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VOL. XIII.—NO. 39.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 27, 1903.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

I WANT TO BE COUNTED.

By Horace Traubel.

I want to be counted. I do not want to stand out from the rest. I am willing and glad to remain in the crowd.

I want to be counted. I do not want to stand out from the rest. I am willing and glad to remain in the crowd. I am willing to serve and for no one to know me.

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NEW YORK CITY CAMPAIGN FUND.

Table with columns for donor name and amount. Includes names like Do. List 3069, A. Francis, Kraken Kasse, etc.

DR. JOHNSON'S PREDICTION.

Depend upon it, sir, this rage for trade will destroy itself. You and I will not live to see it; but the time will come when there will be an end to it.

—Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, said the other day that he had read Socialism in two languages. He had better have understood it in one.—Eugene V. Debs.

NEW YORK CITY VOTE.

Final Official Figures for Social Democratic Candidates—Gain of 72 Per Cent. Over 1901.

Charles L. Furman, Social Democratic candidate for Mayor of New York, received in the recent election, according to the final official canvass, 11,318 votes in New York County.

Morris Brown, for Comptroller, received 11,874 in New York County, 4,110 in Kings, 1,006 in Queens, and 1,715 in Richmond; in all, 17,700—a gain of 72 per cent.

Peter J. Flanagan, for President of the Board of Aldermen, received 11,917 in New York, 4,859 in Kings, 1,015 in Queens, and 136 in Richmond; in all, 17,927—a gain of 78.83.

Richard Beck, for President of the Borough of Manhattan, received 10,080—a gain of 4,387.

Gustav Dressler, for President of the Borough of the Bronx, received 1,518—a gain of 705.

Cortes W. Cavanaugh, for President of the Borough of Brooklyn, received 4,520—a gain of 2,013.

Frank Bessen, for President of the Borough of Queens, received 987—a gain of 401.

Christopher Ward, for President of the Borough of Richmond, received 131—a gain of 24.

LABOR SECRETARIAT.

The last monthly meeting of the Labor Secretariat was presided over by Bro. F. Larson of Bricklayers' Union No. 35.

Credentials were presented by Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union No. 28 for M. Wilka, Brotherhood of Carpenters No. 12 and 58, for P. Browne, Jr., and A. H. Schilling, Bakers' Union No. 7, for C. H. Schaefer, and all were accepted.

The conduct of the local daily press has been completely on the boss' side in this, as in other strikes. In this strike, as in those of the carpenters, machinists, and butchers, the power of the law has also been used against the workmen.

The water cure has fallen into disfavor and the Filipinos' hopes of independence squelched. "Now we must teach the Turk that he cannot be allowed to slaughter men, women and children."

"Germany's forces have not had much practice since the massacres of Chinese about Peking," exclaimed the German emperor. "But the mailed fist is now ready to deliver a blow for the cause of Christianity."

—Dan's Review is pleased to report that "labor organizations are accepting reduction in wages without controversy." They are like the deceased wife of the old German who, when asked if she was "reconciled to," replied "Mein Gott, she bet to be!"—The Leader.

FROM ROCHESTER.

Workmen Have Abundant Practical Demonstration of the Class Struggle in That City.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Dec. 21.—The working people of this city have had abundant lessons in the theory and practice of the class struggle during the present year.

There has been a carpenters' strike on since last May, a butchers' strike since June, a machinists' strike for the same length of time, and now a strike of clothing cutters which has already lasted for ten weeks.

On Oct. 2 the Clothing Cutters' Union asked for a conference with the local clothing manufacturers combine to discuss an eight-hour question.

The organized bosses refused to meet the workmen in conference or to recognize them in any way. The union then immediately made a formal demand for the establishment of the eight-hour day and gave notice that if this was not conceded by Oct. 12 a strike would be declared.

All this, of course, is nothing new. It is just what the working class is suffering to a greater or less degree, now here and now there, wherever the workers try to better their condition or to aspire to freedom.

The conduct of the local daily press both toward the strikers and toward the Social Democratic movement has been shameful. Every act of the unions and of the Social Democratic Party has been either ignored or misrepresented and maligned.

THE DIFFERENCE.

The great Christian powers stood against at the atrocities of the heathen Turk. Their blood boiled with righteous indignation. The time had come for concerted action.

"I have disposed of the Finns, and have nearly cleared out the Jews at Kishinev and other places," said Russia, her face beaming with benevolence, "so now my hands are free to avenge the cruelties perpetrated by the infidel, Christianity calls on us for action. On to Constantinople! Avengé our slaughtered brethren! Seize the Dardanelles!"

"Now that the Boers have been killed or driven from their homes," cried John Bull, his sturdy figure vibrant with indignation and horror, "the voice of humanity calls on us to prevent further massacres. And, anyhow, it won't do to let Russia gain too much influence in that part of the world."

The Christian powers stood even more aghast than at first. "Blasphemous wretch!" they exclaimed in horrified chorus. "Your ceasar has been one of conquest and massacre, ours one of benevolent assimilation."—Edwin J. Webster, in Life.

MORE WAGE CUTS.

Multipled Signs of Prosperity's Collapse.

From All Parts of the Country Come Reports of Reduction of Wages or Closing of Works.

CHICAGO, Dec. 19.—Four thousand men employed by the Illinois Steel Company in South Chicago will be laid off for an indefinite period on Thursday, according to a notice sent out by the officials of the company today.

JOLIET, Ill., Dec. 21.—The suspension of work at the Illinois Steel Company's plant here will be practically complete by the end of the week. The converter and billet mills, employing 1,400 men, closed down today.

HOUGHTON, Mich., Dec. 21.—The wages of iron mine employees of the Oliver Mining Company, which is the Iron ore end of the Steel Trust, will be reduced 10 per cent. on Jan. 1.

PITTSBURGH, Penn., Dec. 21.—Semi-official information was given out today that a general reduction in wages is to be made at all non-union iron and steel plants in the country that will average about 10 per cent.

TORONTO, Ontario, Dec. 21.—Employees of the Massey Harris Company, manufacturers of agricultural implements, numbering about 1,500, were notified today of a reduction in wages amounting in some cases to 10 per cent.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 22.—A reduction of about 10 per cent. in the wages of 700 of the original 3,000 men of the American Bridge Company at Pencoyd was announced today.

PITTSBURGH, Dec. 22.—Thomas L. Lewis, National Vice President of the United Mine Workers of America, at a mass meeting at Irwin, Penn., tonight opened a campaign planned to stop the slashing of wages started in Westmoreland County, which threatens the existence of the yearly contracts in Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and which agreements form the nucleus of the substitution wage scales of the other bituminous producing states.

During the day there was a conference of officials of the miners, and it was determined to place the entire force of Pittsburgh District organizers, about thirty strong, in the field to bring the Jamison workers to fight the reduction.

It is said that the coke workers also will fight the reduction announced last week, and it remains to be seen how the organized steel workers will meet the proposed reduction of pay in their trade.

THE WEEK'S FAILURES.

Bradstreet's reports 230 failures in the United States during the week against 241 for the previous week and 225, 262, and 211 for the corresponding weeks of 1902 to 1900. About 87 per cent. of the total number of concerns failing had capital of \$5,000 or less and 7 per cent. had from \$5,000 to \$20,000 capital.

LECTURE CALENDAR FOR NEW YORK.

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

SUNDAY, JAN. 4. Women's Henry George League, 224 East Sixty-second street. George D. Herron: "The Economic Release of Genoa."

FOR THE DAILY.

Every Local in the Land Asked to Help.

"Volkzeitung" Conference Will Give Half the Proceeds of Its February Festival—Growth of the Fund.

The work for the Daily Globe is now being prosecuted with renewed vigor, and a number of the comrades in Greater New York are again taking hold and doing their part toward raising the fund necessary for its establishment. There is, however, much to be done and every comrade is called upon to do his share.

Comrade Butcher has been hard at work sending out letters to holders of punch-cards, requesting their early return with the money collected thereon. A direct appeal for funds for the Daily Globe is also being sent to every local of the Socialist Party in the United States, and it is hoped that they will not disregard the appeal or place it on file without due consideration, but will contribute as liberally as they can.

The Board of Managers has been informed that the "Volkzeitung" Conference decided at its last meeting to grant the request of the committee sent to them from the Workmen's Co-operative Publishing Association to turn over to the Daily Globe Fund one-half of the proceeds of the festival to be held on February 22 at Grand Central Palace. At its next meeting the Board of Managers will take steps to assist the committee in charge of the festival so as to make it as big a success as possible.

The Board of Managers has also under consideration the holding of an outdoor entertainment, bordering on an amateur circus, early next spring. Comrade Butcher has been instructed to make further investigation and report as to the advisability of giving this entertainment.

The following amounts have been received since the last report: Miss Mathilde Weil, Philadelphia \$12.50; S. M. New Haven, Conn., .25; Sedona, New Haven, Conn., .25; Bouglin, New Haven, Conn., .25; Br. S. Socialist Party, Hartford, Conn., 2.10; Christina Steig, Washington Kingston, N. Y., .25; H. & G. N. Y. City, .30; Previously reported, 2224.39

CASH CONTRIBUTIONS.

Table with columns for name and amount. Includes Miss Mathilde Weil, S. M. New Haven, etc.

CASH ON PLEDGES.

Table with columns for name and amount. Includes Goldman, Brooklyn, Minkowsky, Brooklyn, etc.

NEW PLEDGES.

Table with columns for name and amount. Includes Henry Fremd, Corona, L. I., Otto Fricke, Corona, L. I., etc.

