emil Neppel; absent: Chris Bub, Leonard D. Abbott and Godfrey Lehner, without excuse; excused, Bowersman. Correspondence received: Rochester, ordering supplies; Schenectady; Wellsville; Pearl River; Johnston; ordering stamps; Watertown; Ohio State Committee; National Committee; Connecticut State Committee; Heikler; Denver, Col.; Philadelphia; Wm. T. Brown, financial report and bill; Comrade Alex. Jonas, financial report and bill; financial reports received from Local New Rochelle, Rochester, Cold Spring, Ft. Edward, Utica, Rome

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE TRADE UNIONS.

The Duty the Party Ows the Unions and What It Can Rightly Demand of Them.

What relations should subsist between the Socialist Party and the trade unions? What is the duty of the Socialist Party and of the individual Socialists toward the unions? What, on the other hand, does the Socialist Party have a right to ask of the unions?

These are questions that must be answered for the two movements are here to stay; both are growing in strength and developing in spirit and policy; they are made up of members of the same class and, in their different ways, deal with the same problem; they must hold close relations of some sort, either harmonious and mutually helpful or discordant and injurious to both.

The Common Ground.

The Socialist Party has its own reason for existence in the division of society into classes, and the oppression and depression of the working class, and the necessity for its emancipation. Neither of the old parties openly stand for the interests of any one class; they pretend not to recognize the existence of classes; each of them claims to represent the interests of all the people. But facts are stubborn and do not disappear because men deny their existence. The class struggle is a fact; and the very parties which, in their ante-election professions, refuse to see it, in their post-election practices, give the most striking illustrations of its force; they pretend to represent all the people in order that they may win political power, with which to serve a part of the people at the expense of the rest.

The trade unions in general have, in the past, refused to admit in words the existence of the class struggle between capitalists and workers; some of them still do not clearly recognize it; we often hear labor leaders (even honest ones) talking in the same strain with old-party politicians about the "brotherhood of Capital and Labor" and declaring that the object of the unions is not to fight the capitalists but "to establish harmony between employers and employed." But the acts of the unions fortunately belie their words. Just as the old-party politicians, denying the existence of classes, faithfully serve the capitalist class, so the unions, denying the conflict of class interests, yet put forth every effort and often make heroic sacrifices in fighting for the interests of the working class against their employers. It is not words that count, but acts; and the action of the unions, in demanding reduction of working hours or increase of pay or improvement of the conditions of labor, against the will and the interest of the employers, and in fighting for these objects with such weapons as the strike, the boycott, and the label—such action proves that the only reason for their existence is in the antagonistic interests of the working class and the employing class.

Our Duty to the Unions.

This being the common ground—and, as we shall show, the basis of the common ground—of the two movements, what is the duty of Socialists, as a party and as individuals, toward the unions?

It is the duty of Socialists as individuals—as has been declared in our last national convention—to join the unions of their various crafts, where such exist, and to act in good faith as members.

It is the duty of the party to lend its support to the unions in their struggles—its financial support when necessary and feasible as it has done, most energetically, in the miners' strike, and at all times its moral support, which is often still more valuable.

Our Separate Tasks.

But while the Socialist Party and the unions have this common ground, they are far from being identical. Both their purposes and their methods are different, though not antagonistic. Each has its work, which the other cannot do, and each must leave the other free to perform its special function.

The specific purpose of the unions is to carry on the battles of the working class in detail under the conditions of the capitalist system. So long as capitalists rob and oppress, trade unions cannot put a stop to this. But they often can do somewhat

lighten the burden of toil and somewhat reduce the degree of profit-robbing and somewhat check the oppressors' insolence; the gain, though small, is worth fighting for. Still oftener they succeed in defending the workers from a lowering of their condition, which would take place were there no union. And, perhaps more important than all, they train the workers in the habit of feeling and thinking and acting together, the invaluable habit of organization.

The means and methods for carrying on this daily struggle are industrial or economic, not political—the strike, the boycott, the label, the working-card, the benefit fund. In order to use these methods with the maximum of success, it is desirable that every workman in a trade should belong to the trade organization, and no distinction can be made on account of politics any more than of race or religion. A union which should admit only Republicans or only Democrats or only Socialists or should exclude either of these or discriminate between them would assuredly not succeed as a trade union.

