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VOL. XIII. No. 45.

BRADDOCK BOROUGH

S. L. P. Enters Local Spring Campaign—The Ticket Nominated.

Braddock, Pa., Jan. 21.—The Socialist Labor Party has decided to enter the present borough campaign. The following candidates were nominated and platform adopted:

- BRADDOCK BOROUGH CANDIDATES**
- First Ward.
Councilman, Aug. Clever.
 - School Director, S. L. Ransenhof.
 - Assessor, E. R. Markley.
 - Fourth Ward.
Council, S. R. Rager.
 - School Director, P. O'Toole.
 - Assessor, H. Johnson.

PLATFORM SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, of Braddock Borough.

Election Tuesday, Feb. 16, 1904.
CENTURY DICTIONARY.
SOCIALISM—A theory or system of social organization which would abolish entirely, or in great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests and substitute co-operation; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments of production, the joint possession of the community.

STANDARD DICTIONARY.

SOCIALISM—A theory of civil policy that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public, collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property) and the public collective management of all industries.

We, the members of the Socialist Labor Party of Braddock, Pa., in taking this initial step into the field of Borough politics, present for the consideration of the people the following statement of the conditions which have brought it into existence and of its aim and methods.

In spite of changing national administrations, with different plans for the supposed benefit of the people; in spite of the high tariff, free trade, restriction of immigration, labor laws, and innumerable other so-called reforms, the workman daily sees his share of employment growing less and less.

While there has been a vast increase in the national wealth, poverty, which we have a right to expect to grow less is becoming more prevalent and more pronounced.

By a perverse system of economics, machinery, which should be man's first blessing is every day proving a curse, driving him out of employment and reducing the wages of those kept to operate the machines.

The Socialist Labor Party holds that the cause of these disorders of the body politic is the private ownership of the means of production and distribution, and would substitute therefor public or collective ownership, thereby placing the machinery of production and distribution in the hands of the people, to be operated for the benefit of all collectively and not for the benefit of the private owner as at present.

While we aim at nothing short of the so-operative commonwealth and wholly endorse the national platform of the Socialist Labor Party, we present the following plans for immediate Borough reform:

FIRST.
Absolute self government, abolition of the veto power of the Burgees, all measures to be submitted to the people for their approval or disapproval, the people to have the right to initiate legislation on petition of ten per cent. of the voters.

SECOND.
No contract labor. All Borough work to be given directly by the Borough without the intervention of contractors or middlemen; that eight hours shall constitute a legal work day, and that the minimum wages shall be \$2 per day.

THIRD.
We demand that safety gates be erected at all dangerous grade crossings, within the Borough limits.

FOURTH.
The Borough shall establish a coal yard which shall supply the people with fuel at cost price.

FIFTH.
Employment of the unemployed by the Borough authorities when practicable.

SIXTH.
The use of public buildings and park where public meetings may be held without expense to the participants.

SEVENTH.
School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., when necessary, without inflicting the stigma of pauperism.

February 7.—"Wage Labor and Capital," J. W. Johnson.

WEEKLY PEOPLE

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1904. PRICE TWO CENTS 50 CENTS PER YEAR.

CONGRESSIONAL

The President's "Infinitesimal Recess" Theory.

EIGHTH.
We demand that political economy be taught in the public schools.
NINTH.
The requisition by the Borough of all public utilities, such as street railways, gas, light, water works, telephones, etc., the same to be operated co-operatively by the employees under the direction of the Borough administration and no employee to be discharged for political reasons.
These are our immediate demands, the first step toward the realization of the Socialist Commonwealth, in which each worker shall enjoy the full fruit of his labor. To them we pledge our support. And we call on you to aid in carrying them into effect.
The Socialist Labor Party never compromises truth to make a friend, never withholds a blow at error lest it make an enemy. In firm assurance of final victory, it pursues its course unwaveringly by desire for temporary advantage. It is ever outspoken and straightforward, believing that in fearless independence the integrity of purpose by which it is inspired, will, in the end, win the respect and confidence of those whom it aims to weld into a class-conscious, aggressive body. Its propaganda is not alone to educate; it is to organize the working class for the conquest of power, for the complete overthrow of capitalism. Until this mission is accomplished, it will stand firm as a rock, yet alert and watchful, yielding nothing.