FOR THE DAILY.

Mayer and Police Forbid Turner Protest Meeting.

Bluecoats Close Hall Hired by Free Speech League—Authorities Doing Their Utmost to Drive People to Violence.

The authorities of Paterson, N. J., have taken one more step well adapted to lower the reputation of their city and well adapted to foster the growth of Anarchism in its extreme form.

The Free Speech League, an organization composed principally of very moderate "reformers" and "radicals," had arranged for a mass meeting to be held in the Institute Hall at Paterson last Friday evening, for the purpose of presenting to the public the facts in the case of John Turner and protesting against the arbitrary action of the United States government in ordering him deported, without trial, ostensibly for mere "disaffection in government"—actually for belief in the class struggle and working-class solidarity. Arthur Pleydell, Bolton Hall, and Moses Oppenheimer were to be the speakers.

Chief of Police Grant, at the last moment, notified the proprietor of the hall that the meeting must not be held. Large numbers of people came to the hall, but were turned away by a squad of policemen who stood at the doors to forbid entrance. So Anarchist meeting here; that's orders, was their reply to all questions.

NO FREE SPEECH IN PATERSON.

Organized Workingmen of Cincinnati Are Sued.

Injunction, Damages Suits, and Arrest of Active Members Form Part of Organized Employers' Plan of Campaign.

CINCINNATI, O., Dec. 19.—The Master Plumbers' Association of Cincinnati have begun a campaign of legal persecution against the local Plumbers' and Workers' Union and the Central Trades Council.

Three suits or sets of suits were entered today. The first is for a blanket injunction to prevent the unions named from calling men out on strike or "in any way interfering" with the plaintiffs' business.

The second is a damage suit against the unions for \$2,000 alleged to be the amount of loss caused by the employees of the strike, and is accompanied by an application to the court to issue an attachment against the funds in the treasury of the Central Trades Council and the Plumbing Workers' Union.

The third step is the swearing out of warrants for the arrest of a number of active unionists, charging them with having assaulted one of the bosses.

The obvious intention of the organized employers is to use the full power of the law in every way to crush, disorganize, and intimidate the working-men. Unfortunately for the latter, the majority of them have been voting for the "fill dinner-pail" (which they did not get thereby) or something else equally elusive and have failed to realize, when they went to the ballot-box, that their class interests as working-men had something to do with politics.

The women voters were excellently organized and cast a heavy vote in support of the Labor ticket. A feature of the result is the remarkable success of the Labor Party in Victoria, where at the last election they were badly beaten.

The new parliament is constituted as follows: In the Senate the Labor Party has 17 members, the Ministry has 9 supporters, and the Opposition has 13. In the House the Labor Party has 23, the Ministry has 27, and the Opposition has 20.

The Labor Party is not a Socialist party but it has grown more compact and aggressive in recent years, especially through the pressure of the smaller Socialist Labor Party, which is the uncompromising revolutionary body in Australia.

THE SOCIALIST PRESS IN GERMANY.

"Vorwaerts" has now a circulation of 78,500, the "Leipziger Volkszeitung" over 30,000, and the "Hamburger Echo" 37,400. These being our three leading dailies, it is very satisfactory to note that they hold their own despite the military success of Germany on all the railways, hostilities in Germany, the Socialist daily press all over Germany shows a most satisfactory state of affairs.

BRITISH SOCIALIST OPPOSE INVASION OF THIBET.

The branches of the British Socialist Democratic Federation are adopting resolutions to the following effect: "That this meeting of the Social Democratic Federation condemns the Government's necessary invasion of Tibet as being an act of wanton aggression against a peaceful community whose only desire is to be let alone, and who refuse to accept the drink, disease and poverty, religious feuds and shoddy commerce of Western civilization."

The strongest candidate for the Democratic party can nominate for the Presidency in the Wisconsin Handolph Hearst, publisher of the New York "Journal," Chicago "American," and San Francisco "Examiner." Mr. Hearst is the authority for this statement. He confesses he is a man of unimpeachable youth, unblemished energy, violent liberalism, and that his friendship for the people can only be expressed in wood type and red ink.—Milwaukee Sentinel.

ATTACK UNIONS IN THE COURTS.

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AUSTRALIAN ELECTION.

The Labor Party is Now Stronger than Either of Old Parties in Both Houses.

MELBOURNE, Victoria, Dec. 16.—The first of the Commonwealth general elections at which women exercised the right of suffrage was held today. The struggle was chiefly over the fiscal question. The Government party favored protection and the Opposition supported free trade, while the Labor Party agreed to sink all fiscal differences with a view to securing the balance of power, which they virtually held in the last parliament.

The women voters were excellently organized and cast a heavy vote in support of the Labor ticket. A feature of the result is the remarkable success of the Labor Party in Victoria, where at the last election they were badly beaten.

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The Worker.

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Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post Office on April 6, 1902. The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic Party in New York) is a political party of the United States, organized for the purpose of promoting the interests of the working class. It is a party of the people, and its program is based on the principles of socialism.

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wealth, from the rough club which the primitive savage uses to kill game to a modern railway or steel mill. They also introduce a distinction—a barren one, as will appear later—between "land," including all the resources of nature, and "capital," which, according to their usage, includes only artificial means of production.

Of course, it is idle to quarrel over definitions, for their own sake. But it is necessary to have clear definitions if we are to think and express our thoughts clearly. The usage of the word "capital" established by Marx and his successors is so well adapted for drawing clearly certain necessary distinctions and is coming to be so generally recognized that it is well that we adhere closely to it.

The principal question at issue in the economic discussions in which these terms are used is the distribution of wealth, as the economists say—that is its division among or appropriation by the various persons concerned, helpfully or otherwise, in its production.

So far as concerns this appropriation of the product, it should be evident that the question who owns and controls the means of production used (and how he controls it) is of more importance than the question whether that means of production is itself a piece of land or a bed of coal or an artificial product, such as a steam-engine. It is with reference to ownership and control that we make our special definition of the term "capital."

The term "means of production" we apply to any or all of the things which men use in producing wealth—the club of the primitive savage, the plow and the oxen of the old-fashioned farmer, the steam-plow of the great Western wheat farms of to-day, the land that is plowed, the ore-bed, the tools and machinery for getting the ore out, the railway and engines and cars for hauling it, and so on to the end of the chapter.

The means of production—the material things necessary in any given age and country to carry on industry in the then prevalent manner—may be owned and controlled in several different ways, with a corresponding difference in the division of the product and the economic relations of classes in society. Roughly, we may distinguish five forms of ownership:

First, the means of production may be the individual property of the man who uses them. Then, owing also his own labor power, the worker individually owns the whole product, as a matter of course. To a considerable extent, this is the case in savage and barbarous societies. In modern times, among civilized peoples, it has often been the general rule in new and sparsely settled countries, such as America a century ago.

Second, the means of production may be the collective or joint property of the men who use them. Then, as a matter of course, the workers collectively own the product. In primitive societies this is the case to a very great extent. We believe that it will again be the rule in the society of the future.

Third, the means of production and the man who uses them may both belong absolutely to another man. Then, again as a matter of course, the whole product belongs absolutely to the master; but out of it he must provide for the slave's living, else the slave dies and produces no more for him. This was the rule in the civilization of antiquity, such as Egypt, Greece, and Rome.

Fourth, the means of production may belong conditionally to a man who does not use them—the worker having a right to use them and being obliged to render certain payments and services, fixed by law or custom, to the owner; the owner having a right to require that the worker shall use them and render those dues, but having no right to exact heavier dues nor to deprive the worker from using the means of production. Then, obviously, the owner receives a fixed income out of the product and the residue goes to the worker. This relation of feudal lord and serf was the dominant one in medieval Europe.

Fifth, the means of production may belong absolutely to a man who does not use them and the worker own only his own labor power and own that absolutely. Then the worker must sell his labor power—that is, hire himself—to the man who owns the needed means of production. The latter, owning already the means of production and having purchased the labor power, owns the product, as a matter of course; but out of it he must pay wages to the worker, else the latter will not work. The worker, then, gets the market price of his labor power—fixed, roughly, by the cost of subsistence—and the residue remains to the owner. This relation of employer and wage-worker is the dominant one all over the civilized world to-day and in many countries for a century or two past.

Whichever of these forms may be the rule in any given age and country, one or all of the others may exist at the same time. Thus, there are some independent workers that is, workers individually or collectively owning means of production sufficient to carry on their industries without permission from anyone else in all

civilized countries to-day, though wage-labor is the rule. But it is the dominant system with which the economist should chiefly concern himself, not the exceptions. The man who, in discussing current economic problems to-day, constantly lugs in Robinson Crusoe with his ax and the primitive man with his rube club—as, for instance, most Single Taxers do—is like one claiming to be a biologist who should argue from the premise that man is a six-toed animal, because a few six-toed men exist. Robinson Crusoe does not and cannot exist in modern society, except as a monstrosity.

Evidently, then, we need a special term to designate means of production owned and controlled in the special way which is characteristic of and dominant in modern society, the last of the five ways enumerated. This term we have in "capital," as used by Socialists.

When a Socialist speaks of capital, he is not speaking of the harpoon which the Eskimo both owns and uses and by means of which the Eskimo independently gets his living. He is speaking of means of production, whether natural or artificial, operated by wage-labor, and yielding an income to the owner by virtue of his ownership.

