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# WEEKLY PEOPLE

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## WHERE ARE WE AT?

DANIEL DE LEON ANSWERS THE QUESTION BEFORE WORKMEN.

The Importance of the Working Class Understanding Their Merchandise Character, and the Tactics Necessary to Remove It.

Elizabeth, N. J., Feb. 23.—The workmen of this city had the privilege yesterday of listening to a very instructive address, delivered by Daniel De Leon of New York. Dahmen's Hall was well filled and in the audience were many whose faces were new to the comrades. While the utterances of the speaker, clear, concise, simple and accompanied with apt illustration, could not fail to interest any intelligent workmen, none paid closer heed than the Party members present. As the meeting lasted for two hours, it would, of course, be impossible to give in a report of this kind anything like a comprehensive idea of what the speaker said. Even a stenographic report, cannot, in all respects, do justice to such an effort. The utterances may all be there, but just as a photograph lacks animation, so does the mere reproduction of words lack that life giving fervor with which they were uttered. However, in the hope that our account of a few points made by the speaker, may not be without worth to other comrades, we make this report.

Comrade De Leon's topic was: "Where Are the Workingmen At?" The speaker, in opening, laid great stress on the importance, nay, the prime necessity, of the worker understanding the company in which he is placed by the present social system. That company consists of things animate and inanimate, such as cattle, hogs, corn, hair pins, pig iron—a word, merchandise. An article of merchandise is anything customarily bought and sold for profit. The worker is in the merchandise category because, embodied in his being is the one thing that he has to sell, and, if unable to dispose of it, he must perish and die. That one thing which he has to sell is his labor power—power or ability to work and produce things. Under the present social system that labor power has qualities peculiar to all other forms of merchandise, and its price, that is wages, is controlled by the identical laws that control the price of pork, shoe strings, etc.—the law of supply and demand.

In support of the assertion that labor power is merchandise, the speaker drew attention to the importance of language as revealing the social conditions under which certain words and expressions were formed. We read and speak of the "labor market," the "stock market," the "shoe market," and other merchandise markets, but who ever heard use made of the expression "railroad president market"? To use such expression is meaning less, because the thing does not exist. There is no fact behind it. But we have the expression: "Labor Market," and the term is defined in the dictionary. It is a well known technical term expressive of a generally recognized fact. One hundred years ago, to have used the term: "Labor Market," would have expressed no more meaning than to use the expression "railroad president market" to-day. They had a potato market, a pork market and other markets then, but labor power was generally used by its owner for his own benefit and was not offered for sale as merchandise. The hand tool of those days, which made men practically equal, has been superseded by the gigantic machinery of to-day, requiring in many instances thousands to operate it. He who is not the owner of such gigantic tools must sell his labor power to him who does own them.

In all markets, the buyer ever seeks to pay as little as possible, while the seller endeavors to get as much as possible. In no market, save one, can the buyer dictate the price, not only that, but lower the price, by increasing the supply of the merchandise he wishes to purchase. That exception is the labor market. For instance, if fifty men, working ten hours a day, can, with improved machinery, produce as much as one hundred men did before without such improved machinery, fifty men have been added to the labor market, and this although not one more additional worker is on the scene than before.

The inevitable result of this increase in the supply of labor power is the same as an increase in the supply of any other merchandise, the price falls. So long as there is a labor market, through the agency of labor displacing machinery, that market is bound to be ever more and more overstocked and consequently the price is bound to keep going down. It will not go at a jump from one dollar to ten cents, but by a gradual decline it may even go below ten cents. Competition for labor is the acme of capitalism. No "reformer," let alone capitalist, proposes to take the workman from out the company of hogs, sheep and other

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To give the readers of The People an idea of what Mills's "institution" is, the following from the Kansas City Times will be helpful: "FOR A HOUSE OF 1,000 ROOMS. 'Purpose of Thomas Walter Mills in a Rosedale Land Purchase—Bought 12 1/2 Acres South of the Suburb and Will Build a Socialistic School and Dwelling—Rents to Be \$4 a Year Per Room. 'Walter Thomas Mills has made a contract to purchase for \$8,000 a tract of twelve and one half acres from Mrs. Emma X. Trickey, at the terminus of the Rosedale street car line. Preparations are already being made for building there for the International School of Social Economy. The school opens the second week in December, by which time the building will be ready for occupancy.

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"This school is entirely a private enterprise," said Mr. Mills last night. "While it teaches socialism it in no way attempts to practice it. I intend that socialism cannot be practiced until the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth. There is nothing co-operative or socialistic in the organization of this school. All the contracts are purely personal business contracts, such as might be made by any landlord. It is my scheme

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## BAY STATE

CONFERENCE OF PARTY MEMBERS ADOPT ENERGETIC MEASURES.

Movement Reported in Good Condition, Despite Efforts of Hostile Elements—Organizer to Be Put in Field, and Other Beneficial Steps to Be Taken to Promote Organization.

Boston, Feb. 22.—The State conference of the Socialist Labor Party of Massachusetts was held in Templar's Hall, 724 Washington street, to-day. The conference was called to order by John W. Ryan, secretary of the State executive committee, at 12 o'clock. Leon Greenman, of Boston, was elected chairman of the conference, and John F. Coyle, of Lynn, was elected secretary. The order of business proposed by Berry, of Haverhill, was adopted. The following committees were elected: On resolutions, Ryan, of Lynn; Bresnahan, of Boston, and Walsh, of Lynn; on organization, Young, of Boston; Berry, of Haverhill, and Oldham, of Lynn; on finance, Enger, of Boston; Stevens, of Boston, and Fitz-Gerald, of Boston; on press and literature, Bombach, of Boston; Devine, of Abington, and Nelson, of Boston.

The sections throughout the State reported that the movement was in good shape and that the members were getting ready to carry on active work when the weather became warmer. Stevens, of Boston, reported that the logical centrists before they got out of movement tried to discourage the members by attempting to get up a fight in Section Boston trivial matters; and when the Connolly meeting came before the section they tried to make a farce out of it, but the loyal comrades got together and made a success of it. The section had put out 30,000 leaflets in the State campaign and the same number of throw aways. After the State campaign the pure and simples used the Kanglets to try and discourage the members of the section, but they secured 1475 signatures and set up candidates in six of the aldermanic districts, but in two more of them we fell short; eleven names were secured in one and one in another district. We had nearly as many votes in the city election, while the Kangs lost about 5000 votes. Boston is doing good work at present for the press and party and inside of a year will be in splendid condition.

Brown, of Adams, said that there was a hotbed of pure and simples there, but the rank and file was beginning to wake up. Keefe, of Lynn, reported the section in good condition and that the act of the B. & S. W. U. and Kangaroos in furnishing strike-breakers, had given us a splendid chance for agitation. Farrell, of Lowell, told of the hard, persistent work Section Lowell was doing to get subs for The People. They had sent in over \$6000 in subs since August, 1902. The letter carriers had tried to block them by telling the subscribers if they didn't want the paper to let the postmaster know, but the scheme failed.

O'Brian, of Woburn, said: That the section was holding its own and would have a candidate for representative at a special election to be held shortly. The following resolutions were adopted and ordered submitted to a referendum vote: Resolutions on Fake Socialist Issues. Whereas, the members of the working class of the country, though the agitation of the Socialist Labor Party, are beginning to realize that Socialism is the only thing that can permanently better their condition; and,

Whereas, the capitalist class, realizing the danger of having the working class become intelligent as to what Socialism means, through their two decoy parties, the Democratic and fake "Socialist" (commonly called "Kangaroo"), seek to deceive the working class by advocating government ownership, which is, in reality, State capitalism, and does not in any way, seek to destroy the existing wages system, because it would not abolish the army of the unemployed or relieve the intense strain borne by the toilers in their present struggle for existence; and,

Whereas, both of these two parties seek to befuddle and blind the workers to their class interests by presenting these middle class issues, whose object is to side-track the movement for the emancipation of the working class, which is alone represented, on the political field by the Socialist Labor Party, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Socialist Labor Party, in conference assembled, calls attention to the fact that a movement that does not seek to abolish the capitalist system is unworthy of the support of the toilers; and we call upon the working class to give their united support to the Socialist Labor Party to put an end to this competitive sys-

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## "UNION" LABOR PARTY

IT HAS REALLY ARRIVED IN SAN FRANCISCO.

Declarations of Principles Prove It to Be a Capitalist Organization—"Socialist Influence Nil, as Usual"—Schmitz Given Back Seat.

Special to The Daily People. San Francisco, Feb. 27. Now as if the State Union Labor Party, has really arrived in California, a series of conferences with delegates from the U. L. P. of ten or twelve adjoining towns are being held alternately in Oakland and San Francisco. At the last session the foundation of a State party, was actually laid. A declaration of principles was adopted and a resolution decreeing that the party shall neither fuse with nor accept indorsement from any other political party, was passed. The declaration of principles is short and sententious. Its indorsers recognize certain inherent and natural rights, among which are "life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, etc." They fear that the means of production and distribution are passing into the hands of a few. They "therefore declare it to be the unalterable purpose of the Union Labor Party, to secure industrial freedom."

This expression, "industrial freedom," was once supposed to have a socialistic significance, but it has been banded about between the Kangaroos and the pure and simple leaders until it has been battered out of all recognition. Non, in the mouth of the bogus Socialist, who grasps at it as an excuse for enrolling himself in the union labor ranks, it is absolutely meaningless. In the above quoted "Declaration of Principles" it defines itself clearly, however, as the right to scramble for higher wages.