The above ticket and platform has been put in circular form and widely distributed here.

HUNTER FOR CONGRESS.

Stalwart S. L. P. Man to Oppose Chamberlain Cockran.

A very enthusiastic gathering of delegates attended the 12th Congressional District convention of the Socialist Labor Party, which was held on Saturday evening, January 30, at 328 East Twenty-eighth street, Manhattan, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for Representative in Congress to be voted for at the special election on February 23, 1904. The convention opened by forming a temporary organization with Leon Pilout as Chairman, and John Slevin as Secretary. A credential committee was also elected to examine the credentials of the delegates present. After a short recess this committee reported having received and examined credentials from the 18th, 20th, 22d, 24th, and 26th Assembly Districts, and recommended that the delegates be seated. The report of the committee was accepted and the delegates seated. Upon motion the temporary officers of the convention were made permanent. The permanent organization of the convention having been effected, the Chairman then stated the purpose of the convention and called for nominations for a candidate for Representative in Congress. James T. Hunter being the only nominee he was unanimously chosen as the candidate.

The question of carrying on a vigorous campaign was then taken up, and after a lengthy discussion a campaign committee consisting of F. Landa, G. Styles, J. Slevin, A. Rosenbuh, and C. Mylen were elected to take this matter in hand and lay out the plans for the work to be done. The convention then adjourned.

The boundaries of the Twelfth Congressional District are as follows: Eighteenth Assembly District, excepting the first and second election districts; Twentieth Assembly District, excepting the tenth, eleventh, fifteenth, sixteenth, twentieth and twenty-first election districts; Twenty-second Assembly District, excepting the ninth, fourteenth, twenty-first and twenty-second election districts; Twenty-fourth Assembly District, excepting the fifteenth election district, and the election districts one to ten, inclusive, of the Twenty-sixth Assembly District.

OFFICERS OF SECTION BUFFALO.

The following officers and committees were elected by Section Buffalo, N. Y., for the term from January 1 to July 1, 1904:

- Organizer and financial secretary, B. Reinstein; recording secretary, J. Yates; treasurer, Wm. F. Rohloff; literary agent, F. F. Young; agent for "The People," E. Hauk; agent for "Socialist Arbeiter Zeitung," W. F. Rohloff; librarian, P. F. W. Schultz; sergeant-at-arms, E. Hauk; auditing committee, E. Hauk, H. Waldman, J. Goward; grievance committee, O. A. Curtis, J. Goward, E. Hauk; press committee, O. A. Curtis, J. Goward, B. Reinstein; agitation committee, W. F. Rohloff, B. Reinstein, F. Reschlagler, O. A. Curtis, E. Hauk; entertainment committee, B. Reinstein, O. A. Curtis, W. F. Rohloff, F. Reschlagler, R. Buchner, J. Yates, P. F. W. Schulz.

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL., LECTURES.

Section East St. Louis will hold agitation meetings every Sunday at 2:30 p. m., at Launts Hall, Fifth and Missouri avenue.

The Nominal Chief Upholder of the Law of the Land Raked Over the Coals in the Senate for One of His Strenuous Acts—The Constitution Means Nothing When the Question Is to Give Jobs to Hustlers for Roosevelt Delegates to the Coming Presidential Convention.

The feature of this session of Congress will be nothing Congressional, but everything Rooseveltian. And in sorry plight Theodore Roosevelt is coming out. Not only has he been exposed as a violator of international integrity and a defier of law in the matter of Panama, he has also on a wholly internal matter been placed on the anvil and hammered pitifully.

It will be remembered that this regular session, which, by Constitutional provision, had to meet at noon of last December 7, was preceded by a special session, that lasted up to the minute when it had to come to a close in order to make way for the regular session. In fact, the special merged into the regular session. The same tap of the gavel of the Speaker of the House and the presiding officer in the Senate that announced the adjournment of the one also announced the opening of the present session. Now then, under the Constitution (Art. II, section 2), the President has power to fill up vacancies in Federal offices which may happen during the recess of Senate by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of the session. Now then, fearing that some of his pets whom he wished to furnish office to might be rejected by the Senate if he sent their nominations to the Senate for confirmation, as the Constitution orders when the Senate is in session, and anxious above all that these his pets should begin to draw salaries without the delay inevitable upon the course of sending nominations to the Senate—in view of all this what does the Chief Magistrate of the "Law and Order" capitalist class do, but pretend that there was an "infinitesimal recess" of the Senate between the two gavel taps that adjourned the special session of the Senate and opened the regular one, and upon that theory issued a bunch of commissions.