To sum up: The unions fight for immediate and partial improvement of the workers' condition by purely industrial methods which require for their successful operation that all workmen shall be taken in without distinction of political belief. The specific function of the Socialist Party is to fight for the complete emancipation of the working class from exploitation and class tyranny. This can be accomplished only by the overthrow of the capitalist system and the building up of a Co-operative Commonwealth. This is a far larger aim than that of the unions. It is a different but not a conflicting aim.

To say that the Socialist Party must act always with this final aim in view is not to say that it can do nothing for the immediate betterment of the workers' condition; on the contrary, as it gains partial control of the powers of government or even before it has gained any victories at the polls (through the fear which its growth inspires), it can and does do very much to advance the immediate interests of the working class; and it does this the more effectively in proportion as it guides itself by the light of its one ultimate purpose.

The methods which the Socialist Party uses for this great battle are distinctly political methods—education in economic and political science, organization of those who accept its principles, and political campaigns for the purpose of putting the powers of government in the hands of men pledged to carry those principles into effect. In order that these methods should be used with success it is necessary that all who believe in the principles of Socialism should be politically united; no distinction can be made on any other ground. If the party should exclude members or divide its forces on other questions—even on questions which may legitimately be considered by trade unions—it would assuredly not succeed as a political party.

To sum up: The Socialist Party seeks the ultimate complete emancipation of the working class, through the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and fights for this end by educational and political methods which require that no qualification but sincere support of Socialist principles be recognized.

The Limit of Our Duty.

In view of this difference in purpose and method between the two movements, what are the limits of our duty to the unions? What have the unions not a right to demand of us? They have no more right to demand that the Socialist Party shall subordinate its political efforts to their industrial battles than the party has to demand the reverse of them. It is the duty of the Socialist Party to teach Socialism and get votes for the Socialist ticket, and every other consideration must be subordinate to these.

The unions have no right to demand that the Socialist Party take a position on one side or the other in their internal questions. If they ask it, we have no right to yield. It is neither the right nor the duty of the Socialist Party to involve itself in conflicts of jurisdiction and the like among or within the unions. Such interference, as shown by experience in the past, is harmful to both movements. Such questions can be solved only by the unions themselves. The Socialist Party should give its support to unions—organized as against the capitalists, but not to one union as against another.

We speak here of the party, as such. With the individual Socialist it is a different matter. It is the duty of each Socialist to join the union of his trade; and he is there in duty bound to take a position on union questions. He should act there, fearlessly and energetically, for the highest good of his class, which will include the highest good of his craft.

Nor are Socialists bound to refrain from public discussion of the policy of the unions. Provided such discussion be based on principle and is carried on in an intelligent manner, provided it is fraternal criticism and advice, not flattery nor abuse nor attempted dictation, it is helpful to both movements.

In a word, the Socialist Party does not seek to dictate to the unions in their affairs nor is it willing to be dictated to by them in its own affairs; it shuns entangling alliances; it desires that the two movements should be carried on independently in order that they may be carried on harmoniously.

What We Demand.

What, on the other hand, does the Socialist Party ask of the unions? To demand, we think, we have a right to demand.

methods of the two movements. They would rightly object did the party seek to form rival unions. With equal reason, the Socialist Party objects if the unions seek to form a new party. In the nature of things, as pointed out before, the union must include men of all political beliefs. A party can include only men who agree in political belief. The union which attempts to be also a political party, therefore, must either cease to be a real union or fail to be a real party. The Socialist Party must maintain its right to the political field as strictly as it withholds its hand from the industrial field.

Second, The unions are the great primary school of the working class. Experience shows that it is impossible, as reason shows that it would be unwise, to prevent the discussion of political questions there. There is politics in every union in the land. It is well that it should take the form of open discussion, not of secret intrigue. We have a right to ask, therefore, that the unions give an opportunity in their meetings for free discussion of political questions and that Socialists be given exactly the same chance as the advocates of other parties.

Only Way to Win.

This brings us to the final point—a word of counsel to Socialists in the unions.

Aside from your duty as union members, your one duty there as Socialists is to make more Socialists.

