





The Worker.

AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY (Known in New York State as the Social Democracy Party) PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT 184 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK.

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Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post Office on April 6, 1901.

In the state of New York, on account of certain provisions of the election laws, the Socialist Party is officially recognized under the name of Social Democracy Party, as shown above.

TO OUR READERS, STEADY AND OCCASIONAL. We are convinced that The Worker, while still far from fulfilling our ideal, is of value to the Socialist movement in this country.

A special effort in this direction is now being made and Comrade Geiger has taken charge of the circulation work from this office. It must be remembered, however, that he can do little except by the hearty co-operation of the comrades.

It is not proposed to make a circus campaign for subscribers. The columns of The Worker will not to any great extent be occupied with appeals for help or with news from the circulator's desk.

In the first place, delegate bodies are almost always more conservative than their constituencies. Especially is this true of such a body as a convention of the A. F. of L., since many of its members are elected, not directly by the membership, but by conventions—are delegates of delegates.

Under the old system the National Committee was not representative, since two thousand party members lying in one state had no stronger representation than a hundred living in some other. A body so constituted could not have the moral authority growing out of confidence that it reflected the collective will of the party.

The new plan corrects this evil. But it is weak in that, so far as the National Committee does act and vote as individuals, not as representatives—and to some extent they cannot but do so—it exalts one individual above another. We do not believe this feature is nearly so objectionable as some suppose.

The fact that the five delegates of the International Association of Machinists voted against the Socialist resolutions and voted for the reelection of Gompers does not show that the rank and file of the machinists are with Gompers and against Socialism.

It is significant that the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, whose miners are now on strike and at whose instance the militia have been called out to suppress the labor revolt, is one of those that pose particularly as philanthropic corporations.

cial secretary," whose duty it is supposed to be to show a fatherly interest in the welfare of the employees. The fact that such an aggregation of "good masters" should be involved in one of the fiercest labor struggles of history only goes to show that—granting their sincerity—no attempts at mending the capitalist system can avail much, and that the one thing is to end it and establish Social Democracy.

Will anyone tell us the difference between a "criminal trust" and a "legitimate business combination"? Mr. Hearst distinguishes between them and promises to strangle the former without hurting the latter. Mr. Roosevelt makes exactly the same distinction and the same promise. But neither President Roosevelt nor Aspirant Hearst has yet told us in plain words what a "legitimate business combination" is or what are the earmarks of a "criminal trust." Tell us, gentlemen. We pine to know.

OUR TRADE-UNION POLICY. Some of the comrades here, since the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor, show what seems to us a quite unwarranted tendency to discouragement or, at least, to impatience with the trade-union movement. To our mind, the experience at Boston does not in the least justify us in losing hope of the trade unionists or in abandoning or modifying our well considered attitude toward them.

What is the attitude that, during more than four years, our party has, with only individual or local and temporary exceptions, consistently adhered to? In brief, it is the attitude of cordial sympathy and frank brotherhood which ought to subsist between two movements which, while differing in their methods of work and differing but not conflicting in their ends, are yet identical in their reason for existence and to a great extent identical in their personnel.

On one page of the New York "Evening Yeller" we read in big black letters extending across five columns "Labor Unions Praise Ragweed, the Great Liver Cure." On another page we read: "Labor Unions Endorse Hearst, the Great Trust Killer," or words to that effect.

THE TWO REFERENDUMS. It goes without saying that we are pleased with the adoption by so heavy a majority in so large a total vote of the amendment to our national party constitution giving the several National Committees a voting power approximately proportional to the dues-paying membership in their respective states.

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ECONOMICS OF FASHION. "What makes the chrysanthemum so expensive?" "It's expensive because it's fashionable." "But why is it so fashionable?" "Um—that's because it's so expensive."—Chicago Tribune.

too much emphasized, it is an objection. It is a far less evil, we think, than the old inequality of representation, but it is an evil that should be remedied as soon as a better plan can be devised. The problem is to make the National Committee fairly representative without resort to plural voting and yet to avoid making it so large as to be unwieldy.