It is interesting to note the complete absence of "Socialist party" influence in this convention, as well as in all the many and various labor conferences held in this state during the past few weeks. The "boring from within" process carried on with so much fervor and religious zeal has met with the usual result.

Another noteworthy fact in the State conference is the silence of Mayor Schmitz, and the corresponding prominence of Michael Casey, formerly of the Teamsters' Union, now president of the S. F. board of health. The breach between the Casey and Schmitz factions of the U. L. P. in this city is widening fast, and Schmitz is losing ground. It seems improbable now that the illustrious "labor mayor" will receive the nomination for governor promised him so enthusiastically by the U. L. P. only last year.

BELMONT'S "SACRIFICE." Belmont's statement that he will not oppose the suggestion made by R. Fulton Cutting that the city "buy back" the franchise for the operation of the subway from the corporation headed by himself, is not to be taken as an indication of Belmont's willingness to sacrifice the capitalists he represents for those of the municipality. It simply means that the purchase can be accomplished if the sum offered is favorable to himself and associates. It may be taken for granted that the price offered will have to contain a profit that will appeal to the selling capitalists as "immensely satisfactory" to them. Thus will the city be held up again. First, it borrows the money to build the subway from Belmont's "coterie of capitalists" at a high rate of interest. Then it makes contracts with the same "coterie" for its construction, at a handsome profit to them. Not satisfied with that it turns the franchise for the operation of the tunnel over to them at a nominal figure and on easy terms. And now it is proposed to "buy back" that franchise—at a figure, no doubt, that will put millions more into the pockets of that "coterie of capitalists," and, by the issuance of more bonds at a high rate of interest for the purpose, make that "coterie of capitalists" the real and the city the nominal owner of the subway. This, we are told, is "municipal ownership." Capitalist ownership, it should be called, for that is what it rightly is.

and do such other work as the S. E. C. may direct. He shall be under control of the S. E. C. and shall have his salary fixed by it. There shall also be an organizer to work in Greater Boston. The party shall also act in conjunction with the Scandinavian Socialist Club in putting an organizer in the field to push the Arbitrators and to organize the Swedish workers into the Socialist Labor Party.

J. F. Coyle, Secretary Conference

# THE DIFFERENCE

The Socialist Labor Party seizes with joy the opportunity, long looked for to present in parallel columns, as it does below, its own answer, made nearly a year ago, and the answer of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic party, only now made to the question, What is the difference between the two?

The below documents, placed in parallel columns, will materially aid the thinking reader. They will aid him to determine—

Who it is that is careful and accurate in allegations of fact, so as to render them subject of verification, and who it is that utters allegations of fact in so vague a manner as to render verification impossible;

Who it is that reasons, and who it is that seeks to ram down conclusions without verifiable premises;

Who it is that "slings mud," "vilifies," "abuses" and "bluffs";

In short, which of the two parties it is that has a Cause it respects, has sense enough to respect the public and, consequently, deserves respect and confidence, and which of the two it is that assumes a posture of contempt for the public, and, consequently, betrays a Cause or purpose that is underserving of confidence.

[From the New York "Worker" (Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party organ) of January 6, 1903.]

## TO NEW READERS

### A STATEMENT ABOUT THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

For the Benefit of Those Who Have But Lately Become Interested in Socialism Attention is Called to Certain Important Facts.

We are frequently asked by new comrades to explain the difference between the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party. We learn from a study of the election returns that many new Socialist voters, who had no intention of endorsing the peculiar methods of the S. L. P., have been misled by its most inappropriate name. A statement on the subject is evidently needed.

The party which The Worker supports is known in the nation as the Socialist Party. In New York on account of certain provisions of the election laws, it is obliged to call itself the Social Democratic Party; its emblem in New York is the Arm and Torch.

The Socialist Labor Party is an entirely separate and hostile organization. The similarity of name renders it only the more important that the distinction be made clear.

The present Socialist Party was formed three years ago by the union of the old Social Democratic Party, organized in 1897, with the majority faction of the old Socialist Labor Party, which had split in the summer of 1899. The minority faction, led by Daniel De Leon, was adjudged by the capitalist courts to be entitled to the use of the old party name, and that name it still holds and abuses.

This Socialist Party or Social Democratic Party polled about 97,000 votes in 1900, with Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman as its national candidates; in 1902 it increased its vote to about 330,000. The Socialist Labor Party polled less than 55,000 in 1900 and less than 50,000 (many of them through misunderstanding) in 1902.

The leading question of party principle (it may even be called a question of principle) which was at issue in the split of 1899 was that of the attitude of the party toward the trade unions. The opponents of De Leon held that the party, as the political organization of the working class, and the unions, as its economic organization, should work fraternally, though independently, in their separate fields. The De Leonites maintained that it was necessary to "smash" all existing unions and went so far as to organize rival unions to scab upon them.

Since the split while the Socialist Party or Social Democratic Party has vigorously attacked capitalism and taught Socialist principles, the Socialist Labor Party, disgracing its once honorable name, has devoted its efforts almost exclusively to two objects: First, to hamper the growth of the Socialist Party; second, to attack, undermine, or disrupt the trade unions; the extent of its vituperation, sophistry, and brazen falsehood which has been devoted to these unworthy objects by De Leon and his followers can hardly be imagined by those who have not closely followed their record.

The difference between our party and the Socialist Labor Party may be summed up under four heads:

1. We fight against capitalism all the time, giving to the rival organization only so much attention as is necessary to prevent misunderstanding, confusion, and disappointment among new Socialists; the S. L. P. fights us, and treats the propaganda of Socialism as a secondary matter.
2. We support the trade unions, without seeking to interfere in their special work or allowing them to devote to us in ours; the S. L. P. seeks the works for the destruction of the trade unions with a vigor second only to that with which it attacks us; not content with denunciation, it has even gone into the economic field to form rival unions and scab upon the existing ones.
3. We regulate our internal affairs by democratic methods, believing that only so can the organization be kept pure and the members trained for their growing responsibility as Socialists;

(Continued to column 3.)

[Extracts from a Socialist Labor Party Leaflet, brought down to date.]

On July 10, 1899, a set of men, called together by the "New Yorker Volkszeitung," the private corporation that owns the "Worker," of that day, met on the Bowery. Without any warrant of right, they styled themselves the General Committee of Section New York; proceeded to "depose" all the officers of Socialist Labor Party,—national, State and local—; and decreed into their own hands the Party property:—the Party's name, emblem, and English organ, THE PEOPLE.

This little mob then armed itself with clubs, and sought to invade the Party's premises, and take possession. They were expected, and were kicked down and out.

They then proceeded to invoke the aid of the capitalist courts to carry out their plan of taking possession. By an uninterrupted series of final victories in court, the Socialist Labor Party repelled the assailants, and maintained its rights. Its name, its emblem and its press remained in its hands.

Thus, twice roundly beaten on the very fields that the above-named little mob had chosen to fight on—the field of physical encounter on the night of July 10, and subsequently the capitalist courts—, these "Volkszeitung" gentlemen felt cold and lonesome, and, together with their kin in other parts of the country, they rushed to conceal their smallness in the "Social Democratic," which has since adopted the name of the "Socialist," party.

The series of steps taken by the leaders of the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist," party in setting up a party in opposition to the Socialist Labor Party, were taken to the tune of "Tyranny!" "Freedom!"

What was the "Tyranny!" that these gentlemen were fleeing from, and what the "Freedom" that they were fleeing to?

The following record of their feats answers the thrilling question:

In 1900, the Social Democrat, John C. Smith, ran in the Worcester, Mass., district on both the Democratic and the Social Democratic party tickets, with the knowledge, consent and approval of his Social Democratic organization.

In that same year, G. A. Hoehn of St. Louis, now a member of the National Executive Committee of the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist," party, joined the deputy sheriffs, of his city during the St. Louis street car strike.

In that same year the Social Democrats in the municipal government of Brockton, Mass., voted franchises to private corporations, free, gratis and for nothing.

In the spring of 1901, the Social Democrat, Morris Eichmann, ran for office in West Hoboken, N. J., on the Republican, the Democratic, the Citizens and the Social Democratic tickets, with the knowledge, consent and approval of his Social Democratic organization.

In the fall of 1901, the Social Democrat, Andrew Holmes, a political job-holder, as street commissioner, by the grace of the Democratic party, ran for office on the Social Democratic ticket in Peekskill, N. Y.

In the fall of 1901, the Social Democrat, Edward Straub, ran for office in Syracuse on the Social Democratic ticket, and simultaneously figured on the official Democratic primary ballot, and as a delegate to the Democratic ward convention.

In Peekskill, N. Y., Seth Tabor figures as a Social Democrat and is a political job-holder by the grace of the Republican party.

In San Francisco, Cal., two Social Democrats, Everett and King applied to the Democratic mayor for political jobs in 1900, got them and kept them, with the approval of their Social Democratic organization.

In Troy, N. Y., John Foley, a notorious ward heeler for the Democratic ex-Senator Murphy, ran in 1901 on the Social Democratic ticket for president of Common Council, while openly declaring he would vote the Democratic ticket straight.

In 1901, a New York city Social Democrat, Albert F. Hoeltzer, appeared as vice-president on an official call for a "German Tammany Hall" meeting on the West Side, without even provoking the censure of his Social Democratic organization.