Even Socialists sometimes use the word loosely, and speak of the "collective ownership of capital" in the Socialist state or say that under Socialism "the state will be the sole capitalist." This is, perhaps, allowable as a figure of speech—just as we talk of "railroad kings" and "coal barons," knowing well that Vanderbilt's or Carnegie's position is essentially different from that of Louis XI or Froust de Beauf.

In the Socialist state there will be no capital, no capitalist, no wage-worker, no profit, and no wages; there will be associated workers collectively owning the means of production they use. It were well that Socialists should stick close to the strict use of the word "capital," for much confusion follows a misunderstanding of it.

An appropriate way to see the "Old Year out and the New Year in"—make a New Year's gift to the Socialist movement of the United States in the form of a contribution to the National Organizing Fund. If you can spare only ten cents, send that; if you can spare a dollar or two or five, all the better. Send it to William Mallory, National Secretary, McCague Building, Omaha, Neb., without delay and make the last week of 1903 a good one to round out the figures in the annual report.

Seven months ago, the rank and file of our party decided by a general vote of 3,747 to 2,965, to change the membership of the National Quorum. National Committeeman Mills of Kansas immediately moved to set aside the result of the general vote on the ground that it was "unintelligible."

This cool proposition was heard with astonishment by the membership and was most decisively rejected by the National Committee—only Richardson of California and Lovett of South Dakota supporting Mills in the plan to overrule the plainly expressed will of the party, and sixteen National Committeemen recording themselves against it.

We did not suppose that anything of the sort would be proposed again—for a few years at least, until we had time to forget that experience. We were mistaken. This time it is National Committeeman Massey of North Dakota who astonishes us.

About two months ago a sufficient number of locals moved for a general vote on a proposition to amend the constitution so as to give the organized states representation in the National Committee proportionate to their membership. The National Secretary drew up a form for the submission of the question, following exactly the wording used by the locals moving it, as he was in duty bound to do. This form he laid before the National Committee for approval.

The members of that body, including Comrade Massey, had three full weeks in which to consider it. Not one of them objected to its submission to the membership. On November 10 it was so submitted and the voting began, to close on January 4, 1904.

Now, five weeks after the question was laid before the party for general vote, while the vote is going on and when it is probably nearly completed, Comrade Massey comes up with a proposition that the National Committee declare the whole proceeding out of order and nullify the action of the rank and file, whatever that may prove to be.

We have no fear that the National Committee will arrogate to itself any such power, but the fact that there should be even one member capable of making such a proposal is regrettable enough—regrettable because, under all the circumstances, it is quite impossible for us to attribute the act to any but a factions motive.

If the news of Comrade Massey's motion has any effect upon the action of the membership in the very few remaining days, it will undoubtedly

be to decide some heretofore wavering ones to vote for the amendment proposed by such method. That the amendment ought to be carried seems to us clear. That it will be carried seems to us probable. If carried, it will materially reduce the power in the national organization of half-a-dozen men, representing very small and in some cases delinquent state organizations, whose principal vocation for the past ten months has seemed to be that of obstructing the work in which our present National Secretary has so splendidly borne his part.

Here is a book of beauty and power, a book in which profound thought and subtle poetical expression are interspersed with quaint and delightful wit. Burrowes is a master of words; as marshalled by his magic pen they urge and inspire, thrill and caress, soothe and exalt. In this book the reader will find many laughs, and great upheavals of the heart and far outlookings of the mind. There is surprise in every sentence and a poem in every page. The book pours forth like a great, golden, sunlit flood. Always the element of unexpectedness is great. The author's mind is like a kaleidoscope. He is always seeing things from another standpoint and saying them in a new way, ever shifting, changing, flowing, running the gamut from rillery to reverence, from sarcasm to admiration, yet with a constant passion and purpose underlying all.

But far greater in value than any possible merit of style, is the emphasis which the author places on the social nature of everything human. To Burrowes Socialism is a religion, in the sense of a passionate relation to life—that is, to the social body. All his thought is based on the organic conception of society, and guided by the social spirit, and hot with the social passion. The fact that the individual and all his works is a social product and inseparable apart from society, he never forgets and never lets his readers forget. Such a writer is sorely needed while so many Socialists are still proclaiming the abstractions of individualism in ethics, and other fields of thought. Too many avowed, active, and sincere Socialists are individualists in the general spirit of their thought and conception of life; in every department of thought except economics their minds are under the sway of individualism, which is perhaps nature's will, the economic basis of things remains as it is. Burrowes, on the other hand, is a social Socialist, and it is to be hoped that his work will be a wholesome corrective to individualistic Socialists. A realization of the social nature of thought and of all human activity is one of the things most needed within the Socialist movement itself, and this basic principle of Socialism, which is the key to Socialist thought from economics to ethics, is profoundly and suggestively expressed throughout these "Revolutionary Essays."

The following quotations for example: "As the particles of matter which make up the physical have a habit of coming to, gathering and staying around, a point which we call the center of gravity, so the thoughts of men do cluster to the collective thought, and men themselves have ever been gravitating to the social man. The habit when acquired by matter is called a law. That law is the habit of matter, and this habit is the law of man. The social thinking of to-day is an energy, coming from within the race, begotten during the age classification of matter, even as electricity, that spark indomitable, was born." In this way, mankind flashing back upon each other each one's sense of each, and in the mighty human effort of everybody to help himself by giving pleasure to others, a reciprocity of need, of intent, of effort and will at last produced a common potency—a potency produced—first between two and depending afterwards upon them at one time; then continued by many, and depending less upon any one or any few, and then exercised by very many, depending less and finally not at all depending upon persons, it became an independent social force, peculiar to mankind. An original force, though it is increasable, and is still the product of reciprocity as to its intenseness and power—the social urge, which will in time give place to the immense tranquility of the social habit. This great collective psyche fulfills all the essentials of a universal human soul or law, because it is itself at once a product and a producer. The product of living together; it is also the producer of more togetherness. The product of early physical association, it was stricken forth of human brains; the spark of mental association, the light and heat of social habitarianism, it passed from brain to brain. Like the electric spark, it could not dwell in any single brain. It runs and lives. It must have a circuit through many; it must have no isolate lives in its circuit; it absorbs insulating individualities, but it has its own certain window-holds. I have seen, which not only holds together, but draws together as it closed. The product of the organization habit, it becomes itself, in turn, an organizing power, and thus reciprocates until the redemption of man from egoism and private mastership. The product of a physical necessity out of some tremendous physical part that once struck a few of the early men, was this power to put two brain-impulses on one vital cord, on one common interest, and from that day forth it was created the creator."

The law that obtains among us does not think by itself nor do by itself. It is our product, yet not produced by us with any conscious of a deliberate purpose. It is not a thought nor a thinker; it is not a deed nor a doer, but of collective thoughts and thinkers, deeds and doers it is the sum."

"Do you know anything of the value of that plus x which stands for what three men in one enterprise mean more than each one in a third of the same enterprise? Do you know the strangely, mightily, spiritual plus x which, like the crown of celestial light and power, hovers over the potentials of all those who are working together with one heart and mind? Brother of mine, the God of whose presence I am whispering to thee now, the God of an organizing and organized humanity, is the plus of all these pluses."

"I draw a great circle. . . . I draw a little circle within that great one, around the same center. The greater the outer circle, the smaller the little circle is where I live, and all the human family inside of that circle is the sub-conscious or social man of history. The inner side of the great circle without is the reflective surface from whence returns upon me and all men the net product of ourselves—the tides of history coming back upon us in tradition, tendency, will, habit, opinion, social emotion, enthusiasm, wisdom, folly, and the world habit, that great salvation, and entering the small circle beneath us is our collective sub-conscious."

Burrowes' new and luminous expression of the psychological side of this already accepted Socialist philosophy of the sociality of everything, is just all of his philosophy. He also ventures somewhat into metaphysics in chapters and passages on "truthing," with its "metaphors" and "adjectival" and "involutions."

In the wonderful essay on "What is Truth" (a social application of Hegel's conception of truth) our author contends that truth is to be found in cooperation rather than in individual perception. In his own words: "Truth is a war on finalities and it is a human affair only when the thinker chooses to move with it. The activity of the human mind is but a reflection of the eternal activities outside of us, which is truth. The mind is permitted to be a spectator of the active drama, but while it continues as a reflective spectator of that eternal persistency, it reflects but a little segment of the circle. Not until it arises and mingles with the persistency of going on which it beholds, has it become truth, and the mind's relation to it is the relation of becoming its persistency. The mind, therefore, is not the seat of truth \* \* \* for truth is afoot, truth is a flowing. The mind may have something to say about what is truth, though I apprehend that it is easy for us to make too much of that little. \* \* \* Truth is in the will. It is choosing the way with others. It is the choice of that way which abhors arrival. It is the march of the marching. \* \* \* It is, in the end, an adjustment, a relation, a course of conduct which comes to every man with social faith."

In connection with his conception of the nature of truth Burrowes coins a word, "motograph," (or, rather, gives an entirely different and philosophical meaning to a word which has heretofore been used only as a technical term of electricians) to express the idea of a moving pattern or mode of motion. In his own words: "There is a life pattern made up by the movers and the movements of life; a pattern whose points, threads and lines are thoughts, wills, desires, affections, and habits of being; a pattern which is preserved only by all the parts remaining in motion; just as the pattern of an art tapestry is preserved only by all the parts remaining still. And the movement which preserves that harmony and correlation of moving parts is the moral movement, the god-weaving movement, the movement of which man is a motograph, with his thousands of congenial and god-favored surfaces. What is he, this weaver, but outside his loom and shuttle holding threads in his hands all the while or breaking them off? He is a weaver who is the thing that is being woven. He is a guiding movement among movements, a congeries of movements among movements. As the point of a needle traveling is followed by the eye and by the thread, so this moving weaver goes in and out and up and down among the movements of his own and like his own, and so together with him and he together with them are a life pattern. The keener point of thought leads the eye of the understanding follows, and the long threads of habit, will and obedience move after."