You cannot do this by intrigue nor by tricks of parliamentary law nor by any means except convincing argument and good example.

It is not going to do the party any good to "capture" a union; it is likely to harm both the union and the party. An "endorsement" is not worth the paper it is written on unless it is the cheerful expression of the honest conviction of a majority of the members. The Socialist Party does not want anything but what it can get in good faith; nothing gained otherwise will help it in the least; and any temptation to gain apparent victories by other means should be sternly put aside.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

The party which this paper represents is known nationally as the Socialist Party. In New York, on account of certain provisions of the election laws, it is obliged to use the name Social Democratic Party. Its emblem in this state is the Arm and Torch.

This party should not be confused with the so-called Socialist Labor party, which has but two reasons for its existence—to foster dissension in the Socialist movement and to attack and slander the trade unions.

Many votes intended for the Socialist Party (or Social Democratic Party in New York) have been cast by mistake for the "union-smashing" S. L. P., on account of the similarity of names. We call on our readers to bear in mind the difference and to convey the information to others.

MORE LABOR LAWS ARE KNOCKED OUT.

"Whom the gods would make destroy they first make mad." The courts, whose infamous decisions against the workers have done so much in the past to educate the latter, and make Socialists of them, are still at their work. This week brings news of two more "labor laws" declared unconstitutional—one in Ohio, the other in Indiana.

The Chicago "Citizen" tells the story for Ohio. It says: "The eight-hour law in Ohio was knocked out by the Supreme Court, Tuesday.

"The law was enacted April 16, 1900, and was the result of many years of agitation on the part of the organized workers of the state. It was the first of a series of laws in the case of the city of Cleveland against the Clement Bros. Construction Co., which concern was building a sewer and employing its men more than the legal eight hours per day. The city sought to enforce the penalty of \$10 for each day that the law was violated, an aggregate of \$320. The Circuit Court, about a year ago, ruled in favor of the defendants and the case has been hanging fire ever since.

"The Supreme Court on Tuesday held that 'No part of the contract plea can be withheld on account of violation of the eight-hour act.'

"We have said before and repeat that the interpretation and enforcement of law depends upon the class interests and instincts of those in power. If workingmen elect capitalists and their agents they must expect that constitutions and laws will be interpreted by and for capitalism. If workingmen elect persons who stand for their class interests they will win their cases, and not before."

The Indiana case is reported by the Chicago "Socialist" as follows:

"A decision of the Indiana Supreme Court has declared the 'pluck me' store law unconstitutional and invalid. The law against these stores had been passed by the last Indiana legislature, and is now knocked out in the plea that it is 'class legislation.' Its provisions dealt exclusively with coal miners and 'merchants,' as the agents of the coal company that do the plucking are termed, and it was contended that the law placed the 'merchant' at a disadvantage compared with other exploiters to whom an amendment of wages was made. So the eternal and inalienable right of all classes of exploiters to pluck the proletariat has again been vindicated. The latter is fair game anyhow, and should not complain so long as he votes for the system which has as its basis his continual plucking, and then files an objection against one special brand of plucker."

We learn slowly, indeed, but we do learn. In a couple of years, at the present rate, we shall begin to elect Socialist judges, and then we shall get decisions of a different sort.

The Worker stands for straight Socialism, and against fusion or compromise of any sort. Party locals should see that new comrades subscribe to The Worker, that they may become clear and class-conscious Socialists.

We wish to double the circulation of The Worker in the next six months. Will you help us?

THE DYING STATE AND THE STATE TO BE BORN.

By Franklin M. Wentworth.

The election frauds in Philadelphia are an annual occurrence, but this year they reached an unusual climax of the picturesque. The Fifth Ward outdid itself, for, having cast only 1,067 votes in 1900 for President McKinley, it gave 5,173 to the noble Pimpinacker. As an example of ballot-box stuffing this is held, in Philadelphia, as a record-beater. [Springfield Republican.]

The American people have arrived at that point of moral degeneracy where they look upon indisputable proof of ballot-box stuffing with a smile, and their greatest newspapers dismiss the subject with a satirical and amusing paragraph.