In Haverhill, Mass., James A. Carey, Social Democrat, alias "Socialist" party

(Continued to column 4.)

(Continued from column 1.) The S. L. P. is ruled by its leader and dissent from his views is punished by suspension or expulsion.

4. In advocating the cause of Socialism we seek to convince men by argument and appeals to their intelligent interest and their feelings of honor or humanity; the S. L. P. depends upon abusive epithets, lies, and "bluff."

We would not, of course, question that the majority of the members of the S. L. P. are honest men and Socialists. Most of them are either misinformed or blinded by fanaticism. They are learning, one by one, and either leaving the S. L. P. or being forced out of it. But the S. L. P. as an organization, takes its whole policy from De Leon; and, without asserting that he is a capitalist agent, employed to breed dissension in the labor movement, we do say that his conduct for some years has been just that by which such an agent would best serve his employers. The S. L. P. actually plays into the hands of the capitalist class; so long as it follows its present course under its present leadership it cannot be recognized as a genuine Socialist party.

This article is intended as a warning to those who are new to the movement and who naturally suppose that the Socialist Labor Party is a bona fide Socialist organization, or who do not even observe the distinction between it and the Socialist Party. If any of our readers doubt the fairness of our statements we suggest that they investigate for themselves—attend the meetings and read the papers and pamphlets of both parties and thoughtfully compare them. If anyone candidly prefers the methods of the S. L. P. he does not belong with us and we do not want him. All we desire is that the distinction between the parties should be recognized as it actually exists, and that men who approve of the methods of the Socialist Party—as represented, for instance, in The Worker—should not unwittingly cast their votes or their influence on the other side.

[Note.—The Worker would gladly ignore this question, were it not that circumstances imperatively demand that the facts in question should be made generally known. The foregoing matter, or other matter to similar effect, will appear again in next week's issue of The Worker; and thereafter, as long as the need continues, the warning will be repeated at least every three or four weeks. As each issue of The Worker reaches several thousand persons who are not regular subscribers nor party members, such publication will materially aid in doing away with the confusion.]

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## The Question

### Remains:

### On The

### Charges Made By

### The S. L. P.

### The Bogus

### Socialist Party

### Answers



Consolidation seems bound to let no profitable industry escape. Theology is to come under its direct sway: the various publication offices of the Methodist Book Concern—a multi-million corporation—are to be consolidated.

Germany says she's willing to wait for the Venezuelan payments. As a surrender to the inevitable, this is truly Teutonic in its philosophy.

(Continued from column 2.) man, voted a \$15,000 appropriation for an armory, declares he would do it again, and his conduct passes even unchallenged by his Social Democratic organization.

In New York city the Volkszeitung, German organ of the Social Democracy, notoriously took money to advertise capitalist political candidates.

At the election held in Webster, Mass., on April 7, 1902, John E. Carty appeared as candidate for town clerk on the "Socialist" (Social Democratic) party official ticket and also on the regular Democratic party official ticket.

At the same election held in the same place, James Farrell appeared as the candidate for warden on the regular Democratic party official ticket and also on the Social Democratic or "Socialist" party official ticket.

At the same election and same place Webster, Mass., election, Martin V. B. Back ran simultaneously on the official tickets of both the Social Democratic alias "Socialist" party, and of the regular Democratic party for assessor.

In Peekskill, N. Y., at the election held March 4, Seth Tabor ran on the Social Democratic ticket for village trustee, and was endorsed by the regular Democratic party, whose press did all it could to promote his election, and the endorsement was not repudiated by the Social Democratic party.

In Abington, Mass., at the election held March 3, 1902, Charles H. Bickford ran for park commissioner simultaneously on the official ballots of the regular Democratic and the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist," parties.

In the same town and at the same election, Frank C. Bates appeared as the official candidate on the official ballots of the Citizens and of the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist," party.

At the elections of 1902, E. J. Livernash was a Democratic and a "Socialist" party candidate in the Fourth San Francisco Congressional District.

At the elections in November, 1902, in New Britain, Ct., Geo. W. Klett ran for Judge of Probate on the Republican and the so-called Socialist ticket.

In Mesa County, Colorado, C. P. McCary, Democratic alderman of Second Ward, Grand Junction, ran for Senate on the so-called Socialist ticket.

On November 23, the Marion, Ind., local of the so-called Socialist party was reorganized by the State Committee with one John W. Kelly who, elected to the City Council on the "Socialist" ticket, voted franchises to private corporations. He "had broken no rules" was the argument for Kelly.

In Belleville, Ill., John Wachter, organizer of the so-called Socialist party, is a worker for the Democratic party.

At the spring election of 1903 in Schuylkill county, Pa., the so-called "Socialist," alias Social Democratic party, fused with the Republican party in the Kline township, and with the Democratic party in Rahm township.

These are but a few of the undeniable facts in the official and unsavory record of the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist," party on the political side. Its record on the industrial side of the Labor Movement cuts an equally broad swath of treason to the working class.

There is no act of infamy committed by the Labor Lieutenants of the Hannas against the welfare of the working class but the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist," party either shuts its eyes to or applauds. Whether it is the furnishing of deputy marshals to the cigar manufacturers of Tampa, in order to lower the wages of the "Spanish workers"; or whether it is the helping of the employers of machinists to deceive these into believing that they have won a victory; or whether it is the bleeding of the workers for money under the false pretence of keeping up a strike, when the real reason is to support a lot of scamps as "pickets" and "strike committees" long after the strike is known to be hopelessly lost, as in the great cigarmakers' strike in New York city in 1900; or whether it is the base surrender of the miners' strike at the hour of victory by John Mitchell;—whatever the infamy may be that these Labor Lieutenants of the Hannas have in hand, the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist," party and its press stand by them, praise their conduct as a "noble waging of the class struggle," and spew its columns at the Socialist Labor Party for fearlessly opposing that scabby pack of Labor Lieutenants of the capitalist class.

Is there any doubt what the "Tyranny!" is that the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic, party condemns in the Socialist Labor Party? Is there any doubt what the "Freedom!" is that that bogus Socialist concern is after?

The Social Democratic, alias "Socialist," party is a decoy duck of the capitalist parties.

The Socialist Labor Party is the sole political organization that intrepidly and unsmashably faces the foe of the working class. It alone is entitled to the support of a serious, honorable and intelligent man.

Bishop Potter's lecture on "Right Thinking" looks like a case of the blind leading the blind.

Out West, in South Dakota, some Indian squaws were mistaken for braves and permitted to vote. Many old women in trousers who look like men are permitted to vote here, and no comment is made about it, either.

## A DOCUMENT

### On Present Status of the "Socialist," Alias Social Democratic, Party.

The below is not the irresponsible vaporing of a lampoonist. It is the utterance of a national officer—a national committeeman—George E. Boomer, addressing his constituents of the State of Washington. It is his observations gathered at the recent meeting of the national committee at St. Louis, and from observation of his party generally.

This is what he says:

THOUGHTS, BY YOUR UNCLE.  
There is one thing for which I am grateful to the Washington comrades, and that is for the honor of being their first national committeeman of the Socialist Party. It may be true that I have not always pleased all the comrades, and I may confess that I have not tried to measure my acts by the applause that might or might not follow. Being a member of the working class, I have necessarily seen the needs of the Socialist movement through working class spectacles, and if I should ever change the view I have held in the past it will be because I honestly believe the interests of my class demand the change.

The first meeting of the national committee a year ago was not marked by any particular important phases. It was simply a getting together of the sentiment of the various States, and the preponderance of working class representation precluded any untoward action that would set the party by the ears.

This year it is different. The last meeting of the national committee will mark an epoch in the history of the working class movement. Previous to going to St. Louis I was, like lots of locals and comrades elsewhere, almost convinced that the meeting was useless and meant unnecessary expense to the party. But now, comrades of Washington, I tell you that no more important meeting has been or will be held by the representatives of any party.

There was hardly a national committeeman but who went to St. Louis prepared and instructed to decapitate the local quorum because of the latter's position regarding fusion with union labor parties.

And when we arrived at St. Louis and had gotten fairly under headway, the situation resolved itself into this: Everybody wanting to chop off the heads of the national officers, and yet the committeemen divided by two reasons for no less, and the line that divided was so doing immovable because invisible. The minority, which included myself, felt that the officials should be removed at once for overriding and trampling upon the sentiment of the party against fusion with any party should be held true to working class needs. The other committeemen, and who were in the majority, objected to fusion also, but as the proceedings went on it became clear that they also desired the national officers removed in the hope that they, as representatives of the middle class, might control the party.

I, like a few others, did not see this at first, and after the local quorum had aided us in electing Wm. Mailly as secretary, the quorum was removed in order that "business might go on without hindrance," and from that moment the middle class sentiment reigned supreme. I offer the minutes of the meeting as evidence, and urge a close reading of the same.

Even an effort was made by Mills to reduce the national dues to one or two cents a month instead of five, on the ground that an immediate and immense swelling of the membership from the agrarian element would follow as a result of the reduction. The effort failed, but it wavered in the balance for a few moments in indecision.

I do not wish to question for a moment the honesty of those comrades who supported the faction of which Mills was leader. They no doubt want Socialism as bad as do any of the proletariat, but it is to the ultimate the latter look not for an immediate advance.