"The private life says: 'Nay, I will move rather in my home circle, and so, like the dog pursuing its own tail, it moves. Yet as the orbit of that dog so moves as a vial, that while going around itself the creature also may go from one room to another, the private life is moved by larger law to Socialism, however self-centered.' If the dog does not go himself, the dog's orbit goes, just as the stars in their orbits go round the sun; the satellites traveling more than the planets because they mean the air and start though in the right direction. Here is a sample: "What is odious among friends for one to do, is lawful and right for an organized multitude to do to another enemy organized for murderous reciprocity. The selfishness of one becomes the virtue of the larger social unit, when opposed by an armed counterpart. When a comrade Socialist says that ego's search for its own pleasurable sensations is the activity which ultimately redeems society, he mistakes the ego sensation hunt for the private delirium, and the ego property hunting of the private gambler, for their multiple by which they are modified as the pleasure and need of a class. Having this distinction clearly in view, we may use the selfishness terms of the individual with propriety and reason. One man should not deprive another; but a nation may deprive any one man. One man is capable of robbing another one; but a nation cannot rob one of its men. In general terms it may be said that the immortality of one person may be the mortality of many in one class. My self-observation at all costs cannot be conceded to the single person; but it must be conceded to the nation, or class, containing him. Wrong becomes right when it is turned over from the per-

sonal to the public life. There are no moral problems for the single life when it has found its true external substitute, when it has found its class and carried it into the nation."

Burrowes' book is threefold in nature: it is a book of prose poetry, of propaganda, and of philosophy. This review has been principally taken up with its philosophy, but the majority of readers will probably enjoy the book more on account of the author's real literary genius, his wit, and his imaginative and poetic quality of his mind. It is noticeable at least, that the reviewers have almost all taken the book from this standpoint, and seemed rather wary of grappling with its philosophy. This is not surprising, as Socialists are usually too busy to undertake such hard thinking as a critical study of Burrowes necessitates. The mixture of primary propaganda and difficult philosophy is an odd one and perhaps it would have been better to have made two books of it. But let us be thankful that Burrowes has written even one and live in anticipation that the hope raised by the parenthetical words "First Series," on the title-page, will soon be fulfilled. Instead of a "Fins," Burrowes closes his work with the characteristic motto: "Move On." At most a few conscientious ones are hoping that he will move on to the writing of many more of the myriad books that are in him. Parts of the present "Essays" were originally published in The Worker and other Socialist periodicals, but the bulk of the book is new, and those who have followed the author's previous work closely can doubtless remember many fine passages which they would like to have seen included in this permanent form. C. L.

After reading Engels and a few other Socialist writers, I was left with an intellectual conviction of the inevitableness of Socialism; it was not until I read Burrowes' "Revolutionary Essays" that I became animated by the social passion, his idealism and earnestness, which had before lain dormant in me. It is an unusual mind, I believe, that can stand, as he does, at the balancing point between dry economics and social metaphysics, fusing the two in one. He might be called the "missing link" between ontology and economic determinism.

In Peter Burrowes the Socialist movement has a literary power; and in his "Revolutionary Essays" we have, I believe, a rare thing in modern literature—a book that will live. Whether it will become immediately popular is another question and one of relatively little importance. It is not a book to be skimped over, to be read in an afternoon. There is no denying that to the average person Burrowes will seem an obscure writer; but in that very obscurity lies his greatest source of power—his indirectness, his infinite suggestiveness. There are some things that can only be expressed by indirectness, as all poets know. Burrowes is a philosopher; but he is, above all other things, a poet, and he is most a poet when he writes prose. The limitations of metrical form seem to encumber him. In this book of prose essays there is no poetry that I have found in any book of poems in a long time.

I know little of the past history of Burrowes; but from his book I judge that he has steeped himself in all religions and all philosophies, from the Orient to the setting sun. That is an ideal preparation for modern social philosophy, which, as Burrowes so well understands, is but the latest step in the process of "truthing," to use his own luminous expression for the tendency of race evolution. If he has not had this culture preparation, then he is all the more remarkable. His originality is unique.

Much as Burrowes is honored in the Socialist movement, I do not think that the majority of Socialists yet realize what manner of man he is by among them. An original, creative mind like his is "rare in this or any other age, in this or any other movement. He has what Dr. Bjerregaard calls "a seminal mind." It gives me pleasure to say—speaking now only for myself—that no modern book, with the exception of Whitman's "Leaves of Grass" and one other which I need not discuss here, has given me so much that is suggestive, so much that is formative. He has caught the very soul of Socialism in his hands and has put it between covers. It is there, waiting to enlighten any one who can put himself in rapport with it. It is the soul of the race that he has found. As he has used the expression himself, I am at liberty to speak of him as a social mystic. Otherwise I should not have ventured to use the term in the Socialist press, much as I should have desired to do so.

But it is as a maker of phrases and epigrams that Burrowes' genius is most immediately apparent. Opening the book anywhere, one finds them: "The ungrudging, ungracious, self-completing ego." "Truth is a war on finalities." "The choice of that way which abhors arrival." "The little glowworm ego lamp." "The footstep, rugged, empty, emptied, mean-drearily of ego's motions, that the slavery of the existing system could only be overcome and the wage-earner emancipated by conscious collective effort, which evolution itself was bringing about—these were obvious truths that either never occurred to him or were pushed contemptuously aside, as was fitting in with his forgotten sensations." "The other hand, Herbert Spencer, born, living and dying poor, gave the world a splendid example of a career devoted to the working out of one great idea, regardless of pecuniary social or any other considerations, save the completion of his self-appointed task. His life was, to use the Quaker phrase, full and orbicular. He did all that he was capable of doing, and he died, when he could do no more, if, died, when his mind was not of the highest order, we may safely say that his service to humanity will be a lesson to thinkers and students for many a long day."—London Justice.

It seems strange that, after all the "death blows" the Socialist Party has received, the Republican National Committee should appoint a committee to investigate Socialism.

THE WORKER. "CAPITAL" AND "MEANS OF PRODUCTION."

What is the distinction between "capital" and "means of production"? Juts what is capital? asks a reader. Since a right understanding of the significance of these terms goes far toward making clear the whole theory of Socialism, we attempt an answer.

The school textbooks of political economy—and many of those who attempt to argue against Socialism in the press or on the platform have not studied beyond these elementary and very superficial compilations—treat the terms "capital" and "means of production" as synonymous and use them indiscriminately for any product of labor used in further production of

wealth, from the rough club which the primitive savage uses to kill game to a modern railway or steel mill. They also introduce a distinction—a barren one, as will appear later—between "land," including all the resources of nature, and "capital," which, according to their usage, includes only artificial means of production.

Of course, it is idle to quarrel over definitions, for their own sake. But it is necessary to have clear definitions if we are to think and express our thoughts clearly. The usage of the word "capital" established by Marx and his successors is so well adapted for drawing clearly certain necessary distinctions and is coming to be so generally recognized that it is well that we adhere closely to it.

The principal question at issue in the economic discussions in which these terms are used is the distribution of wealth, as the economists say—that is its division among or appropriation by the various persons concerned, helpfully or otherwise, in its production.

So far as concerns this appropriation of the product, it should be evident that the question who owns and controls the means of production used (and how he controls it) is of more importance than the question whether that means of production is itself a piece of land or a bed of coal or an artificial product, such as a steam-engine. It is with reference to ownership and control that we make our special definition of the term "capital."

The term "means of production" we apply to any or all of the things which men use in producing wealth—the club of the primitive savage, the plow and the oxen of the old-fashioned farmer, the steam-plow of the great Western wheat farms of to-day, the land that is plowed, the ore-bed, the tools and machinery for getting the ore out, the railway and engines and cars for hauling it, and so on to the end of the chapter.

The means of production—the material things necessary in any given age and country to carry on industry in the then prevalent manner—may be owned and controlled in several different ways, with a corresponding difference in the division of the product and the economic relations of classes in society. Roughly, we may distinguish five forms of ownership:

First, the means of production may be the individual property of the man who uses them. Then, owing also his own labor power, the worker individually owns the whole product, as a matter of course. To a considerable extent, this is the case in savage and barbarous societies. In modern times, among civilized peoples, it has often been the general rule in new and sparsely settled countries, such as America a century ago.

Second, the means of production may be the collective or joint property of the men who use them. Then, as a matter of course, the workers collectively own the product. In primitive societies this is the case to a very great extent. We believe that it will again be the rule in the society of the future.

Third, the means of production and the man who uses them may both belong absolutely to another man. Then, again as a matter of course, the whole product belongs absolutely to the master; but out of it he must provide for the slave's living, else the slave dies and produces no more for him. This was the rule in the civilization of antiquity, such as Egypt, Greece, and Rome.

Fourth, the means of production may belong conditionally to a man who does not use them—the worker having a right to use them and being obliged to render certain payments and services, fixed by law or custom, to the owner; the owner having a right to require that the worker shall use them and render those dues, but having no right to exact heavier dues nor to deprive the worker from using the means of production. Then, obviously, the owner receives a fixed income out of the product and the residue goes to the worker. This relation of feudal lord and serf was the dominant one in medieval Europe.