In the meantime, the membership is now invited to vote upon a new amendment—Referendum A, 1904—which, if carried, can have no other effect than to revoke or nullify that just adopted.

This new proposition, introduced by locals in Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Colorado, and Kansas, is to amend the constitution by adding, as Article XI: "In all conventions, committees, and other deliberations of the Socialist Party of America, one vote for one member present shall be the rule, and proxies shall not be used or permitted nor plural voting allowed."

Since Referendum B, 1903, has been carried, Referendum A, 1904, should be defeated. Comrades who have voted for the one amendment should not neglect to vote against the other. Its introduction at this time is a piece of obstructionism—though perhaps not deliberately so intended—that would not be tolerated in any primary assembly under ordinary rules of parliamentary practice.

A lot of clergymen, Catholic and Protestant, are busy quoting isolated passages from the writings of Marx and Bebel to prove that Socialists advocate riot, arson, theft, adultery, prostitution, and other immoral actions. These reverend gentlemen are generally careful to avoid a chance of being refuted and exposed.

Although we have reason to believe that The Worker is read far more carefully than most periodicals, yet we occasionally receive from active comrades who are among our subscribers unfounded complaints to the effect that we have failed to announce or to record some matter of news that has, as a matter of fact, been covered. It may not be smiles, therefore, to suggest to our readers, especially those who are party members—a careful perusal of the department of party news. The Worker prints far more party news, local and national, than any other Socialist paper in the United States.

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justice is removed. It may be a bad thing for some people to suffer. It is a worse thing for all people to suffer. I am sorry for the man whose liberty is invaded. But I am sorer for the whole race whose liberty is invaded. You can keep when the castles are hit. But what do you say when the people are hit? Let liberty take care of itself for a while. When you tell me how they can get a living you tell me how they can get their liberty. Until they can get it right. Until they can get it without charging up expense to somebody else. It is folly to talk of liberty. Living comes before liberty. The kind of liberty you have mostly talked about is the liberty which a few can seize for themselves out of the slavery of the rest. The kind of liberty which gives one man a million dollars and another man nothing. The kind of liberty which destroys one man with leisure and another man with work. The kind of liberty which sends a few children to school and sends the other children to the factories, the stores and the offices. When that liberty is invaded you are very sensitive. But I do not find you so sensitive when the general liberty is sacrificed. You entirely miss the philosophy of the situation. The unions came into existence in response to a call. The unions did not call. If you have any quarrel it is with something that annoys you. What is that something? Look for it. Dig. I think that if you were to analyze a few of your Harvard endowments you might get the truth. They would tell the whole tale. They came from the same source as the unions. Tell us about those endowments and you will tell us about the unions. For if the cause of the creation of the unions was removed the cause of the creation of annual private endowments in behalf of institutions would disappear. The unions will remove the unions. Yes. And liberty would also remove your endowments. Dig, then, Eliot. Dig right where you are. Dig at Cambridge. The unions are a menace to liberty. Destroy the unions. Harvard College is a menace to liberty. Destroy Harvard College. The law of the existence of the union is the law of the existence of the college. What will you do, Eliot? Dig? Are you afraid to take your spade and dig too close to the foundations of Harvard? The sort of thing which unites Harvard rich is the sort of thing which has enriched in the worldly world the spirit of union protest. I acknowledge that the union is not final. But I also see that Harvard College is not final. I see that words are not final. The pen is mightier than the sword. I agree. But there are times when the spade is mightier than the pen. This is the time for the spade. Close your library. Take off your official cloak. Dig. Do not go somewhere else to dig. Dig right where you are. Dig wide. Dig deep. Take a spade and dig, Eliot.

THE IMMIGRANTS. By John Eills. They were at the Grand Union Station: a young couple of perhaps 20, the man clad neatly but cheaply, and there were two old, blind men, one of them was cuddled up asleep in one of the seats of the waiting room beside her mother. The other was a wee little thing. She was dressed in a little blue denim gown, with a pink and white knitted petticoat, and a little white kerchief on her head, like a little grandmother.