This matter, even more so than the treaty making question involved in the Panama affairs, exclusively appertains to the Senate. There the question was brought up by Senator Tillman of South Carolina. A passage of that debate—if debate it could be called, since there was unanimity in the subject that to construct a "recess" between the going out and going in of these two sessions would be a trick that could not hold—is both interesting and instructive. The passage is this:

Mr. Tillman. Mr. President, I trust Senators will not consider that this is an academic proposition or a moot question which I have submitted here; and I would beg, if possible, that no one shall inject into it any partisan feeling or any suspicion that I am actuated by partisan feeling. To quote the language of the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. Platt) yesterday evening, he did me the honor to say that I am an adroit debater and sometimes change the point of attack. I want to say that this is not a new attack on the Executive, who has been under fire for some time. In other words, I wish to impress Senators with the fact that in bringing this subject to the attention of this body I am actuated solely by a desire that we shall not, by negligence or seeming acquiescence, establish a precedent in the construction of the Constitution and the interpretation of it by the President, which will be of immense danger and harm in the future.

Now, why did I introduce this resolution? I simply want to find out what the Senate itself thinks of the new doctrine of a constructive recess. We have been passing along the road of our national life for one hundred and twenty years, and never before has any President, or Vice-President who succeeded to the office, undertaken to claim that this clause of the Constitution is not perfectly plain and, to an honest mind, unmistakable in its meaning. Let me read it:

"The President shall have power to fill all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session."
Language can not be made plainer. Nobody in the past has had any doubt about the meaning of these words, but it has remained for our present Executive, under that excess of knowledge which has been given to him alone, apparently, or that insight into constitutional law which enables him to see farther than

other people, to claim or assert, a right and exercise the power of making appointments between 12 o'clock and 12 o'clock of the same day.

In other words, there is at least one officer holding an important position, and I think a good many others, though I have not taken the trouble to verify my information, who hold commissions to-day which are said to have been given in the recess of the Senate, who, under those commissions, are exercising their powers and functions of their offices, and who are receiving or will receive compensation for their work.

Mr. Hale. Mr. President—
The President pro tempore. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. Tillman, I do.
Mr. Hale. I did not know, Mr. President, that the President of the United States had in any way by any act of his committed himself to the proposition that when the extra session called by him closed at 12 o'clock on December 7, 1903, and immediately the regular session began there was a constructive recess between them. I have not learned, and have yet to learn, that the President has committed himself to that proposition. Appointments afterwards were made where the commissions had expired. But I had supposed the whole question whether or not if anybody—not the President, but if any officer appointed afterwards—whose nomination was sent to the Senate and confirmed claims that he has the same right, the same salary that he would have if there had been an actual recess, that the Comptroller would settle that.

I have never doubted, Mr. President, that the Comptroller would make short work of this question. The Constitution does not deal in tricks and surprises. The recess contemplated in it is an actual recess, a recess that may be used properly in the administration of the Government when there is time, and should be, in order that a new appointment be made. I never take any stock in the theory that there was a constructive recess between 12 o'clock and 12 o'clock, and I do not know, but I doubt, whether many or any Senators have taken that ground. Therefore I say that I am rather surprised that the Senator from South Carolina states that the President of the United States has committed himself to that proposition. I did not so understand, and I hope that he has not.

Mr. Tillman. I am making a statement of facts.
Mr. Beveridge. Will the Senator state just what the President has done?

Mr. Tillman. Well, my dear sir, will you not let me proceed in my own way?
Mr. Beveridge. If the Senator does not want to answer the question, very well.

Mr. Tillman. I expect to answer any proper question presented in the proper way, and in my own way.
Mr. Beveridge. Mr. President—

The President pro tempore. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. Tillman. With pleasure.
Mr. Beveridge. I certainly owe the Senator from South Carolina an apology for asking him a question from my seat. I should have risen and asked him the question. I merely asked him to give us information as to just what the President had done of which he complained. But, further, I will say to the Senator that I have merely asked the question for the purpose of getting information. I do not know what information the Senator possesses to vindicate his comments in this case.