Fifth, the means of production may belong absolutely to a man who does not use them and the worker own only his own labor power and own that absolutely. Then the worker must sell his labor power—that is, hire himself—to the man who owns the needed means of production. The latter, owning already the means of production and having purchased the labor power, owns the product, as a matter of course; but out of it he must pay wages to the worker, else the latter will not work. The worker, then, gets the market price of his labor power—fixed, roughly, by the cost of subsistence—and the residue remains to the owner. This relation of employer and wage-worker is the dominant one all over the civilized world to-day and in many countries for a century or two past.

Whichever of these forms may be the rule in any given age and country, one or all of the others may exist at the same time. Thus, there are some independent workers that is, workers individually or collectively owning means of production sufficient to carry on their industries without permission from anyone else in all

civilized countries to-day, though wage-labor is the rule. But it is the dominant system with which the economist should chiefly concern himself, not the exceptions. The man who, in discussing current economic problems to-day, constantly lugs in Robinson Crusoe with his ax and the primitive man with his rube club—as, for instance, most Single Taxers do—is like one claiming to be a biologist who should argue from the premise that man is a six-toed animal, because a few six-toed men exist. Robinson Crusoe does not and cannot exist in modern society, except as a monstrosity.

Evidently, then, we need a special term to designate means of production owned and controlled in the special way which is characteristic of and dominant in modern society, the last of the five ways enumerated. This term we have in "capital," as used by Socialists.

When a Socialist speaks of capital, he is not speaking of the harpoon which the Eskimo both owns and uses and by means of which the Eskimo independently gets his living. He is speaking of means of production, whether natural or artificial, operated by wage-labor, and yielding an income to the owner by virtue of his ownership.

Even Socialists sometimes use the word loosely, and speak of the "collective ownership of capital" in the Socialist state or say that under Socialism "the state will be the sole capitalist." This is, perhaps, allowable as a figure of speech—just as we talk of "railroad kings" and "coal barons," knowing well that Vanderbilt's or Carnegie's position is essentially different from that of Louis XI or Froust de Beauf.

In the Socialist state there will be no capital, no capitalist, no wage-worker, no profit, and no wages; there will be associated workers collectively owning the means of production they use. It were well that Socialists should stick close to the strict use of the word "capital," for much confusion follows a misunderstanding of it.

An appropriate way to see the "Old Year out and the New Year in"—make a New Year's gift to the Socialist movement of the United States in the form of a contribution to the National Organizing Fund. If you can spare only ten cents, send that; if you can spare a dollar or two or five, all the better. Send it to William Mallory, National Secretary, McCague Building, Omaha, Neb., without delay and make the last week of 1903 a good one to round out the figures in the annual report.

Seven months ago, the rank and file of our party decided by a general vote of 3,747 to 2,965, to change the membership of the National Quorum. National Committeeman Mills of Kansas immediately moved to set aside the result of the general vote on the ground that it was "unintelligible."

This cool proposition was heard with astonishment by the membership and was most decisively rejected by the National Committee—only Richardson of California and Lovett of South Dakota supporting Mills in the plan to overrule the plainly expressed will of the party, and sixteen National Committeemen recording themselves against it.

We did not suppose that anything of the sort would be proposed again—for a few years at least, until we had time to forget that experience. We were mistaken. This time it is National Committeeman Massey of North Dakota who astonishes us.

About two months ago a sufficient number of locals moved for a general vote on a proposition to amend the constitution so as to give the organized states representation in the National Committee proportionate to their membership. The National Secretary drew up a form for the submission of the question, following exactly the wording used by the locals moving it, as he was in duty bound to do. This form he laid before the National Committee for approval.

The members of that body, including Comrade Massey, had three full weeks in which to consider it. Not one of them objected to its submission to the membership. On November 10 it was so submitted and the voting began, to close on January 4, 1904.

Now, five weeks after the question was laid before the party for general vote, while the vote is going on and when it is probably nearly completed, Comrade Massey comes up with a proposition that the National Committee declare the whole proceeding out of order and nullify the action of the rank and file, whatever that may prove to be.

We have no fear that the National Committee will arrogate to itself any such power, but the fact that there should be even one member capable of making such a proposal is regrettable enough—regrettable because, under all the circumstances, it is quite impossible for us to attribute the act to any but a factions motive.

If the news of Comrade Massey's motion has any effect upon the action of the membership in the very few remaining days, it will undoubtedly

be to decide some heretofore wavering ones to vote for the amendment proposed by such method. That the amendment ought to be carried seems to us clear. That it will be carried seems to us probable. If carried, it will materially reduce the power in the national organization of half-a-dozen men, representing very small and in some cases delinquent state organizations, whose principal vocation for the past ten months has seemed to be that of obstructing the work in which our present National Secretary has so splendidly borne his part.

Here is a book of beauty and power, a book in which profound thought and subtle poetical expression are interspersed with quaint and delightful wit. Burrowes is a master of words; as marshalled by his magic pen they urge and inspire, thrill and caress, soothe and exalt. In this book the reader will find many laughs, and great upheavals of the heart and far outlookings of the mind. There is surprise in every sentence and a poem in every page. The book pours forth like a great, golden, sunlit flood. Always the element of unexpectedness is great. The author's mind is like a kaleidoscope. He is always seeing things from another standpoint and saying them in a new way, ever shifting, changing, flowing, running the gamut from rillery to reverence, from sarcasm to admiration, yet with a constant passion and purpose underlying all.

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PARTY NEWS.

National. Charles Pierger of Chicago has been selected to act as Bohemian Organizer and Robert Sallie as German Organizer. They will take the field under the direction of national headquarters Feb. 1. Locals requiring their services should make application through their state secretaries or direct to the National Secretary.

On Jan. 1 the members of the National Committee will be called upon to make nominations for the office of National Secretary for the ensuing year. Nominations will close on Jan. 15 and the vote will close on Jan. 21.

The National Secretary reports that the party organization in Idaho is in very bad condition, everything connected with organization work seeming to be "at loose ends." It is probable that, with the consent of the Idaho comrades, National Organizer Wilkins will be sent into the state to get the body in working order.

National Organizing Fund. The following contributions have been made to the National Organizing Fund since last report: Harry Crouse, Moab, Utah, \$1; A. L. New York City, 25 cents; 10th A. D., New York City, \$2; Local Stonington, Conn, \$2; James D. Graham, Livingston, Mont., 25 cents; Arthur Childers, Bryn Mawr, Pa., \$1; Local 10th, Washington, \$1; Local Granite Falls, Wash., \$3; Local San Francisco, Cal., \$25; total reported, \$2,245.90; previously reported, \$2,281.50.

Carey's Lecture Tour. Dates for James F. Carey's lecture tour have been arranged in Pennsylvania as follows: Jan. 4, Philadelphia; Jan. 5, Reading; Jan. 6, York; Jan. 8, Meadville; Jan. 9, New Castle. Carey will then enter Ohio for about two weeks. Applications for dates in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois should be made through the respective state secretaries and in Kentucky, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Michigan, and Nebraska to the National Secretary.

The Louisiana Charter. The motion of Work of Iowa to withhold the charter for the state organization of the Socialist Party in Louisiana until the "sacro clause" is eliminated from its platform has been adopted by the National Committee. The vote is as follows: Yes—Flinton, White, Berlyn, Reynolds, Work, Carey, Talbott, Turner, Christensen, Hillquit, Barnes, Kerigan, Roemer, and Berger; 14; No—Richardson, Dobbs, Critchlow, Halbrooks, and Lovett—5; not voting—Hooley, Miller, Mills, Fox of Maine, Fox of Montana, Chaffin, Goebel, and Massey—8.

Talbott of Minnesota had moved to confirm the acts of the Louisiana convention and grant the charter, but withdrew his motion, being convinced, on further thought, that the action was unconstitutional. Before it was withdrawn, Richardson, Critchlow, and Lovett had voted for it and White, Work, Turner, and Kerigan against it.

In announcing the result of the vote, the National Secretary says: "Geo. H. Goebel, National Committee member from New Jersey and National Organizer, who was in Louisiana from Nov. 25 to Dec. 11, wrote the National Committee upon question of granting charter; but the National Secretary, having no authority to suspend a vote upon a pending motion, did not assume it. Comrade Goebel afterwards gave a lengthy report of his efforts in Louisiana to have the clause objected to stricken from the platform, how the New Orleans local had voted to strike out the clause and had initiated a referendum of the locals in the state looking to the same action being taken. It is due to Comrade Goebel to state that his efforts have evidently been appreciated by the Louisiana comrades and it is expected that another report will soon be such that a charter can be granted to Louisiana in line with the National Committee's action herein reported."

New Motions Before National Committee. Lovett of South Dakota has offered the following motion: "In regard to the resolutions of the Aurora providing for the establishment of a reserve list of national organizers, I move that the following be stricken out as it appears in Paragraph 2 of said resolutions: 'But no applicant shall be deemed acceptable for the reserve list until he or she has received the endorsement of the State Committee of the state wherein the applicant resides.'"

Massey of North Dakota has moved that the National Committee declare the referendum for amendment of the national party constitution now before the membership to be out of order on the ground that the form in which it was submitted conflicts with the provision of the constitution which says that all matters going to referendum shall be submitted without comment.