I went to St. Louis with the convictions that the great danger that threatened the movement was the fusion with union labor parties. I came away positive in the knowledge that the union labor party fusion, while a perplexing and somewhat threatening figure in the path of our party, is not to be mentioned in the same breath with the overshadowing domination of the middle class that already controls numberless locals and more than one state, and is even now shaping our policy and writing our platforms in a way that leads directly from working class revolution into middle-class reforms.

Conviction No. 2.—That the Socialist Party, to be a true representative of the working class, must confine its membership to those who are bona fide wage workers. Made up, as it is, of members who, thought united on the ultimate of our ideal, have yet separate and opposing immediate interests, there must always be contentions and splits as long as an attempt is made to mix or harmonize the conflicting interests. The trades union, no matter how ignorant it may be of the ultimate demand of the workers, is still, nevertheless, a true working class movement, for the sole reason that it confines its membership to bona fide members of the working class.

Conviction No. 3.—That the Socialist party is at this moment suffering more from the infusion of the middle class

than from fusion with the union labor parties. (Please don't say I favor the latter. I am pointing out which of the dangers I consider the greater.) Note attempt of Northport local to induce a democrat, who is a druggist closely connected with the smelter company, to run for mayor in order to win more votes. Note the bitter fight on in Colorado between the bona fide wage workers in the party and the "Crusaders" and the Mills school professors. Note the Utah conditions, in which the middle class practically again control. Note Spokane and the middle class idea that all men, being honest, are entitled to be our candidates whether members of our party or not.

I must remain true to the class to which I belong—the wage workers—and before I will submit to the domination of my class and their interests by another class with opposing immediate interests, I will turn for aid to those organizations which I know are controlled, however ignorant that control may be, by the working class.

Not alone should those in sympathy with the working class, but those not of it, be willing to accept and fight for the ultimate ideal—Socialism—of the working class, but before they come into the party they should show, also, their willingness to stand and fight for the immediate material interests of the working class, with which their own immediate material interests, as members of another class, must of necessity be in conflict.

As I put it to Comrade Gilbert when in Spokane: "The locals in this country are controlled by the farmer element?" "Yes." "Well, if you hold a county convention and nominate candidates for the legislature, those candidates will of necessity, most of them, be from the small farm owning class?" "Yes." "Well, suppose a piece of legislation came up, say, legalizing the formation of unions that the latter may organize the farm laborers and give them a ten-hour day instead of a sixteen or twenty, how will the farmers vote? Will they vote for their own interests or for the interests of the workers? If they can, by legislation, shut off competition from British Columbia and elsewhere and head off the oleomargarine factories, thereby giving them, the farmers, a chance to boost their butter to 50 cents a pound, and eggs to 40 cents a dozen, will they vote for that, their own interest, or for the interest of the wage workers, for which they are supposed to stand, and give them their 10-cent eggs and 15-cent butter?"

The danger of which I speak will not be seen clearly until we elect some of our middle class members, and legislation by them is taken up. Then the danger will be seen, but it will be too late.

Let us not fight a bugaboo, comrades. The real danger is middle class domination of our party.

The covert suggestion of one of the comrades that we change the name of the Socialist Party to "Mills Party" was ill-timed, at least at present. But many a joking jest becomes a sad truth, as we may learn in the future, when the sixty odd graduates of the school, who talk Mills first, school second, and the Socialist Party third, have swelled to several hundred, and are reinforced with Mills' new magazine, "The Teacher," which they will sell in exclusion to all other literature.

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WILL SOCIALISTS SELL OUT?

Poverty and Fear of Poverty are the Parents of Crime and Vice

One often hears the question: "While it is true that the old parties are corrupt, what guarantee have we that Socialists in power would not be a corrupt?" This question proceeds from a number of false premises. First, it proceeds from the idea that man is inherently bad. Over this theological dogma the history of mankind has written in big letters, "It is a lie on man." Any one who comes into intimate contact with men and women in distress must have been struck with their innate goodness. Despite all trials and temptations the irrepressible pressure to goodness and purity asserts itself. That man is the reverse of inherently bad may be judged from the quantity of good qualities that show themselves in the teeth of the most adverse conditions. It is hunger and want, and fear of these, that turn men into devils. To preserve life, they become pimps, rascals, thieves, burglars, prostitutes, cannibals, hyenas. A great Chinese philosopher stated this in the maxim: "Man may be compared with water; water tends naturally down, but by artificial means it may be made to flow upwards, even away above its source, so man tends naturally upwards, but can be lashed by artificial means down, even below source."

way of preaching history and economics was to write novels, and among these novels we have some of the most valuable historic sketches of our early history. "Moll Flanders" is pre-eminently valuable in this respect. From that work we learn how the robbers, petty thieves and prostitutes, were deported to the Virginias, and how with time these "wicked" people, branded though their backs, necks and hands were, became the heads of the colonies, some dispensing justice with uncompromising rectitude, others honorably filling distinguished positions, and the ex-prostitutes leading exemplary lives at unsullied hearths. Hunger and want had turned them into bandits in their mother country, where the avenues to the earning of an honorable livelihood were shut up to them. In the Virginias these avenues were open, and the crime that in the former place covered them all over like leprosy, fell off in the latter as scabs fall from a healed wound. But the lesson given by our country on this subject does not end there. See what followed. Free opportunities to earn an honorable livelihood had turned criminals into virtuous people. In proportion as these opportunities began to be shut up here, crime sprouted up. This has gone on to such an extent that, so far from curing, our country has become a leading promoter of crime, as much, if not more so, than any other country in civilization. There is more crime committed here now, relatively and ab-

solutely, than anywhere else. The New York Sun once said that it is not difficult to get a man in New York to commit murder for \$1. Nor can we claim that the criminals are furnished to us ready-made by immigration. The immigrants' crimes are mainly the petty ones of drunkenness, or deeds of violence that result from a quick temper. But the large majority of such crimes as imply moral turpitude, the crimes which Dante ranks among the vilest, those that are tainted with fraud, breach of trust, etc., such as expert forgeries, embezzlements, these are mainly committed by our native citizens. No country illustrates better than ours the fact that man would do right if he had a chance, but that poverty and the fear of poverty will lash man down from his natural inclination. Another flaw lies in a virtual admission of socialist premises and then, without attempting any argument whatever, escape their conclusions. In the matter of poverty and morals, socialism proceeds from the premises that involuntary poverty is the result of the present system, which leaves in the hands of private individuals for their private profit the people's machinery of production, without which the masses are held the dependent paupers of the few. Upon this principle it has drawn up its programme, and upon that programme the Socialist Labor Party stands—the collective ownership of the people's machinery of production—land and capital. From the

establishment of such a social system the Socialist expects the disappearance of the bulk of the crime and wickedness of to-day. Those who question this conclusion must first show that poverty and the fear of poverty are not the cause of crime; but if they admit that principle, then they must show that the Socialist system would not abolish poverty and the fear of poverty. They must show either of both of these things first, before they are justified in questioning the purity of the future Socialist legislators. Until they have disproved both of the Socialist postulates upon these two points, all doubts as to future purity is a begging of the question. Finally, the question proceeds from the false premise that socialism proposes to establish the millennium. Such a notion can proceed only from capitalistically trained brains. The Socialist is an evolutionist. He denies the "standstill" notion of the capitalist philosophy. He knows that the higher the heights of civilization man reaches, the clearer will still higher heights present themselves to the view, and draw man toward them. Socialism aims not at an ideal but at a practical, not at a remotely distant but at a near, object to be attained—the placing the people's machinery of production into the hands of the people collectively. This is the programme of the Socialists. Will they carry it out? Upon what ground could a doubt be based that Socialists will be true to their programme? By what process of

reasoning could one arrive at the conclusion that they would, once in power, perpetrate rather than overthrow, the capitalist system? We have it upon the authority of no less a man than John Jay, that, to use his own words, "there were a lot of damned rascals" in our first Federal Constitutional Convention; and yet our Revolutionary fathers never for a moment swerved from the programme upon which they took up arms—"that these colonies are and of right ought to be free"; the abolition of British rule was confirmed, the establishment of the Republic went on as a matter of course. Take the old Republican party. It did not consist of millennium angels, yet the programme that tacitly with many, and expressly with some, animated their campaign was stuck to a "L". And finally, take even these Democratic and Republican capitalists of to-day. A worse corruption-infected set can ill be imagined; and yet can any one charge them with being false to their capitalist interests? To those interests they yield a loyalty that well deserves a nobler cause—as our working people know from sad experience. Consequently, to imagine that, with the power in their hands, Socialists will betray their programme is a gratuitous assumption. They will carry out that programme the same as all others have carried out theirs, and all the reader because their programme will remove from mankind the tempter—temptation through poverty and the fear of poverty.

ardor once the whistle was between his lips. After breakfast we formed in line and marched to the hall, some seventy or eighty strong. The passers-by looked at us curiously and one who observed that some were backwoodsmen and some from the city remarked that it looked like a lot of farmers in the tow of bunco steegers. On our breasts we had paper badges pinned. On the badges was printed: PEOPLE'S PARTY In New Jersey, 1892, WEAVER & FIELD. Joseph R. Buchanan, because he was a national committeeman, was elected chairman and John W. Hayes, of Knights of Labor fame, secretary. Hayes having but one arm, an assistant secretary was elected. In the opening preliminaries there was a little sparring, but it was soon evident that the straightout Populists were in the majority. But this proved a source of weakness. Some of the staunchest men, apparently, would urge that no offence be given to the freaks, so the freaks had their revenge by loading down the platform with the most contradictory things. Long platforms, baited to catch everybody were a feature of Populism in those days. Often tacked on to the platform there would be a string of resolutions as long as the platform itself. One of the delegates had been to the Omaha convention, and he told of the scenes there. How men had marched about the hall alternately weeping and cheering, after the adoption of the platform and the naming of a ticket. The State convention nominated a State ticket and elected a State committee. It was at this convention that I first met Matthew Maguire, who was a delegate. He nominated his father, Christopher Maguire, as a presidential elector. I, too, came home with a similar honor. This was the beginning of my career as a "chronic office seeker," as a capitalist paper once put it. (To be Continued.)