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TAKE A SPADE AND DIG, ELIOT.

By Horace Traubel.

Take a spade and dig, Eliot. You will never get at the root of the thing unless you dig. I have been thinking of what you said in Philadelphia. You said: "Labor unions as they exist to-day and organizations among employers of labor are both a menace to the liberty of the country." Suppose you were right, Eliot. Would you get liberty into a safe place by destroying the unions? How would you destroy them? The unions do not exist without a cause. What is that cause? I think you will have to get at the cause. You see that destroy the unions by means of the law and the police. But they would return. The cause remaining untouched the result would inevitably and forever be repeated. That is why I say, Eliot, that you should take a spade and dig. You college men as a rule know a lot. But you do not know the right things. You are off the road. You are away from the centers. You fool around the body but you do not touch the nerve. We admit that the unions are imperfect. They are not perfect. They are not perfect because they are guilty of infractions of liberty. Every now and then colleges are false to liberty. Every now and then some professor acts like an ass. So we say that colleges and professors are a menace to liberty. The one handle of this argument is as good as the other. The trouble with you is, Eliot, that you do not dig yourself a way to the root of the problem. Tell us. The unions, you say, are a menace to liberty. What are your alternatives? What are your alternatives? Will you go back to Harvard and raise a big noise calling the unions names? Or will you go back in silence, take up your spade and dig? Calling names will cultivate no fruit. Anything can be done by digging. It is easy for you to write with a pen. It is your business to write and talk. But the time is here when writing and talking will not do. Now you must dig. Roll up your sleeves. Put away your pride. Dig. Forget that you are the president of Harvard. Remember that you are a man, too, and willing to have the unions disappear. And I know they will disappear when the right thing is done. When the right thing is done they will no longer be needed. As long as they are needed they will exist. Just take off your sulkiness and turn this proposition over in your noddle. I guess you think it wrong to go hungry. Hunger is a menace to life. How will you destroy hunger? By throwing the dictionary against the wall? Or by giving the hungry man something to eat? Better still. By making it possible for him to decently get something to eat for himself? What is the use of a pen that cannot be turned into a spade? What we need are spades. We need men who are willing to dig. The talkers have talked themselves exhausted. You have quoted authorities against the unions until your resources are exhausted. Yet the unions whistled to the scratch. The unions came as an evidence of economic injustice. They will disappear when that injustice is removed. It may be a bad thing for some people to suffer. It is a worse thing for all people to suffer. I am sorry for the man whose liberty is invaded. But I am sorer for the whole race whose liberty is invaded. You can keep when the castles are hit. But what do you say when the people are hit? Let liberty take care of itself for a while. When you tell me how they can get a living you tell me how they can get their liberty. Until they can get it right. Until they can get it without charging up expense to somebody else. It is folly to talk of liberty. Living comes before liberty. The kind of liberty you have mostly talked about is the liberty which a few can seize for themselves out of the slavery of the rest. The kind of liberty which gives one man a million dollars and another man nothing. The kind of liberty which destroys one man with leisure and another man with work. 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CHARITY AND JUSTICE.

By Peter E. Burrows.

Of all the outlets through which spontaneous generosity is relieved from its pent-up pressure, charity is one of the most common. It is a good thing, but it is a thing that is often done for the wrong reasons. It is a thing that is often done for the wrong reasons. It is a thing that is often done for the wrong reasons.

Individualism, which all looks at the world through, the one blind eye of its pocketbook, keeps the ragged and the gilded savages confronting each other, and mutually explaining poverty and riches as the dark ages explained them, or the late Benjamin Franklin in "Poor Richard's Almanac."

Only upon the general acceptance of this philosophy of charity can capitalism hold on temporarily to the intelligence of the times; and only upon the acceptance of this philosophy, without any charity, real or sham, can it ultimately hope to survive.

Remember, oh ye who be so greatly for so little gain, that there are no private sufferings which can be cured at one spot, none but can be cured socially, and that all are social in their origin. When the joined twins of capitalism and charity are cut asunder there will be two sudden deaths and no survivors.