Resolutions from San Francisco. At the last regular meeting of Local San Francisco, held Dec. 4, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted: "Whereas, the locals of Teller County, Colorado, are appealing to the

National Committee to investigate the conditions existing in the Socialist Party in the State of Colorado, and "Whereas the said locals declare that an element known as the 'Crusaders' has captured the party machinery by trickery, and has unscrupulously expelled several hundred loyal class-conscious members, and

Resolved that Local San Francisco most earnestly appeals to the National Committee to send a National Organizer to thoroughly investigate the party affairs in Colorado, and if necessary to reorganize the party in that state."

The State Committee met Dec. 22, and issued call for nominations for member of the National Committee, nominations to close Feb. 15. James N. Wood's seat on State Committee was declared vacant on account of non-attendance and a call for nominations to fill vacancy will be issued to the locals of Greater New York, nominations to close Feb. 1. "Wildfire's Magazine" presented the State Committee a neostyle. State Secretary was instructed to urge B. Polgenbaum to make application for appointment as National Jewish Organizer and Lecturer and to strongly recommend his appointment by the National Committee.

The comrades of Local Rochester have for some time had under consideration the question of establishing a weekly paper in that city, to serve as an organ of Socialist propaganda for the city and for Western New York. They have at last decided to undertake the task. They have formed the Rochester Socialist Publishing Company for the purpose, an incorporated body, with \$5,000 stock in \$5 shares, payable 10 per cent. down and 10 per cent. a month thereafter till paid up. The name of the paper will be "The Social Democrat." The Rochester comrades ask locals and comrades in the state to aid them in the undertaking. Correspondence on the matter should be addressed to Geo. W. Mischo, 158 N. Pittsburgh street or Joel Moses, 585 Woodworth street.

Comrade Gottschalk of Chatham, Columbia County, N. Y., writes, aghast the increase of the Social Democratic vote there from 19 to 60: "We have polled a good vote in this and other counties where there are no local organizations whatever. I know of but one other Socialist in Chatham, Comrade Willis, who is very earnest and enthusiastic. Of course, there are a number here whom we have succeeded in getting more or less interested, but they are not yet Socialists. The campaign of 1924 is upon us. There is a good deal of work to be done before next November and our most effective work in the way of agitation and propaganda can always be done in the early part of the campaign before men's minds become too much inflamed with the old ideas and prejudices, fanned to a white heat by the old-party press and speakers. Therefore I desire to do my prime interest is that the party, through the State Committee or otherwise, should take immediate steps to get in touch with as many as possible of the comrades in the unorganized counties and also with those who are not dues-paying members, but have voted our ticket, and should have a special organizer or two go through these counties and try to organize a local in each. If they are very weak locals they could also be strengthened, but where the movement has already developed locally to the extent of being on a solid basis and self-sustaining it seems to me the comrades of those localities could be left to their own resources, while those countries which return us a number of votes but have not been organized could be brought into line, and a systematic propaganda be inaugurated in every part of the state. Even if we could not effect an organization in every county within the next year, still some one could undoubtedly be found in each county who would be sufficiently interested to help distribute literature, arrange public meetings for speakers, put up posters, and also act addresses of others that we come into the movement. All this seems to me very important, and I have class strategy in view in evidence almost everywhere, in every village and hamlet, and at this stage of the movement it seems to me that we need not confine our energies nor devote all our time and money to the cities and industrial centers, where the movement has already taken strong root, but should reach out and even at the risk of seeming neglect of the already well organized localities, devote most of our time and money to the countryside. We must have the propaganda of our doctrine and the remotest parts of our state."

New York City. The Campaign Committee. New York issues the following financial statement:

Table with financial data for New York City. Includes columns for Receipts and Expenditures. Total receipts listed as \$3,038.54 and total expenditures as \$2,350.79. Balance due to Local is \$177.70.

Table with financial data for ACCOUNT LOCAL KINGS. Includes Credit Loan, Debit expenses, Debit literature, Debit speakers, and Balance due from Local. Total balance due from Local is \$720.8.

Table with financial data for ACCOUNT LOCAL RICHMOND. Includes Credit 50 per cent of \$17.85, Debit expense, Debit literature, Debit speakers, and Balance due from Local. Total balance due from Local is \$67.7.

Table with financial data for RECAPITULATION. Includes Assets (Cash on hand, Due from Local Kings, Due from Local Queens) and Liabilities (Due to Local New York, Due to Local Richmond). Total assets listed as \$758.20.

Table with financial data for DISPOSITION OF FUNDS. Includes Total assets, Canceled debt from Local Queens, Pay balance due Local New York, Pay balance due Local Richmond, and Surplus to be divided as follows.

gates to the Daily Globe Conference. S. Solomon and J. Paulson; Delegates to the General Committee, U. Solomon, Emil Spindler, Jos. A. Dunne, and S. Solomon.

It was stated in some of the Sunday papers that Herman Reich, Business Agent of the American Workers' Union No. 1, was among the guests at the Civic Federation banquet. As a matter of fact, though Comrade Reich was invited, he refused to attend, having no desire to figure as a friend of the enemies of his class.

The Kings County Committee will meet in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Saturday, Dec. 20. All members of the 10th A. D. should attend the special meeting to be held on Saturday evening, Dec. 20, at 222 East Broadway, in order to vote on the proposed amendment to the national constitution.

At the last meeting of the 15th and 17th A. D., a fund was started for the purpose of distributing The Worker in these districts. Resolutions were adopted condemning the actions and methods of the general party meeting held on Dec. 6 as illegal, detrimental to the cause, and in opposition to the constitution and by-laws, Article 22, Sections 'b', 'c', and 'g', and requesting Local New York to "make an investigation and expose those responsible."

A general meeting of Local Passaic County will be held at the Labor Lyceum, 109 Sheridan avenue, Paterson, Sunday, Jan. 3, 2.30 p. m. Every member of the local should be present prepared to suggest plans for a more aggressive campaign than that just passed.

The Central Socialist Club of Haverhill has secured new headquarters at 73 Merrimack street, which are always open, and are being engaged in building up a larger club and creating more general public interest in Socialism. The members feel hopeful of regaining their political voice. The club will hold an immense fair from Jan. 18 to 23, inclusive. Tickets are 50 cents and entitle the holder to a guess as to when an eight-day clock will stop.

A speaker from New York will address the next meeting of Local Mystic, Conn., on Sunday, Dec. 27, 3 p. m., at the G. A. H. rooms on Pearl street. Members are urged to bring friends. The semi-annual election of officers will follow the address. The Socialist Educational Association met on Dec. 19 at 925 Washington street, Boston. The Directors, with one exception, tendered their resignations. Comrade Burbank was not aware of the action to be taken, as he is out of town. Eight new Directors were elected, as follows: Jos. Spero, 99 Wayland street, Roxbury, President; Geo. G. Hall, 259 Westville street, Inglewood, Clerk; Dr. J. J. Konikow, 320 Shawmut avenue, Boston, Treasurer; and P. W. Wolf, Cyrus Koehler, Miss H. Brackett, Dr. M. G. Mantingus and Geo. Koebe. The Board of Directors meets on the second and fourth Saturdays of each month at 320 Shawmut avenue.

At the meeting of the State Committee three charters were granted. McKeesport and Braddock in Allegheny County and Bell Vernon in Fayette County. Frank Galanter organized the Bella Vernon local with 93 members. This is the largest local organized since the civil war. A request was received for information how to organize a local from Galeton, Potter County.

Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes of Philadelphia has been elected National Committee member. The vote was as follows: Barnes, 232; Keevan, 9; Taylor, 51.

SEABOARD FLORIDA LIMITED. Only train between New York and St. Augustine will be operated beginning January 11th, 1931. The SEABOARD is the SHORTEST LINE to the popular Winter tourist resorts of the CAROLINAS, GEORGIA & FLORIDA. DOUBLE DAILY SERVICE. CAFE DINING CARS.

Committee in Iowa. Referendum ballots have been issued and the returns must be made by January 1. Boone has a special election for Alderman for the First Ward, Dec. 21. The present incumbent, who was elected on the Socialist ticket, has been re-elected to another ward.

SOCIALISM EXPLAINED BY A PLAIN WORKINGMAN IN PLAIN LANGUAGE. A new pamphlet by A. A. Lewis of Kentucky, who needs no introduction to readers of The Worker. A 32-page pamphlet, well printed on good paper, uniform in size and price with "Labor Politics and Socialist Politics." Price: 3 cents a copy; 10 copies for 20 cents; 50 for \$5 cents; 100 for \$1.50.

Socialist Literature Co., 184 William St., New York. FOR ITALIAN WORKINGMEN. Comrades who have an opportunity to reach Italian workingmen and wish to make propaganda for Socialism among them will do well to use the new pamphlet "Che Cosa e il Socialismo?" (What is Socialism?)

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

MOTHER JONES' PORTRAIT. Send 10 cents and get a picture of the great organizer of the miners and champion of the child slaves. SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO., 184 William St., New York.

Buy Your Gents Furnishing Goods PHILIP DIAMOND. 210 STANTON ST., bet. 10th and 11th. The best selection of DRESS and other SHIRTS, COLLARS, HOSIERY ETC. at the lowest prices.

OUR UNION LABEL THE ONLY ONE TO BE RECOGNIZED ON SHIRTS, WAISTS, COLLARS & CUFFS. LEARN TO ASK FOR IT, and also See that your laundryman has it!

Dr. C. L. FURMAN, DENTIST, 123 Schermerhorn street, Brooklyn. LAWYERS. MORRIS HILLQUIT, Attorney-at-Law, 220 Broadway, Telephone 2876 Franklin.

L. D. MAYES, LAWYER, 245 Broadway, New York City, Borough of Manhattan. H. B. SALISBURY, COUNSELLOR-AT-LAW, 300 Broadway, Room 802, 50 Union Sq.