The American people calling themselves Republicans or Democrats and professing to believe in representative government, stand idle and impotent while their ballots are treated as useless paper and their sacred privilege of franchise is dragged in the mire. Their manhood is not of a quality to right wrongs; it is too fabled and flabby to avenge grosser insults.

It is a sign of death; the American Republic is dying.

These ingenious persons of the political division called Democrats, who point to the Philadelphia putrescence as Republican, and therefore not of their going, are invited to turn to Colorado where persons of THEIR label in Democratic districts held back the returns until they found out how Arapahoe county (Denver) voted. They counted on so deftly magnifying Democratic returns as to overcome any Republican plurality shown by Denver. The Democrats wanted to get the offices, and the capitalists' money that goes with them, away from the Republicans, who stand frankly for the people and plutocracy and hence better deserve them. The only thing which prevented the success of the Democrats in this their highly moral effort was that in certain districts where the Socialist Party vote was big enough to be considered, THEY DID NOT DARE TO TAMPER WITH IT.

Democrats stole the ballots of Republican voters in Democratic districts and Republicans stole the ballots of Democratic voters in Republican districts. This is legitimate in capitalist politics, and as both parties do it, they have nothing to fear from each other.

BUT BEHIND EVERY VOTE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY THERE IS A MAN, AND THERE IS SOMETHING IN MANHOOD WHICH TERRIFIES THE SCOUNDREL AND KEEPS HIM FROM HIS INSTINCTIVE INDULGENCES.

The present economic system has eaten out the moral fibre of its votaries. Those who uphold it have no longer any determinate stock of either intellectual or spiritual virility. The state of political decay—the dying state—has within itself no dynamic with which to arrest its dissolution.

One hundred years ago so insolent and undisciplined a man as this Philadelphia would have aroused the American people to a frenzy, for then their faith had not been emasculated; they were capable of intellectually conceiving that a menace to their ballot in one place menaced it at every other, and they treasured the ballot as something which had been bought with blood.

Now, to-day, when they are traduced and their ballots stolen, they stand as vulgar dupes of still more vulgar political tricksters—tools of their economic masters—and impotently smile at their own debasement. Their chief ethical impulse lifts them only to a dull indifference.

AND YET THE DAY IS ALMOST HERE WHEN THEIR INDIFFERENCE TO THE USE OF THE BALLOT IS TO SERVE AS THE EXCUSE FOR THEIR DISFRANCHISEMENT. HERE AND THERE, THERE IS CREEPING INTO THE FURNACE AND INTO CONTENTS OF EVERY LITERATURE THE SUGGESTION COMING FROM PERSONS IN HIGH PLACES, THAT THE BALLOT IS A FAILURE.

Such an opinion may in the face of conditions to-day be an honest one. In 1870 Henry George, the greatest spiritual nobleman whom America has yet produced, wrote:

"Given a community with republican institutions, in which one class is too rich to be shorn of its luxuries, no matter how public affairs are administered, and another so poor that a few dollars on election day will seem more than any abstract consideration; in which the few roll in wealth and the many seeth with discontent at a condition of things they know not how to remedy, and power must pass into the hands of jobbers who will buy and sell it as the Praetorians sold the Roman purple, or into the hands of demagogues who will seize and wield it for a time, only to be replaced by worse demagogues."

The conditions Henry George pictured in 1870 are to-day partially realized, and it is a feeble-vision which cannot see their complete realization in America in the near future.

From such a realization to disfranchisement and arbitrary rule is but a step. Many a well-meaning but unphilosophical person discouraged by public immorality would turn with relief to a dictator who would guarantee "good" government.

Then the past would have to be fought all over again, as those who believe progress is only a circle instead of a spiral, actually think it will.

In the world to-day, however, and increasing in America with leaps and bounds, is the sentiment of Socialism. So far as we know no such concept has ever figured in any preceding civilization; it is unique in history.

Its influence on human life may therefore be unique.

The political rottenness which never can develop, from within, the vitality to clean itself, and which, in every preceding republic, has been cleaned from without by military dictatorship; may at this stage be cleaned by Socialism, a higher kind of social organization.

The world may after repeated republican failures, be now ready to take the step progress indicates as imperative.

If it is not, then we will have to try again, another century or cycle.