Depths of Glaciers. Ever since Prof. Tyndall first discovered the movement of glaciers, attempts have been made by scientists to ascertain the exact depths of these natural phenomena by boring. Their efforts, however, have not been attended with very conspicuous success, owing to mechanical difficulties that have been encountered. But Prof. Blumcke and Hess, from Bavaria, who are well known for their studies of glaciers, have succeeded in boring through the Hintereis glacier in the Otztal Alps, and found the ice to be 153 meters deep. The machine used for boring was driven by hand, and somewhat resembled that usually employed for experimental boring in mines, but was fitted with special arrangements for washing out fragments of ice from the bore hole to prevent their freezing together again. The expenses of the investigation, which is of incalculable benefit to science, were defrayed by the German and Austrian Alpine Clubs. Leather Bindings. A very striking instance of the deterioration of leather, produced under conditions demanding quicker tanning by the use of various chemicals, thus decreasing the durability of the material, is afforded by the fact that the British Museum expends \$20,000 a year in rebinding books in leather. Modern leather is widely different from the material produced by what is now regarded as an effete process, its life being limited to fifteen years. In the search for cheaper and quicker processes of making leather, large quantities of sulphuric acid are used, and this chemical, in combination with others, causes the material to decompose rapidly in the course of a few years.

PRIVATE PROPERTY

IS HELD BY THE GRACE OF THE PEOPLE. Attempt to Throw Upon Capital the Guilt of a Sacred Thing—Franklin's View—Capital and the Crown—Capitalists and Tories Parallel Cases.

The frequency with which the expression "rights of property" is used by the capitalist press, and especially the sense in which it appears, cannot fail to arouse the attention of the watchful. If the talk were about the "rights of property" in the same sense in which one would say the "rights of guardians," the "rights of lawyers," the "rights of the Street-Cleaning Department," etc.—in the sense of the rights conveyed by law, by statute, by the Constitution—there would be nothing surprising in the expression. That which renders it surprising and passing significant is that it is used in a very different, much more comprehensive sense. The capitalist organs do not say: "Property has its rights created and guaranteed by law, and while these laws stand, those rights shall be enforced"; nor yet do they say: "The laws shall not be changed upon which the rights of property rest." Their language is, on the contrary, intended to convey the idea that the "rights of property" are outside, over and above the law. They mean to convey the idea that these "rights of property" are inherent, that they are a sort of inherent attribute, that there is something sacred about them; indeed, not infrequently they use the expression "the sacred rights of property."

Along the signs of the times these expressions rank among the most telling. There is no difference between them and the expression: the "sacred, inherent rights of the crown." All start from the same source: they have the same object in view. The attribute of "inherent," or "inalienable," or "sacred" rights to things enjoyed by some individuals, who thereby acquire privileges and powers over others, was from the start a device to weaken the weak-minded, play upon superstition, and subjugate the people. The "rights of the crown" was a hundred and odd years ago, the charmed weapon with which the Britishers and our American Tories sought to disarm the patriots. The former had no arguments with which to oppose the latter; even the weapons of force had little effect upon the Revolutionary spirit; there remained nothing but to mystify them, and accordingly, the "rights of the crown" was a phrase thrown at them with the expectation that they would be awed. The trick did not stand. The Revolutionary fathers knew better than to imagine any such sacred and inherent rights; they knew that there were no private rights whatever except such as man creates, that the creator of a right is also its extinguisher, annuler; they kept on their undisturbed career; and the rights which they declared "inalienable" and sacred were declared to rest in man and to be universal. To-day some but booties look upon the crown as anything sacred. Even in monarchial countries, the king or queen is declared to be such "by the grace of God," only as a pious fiction; it is well known that they are there by "the grace of the people." Our Revolutionary fathers acted up to this conviction. When they pledged them, they withdrew their feet from the crown and let it drop; and they pledged them to do just as

POLITICAL WANDERINGS

Including Excursions Into Pentecostism and Populism.

At the very moment that I was in danger of flying off the handle, and becoming one of those bigoted mortals, who think not of material things, but things spiritual, bind the race, a free-thinking crank, I ran across a little leaflet, which, though it saved me from that fate turned my thought in another direction, and, alas, started me on years of vain wandering in the wilderness. What would I now not give had it been a copy of The People that first attracted my attention! My youthful enthusiasm and effort would not have been, as they were, wasted. The leaflet contained one of Hugh O. Pentecost's Sunday lectures, as they were published before the starting of the "Twentieth Century," of which Pentecost became the editor.

All that I remember of it now was that it touched on some phase of industrialism and to me it was a revelation. It so happened that I was just ripe for something of the kind. Conditions in my then occupation were growing worse and the irksomeness chafed more and more each day. Among my associates there was a strange resignation to all this. Conditions were cursed but never discussed. Newspaper taddle, base ball, prize fighting, horse racing, these had their adherents pro and con, and were the only subjects talked of, if indeed, we had any time to talk at all. Considering graduation from such a school, it is perhaps not to be wondered at, that what seemed so new and strange, and, in a measure in line with a vague feeling of unrest due to discontent, should be so eagerly devoured.

The next Sunday night I was a eager listener at Pentecost's lecture. I found him a polished platform orator. I was somewhat surprised at seeing so many "respectable" people present, because I remembered having read that he appealed to the passions of the "rabble." That was before I read his lecture. Afterward I remembered why the "rabble" didn't turn out in droves to hear such a, as it happened to me, hopeful message. Until Pentecost gave up lecturing and left the "Twentieth Century," I was a faithful follower. When he finally quit I felt as if the sun had gone out forever. Pentecost studied law and was admitted to the bar. I recalled with what indignation I spurned the thought suggested by some one, that he had gone to Florida to pass for the bar, as the examination was easier there. Long after Pentecost started to practice law I continued to call on him. I interviewed him for a Connecticut "labor" paper and he complimented it as the most faithful report he had ever received.

My last visit to Pentecost was a memorable one. I found that he "despaired" of the workmen ever doing anything for themselves. Anyway they were only fitted to be beasts of burden, and when they rose against such oppression should be put down with an iron hand. I have never seen Pentecost since and was not surprised when he afterward tried to land a public office at the hands of Tammany. But though he recanted, that organization, which can use most anything, could not stomach him. J. W. Sullivan, high priest of the referendum, became the moving spirit of the "Twentieth Century" after Pentecost. It was through Sullivan that I became acquainted with some Nationalists in Jersey City. Nationalism was then on its last legs and the Jersey City club had given up its parlor meetings. In the summer of 1892 the press gave

POLITICAL WANDERINGS

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more or less space to the new political manifestation that was creating such an upheaval in the West. At Omaha, on July 4, was witnessed the birth of the People's Party, offspring of the Farmers' Alliance. The wave rolled eastward and someone issued a call for a meeting to organize the new party in Jersey City. A Nationalist called my attention to it. This suited me exactly. Pentecostism, which had been wholly critical, gave no opportunity for action and passive resistance was not entirely to the taste of some who regularly listened to Hugh O. Pentecost.

The Jersey City meeting was held on August 13, 1892, and of those present fifteen signed their names as believers in the Omaha platform, the "Second Declaration of Independence." This meeting was my first experience with organization. Of those who signed I knew but one. It seems that word had gone forth from K. of L. headquarters to boom the new movement. It was noticed that three or four of the joiners called each other brother and would address the occupant of the chair as "master workman" instead of by the stereotyped title. These men knew all about motions and those other things that lubricate the wheels of organization, and they could address the rest without embarrassment. These accomplishments made them loom up very big in the eyes of the novice.

We had weekly meetings and soon had about 40 members. They were a motley crew so far as opinions went. First there were the labor men who harped on the eight-hour day, weekly payment of wages, abolition of contract labor on public work, etc. Then we had a flat money man, who supported populism as a step in the "right direction"; a single taxer, who professed a liking for land nationalization, but was really boring from within by trying to convert us to Georgism. The greatest bore, and borer, however, was a "direct legislation" man, whose parrot cry: "Let the people make the laws!" I hear even now. Nothing ever stumped him, or any of the rest for that matter; but there were others who had some sort of a concrete idea as to what they were organized for. Between these freaks and those who were honestly radical, there was continual bickering. Instead of putting the freaks down the radicals would back and fill—trim any old way so as not to lose any support. We, of course, knew nothing about the philosophy of the class struggle and had to learn the lesson by bitter experience.