Mr. Tillman. The Senator has now complied with the requirements which are sometimes observed here when the Senator from Alabama (Mr. Pettus) is in the chair, and I was not protected, as he usually does protect the Senator who has the floor, by the present occupant of the chair (Mr. Frye), who is always lenient and kindly in dealing with all Senators, including me, who am—well, a chronic breaker of the rules, not intentionally, but through ignorance or from lack of aptitude to learn them, or something of that sort.

I want to answer the Senator's question; I want to answer frankly, and I want to answer without any tinge of resentment or any indication whatever that I have any feeling in the matter, because I have none.
I was interrupted in my answer to the Senator from Maine (Mr. Hale). I am sorry that I have mislaid for the moment a letter which I received in reply to an inquiry I addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury, in which the matter is put in official form. I will either get the original, which I am having looked up, or I will send to the honorable Secretary of the Treasury and ask for a copy. But

as I recall the facts, they are these: I directed an inquiry to Mr. Shaw as to when or on what date a commission was issued to William H. Crum as collector at Charleston. He had been appointed, I believe, four or five times, but he had never been confirmed.
I asked Mr. Shaw to tell me whether Mr. Crum was now holding office, and, if so, under what authority. In answer to that, he replied, giving the date when Mr. Crum received his recess commission, and then went on to state that he was now in office and the authority for it was that precisely at 12 o'clock on the 7th of December a new appointment was made and a new commission issued under it. So we have one of the Cabinet officers—and undoubtedly under the instruction or by the authority of the President—taking the position that such a thing as a constructive recess between the adjournment of a session of Congress and the convening of a session, even though there be no time intervening, is one of the things which we have come to have in our governmental affairs.
Now, so far as Mr. Crum is concerned, it may be considered by Senators that I am interested in the matter because of his connection with it. That is not the case. I am interested in it because of the fact that the Constitution of the United States does not recognize, according to my interpretation of it, any such thing; and the presence in the office of collector of customs at the port of Charleston of this man, under a commission issued by the President of the United States, exercising its functions and performing its duties, and who in time is to claim its emoluments, is a direct violation of the Constitution itself and of the law also.
That is my contention and that is my idea. I would contend for the rights of Congress and of the Senate just as quickly and as promptly and as zealously as my State was not interested as I do now. I simply want this body to take cognizance of a new interpretation of the organic law of the land and to decide what it will do to protect its ancient rights. That is all.
In examining into the status of this question to see what had been the habit and custom heretofore, and whether such a thing as this had ever been attempted, I came on some very, very interesting history. I found that before the expiration of the Thirty-ninth Congress, by an act of Congress approved January 22, 1867, Congress itself enacted a law which changed the time of the meeting of the following Congress from the first Monday in December to March 4; in other words, the expiring Congress called its successor by law to meet the moment that it itself died.
Mr. Spooner. Mr. President—
The Presiding Officer (Mr. Perkins in the chair). Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. Tillman. I do with pleasure, always.
Mr. Spooner. The Senator contends that there was no recess, then, as I understand him?

Mr. Tillman. When the President pro tempore arose in his seat and announced that the time for the assembling, as I recall his words, of the first regular session of the Fifty-eighth Congress had arrived, he said: "I declare the extra session adjourned sine die. The Senate will come to order." If any man who claims to have any common sense can stand up and undertake to say that there can be any recess under those conditions I do not understand the meaning of the word "recess."
Mr. Spooner rose.
Mr. Tillman. I do not know what the Senator is going to contend, of course, but if he should now, contrary to all of my anticipations and expectations and my most valuable admiration for him, destroy it all, why, of course, I shall have to take whatever comes. (Laughter.)

Mr. Spooner. Of course, Mr. President, it is not for the Senator to say how valuable his admiration for me is. It is for me to say that. (Laughter.)
Mr. Tillman. No, it is for me to give my estimation of it, my friend. I do not give my admiration without it is deserved first; therefore it is valuable.
Mr. Spooner. And that is why I value it. (Laughter.)
Mr. Tillman. Thank you.
Mr. Spooner. I do not intend to disapprove the Senator from South Carolina in anything I may say. I do not intend to give approval to the notion that there can be a constructive recess.