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

BEFORE YOU PLACE YOUR ORDERS GET OUR PRICES FOR JOB PRINTING. We Guarantee First-Class Work. THE CO-OPERATIVE PRESS. Worker Building, 134 William St. TEL. 302 JOHN.

PUBLICATIONS.

FROM REVOLUTION TO REVOLUTION. Is the title of an article by George D. Herron, in a recent issue of The Comrade. In it the well known author points out the dangers against which the Socialist Movement of this country has to guard.

"DIE ZUKUNFT" (THE FUTURE) A Monthly Magazine of Popular Science Literature and Socialism. In Jewish Language, Published by the Zukunft Press Federation.

USEFUL WORKS. The books here listed are all cloth-bound. "The History of Socialism in the United States" by Morris Hillquit. "The American Farmer" by A. M. Simons. "Socialism and Anarchism" by Geo. Fitchhoff.

THE SCANDINAVIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY OF NEW YORK meets 1st Sunday of every month, 10:30 a. m., in Link's Hall, 232 E. 58th street, New York. All Scandinavians are welcome.

Arbeiter-Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse fuer die Vor. Staaten von Amerika. WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

Workmen's Children Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America. The address of the Financial Secretary of the National Executive Committee is: WILLIAM SCHWARTZ, Bible House, Room 42, Astor Place, New York City.

WORKMEN'S Furniture Fire Insurance. Organized 1872. Membership 15,000. Principal Organization, New York and Vicinity.

THE CHICAGO SOCIALIST. Bright, Snappy, and Scientific. Owned by workmen and edited for the emancipation of the toilers. 52 WEEKS FOR 25 CENTS, 181 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

Where to Lunch and Dine. Comrades patronize those who advertise in your paper.

ABBOTT BROS. Lunch Room, 110 Bleeker St., near Green St. NEW YORK. Kangaroos are welcome. No line drawn on smaller animals.

THE THOMPSON AFFAIR.

National Secretary Will Not Issue National Organizer's Commission for Work in an Organized State to Any Man Not Approved by State Organizers.

By instruction of the Quorum, National Secretary Mally has submitted to the National Committee the question: "Shall Carl D. Thompson be given a commission as National Organizer for the Socialist Party, dated from Nov. 20, inclusive of engagements filed in South Dakota and Nebraska?"

The decision of the National Committee is to be given by Jan. 2. Briefly, the occasion for this action is as follows: Comrade Thompson applied for a commission as National Organizer. He had already made some dates in Nebraska by private arrangement, without consulting the State Committee and wishing the commission from national headquarters to cover these dates.

With the question is submitted a voluminous correspondence, parts of which we are obliged to condense or summarize, for lack of space. It is undesirable, however, to give a full and complete account of its bearing on this case, but for the general information gives on the National Secretary's method of routing organizers, etc. We omit nothing essential. The words in large type were underlined in the originals.

I, Thompson, to National Secretary, Long Pine, Neb., Oct. 7.—Asks for blank applications for charter; also whether Mally cares to publish reports of Thompson's work in his official bulletins.

National Secretary to Thompson, Oct. 8.—States that "in organized states the State Secretaries will furnish all the supplies to organizers," that he has referred the request to State Secretary Roe of Nebraska, and that he could not publish in the bulletins reports of the work of anyone but those working directly under the national office.

"I have refused several requests of the kind, as well as to advertise books, publishing houses, etc. I have had to adopt this policy so that the bulletin could not be taken advantage of, and not used as an instrument of opposition to any individual. I have to be impartial in this matter or make myself subject to criticism from all sides."

III.—Thompson to National Secretary, Long Pine, Oct. 10. "So far as supplies for organizing, etc., are concerned, it of course doesn't matter to me at all where they come from. Only Comrade Roe has been so slow to respond to my requests that I shall probably have to get the supplies elsewhere. He doubtless and naturally feels sore at me although this may not be the reason. I guess he is slow anyway."

"As to publishing reports of my work, your plan is quite satisfactory to me if it is to you. I only wanted you to know that I was willing to report to you. "Several propositions are before me for my work next year in the Socialist field. I would like to inquire, that I may decide more wisely, whether you still desire to have me work as a National Organizer, and if so, upon what terms, conditions, limitations, etc., and would inquire whether you would care to arrange a lecture tour for me through the Eastern states. I trust you will write me frankly. I want to do the best thing. I will work in Nebraska and South Dakota until the holidays."

IV.—National Secretary to Thompson, Oct. 12.—Am perfectly willing that you should work under the direction of the national office. I believe the Quorum will also be agreeable if you should desire me to submit my name to it for you to be added to our list of lecturers or organizers.

"Our terms are three dollars a day for each day out and hotel and traveling expenses. A financial statement is submitted on the first of each month, for which blanks are provided. Organizers make a report at least once a week, although I do not report their work in my bulletin oftener than once in two weeks. Arrangements for tours, lectures, etc., are made either directly by this office or by the state organizations where speakers work. Other than this, I do not know of limitations. Of course, speakers are expected to act in harmony with the different states, observing the rule of state autonomy. In unorganized states the territory is under the jurisdiction of this office."

"I have had no trouble so far with any of the states on this phase of the work. Neither have I had any trouble with our organizers, as I give them the widest scope possible for the exercise of their individuality. We place our confidence in the men selected and ask nothing of them but good work for the cause. I believe we could arrange an Eastern trip, lecturing, beginning in January. In fact, I would like this, if the foregoing is agreeable. I should like to hear from you at once."

basis. But if I know your views now it will better aid me to arrange things so that everybody will be satisfied."

Y.—Thompson to National Secretary, Black Hills, S. D., Oct. 16.—"Kindly mail me at Deadwood list of names and addresses of the National Committee."

"Your letter regarding my working under the national headquarters received and contents carefully noted, and will say that I am pleased with the letter and very favorably impressed with the proposition. I feel of course that the only logical course for all of us who work in the general field is to work from headquarters."

"As to the terms and as to my submitting to the Quorum some proposition of my own, I do not feel that I should do that. I realize that the Commission must put some limit, and I also realize the difficulty that would immediately arise if one man were paid more or differently than another. So if I work under direction of the National Committee and Secretary, I shall do so on the terms they offer."

"Of course, that my services are worth more to the party than \$3 per day and expenses. So far, however, I have felt that they were unable to offer more than that, and I have never asked nor received from my Socialist lecturing and organizing even as much as that. From now on, however, the ability of the party to do better by its servants increases, and I have certainly had a part in the bringing about of that condition. I naturally feel, therefore, that the party should do better by me—and others, I feel that we ought to maintain as high a standard of platform and field work as it is possible for us to do. And we cannot expect our workers to maintain the highest type of public service unless we support them well. I feel that there has been considerable excessive charging for Socialist lectures."

"I have felt that in order to get the movement opened and organized, we public speakers and organizers should all make all the sacrifice we could. I mean that we should take just as little for our personal affairs as possible. I have carried out this principle in my work, and my services so far have not cost the party membership over \$500 or \$600 per year. The rest of my income I have earned by singing and outside effort. And in all of course, my wage has been a bare subsistence. Now, however, as the movement grows, I feel that the party ought, as a matter of wisdom, to select able and efficient men, with special powers of usefulness to the party, and when they can give them the means to maintain the highest possible type of service. I hope to make myself of some value to the movement."

"However, I do not demand that the party officials should agree with me upon this matter. If they do not of their own accord choose to do this—it is for them to decide. And on the other hand, it is for me to do all I can to equip myself for this service. If the party officials do not open the way for me to do it, and other ways do open, I shall expect to take advantage of them. And I believe all will agree that this is wise."

"I therefore feel like leaving the whole matter to the wisdom of the officials. "Would also inquire whether you would care to assume management of part of my time in case I should engage with state committee for other part. So far each summer I spend a month or more under my own management with a male quartet, singing at Chautauquus. This is now in a position to net us a considerable profit and afford a vacation as well. Would that be satisfactory?"

VI.—National Secretary to Thompson, Oct. 20.—Encloses list of National Committee. "Referring to your questions, I will state: "First, That the rate of \$3 a day for each day out, with hotel and traveling expenses additional, means \$1,005 a year salary, or \$847.50 for six months. The hotel and traveling expenses are usually as much more, so that the remuneration would be more than you have been receiving."

"Second, Would you prefer to accept \$5 per day for each day out, with traveling expenses additional, leaving you to provide board or hotel? These are the terms Comrade Hanford is now working under."

"Third, As the office seeks only to cover expenses, speakers are not asked to file more than five or six dates weekly. "Fourth, In the event that special arrangements are made with state organizations, the rate of a national organizer or lecturer, is time-limited to the engagement is set, and the state organization assumes financial responsibility. Recently John W. Brown, National Organizer, worked for ten weeks for the Connecticut State Committee, making his financial arrangements with that committee, while his name was retained upon the list of national organizers. Brown is now working at the expense of this office for a month in the state campaign in Massachusetts. In the case of Goebel, for instance, he is working in Texas under the direction of the comrades there, while the national office bears the financial responsibility. On lecture tours this office is responsible, and the dates are arranged either directly by me or the various state secretaries, according to agreement with the latter."

"Fifth, I have been charging a flat rate of ten dollars for Hanford. In some cases I have reduced this figure where I thought he could do good and the comrades were unable to guarantee the sum stated. However, I shall try not to reduce the figure. I find when the office pays salary and traveling expenses, printing circulars, correspondence, cuts, etc., the margin is too small to admit of any reduction. This figure holds only for continuous lecture tours. For special engagements, requiring the additional expense consequent upon extra preparation, long distance, time involved, etc., a special figure is made, agreeing to the speaker and those engaging him."