At Omaha a national committee had been organized and John Wilcox and Joseph A. Buchanan were elected as New Jersey's representatives. A call was issued for a State convention to meet in Trenton on Labor Day. It was a mass convention and whoever could pay his own expenses was eligible as a delegate. The Direct Legislation league, which some of us learned was merely a tail to the Democratic party, began to take a lively interest in our approaching convention. So far as we could get an inkling of what they were up to, their plan was to switch any organization that we might effect into the league, and thus prevent the making of nominations. The league was non-partisan. Its purpose was to get a direct legislation plank into the platforms of all parties and thus be sure of getting what they wanted!

On this matter some of us went to see Buchanan and to our surprise we found that he was a supporter of the league. I won't say positively but I am strongly of the impression that he was a member. The more one learned of this league the more fishy its character appeared and as Buchanan pooh-poohed us, we opened up a correspondence with the chairman of the Eastern division of the national committee, who lived in Boston. He was anxious for the organiza-

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tion to spread in the East, and that nothing might thwart our efforts, he gave us the weight of his presence and attended the convention. In order to look over the ground and to be prepared for what might follow, our delegation, six or eight in all, went to Trenton the night before the day set for the convention. In the call for the convention a prominent hotel had been named as headquarters and there we put up. We were not the only ones who had taken time by the forelock. We soon singled out the straight People's party men and till long after midnight we did nothing but caucus. What to do with the freaks was the problem—or rather how to prevent the freaks from doing us. A few were for allowing no participation in the convention, save by those who would unqualifiedly agree to support the Omaha platform and People's party ticket. We were frowned down as hot-headed youngsters who knew not the ways of politics. It was all very interesting, and to a beginner very exciting. After a few hours sleep we got down to breakfast. The dining room was filled with delegates. I sat at a table opposite a lank Yankee looking like individual, but benign of countenance. Down his back flowed long blonde locks which many women, no doubt, envied him. By my side sat a farmer from the scrub oak region of the State. When the dignified waiter leaned with condescending grace to take our order the gentleman of the blonde locks rather upset his dignity, by calling for some dried beef and an orange. Of this fare he made his meal.

The scrub oak man looked with wonder at the dietie reformer, and as he had to pay full toll, no matter what he ate, he consistently tackled everything on the bill of fare. The farmer was heavy handed and it was painful to see him dally with the delicate table ware. The climax was reached, however, when the waiter brought him a finger bowl. The former looked at it, smiled, and said he guessed he could get enough to drink by using a glass. But the dietie reformer gave a lesson in the use of the utensil by daintily dipping and wiping his fingers. I never think of the scrub oak farmer but I see those hands. They were big, rough and toll-worn. To him they were as a badge of honesty. When he got up to speak, which he could do fairly well, those hands were ever in evidence. When he reached the peroration, then they were thrust forward and turned and twisted so, that the audience might see them from all sides. "Look at my hands, if you don't believe I work. And yet I am sinking worse and worse into poverty. Yes, yes, the harder those hands toil the poorer I get." Then he would ramble on about the lack of sufficient circulating medium being the cause.

He was by far the best type of Populist that I ever met in the East. He told me how despite his hard work he had been compelled to mortgage his little place and how hopeful he was that at last a movement was on foot to redeem him. Most of the farmer delegates belonged to the Farmers' Alliance and the Grange. Another farmer delegate who was quite a character lived not far from Trenton. He always carried a tin whistle in his pocket. He played it with marvelous sweetness, considering that instrument's range. After the convention he started unique agitation methods of his own. He would go into Trenton and march through the streets playing upon the whistle. When he had collected a crowd he would lead it, like the piper of Hamelin, but not to the river or the mountain, but right up to the State house steps. He would mount the steps with all the dignity of a legislator, then turn and harangue the crowd, which would generally yell for more playing on the whistle. He was arrested several times, but nothing could dampen his

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Table with 2 columns: Year and Number of votes. Rows: In 1888 (2,060), In 1892 (21,157), In 1896 (36,564), In 1900 (34,191), IN 1902 (53,617).

FAIR TERMS.

"When the time comes, the people will take possession of this coal, under fair terms."—Counselor Darrow of the Miners, before the Arbitration Commission, Philadelphia, Feb. 14.

"Fair terms" is a technical expression. What does it mean?

Here is a man, who owns a plot of land. He holds it "for a rise." In the meantime the city decides to build, say, a City Hall on that spot. His property is appraised and taken. What he is given may justly be termed "fair terms." It might and it might not quite suit all his plans; but it approximates them: with the money he may go right ahead, and do business.

Or here is another man, who owns a whole block of houses, which he rents. For any one of a score of reasons, the city decides to build a public park on that very spot. The property is appraised and taken. Here also what the former owner is given may be justly termed "fair terms." The transaction may greatly incommode him; it may even cause him temporary loss, in the loss of revenue, while he re-adjusts himself in some other investment. Nevertheless, no substantial injury can be said to be done to him. In short, in this and the first instance cited, as in all the instances which the technical term, "fair terms" is applied to, the proprietor continues, after as before, to get a living, not by virtue of his working, but by virtue of his ownership of that which others need to work and live. In other words, the transaction does not change his character. Or to be still more specific, his class physiognomy remains unaltered.

Is that the nature of the "transaction" demanded by the emancipation of the Working Class—the people—from the thrall of the Baer class, the Capitalist Class? If the programme of the Working Class is to be "fair terms" for the Capitalist Class, that would mean that the physiognomy of the Capitalist Class is to remain unchanged: after, as before, the Capitalist Class is to continue to live, not by work, but by virtue of its ownership of that which the people need to work and live. In short, the Capitalist Class would continue to live by the plunder of the workers;—there would be no change for the better.

He who says "fair terms" for the Capitalist Class, either means the right thing for the workers, and then he is holding out a "gold brick" to the capitalist class, or he does not mean it honestly by the workers. If, all the same, he does mean well, then he is the merest fapdoodle.

Nothing will meet the case but the abolition—total and unqualified—of the capitalist class. As a class, the nuisance must stop. No individual or set of individuals, may be allowed to continue to live on the blackmail that Capitalism implies. Their power to so live, their class power, is to be taken away absolutely. Such was the "fair terms" King George was treated to. Thereafter, they will have to work for what they enjoy, as all others, or suffer the penalty. What plun' er will call such treatment "fair terms"?

Whoever prates of "fair terms" to the Capitalist Class is either a many-faced hypocrite or a ninny. In neither case have such folks a standing in the camp of the workingman militant. That camp does not juggle with words. It is, above all things, true to all, seeing it must be true to itself.

THE S. L. P. ORATORIO.

It is to be hoped that every member of the Socialist Labor Party, and every sympathizer with it, will himself carefully read the report made by George E. Boomer, the national committeeman of the "Socialist," alias "Social Democratic" party for the State of Washington, and published in full in these columns. It is to be hoped that, after reading the report, every Socialist Labor Party man and friend will see to it that the report be read and studied by all seriously inclined people.

Boomer was at one time a member of the Socialist Labor Party in Rhode Island. During the whole term of his membership he was at odds with the Party. He had a paper in Providence; he dropped that, and finally left the Party; drifted down to Maryland; there became a populist, and started another paper; dropped that; drifted westward to Girard, Kans., and the "Appeal to Reason"; dropped that also, and drifted still further westward; landed on the Pacific slope, and started a third paper there; drew near to the Party, but soon drew back again, and joined the present so-called "Socialist," or Social Democratic party, in which he now figures, and whose condition he now graphically exposes.

In the days of Boomer, what has since been broadly designated as the "Trades Union Policy" of the Socialist Labor Party, had not yet taken sufficient shape to give occasion, or furnish a pretext for objection. What Boomer objected to was the "narrowness," the "intolerance" of the S. L. P.—the rigid class-line along which the S. L. P. hewed. The integrity of Boomer was never questioned. Making allowance for the superstition that haunted him, that he was a God-ordained Editor, Boomer was honest. His "broadness" had no booding in mind. Boomer, accordingly, presented a problem: How utilize for the Movement the man's abilities and probity, without slackening the Party policy? In short, how educate and instruct the man; how uproot his sociologic illusions? The problem received the only solution possible in such cases. Boomer and the Party parted company. Unable to profit by the experience of others, he started in to make his own experience. He has made it. To-day, Boomer's language on "broadness" differs in nothing from that which seven and eight years ago irritated him as "intolerant," and was stigmatized by him as "narrow." To-day, he sees in middle class sentiment "an overshadowing danger" to his party. To-day he realizes that "mere honesty" is not a sufficient qualification, and justly decries it as "a middle class idea." To-day he is clear on the fact that "unity of mind on the ultimate ideal" is, of all bonds, the "most deceptive." To-day he perceives that, between a class-conscious working class element, that "looks to the ultimate" (abolition of wage-slavery), and an element that looks for "an immediate advance" (middle class demands), "contentions and splits" are unavoidable, due to their "separate and opposing immediate interests." Finally, to-day he is alive to the fact that the danger arising from such broadness "will not be seen clearly until some of the middle class members are elected," and that "THEN IT WILL BE TOO LATE." In other words, Boomer sees the impending downfall of his party clearly enough; and he clearly enough realizes that the disease, that is carrying his party to its grave is that very "broadness" microbe, that he once-blamed the S. L. P. for insisting upon keeping out of its system.