Mr. Tillman. I know that you can not. But I will sit down until the Senator gets through.
Mr. Spooner. The Senator once in a while is an accurate prophet. The law

takes no account of the fraction of a day and the Constitution takes no account of the fraction of a minute; but the point to which I desire to attract the attention of the Senator for only a moment, and not by way of argument, is this: He contends that the President had appointed this officer in an actual recess.
Mr. Tillman. I did not contend it. I only stated that the Secretary of the Treasury had informed me of the facts.
Mr. Spooner. But when we adjourned at the last regular session—I mean the session ending in March—there of course was a vacancy.
Mr. Tillman. Yes.
Mr. Spooner. The officer not having been confirmed he was recommissioned; and that was lawful.
Mr. Tillman. He was reappointed and commissioned.
Mr. Spooner. He was reappointed and commissioned.
Mr. Tillman. And that was lawful.
Mr. Spooner. That was lawful. Now, here is what troubles me: His name was sent in again for confirmation, was it not, when Congress met in extra session in November?

Mr. Tillman. Yes; for confirmation as a recess appointment.
Mr. Spooner. For confirmation?
Mr. Tillman. Yes.
Mr. Spooner. Now, if there has been no recess since that time, there has been a continuous session, and would he not hold until the adjournment of this session? If that be not true, then is this difficulty not presented, that where one session runs into another, with no moment of time intervening, the office would be vacant on the Senator's theory? Does not the way the Senate is constituted prevent that?

Mr. Tillman. Does the Senator make that point?
Mr. Spooner. Yes.
Mr. Tillman. It is the finest one I have ever heard my friend make, but it will not go. (Laughter.)
Mr. Hale. Let me ask a question.
The Presiding Officer. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. Tillman. With pleasure.
Mr. Hale. I want to put before you the whole scope of the suggestion.
Mr. Spooner. I am not justifying a new commission.
Mr. Hale. That is the point I was coming to. The actual result of that would be that if there were no recess, no interposition of a recess, and the Congress continues straight along, the old appointment would hold good.
Mr. Spooner. That is what I say.
Mr. Hale. But the old commission, received in an undoubted recess, which was lawful, would run over and still live. That would be the Senator's idea?

Mr. Spooner. And that office would be vacant after the adjournment of this session.
Mr. Hale. That would not justify a new appointment.
Mr. Spooner. No; and that is the only question.
Mr. Tillman. That is the sharpest legal point or quibble I have ever known the Senator to raise here, but he himself, if he will just dismiss the idea that I am attacking his party or his President and will discuss this question and analyze it as a lawyer—

Mr. Spooner. Mr. President—
The Presiding Officer. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

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Mr. Spooner. The Senator contends that there was no recess, then, as I understand him?
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And Platform—S. L. P. Enters Municipal Campaign—The Convention.

Seattle, Wash., Jan. 26.—The following ticket was nominated and platform adopted for the municipal campaign by Section Seattle:—

- The Ticket.**
For mayor—John Monette, painter, of University Station.
For corporation counsel—Steve Brearcliff, plumber.
For comptroller—Sev. M. Dehly, printer.
For treasurer—William McCormick, laborer.
For councilmen at large—E. S. Prentiss, solicitor, and Abe Brearcliff, tinner.
For councilmen:
First ward—Thomas Barnett, canvasser.
Second ward—Abraham Lazansky, clerk.
Third ward—Oscar Schrecknick, solicitor.
Fourth ward—Frank Crossman, laborer.
Fifth ward—Frederick John Meyer, carpenter.
Sixth ward—G. E. Deriney, plumber.
Seventh ward—Charles M. Lowry, painter.
Eighth ward—S. Andrew Ellings, seaman.
Ninth ward—Walter Walker, shoemaker.

The Party Platform.
"We enter this campaign as the political party of the working class, for the purpose of getting control of the law-making power with which to overthrow and expropriate the capitalist class, whose only purpose, use and function in society is to confiscate the wealth produced by the labor of the working class, through the private ownership of the resources of nature and the machinery of production.

"Realizing that the capture of the city government by the workmen of Seattle would mean but small, if any, material gain to the workers, as long as the capitalists control the state and national governments, nevertheless we urge upon you the necessity of severing all connections with the parties of the capitalists and to support at all elections the party of your class, the Socialist Labor Party.