Does a soldier ask arms of his own army? No. He asks of the democracy that he serves. If so, it is no virtue of all. Charity requires the presence and reign of unrighteousness for its exercise. It implies and requires the absence of justice.

As a vice we may well wish this barefaced charity to remain with us a little longer. For, if you read it well, like all other vice, it is a suggestion for that virtue which alone can abolish it—justice.

How much one could say of the foolishness of charity. How much of its wastefulness. How much of the improbability that any, capitalistically trained people could ever really mean to be charitable, or desire to be charitable or dare to be charitable!

SCHEMERS OF STEEL TRUST. PROFIT SHARING-FAKE. "Steel common" seems very much like a "common steel" to the Philadelphia "North American," in view of the decision of the directors, last week, to omit the quarterly dividend on it.

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PARTY NEWS.

For National Secretary. The following nominations were made for National Secretary for the ensuing year: William Malloy, by National Committee...

National Organizing Fund. The following contributions have been made to the National Organizing Fund since last report: National Committee...

'Referendum B, 1903' is Carried. At the meeting of the Quorum of the National Committee held in Omaha, Jan. 16, the returns on Referendum B, 1903, were canvassed...

Table with 2 columns: State, For Against. Lists states like Arizona, California, Colorado, etc., with corresponding vote counts.

This is the largest vote ever cast in a referendum of the party. The highest vote polled for and against any of the several propositions submitted...

National. Charters were granted from national headquarters last week to new locals at Moab, Utah, and Biloxi, Miss.

Robert Bandler's protest against the resignation of Howard H. Caldwell as National Committee member from Ohio on the ground of irregularity in the election...

The Eastern tour of A. M. and May Wood Smith will extend for five weeks from March 21 to April 28. Dates have been arranged by the National Secretary for Franklin and Marion Wentworth for their Eastern tour...

James F. Carey will enter Missouri Jan. 30, beginning at Thayer and continuing from that date as follows:

Jan. 31, Springfield, Mo.; Feb. 1, Nooshe; Feb. 2, Sedalia; Feb. 3, Chillicothe; Feb. 5, Dubuque, Ia.; Feb. 6, Des Moines; Feb. 7, Omaha, Neb.; Feb. 8, Plattsmouth. Carey will then go into Colorado for a couple of weeks.

The circulars and ballots for Referendum A, 1904, have been forwarded to all the state secretaries and locals in unorganized states.

National Committee Work of Iowa. The following resolutions were adopted: The National Committee be given an opportunity to vote upon the simple question, stripped of all entanglements...

For the Daily. Owing to the wish of many of the delegates to attend the Turner protest meeting, the regular meeting of the New York Globe Conference on Thursday, Jan. 14, was postponed...

New York City. The regular meeting of the State Committee did not take place on Jan. 12, as no quorum was present...

Nebraska. We are permitted by Comrade Stanton of Toledo to quote from a letter written him by Comrade Martin, who has for some weeks been in Omaha as an assistant to the National Secretary.

Pennsylvania. As the spring election is at hand each and every member of Local Allegheny is most earnestly requested to attend the meeting of the local held every Friday evening at Perry Hall...

There is a possibility that Local Charlier will publish a local English paper during the coming campaign. Local Marietta, Lancaster County, reports that Socialism is on the increase in that neighborhood.

FAOSMILE OF TICKET! GRAND LABOR INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITION No. 96449. Admission 10 Cts. APRIL 23 to MAY 6, 1904. Grand Central Palace, Lexington Ave., 43d & 44th Sts., New York.

day or evening should send his name and address, ward and division, and the name of Organizer John F. Taylor, 1295 Arch street in order to secure a watcher's certificate.

Illinois. During the year 1903 Illinois sold 18,729 dues stamps to the locals, which indicates an average paid-up membership of 1,561, and for the last three months, based on 5,349 stamps sold, an average of 1,783.

Iowa. The convention for the nomination of a municipal ticket in Des Moines will be held Jan. 23.

New Jersey. Fredrick Kraft will lecture on 'The Life and Times of Thomas Paine' in the lecture hall of the Socialist Party, 375 Central avenue, Jersey City, on Sunday evening, Jan. 31.