George E. Boomer is a type of a certain class. Not all of that class will, like him, having by personal and bitter experience rid themselves of one illusion, forthwith fly off to another, at another extreme. Not all of them, having dropped "broadness," will take up, as he does, the theory that "the Trades Union, no matter how ignorant it may be of the ultimate demand of the workers," is all the same "a true working class movement, FOR THE SOLE REASON THAT IT CONFINES ITS MEMBERSHIP TO BONA FIDE MEMBERS OF THE WORKING CLASS,"—not all will do that, and, like Boomer, get next ready to commit their fate to such a keeping. Not all of the Boomer class will profit by Socialist Labor Party teachings only fractionally. Many will snap, not the chain that holds them to the illusion of "broadness" only. Tutored by the career of the Plebs Leader of Rome, together with that of the plebeian organization that the Plebs Leader ran, and which "confined its membership to bona fide members of the Plebeian Order," they will snap also the chain that holds them to that other illusion,—the illusion that the pure and simple Trades Union, led

by the Mitchells, the Labor or Plebs Leaders of to-day, is a working class organization.

And that, with its singing, the S. L. P. will have done!

THE OLD STORY.

Again a mining region—Raleigh County, W. Va.—has been drenched in the blood of workmen. To judge by the victims (miners resisting a decline in wages) the conflict was one between the Capitalist Class and the Working Class. The circumstance that the blood-shedders were a posse of a Deputy United States Marshal and of the County Sheriff—armed representatives of the Capitalist Class—adds color to the appearance. And yet it is a delusion, a fatal delusion. Workingmen fought, workmen bled. Nevertheless, the workingman contingent in the tragedy figured only as "food for cannon." In this Raleigh County, W. Va., incident the workingman was, as usually, not fighting his own battle; he was fighting the battle of his masters: he was bleeding and laid down his life for those who ride him: he was fighting for CAPITALISM.

Capitalism means the private ownership of the natural and social opportunities (of the land and the machinery) without which man can not exercise his functions of worker; without which he can not produce the necessities of life. He who says "Capitalism" says wage slavery for the Working Class. He who says "Capitalism," accordingly, says: "Irreconcilable conflict between the Capitalist Class and the Working Class."

To sum up, he who says "Capitalism," either must say: "The Working Class must put an end to this conflict by abolishing Capitalism; and there is no way other than to vote out of power the political parties of the Capitalist Class"; or he must say: "The Capitalist Class must jolly the Working Class along and long enough with false hopes of establishing 'harmonious relations' between employer and employee, until the workers have been brought down to the coolie level of abjectness, and then the conflict is removed." The latter language is held by the Capitalist Class. The policy there implied the Capitalist Class carries out with the aid of the labor-fakir. Every strike by workmen, who, officered by the Mitchell-Gompers pack, uphold the Capitalist parties in power, is an attempt at the impossibility of establishing "harmonious relations" between the fleeced and the fleecers. Every such attempt is a battle fought for Capitalism. Without their knowing it, in each such battle the General in command of the workmen, is their born and sworn foe,—CAPITALISM. That General in command ever manoeuvres them into an attitude of utter contradiction, that must inevitably strangle them,—and that's what the Capitalist Class is after, and the labor-fakir is there to help in.

The blood of the striking miners of Raleigh County lies on the head of the Mitchells and the Gompers. It lies also on the head of that pack of imbeciles and traitors, who, decked with the stolen feathers of the Socialist Labor Party, call themselves "Socialist," alias Social Democratic party, boom the Mitchells as "champions of Labor" and pronounce their infamous manoeuvres "a noble waging of the class struggle."

HEADED FOR THE LUNATIC ASYLUM.

Father Thomas E. Sherman, son of the late General William T. Sherman, in an address at Pullman, Ill., has just delivered himself on Socialism as follows:

"Marx believed that man and woman are equal socially, and that there is no need of letting the weaker vessel take care of the home and busy herself with domestic cares. He believed that man and woman should be related to each other according to convenience. That is what Socialism stands for. No decent American dare face his friends and uphold such a vile theory."

Which means that the "Rev." Thomas still holds to that canonical principle promulgated by one of the councils of his creed to the effect that woman has no soul. It also means that this "Rev." holds that "man and woman should be related to each other according to INCONVENIENCE." It finally means that the overwhelming majority of this nation, which hold to none of these views; who relegate these views to the age when the thumbscrew was applied to Galileo, the fagot to Bruno and the locofoco to Joan of Arc; and who have been legislating more and more along the lines of the absolute social equality of man and woman, and that man and wom-

an are on this earth, not to pine and inconvenience one another, but to bring the kingdom of heaven on earth, are all "indecent"!

It is now about eight years ago when, addressing (or was it chaplaining?) the veterans of the Army of Tennessee, this identical disciple of the Prince of Peace suggested that his father's former soldiers march into Rhode Island and wrench his father's statue from a Trades Union whose "un-American conduct," of wishing to enforce the Biblical principle that the laborer is worthy of his hire, was causing some delay in the setting up of the statue.

Father Thomas E. Sherman had better be taken in charge by his friends. He is heading for the lunatic asylum.

THE STRUMPET "VOLKSZEITUNG."

What the "New Yorker Volkszeitung," the owner of "The Worker," is has been more than once patented in these columns. The concern's issue of Feb. 27 gives the latest illustration. It has this news item:

"DE LEONITE BEATEN IN AN ELECTION. "Schenectady, N. Y., Feb. 26.—At the election for officers, held yesterday by the Trade and Labor Council, the former president, the De Leonite Henry V. Jackson, was beaten by the Democratic Alderman Fred W. Frost. The other officers were all re-elected. Jackson was the De Leonite Assembly candidate at the last election."

With the exception of the defeat of Jackson—a "Volkszeitung" defeat—the above is a bunch of falsehoods.

Henry V. Jackson is a Social Democrat, a Kangaroo, and, so honored a member of that party, that it was on the Socialist Labor Party ticket that he ran for Assembly. This Jackson, as a true Social Democrat, is a notorious corruptionist. His betrayal of his Union trusts and his dickers with Schenectady politicians have been repeatedly exposed in letters from Schenectady, published in these columns. So thoroughly was the fellow exposed that he, like others of his ilk, threatened the Daily People with libel suits, and got for his only answer an express reaffirmation of the charges. Indeed, this Jackson's name on the Social Democratic ticket last November furnished one of the best used and most convincing documents to S. L. P. men of Schenectady to illustrate to Schenectady workmen the scabiness of the Social Democratic party. All these facts are publicly known. The gladsome tidings, that this Social Democrat was turned down by the Trades and Labor Council, proves, accordingly, the contempt that the bona fide rank and file of the Unions entertain for this sly representative of the slimy Social Democracy. His defeat—emphasized by the re-election of all his other fellow-officers—records, accordingly, a slap, square in the face of the "Volkszeitung" and its cronies.

How, then, comes the "Volkszeitung" to publish such a false item, so notoriously false an item? The answer is palpable. The "Volkszeitung" is a strumpet, and a strumpet can't do a business unless she is known for what she is. So with the "Volkszeitung." It knows that the public knows it lies. Like a strumpet, it cares not for the contempt of the knowing who are decent, and who, anyhow, will have nothing to do with it; and like a strumpet it needs to be known for what it is among its own prostituted circle, so that it may do "peesiness."

[N. B.—The Schenectady Social Democratic document containing this Henry V. Jackson as one of the Social Democratic candidates is in this for office for inspection.]

Under capitalism there can be no "equality before the law." Given a class like the capitalist class, that controls the means whereby the remainder of society lives and you have a class that dominates that society, that shapes its institutions so as to preserve its interests. Under Socialism, with its social ownership of capital, the capitalist class will be eliminated and the exploiter and exploited will cease to exist. Economic equality being the basis of society, legal equality will naturally follow.

Modern agriculture is taking up an immense scope under corporate direction. In Louisiana, a \$6,000,000 irrigation company will build a canal 250 feet wide to irrigate 600,000 acres of land for rice cultivation, on the Hayes and Harmon prairies, St. Landry's Parish. This vast tract will require 10,000 families to cultivate it. These will be secured by the Southern Pacific Railroad. Needless to say that those families will be nominally free, for they will be actually at the mercy of the irrigation and railroad companies. They will own the means of making the land produce and of taking the products to market. In the vernacular of the day, they will catch those families coming and going.

The statement of a contemporary that there is a car famine in the coal fields brings to mind the fact that a few weeks ago there was a coal famine in the car fields. Despite its tendencies to extremes, we are told that capitalism is the best of possible systems.

"THE WORKMAN'S PARADISE"

New Zealand has, more than any other colony of England, and more than many of the nations of Europe, figured in the discussions on the relations of the capitalist and the working classes in this country. It has been called "the workmen's paradise," and various laws enacted by its parliament have been extolled as beneficial to the entire community, especially the working class, by certain reformers here. Among the laws eliciting the enthusiastic support of these zealots was one providing for compulsory arbitration. This law was held up as the acme of labor legislation, and as a great step in the solution of the labor problem, in that it was alleged to prevent industrial conflicts and promote the interests of the working class.

Some months ago reports from New Zealand showed great dissatisfaction with the law. It was stated that employers were organizing bogus unions to defeat the genuine ones, under the requirements of the law, and that through these bogus unions wages were reduced.

Reports just received indicate that the dissatisfaction has become widespread and general. Capitalists pronounce the law as a failure as a measure to settle labor disputes. Union officials also proclaim the act a failure. They state that militant unionism has been killed by it, and they declare that they would not recommend its adoption to other countries.