"As the political organization of the working class, we recognize the necessity of aggressive trades unions that fight for working class interests only, but as the old style trade and labor organizations, as represented by the American Federation of Labor and the Washington State Federation of Labor, have proven themselves utterly incompetent to cope with existing conditions which confront the working class; and

"Whereas, the principles of these organizations, being capitalistic in their character, their sole effort being to monopolize the opportunity to labor, instead of abolishing the wage system, which is the logical product of the system which they defend—that is, capitalism; and

"Whereas, the labor folk, as represented by Gompers, Sam Parks and Mitchell in the national organizations, and F. A. Rust, S. W. Harmon and W. C. Lynch in the local organizations, are continually using these organizations to promote their personal interests; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we of the Socialist Labor Party of Seattle, in convention assembled, extend our hearty financial and moral support to the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of the United States, both national and local, and call upon all workmen to study the principles and objects of this organization."

The convention called for the purpose of making nominations for the municipal ticket of the Socialist Labor Party, was held at headquarters of Section Seattle, Masonic Block, on Jan. 24, 1904, at 10 a. m.
The convention was called to order by the organizer, Abe Brearcliff.
Bert Jacobson was elected temporary chairman and Walter Walker, temporary secretary.

On motion, F. J. Meyers, J. W. Monette and Frank Crossman were elected the committee on credentials.
A recess was then taken for the examination of credentials.
Convention was again called to order. The following are the delegates that the committee's report showed authorized to take part: E. S. Prentiss, Oscar Schrecknick, T. Jurgensen, Walter Walker, S. A. Ellings, F. J. Meyers, Frank Crossman, J. W. Monette, E. F. Carlson, John Chalmers, Alex. Johnson, Axel Johnson, J. A. Hodge, W. J. Mitchell, Owen Martiro, Wm. McCormick, A. Lazansky, Chas. Prosser, Thomas Barnett, William H. Walker, Abe Brearcliff, Steve Brearcliff, William Oakley, J. Horv, Sev. M. Dehly, J. Schaffer and Bert Jacobson.

On motion, Ellings, Dehly and Schaffer were elected a committee on order of business.
McCormick, Ellings, A. Brearcliff,

SEATTLE'S TICKET

And Platform—S. L. P. Enters Municipal Campaign—The Convention.

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"Realizing that the capture of the city government by the workmen of Seattle would mean but small, if any, material gain to the workers, as long as the capitalists control the state and national governments, nevertheless we urge upon you the necessity of severing all connections with the parties of the capitalists and to support at all elections the party of your class, the Socialist Labor Party.

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(Continued on Page Six.)

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The Pilgrim's Shell

OR

FERGAN THE QUARRYMAN

A Tale From the Feudal Times

By EUGENE SUE

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL FRENCH

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PART I.—THE FEUDAL CASTLE.

CHAPTER VII.

ABBOT AND MONK.

The donjon cells of the manor of Plouernel consisted of three vaulted stories, the only daylight into which penetrated through three narrow slits opening upon the gigantic ditch, out of which rose the donjon itself. Within, apart from a massive door studded with iron, these cells consisted of stone only—they were roofed with stone, floored with stone, and the walls were of stone, ten feet thick. The cell, whither the Bishop of Nantes and the monk Jeronimo were taken, was at the very bottom of this subterranean structure. A narrow loophole barely filtered through a pale ray of light into that semi-Stygian darkness. The walls sweated a greenish moisture. In the center of the dungeon stood a stone bed, intended for torture or death. Chains and heavy iron rings fastened to the headpiece, to the sides and the feet of the long stone slab, that rose three feet above the floor, announced the purpose of that funereal couch, on which were now seated the monk and the Bishop of Nantes. The latter, a prey at first to agonizing despair, had by degrees recovered his composure. His face, now almost serene with a melancholic good nature, contrasted with the somber severity of his companion. "I am now resigned to death," the prelate was saying to Jeronimo, "yet I confess, I feel my heart fail me at the thought of leaving my wife and children without protection in days as dark as these are."

"There you have one of the consequences of the marriage of priests," the monk answered. "How justly did Gregory VII. reason when he forced the councils to interdict marriage to the clergy!"