One thing, however, seems to emerge from the chaos of present political confusion.

This is that the vote for Socialism will get itself counted.

The very feebleness of political expression in the old parties, indicated by indifference in registration and in ballot-box frauds, makes the Socialist vitality appear as a very positive force. And it is a positive force.

IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT ALONE RESIDES TODAY, THE DYNAMIC FORCE WHICH IS TO PRESERVE THE BALLOT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

To the Socialist the ballot is sacred. It is the key with which he is to unlock the future. He will not allow it to be taken from him, and in defending his own right he will defend the right of all.

Out of the heart of the proletariat is blazing the Promethean fire which is to purge away the rottenness of Philadelphia and all tulle Philadelphia, and build the city of the pure, glad common life.

THE TWO KINDS OF INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

At the annual meeting of the Baptist Social Union at the Hotel Savoy, Dec. 4, the two speakers of the evening were Rev. Dr. Johnson, pastor of Mr. Rockefeller's Fifth Avenue Baptist church, and Rev. Owen R. Lovejoy, pastor of the Congregational church in Mount Vernon. The closing paragraph of Comrade Lovejoy's address on "The Coal Strike," as reported by a representative of The Worker, was significant. He said:

"A single word on the future of labor. I may introduce the word by an utterance from the great statesman, Henry Clay, spoken in defence of slavery. The true solution of the contest for all time between labor and capital is that capital should own the laborer, whether white or black. There are three possible conditions of labor: First, slave labor; second, wage labor; third, free labor. Clay tells us that under the first there is perpetual peace. We know that under the second there is perpetual war. The moral intelligence of the race forbids a return to the peace of slave labor. An increasing number of sensible people are dissatisfied with the conflict of wage labor. Having taken the two steps in our industrial development, may we not be justified in attempting the next step, and applying to our industrial life that principle which we have been seeking to apply to our political life—the principle of democracy—thus making labor free?"

BROCKTON COMMENT.

The Republican candidate in Brockton, Mayor David W. Battles, who was overwhelmingly defeated by the Socialist candidate, Charles H. Coulter, is still more blue. He declares: "This election shows that the majority don't want an honest man over them."

Mayor-elect Coulter, naturally, feels highly pleased. In discussing the victory, he says incidentally:

"For the first time in the history of Brockton a considerable number of union men have been elected. Of the candidates elected, nine of the eleven Socialists carry union cards and the other two, if their occupation were such as to give them opportunity for uniting with any of the crafts, Brockton will demonstrate to the nation in the coming year what union workingmen, through the Socialist Party, can accomplish."

The Brockton "Times" says, in its news columns:

"It was an awful waking-up for the Republicans. State election, with its Socialist gain, told the Republicans that the Socialist brethren were up and doing. The Socialists claimed they would make the Republican majorities look small at city election. The Republicans, spurred on by very necessity, waged a vigorous campaign. The most effective party organization that could be assembled was put into working order and the old party cause seemed to gain as the campaign progressed. Toward the close the Socialists declared they had worked up to strength whereby they could look toward victory. A narrow defeat was the worst anticipated on the head of the ticket. The old working majority in the city council was deemed safe."

THE RIGHT TO LABOR IN JOY.

Out on the roads they have gathered, a hundred thousand men. To ask for a hold on life as sure as the wolf's hold on his den. Their need lies close to the quick of life as the earth lies close to the stone.

It is as meat to the slender rib, as marrow to the bone, occupation and the end in the endless night. For a little salt to savor their bread, for houses water-light. They ask but the right to labor and to live by the strength of their hands.

They who have bodies like knotted oak and patience like sea sands. And the right of a man to labor and his right to labor in joy. Not all your laws can blot that right, nor the gates of Hell destroy. For it came with the making of man and was kneaded into his bones. And it will stand at the last of things on the dust of crumbled thrones.

THE REAL LABOR PARTY.

The truth which the Socialists have been preaching for many years, and which the laborers must act independently and unitedly in the political field has at last been accepted and labor is awakening everywhere to the fact that it must invade the political arena and capture political power if it is to effectively resist exploitation.