Thus the "workmen's paradise" has become in a more accentuated form what it has always really been, viz., an industrial hell. And New Zealand and all other capitalist countries will be so long as the class struggle, i. e., the struggle arising out of the conflicting interests of capital and labor, prevails in them. No law can abolish that struggle. It is an irrepressible struggle and can only be ended when that conflict of interests is ended by the inauguration of Socialism.

THE NEWARK HORROR JURY

One of the favorite delusions prevalent in this country is that of "equality before the law." It is alleged that as there are no titles of nobility conferred by the law of the land, there are, consequently, no classes here. This allegation overlooks the fact that classes are established primarily by economic conditions and that these conditions are reflected in the workings of the law, though no patents of nobility exist.

The truth of this will be found by a glance at the classes of this country and the composition of juries. There are, broadly speaking, two classes in this country: the first is composed of the men who own the capital of society—the capitalist class. According to President Baer, this class is divinely appointed to rule the other class. The other class is the working class, which owns no capital and is dependent on the capitalist class. This class is economically the inferior of the capitalist class.

Now, to move a step further. The law provides that a man shall be tried by a jury of his peers; that is, a man of his own status, to use an orthodox term. This would mean, when viewed in the light of actual conditions, that a capitalist should be tried by capitalists, and a workman by workmen. Yet, what do we see? We see the capitalists trying them all!

Workmen are excluded from grand juries by property qualifications that can only be met by capitalists. They are, by a systematic discrimination, excluded from other juries. Just now they are being excluded from the coroner's jury, which is to investigate the cause of the railroad horror at Newark, New Jersey, an accident that is laid at the door of workmen and that consequently should be investigated by a jury with workmen on it. The jury selected is composed of capitalists, men whose interests—like those of the railroad corporation—favor decisions that protect the property and the capital of the capitalist class, and that will, accordingly, make scapegoats of the members of the working class. This was the result of a coroner's inquest by a similar jury into the cause of the Westfield, N. J., accident, and it will be the result here.

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"MAY GOD GRANT US A MILLERAND!"

A Dream, by Lucien Roland.

[Translated for The People, from the Montlucon, France, "Socialiste de l'Allier."]

I fell asleep the other evening, in great spirits, after having read the speech of the German Chancellor in which he recounted the conversation of Prince Rodolin with the former French Minister of Commerce, and on the margin of which the Emperor had recorded his high approbation. I still heard his words, henceforth celebrated:

"I wish you a Millerand!" . . . But where am I, all of a sudden? I am not familiar with this immense valley, nor those enormous mountains. . . . The diverse masses among whom I find myself thrown hither and thither have a sound about them like the waves of the sea.

The cannon thunders . . . cheers resound. . . . People bearing caskets on their heads, armed, wondrously bedecked, climb up this embankment. . . . Let's approach.

I remained stupefied, nailed to the spot, and as if petrified upon recognizing William II. He drew near the crowd and began to speak, or rather to sing to the tune: "May God grant us a Marceau." An invisible orchestra, like that of Bayreuth, accompanied the imperial singer:

"How happy would I be, With Volmar in the Ministry! 'Socialism, that's my cue! 'I'm a good man and a true, 'Despite all my warlike titles, 'Despite all my warlike rattles! 'If I could, to-morrow I would see 'All the proletarians free!"

The orchestra here warbled: "To help the workman, noble, grand, 'To boost the working class, 'And raise its wages crass, 'May God grant us a Millerand!" . . . Great applause was heard. . . . I noticed Jaures who vigorously clapped his hands while turning to Millerand, who was modestly seated besides the Tsar. . . . But the Emperor withdrew, and his place was immediately taken by another personage, in whom I recognized the King of England. A profound silence ensued. He sang:

"My noble Lords and Commons true, 'King Edward speaks to all of you— 'We need a harum-scarum man 'To plug the holes that perforate 'Our statutes and our Ship of State. 'If Burns would but for life insure 'The Idle-Class, sapine, denure, 'The helm into his hands w'd cram— 'Trades Unions, I your father am!"

Here the orchestra warbled: "To help the workmen, noble, grand, 'To boost the working class, 'And raise its wages crass, 'May God grant us a Millerand!"

Surrounded by the Protefoin Committee, Jaures applauded incessantly. The crowd, nevertheless, remained impassive. The people around me grumbled. . . . Their eyes glistened as the eyes of wolves glisten in winter, in the darkness of the woods. . . . The King of Belgium took the place of Edward. He sang:

"A lot of good-for-nothings 'Say that in mere love-makings 'I dissipate the day! 'These monstrous slanders pain me; 'A shocking shock they give me; 'Alack, alack, the day! 'I think of naught, by day or night, 'But how the toilers help I might. 'I mean to nominate Anseele, 'The Labor man, my Ministaire! 'Yes, Sirs! yes, Sirs! Do you not see? 'To us quite useful he may be!"

Here the orchestra warbled: "To help the workman, noble, grand, 'To boost the working class, 'And raise the wages crass, 'May God grant us a Millerand!"

The Protefoin Committee here applauded fit to burst. Millerand saluted the Emperor of Austria, who congratulated him; and the King of Italy was coming forward, when suddenly there broke out a thunder-clap of voices, a formidable noise. It proceeded from the immense mass, among whom I was wedged. We sang: "Fellow-workers of all Nations, 'For you but contempt they bear; 'Despite their loving protestations, 'They would martyr you, beware! 'Remember, O Workers, this baron 'Learned his heraldic lore 'Through the blood of the white man of Chalon 'And the Martinique black man's gore. 'Our blood bestains the bourgeois hand, 'Wherever it directs and rules, 'Through republican or kingly tools, 'To the devil send their Millerand!"

A frightful noise made me jump. The ingenious but brutal mechanism of an early waking up recalled me to reality. The dream vanished. It was time to go to taste the joys of labor! . . .

Representatives of wholesale grocery firms of this State have combined for the purpose of buying direct of manufacturers. This will dispense with high-salaried buyers, who, like the drummers of old, have believed themselves of superior intellectual endowments, and, unlike the "workingman," not affected by the evolution of capitalism.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

UNCLE SAM (much astonished).—What is that red button you got there? Is it the S. L. P. button? The last I heard of you, you were declaiming against the S. L. P., trying to get "one thing at a time," that first thing being free beer through Tammany Hall candidates.

BROTHER JONATHAN.—So I was; and so I'm yet. This button is no S. L. P. button.

U. S.—Oh, I see now; it isn't.

B. J.—Indeed it isn't. You Socialists are not people to get along with. You are a lot of popes, bosses and dictators. That's what you are.

U. S.—We are, are we? Let me see. We have an opinion; have you none?

B. J.—Course I have.

U. S.—We believe our opinion is right; do you think yours is wrong?

B. J.—Course I don't!

U. S.—We agitate four our opinion; don't you for yours?

B. J.—Course I do!

U. S.—We believe and say that all others are mistaken; do you claim others are right?

B. J.—Course I don't.

U. S.—We try to bring others to our way of thinking; do you try to keep them away from yours?

B. J.—Course I don't!

U. S.—To sum up. We do in all these things just what you do. If to do that is to be a "pop," a "boss," a "dictator," then you must be all these things yourself, and as you say you are not, it follows that neither are we Socialists "popes," "bosses," or "dictators." But you insist we are different.

B. J.—So I do.

U. S.—Then it must be that there are other things that we both do not do, eh?

B. J. (with a where-is-the-man-going-to-land-me-look)—Yes—e—

U. S.—And so there are. Now let me tell you. The principal thing that we do not both do is to say just what we mean. When we Socialist speak we do say just what we mean; when you, and "anti-popes," "anti-bosses," "anti-dictators" like you speak, you don't say what you mean. We have nothing to hide because all that we are after we demand over and above board; you and such as you have everything to hide because what you really are after you don't want others to know.

B. J.—What am I after?

U. S.—That "one thing at a time." When you people say that "labor must get one thing at a time," and you stand, as you did at the last election, on the Tammany platform and demand "free beer," you are not stupid enough to imagine that "free beer" is really a step. You say so; but what you really mean is that if the party you are spouting for wins then you will get something; to wit, a job.

B. J.—H —

U. S.—Don't get excited, that's all there is of it. You want a job as a "first thing," that is your "one thing at a time"; and so it is with all of you. We art not looking for jobs, and, consequently we openly attack the capitalist parties. This is the distinction between us two, and your whole cry of "popes," "bosses," "dictators" mean nothing else than that we see through you and know you people to be corrupted at heart. Your outcry against us is but a confession of your corruption; and your trying to give us name is but an additional evidence of your dishonesty.

Reports from Wilkesbarre, Pa., show that 120 out of the 270 locals in the United Mine Workers are in bad standing. In one district, the historic Hazleton district, thirty-one out of the forty locals are behind in the payment of dues. On the whole it is estimated that out of an alleged membership of 140,000 not more than 75,000 are in good standing. This is a bad showing for an organization that has just won an alleged victory of untold value to its membership. Victories, as a rule, stimulate in organization and swell the list of membership. The reverse conduct on the part of the miners indicate that they are beginning to see that they are victims and not victors, hence the widespread indifference to membership in a fraudulent organization.

A Brooklyn department house has bought property on three streets and joining its present four block buildings. This news will undoubtedly give the small men the cold shivers, for how can they compete with such a gigantic concern?

Jerome's characterization of Low as juggler appears to be a case of the po calling the kettle black.