After a moment's silence the Bishop of Nantes resumed with a melancholy smile: "Stoics, like the philosophers of antiquity, let's consider at this very moment of imminent torture and death the dogmas that bear upon our present situation."

"Let's commence with the great question of the spiritual and temporal dominion of the church."

"It is a grand subject. I listen."

"In our days, for every twenty abbots or bishops who are sovereign in their abbeys or bishoprics, are there not a hundred dukes, counts, marquises or seigneurs, sovereign masters in their dukedoms, counties or seigniories?"

"Sad to say, 'tis so!"

"Did not a large portion of the estates, that proceeded from the gifts of Charles Martel, return to the hands of the clergy at the time of the terror the people were seized with at the thought of the end of the world,—a terror ably fomented by the church down to the year 1000, and prolonged to 1033 by dint of able maneuvers?"

"That's true, too. The terrified seigneurs abandoned to the church a large part of their goods, thinking the day of judgment was at hand. Since then, however, the same seigneurs, or their descendants, retook their rich donations from the clergy. The hatred that the Count Neroweg pursues me with has no other cause than the recovery of the lands that his grandfather bequeathed to my predecessor, at the time when those brutes expected to see the end of the world. The Count wages war against me to re-enter upon domains that once belonged to his family. The lance is rising against the holy water sprinkler."

"It has been so in all the other provinces. One of the causes of the wars of the seigneurs against the bishops and abbots has, for the last fifty years, been the recovery of the goods given to the Church on the occasion of the end of the world. In these impious strifes the seigneurs have almost always come out on top. The church was vanquished."

"It is a sad fact."

"In order to recover its omnipotence, the Church must again become richer than the seigneurs. She must, above all, rid herself forever of those brigands who dare reach out a sacrilegious hand towards the goods of the Church, and assault the priests of our Lord, the ministers of God."

"Alack, Jeronimo, it is a far way from the wish to the fact! The sword gets the best of the bishop's crook!"

"The distance is simply the journey from here to Jerusalem. That's all!"

The bishop regarded the monk with amazement, repeating without understanding the words: "The journey from here to Jerusalem!"

"I am a legate of Pope Urban II.," proceeded Jeronimo. "As such, I am initiated in the policies of Rome. The French Pope Gerbert, and, after him, Gregory VII., conceived a great idea—to submit the peoples of Europe to the papal will. In order, however, to habituate them to a passive obedience, an ostensible purpose had to be held out. Gerbert conceived the thought of the deliverance of the tomb of Christ, which had fallen into the hands of the Saracens, the masters of Syria and Jerusalem. This pregnant thought, conceived in the head of Gerbert and hatched out by Gregory VII., was the subject of long cogitations on the part of their successors. The Popes recommended to the faithful the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to which they attached special indulgences and privileges. The people of Germany, of Spain, of Gaul, of England, gradually began to hear Jerusalem, the Holy City, talked about. The pilgrimages multiplied. Long though the voyage was, it did not seem impossible; moreover, it insured indulgences for all crimes, and, above all, it was a pleasure trip for the mendicants, the vagabonds, the runaway serfs from the domains of their masters. The pilgrims found good lodgings in the abbeys; they picked up some little money

in the cities, and obtained free passage on the Genoese or Venetian vessels as far as Constantinople, where they then departed for Jerusalem, traversing Syria and lodging over night from convent to convent. Arrived at the Holy City, they paid their devotions."

"And all that without any interference on the part of the Saracens. We must admit it among ourselves, Jeronimo, those miscreants showed themselves quite tolerant! The churches rose in peace beside the mosques; the Christians lived in tranquility, and the pilgrims were never incommoded."