But now that the need of united action at the polls by the working class is recognized, there is a tendency to neglect the no less important truth that such action must be based upon certain well established principles if any good is to result to the workers. "Striking at the ballot box" does little good unless the proper things are struck for.

The Socialist Party offers a means of making the political efforts of labor effective, and the first place to be taken is no disputing the fact that the Socialist Party is from start to finish a "Labor Party". Its membership, platform, principles, organization, officers, literature, everything are determined, controlled and directed by and for the laboring class. At every point it knows no interest save those of labor. Nor is it the organ of any narrow faction of the working class. It lends assistance to every battle waged by organized labor wherever it may be fought. The over \$9,000 which it has secured from its recent efforts at the striking coal miners, where other political parties with overflowing treasuries gave nothing, is but an example of this fact. In every effort made by labor to better its condition the Socialist Party is always found on the side of the worker and against the exploiter. The Socialist Party stands with the workers during the whole year in their economic struggle and then does not desert them on the crucial day at the ballot box.

But the claim of any party to represent the interest of the laborers does not depend upon its membership or its name so much as upon the principles for which it stands. The principles of the Socialist Party are those which the best minds of the labor movement all over the world long ago decided were essential to the liberation of the wage worker. It recognizes the fact which is stated in the preamble to the constitutions of nearly every trade union in America, that labor is the source of all wealth, and demands that the necessary steps be taken to enable labor to retain all it produces and to control the process of production. The only way this can be secured is through the collective ownership by the laborers of the land and machinery by which they work in the production of wealth. These facts have now become so thoroughly recognized as true that any party that should truly represent the laboring class would be compelled to simply duplicate the statements and positions already taken by the Socialist Party in its platforms and public statements.

It is thus evident that as to make-up and principles, the basic elements, the Socialist Party is eminently fitted to be considered as THE party of the working class. But when it is compared with a party which does not yet exist or in other words, when the question is presented as to whether the workers shall lend their energies to support of the Socialist Party or shall assist in the formation of a new one, very many more and great advantages appear on the side of the Socialist Party.

A new party will find it necessary at the very beginning to spend a large proportion of its energies in perfecting the details of its organization. But the Socialist Party, especially in the city of Chicago, is already thoroughly organized, with one or more branches in every ward, and is even now pushing the work of perfect organization in many of the wards. It has evolved a plan of organization which has been tested by long experience, involving the use of the initiative and referendum in the highest degree, so that every portion of the party is completely subject to the control of the rank and file.

The recent rapid growth of the Socialist Party has made the Chicago Socialist Party an official party in Chicago. This does away with the laborious and costly work of securing signatures, which must be performed by any new party.

Any labor party which would be organized in this city apart from the Socialist Party would be simply local and would disappear together with the fruits of its work, as soon as political lines were drawn on a wider scale in state or national elections. The Socialist Party on the other hand, has a complete national, and indeed an international organization, reaching into almost every state and with official standing in a large number of states, with three members in the Massachusetts legislature, and minor offices in various other localities, whose actions have always been in strict accord with the interests of the laborers.

The Socialist Party is to-day well equipped with literature, both periodical and otherwise, written by the ablest minds of the labor movement of the world. Its press has been tested by time and has always been upon the side of the workers at every point. It has among its membership hundreds of the best speakers and workers of the labor movement and its national organization enables it to concentrate these upon any local field where the need may be greatest.

From every point of view therefore the Socialist Party fills every possible demand for a labor party. It is controlled by and composed of laborers; it is founded upon the principles that time and wide experience have shown to be those best fitted to secure the interests of the laborer; its organization is democratically controlled in accordance with the principles of the labor movement, and it possesses literature, speakers and press; together with all other elements of permanency and effectiveness, and a wide-spread, cohesive organization such as is absolutely essential to any decisive action in the political field at the present time.—Chicago Socialist.

If you wish to give a dollar, or five dollars, or ten dollars to the Socialist Daily Fund, the man who will take it is William Butcher, Secretary, Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, New York city.

National Platform of the Socialist Party.

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.

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 sincere 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 OUR MEANS 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 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.

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.

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 sincere 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 our means we advocate:

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PLEDGE.

To the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association, 64 E. Fourth Street, New York City:

I hereby pledge myself to contribute for the publication of an English