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Every comrade of Local Philadelphia who can serve as a watcher on the day of election, either during the day or evening should send his name and address, ward and division...

to be \$90.57, with expenditures of \$65.50. There were 236 members in good standing on Jan. 1, 1904.

Lecture Calendar FOR NEW YORK. Lectures for the week under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party and auxiliary organizations...

SUNDAY, JAN. 24. Tuxedo Hall, Fifty-ninth street and Madison avenue, 3 p. m. George D. Herron: 'Wagner and Tarsalfi.'

TUESDAY, JAN. 26. Downtown Young People's Social Democratic Club, 234 East Sixth street basement. Morris Hillquist: 'The Nature and Character of the Socialist Movement.'

FRIDAY, JAN. 29. West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall, northwest corner Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, second floor. Charles Dobbs: 'The Folly of Reform.'

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FRIDAY, JAN. 29. Wm. Morris Educational Society of Brownsville, Tobac's Hall, corner Thairford and Pitkin avenues. Debate on the economic interpretation of history...

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PROVIDENCE, R. I., Jan. 17.—On Dec. 20 Rev. Dr. Stang, a priest of this city, gave a lecture which was reported in the public press under big headlines, 'Rev. Dr. Stang Scores Socialism' and in which he said, among other things:

'Socialism, the latest child of irreligion and idealism, has gained a stronghold in America through our rational system of education.'

On Jan. 14 Dr. Stang replied, avowing the correctness of the reports, declaring that his lecture was intended as a public condemnation of Socialism, and then proceeding to decline the challenge on two grounds: First, 'I am quite ill with a serious attack of bronchitis, and second, 'I shall never leave the pulpit to engage in politics.'

Hawk and Handsaw Tales. TOLD BY BEN HANFORD. Theodore Roosevelt, Friend and Champion of Organized Labor.

President Roosevelt is a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and avails himself of every possible opportunity to show his friendship, devotion and loyalty to organized labor.

Regrettable as it may seem, there are some trade unionists who do not properly appreciate the President's services in their behalf. Such are the fate of greatness. Luch spurs such as Roosevelt's, whose whole life has been one long self-sacrificing sacrifice for organized labor...

Think of it, you dullards. Once organized, these men would have asked for higher wages. Some of them might spend their increased wages for more of the demon rum, and some of them would buy books, and some comforts to support a wife, would be sure to marry some girl who might better be at work...

Think of it, this man Turner would like to see a society in which children need not work either to support themselves or their parents. Oh, the folly of it. Instead of sending children to the department store, send them to school, and allow their little hands to get ideas above the station in life...

His Great Service to the I. T. U. Mr. Roosevelt's next opportunity to serve the cause of trade unionism was in the case of Mr. Miller, a man employed as foreman of a room in the Government Printing Office at Washington, D. C.

Every trade union in this country should pass resolutions thanking the President for his heroic championship of organized labor in this case. We union men must not forget our friends. We know not how soon we may need Roosevelt's aid again. And we can always rely on getting it, in the future—as in the past.

It is difficult to understand how the labor movement came to be without Roosevelt; or what would become of it, should Roosevelt leave it. But, there, some calamities are so appalling that the mind dare not contemplate them.

Recently John Turner came to this country from England, where for some years he had been successfully engaged in organizing unions of shop assistants-retail clerks, as we call them here. On arriving here Mr. Turner at once set about a systematic study of the American trade union movement, exchanging opinions freely with the workers in the labor movement here and doing all that he could to further the organization of labor.

covered Turner than Turner was lost. A scratch of the executive pen, a word to the faithful and ever ready Cortelyou, and John Turner was in a Federal cage on Ellis Island awaiting deportation to the land of the slave whose he came. Once again Theodore Roosevelt had shown to the world his unconquerable and soul-devouring determination to serve and uphold the cause of organized labor regardless of the cost.

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Did you ever think how easy it is to be what the world calls a thief when one is very cold or very hungry?—Progressive Worker.