"Sixth, (Details of advertising.) "Seventh, There would be no objection to your taking your usual month or two off in the summer. You are

in future than ever before. In view of this fact, I should like to know about your Nebraska dates, so that the Quorum can act upon your letter with full information on the subject. "Of course, your suggestion that you be appointed because Comrade Hyland was, and in order to show impartiality, has no bearing upon this matter at all. Comrade Hyland's position on any question is not considered by the Quorum and National Committee upon the above points. Kindly submit this also to the Quorum and National Committee."

XII.—National Secretary to Thompson, Nov. 27.—"You do not seem quite to understand the position occupied by the National Committee toward the separate state organizations. In organized states the regular state organization recognized by the National Committee and paying dues to the national office has sole jurisdiction of the members residing in their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization, and financial affairs within such state or territory, and the National Committee and sub-committee or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organization. (See Section 4, Article 6, National Constitution.)

"Under this law the national office cannot send or route speakers or organizers in or through an organized state without the consent or co-operation of the state organization in that state. This is as true of Nebraska as of California or New York. Your relations as a member in Nebraska with your State Quorum have nothing to do with the relations of this office with your State Quorum. So long as the State Quorum composed the officials of the regular party organization in Nebraska and that party organization maintains its standing in the national organization, then this office must, under the law, recognize the State Quorum as the representatives of the Nebraska state organization.

"The reasons why or how the State Quorum refused to arrange dates for you in Nebraska have nothing to do with the case. The fact that you visited that place and investigated. This rule was adopted because Nebraska is a close state politically and we have had to guard against politicians, belonging to both the old party, getting into the party organization in order to use it for their own purposes. That the rule is a necessary one will be shown later. This rule was followed in the Maywood case. The charter was not refused, but withdrawn until an organizer had visited Maywood and investigated. When this was done the Maywood charter was granted in due form.

"This same misrepresentation occurred in the case of the so-called 'Eighty Per Cent. Resolution,' which the state convention never acted upon. "It should be understood that the State Quorum never objected to Thompson working in this state for Socialism, but they object to his openly assisting the proven enemies of our party to get control of the party organization, and to his fighting Socialists instead of expounding the principles of the party. And we have more reason than ever for refusing to recognize or endorse him as a field worker since having an opportunity to estimate the kind of work he has been doing in Nebraska lately, and which work he asks the national office to be responsible for."

"On Oct. 14, Thompson, spoke at Chadron. The meeting was arranged by him through L. J. Faeger of that place. Our State Secretary afterward received from Jaeger, as temporary secretary, under Oct. 15, an application for a local with seventeen members, which was organized on Oct. 14, the application was made out in the handwriting of Carl D. Thompson and was one of the kind used by him. The local was reported in the press as one organized by him. Among the names on the application for charter were those of L. J. Faeger and D. W. Sperling. The occupation of the former was given as 'merchant' and the latter as 'Chief of Police.'"

Following our usual rule, the charter was withheld pending investigation by State Organizer Schliermeyer, which reached Chadron Nov. 1. "Organizer Schliermeyer reported on Nov. 2 that L. J. Faeger, with whom Thompson had corresponded to arrange the meeting, was a member of the Democratic County Committee, and that Sperling was a member of the police force, and a candidate for a Democratic Mayor. Comrade Schliermeyer succeeded in having Jaeger and Sperling withdraw their names, as the following correspondence will show:

"Chadron, Neb., Nov. 11-4-03. "J. P. Roe, Sec'y: "Dear Sir:—By instructions from Organizer Schliermeyer, I hereby withdraw my own name as well as that of D. W. Sperling as charter members of the local at Chadron. You will hereafter please address all communications to R. M. Stanton, Chadron, Nebraska."

"Speaking for myself, while I believe in Socialism, yet I cannot accept the radical part of the platform which excludes all but wage earners and cannot believe the dawn of emancipation can be reached that way. "L. J. Faeger. "B. "Chadron, Neb., Nov. 14, 1903. "Dear Sir, and Comrade:—Trust that the above will be sufficient to make you eligible for charter. This completes our part, as Comrade Schliermeyer instructs us. If anything is lacking, please let us know. "Comrade Schliermeyer is a true Socialist and bears acquaintance well. Very respectfully, R. M. STANTON, Fin. Sec. Chadron Local. "

C.—ENCLOSURE. "To the Secretary of State Socialist Party: "Sir:—You will please erase my name from the list of Socialists at this place, for the reason that I am Chief of Police, appointed by the Mayor of this city, and I have been informed that you are withholding the charter from the society organized here on account of my name being on the list. Respectfully, D. W. SPERLING, Chief of Police."

"The charter was therefore granted to the Chadron Local, upon recommendation of Organizer Schliermeyer. "The State Quorum is not prepared to sanction such work as Thompson is herewith proven capable of doing, and which shows that in his anxiety to 're-organize' he is willing to take anybody or anything into his hands, even capitalist office-holders like the Chadron Chief of Police, and

it believes its course justified by the facts in its possession. The Quorum believes it would be untrue to the trust reposed in it by the membership in Nebraska and false to its duty to the Socialist Party if an endorsement, direct or indirect, were given to one guilty of acts Thompson has committed."

"Ever since the state convention of the Socialist Party of Nebraska, last July, Thompson has done his utmost to discredit the state organization of Nebraska and to disrupt, under the name of re-organization, the Socialist Party in this state. From the time of that convention he has persistently and maliciously, in and out of the state, distorted the actions of that convention, slandered the comrades attending it and refused the party officials. More than that, he has conspired and conspired with men already proven guilty of treason to the party and of attempting to gain control of it for corrupt ends. He has shamelessly proclaimed his intention of 're-organizing' the state so that the present officials could be ousted and the ring of hoodlums, whose headquarters are in Omaha, obtain control."

"Thompson went forth from the state convention last July and stated in plain print that the State Quorum had withheld a charter from Maywood because the new local there was composed of farmers and merchants, a falsehood which has obtained wide circulation throughout the country and placed the state organization of Nebraska in a false and unjust position. "It is the rule of the State Quorum not to grant charters to locals in new places until a State Organizer has visited that place and investigated. This rule was adopted because Nebraska is a close state politically and we have had to guard against politicians, belonging to both the old party, getting into the party organization in order to use it for their own purposes. That the rule is a necessary one will be shown later. This rule was followed in the Maywood case. The charter was not refused, but withdrawn until an organizer had visited Maywood and investigated. When this was done the Maywood charter was granted in due form.

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"I therefore raise this question: Should not the protest of state officials be accompanied by at least some good and sufficient reasons and verified evidence before that protest shall disqualify an individual to act as National Organizer in the state? It seems to me that it should. Otherwise, who are in the field may any or all of us become the victims of immature and unwarranted action. "The objection, therefore, that you raise to appointing me as National Organizer is, I believe, not valid. I therefore renew my application that I be appointed National Organizer, beginning with Nov. 20, and be permitted to file the dates already arranged to Dec. 1 in South Dakota and to Dec. 16 in Nebraska upon the terms suggested in my letter to you of recent date. "I agree with you, upon second thought, that the appointment of

Comrade Hyland should have no consideration in the matter. And I assure you and the National Committee that I have no inclination to press the matter of my application to the point of any issue among the comrades. I have made the application and will let it stand until I am informed of the decision of the Quorum and National Committee upon the above points. Kindly submit this also to the Quorum and National Committee."

XIII.—National Secretary to Thompson, Nov. 27.—"You do not seem quite to understand the position occupied by the National Committee toward the separate state organizations. In organized states the regular state organization recognized by the National Committee and paying dues to the national office has sole jurisdiction of the members residing in their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization, and financial affairs within such state or territory, and the National Committee and sub-committee or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organization. (See Section 4, Article 6, National Constitution.)

"Under this law the national office cannot send or route speakers or organizers in or through an organized state without the consent or co-operation of the state organization in that state. This is as true of Nebraska as of California or New York. Your relations as a member in Nebraska with your State Quorum have nothing to do with the relations of this office with your State Quorum. So long as the State Quorum composed the officials of the regular party organization in Nebraska and that party organization maintains its standing in the national organization, then this office must, under the law, recognize the State Quorum as the representatives of the Nebraska state organization.

"The reasons why or how the State Quorum refused to arrange dates for you in Nebraska have nothing to do with the case. The fact that you visited that place and investigated. This rule was adopted because Nebraska is a close state politically and we have had to guard against politicians, belonging to both the old party, getting into the party organization in order to use it for their own purposes. That the rule is a necessary one will be shown later. This rule was followed in the Maywood case. The charter was not refused, but withdrawn until an organizer had visited Maywood and investigated. When this was done the Maywood charter was granted in due form.

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"Ever since the state convention of the Socialist Party of Nebraska, last July, Thompson has done his utmost to discredit the state organization of Nebraska and to disrupt, under the name of re-organization, the Socialist Party in this state. From the time of that convention he has persistently and maliciously, in and out of the state, distorted the actions of that convention, slandered the comrades attending it and refused the party officials. More than that, he has conspired and conspired with men already proven guilty of treason to the party and of attempting to gain control of it for corrupt ends. He has shamelessly proclaimed his intention of 're-organizing' the state so that the present officials could be ousted and the ring of hoodlums, whose headquarters are in Omaha, obtain control."

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