"And it remained so," continued Jeronimo, "until the Saracens, exasperated by the anathemas hurled at the sectarians of Mahomet by the Catholic priests of Jerusalem, brought their hammer down upon the holy Temple of Solomon and demolished it—a demolition, however, that we avenged upon Jews by massacring them in the several countries of Europe. But after all, we cared little about the destruction of the Temple, or the safety of the Sepulchre. Our end was attained. The people had learned to know the road to Jerusalem. The sandals of the pilgrims had smoothed the road to the Holy Land to the Catholic peoples. The number of pilgrims increased from year to year. Often seigneurs, certain to obtain by means of that pious voyage the absolution of their crimes, joined the pilgrim vagabonds and beggars. That perpetual flux and reflux of peoples of all stations drew ever more the eyes of Europe to the Orient. The marvels narrated by the pilgrims upon the return from their long voyage, the relics that they brought back, the respect with which the Church surrounded them,—everything affected more and more the spirit of credulity and the vulgar imagination of the masses. Gregory VII. foresaw these results. He considered it opportune to preach the Holy War. The Church raised her voice: 'Shame and sorrow upon the Catholic world! The Sepulchre of the Saviour of man is in the power of the Saracens! Kings and seigneurs, march at the head of your peoples to the deliverance of the Sepulchre of Christ and the extermination of the infidels.' To that premature appeal Europe remained indifferent. The hour of the Crusades had not yet sounded. Since then, however, the idea has made progress, and to-day we are certain to find the minds disposed to second the Pope in his projects. Accordingly, Urban II. has not hesitated to leave Rome and come to preach the Crusade in Gaul, the Catholic country *par excellence!*"

"What say you? The Pope himself is coming to preach the Crusade! Can that be true, oh, my God!"

"His Holiness is bound for Auvergne, and he sends his emissaries into the other provinces."

"And who are the men invested with the confidence of the Pope, and charged with leading such an undertaking to a successful end?"

"One of them, Peter the Hermit, vulgarly called 'Cuckoo Peter,' is a monk who has twice accomplished the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He is an ardent man, gifted with a savage eloquence, that exercises upon the multitudes a powerful effect. Another emissary is Walter the Pennyless, a knight of adventure, bold Gascon, charged to seduce with the cheerfulness of his words and the exaggeration of his descriptions all those who might remain indifferent to the savage eloquence of Peter the Hermit."

"But what arguments will these emissaries advance in order to rouse the masses to these insensate migrations?"

"I shall answer that question presently. But let me remind you of the principal motives of the church to drive the people to the Crusades; to habituate Catholic Europe to rise at the voice of the Pope for the extermination of heretics; to switch off to Palestine a large number of the seigneurs who are contending with the Church for the goods of the earth and the dominion of the people,—to get rid of one's enemies."

"The idea is good, profound, politic. I can well see the object that the Pope has in view."

"Let me, furthermore, call your attention to a fact that renders necessary a large migration of the common people to the Holy Land. In Gaul, despite the private wars of the seigneurs and the sufferings of this century, the population of the serfs has multiplied to an extraordinary degree during the last fifty years."

"That is so. The serf population, decimated by the famines that reigned from 1000 to 1034, immediately began to recover with the years of plenty that followed upon those of dearth."

"Aided, above all, by the action of the Church when, desirous of reoppling her domains, stripped of its agricultural serfs, she caused the 'Armistice of God' to be proclaimed, interdicting the seigneurs and the bishops from levying war during three days of each week under penalty of excommunication."

"That plebeian increase brought on the formidable revolts of the serfs of Normandy and Brittany, when doggerels were sung containing strophes of unheard-of audacity, as you may judge from this one:

Why allow we ourselves to be oppressed?
Are we not human like the seigneurs?
Have we not, as they, body and limbs?
Is not our heart as large as theirs?
Are we not one hundred serfs to a single knight?
Let's then be up striking with our pitchforks and our scythes!
For lack of arms, take the stones the roads are strewn with!
Death to the Δ rs!

"And that's the truth, Jeronimo! Those songs of revolt gave the signal to terrible insurrections in Normandy and Brittany. But two or three millions of the rebels had their eyes put out, their feet and hands chopped off, and the revolt was stamped out. Those wicked people must be exterminated."

"In order to conjure away the return of similar uprisings, it is necessary to lead abroad the plebeian increase. The plebs grows threatening by reason of its numbers, and the force that numbers carry with them. In order to weaken it, it will be enough to make it depart on the Crusade across Europe."

"Explain to me how the Crusades are expected to bring about the results that you consider needful, and that the exhortations of the papal emissaries are to invoke."

"Is it not evident that, for every thousand serfs who will leave Gaul to fight in Palestine, barely a hundred will arrive as far as Jerusalem? Those wretches, departing penniless, in rags, without provisions, carrying wife and children in their train, ravaging the regions they traverse—Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Bulgaria, the countries of the Danube—because, in the course of so long a voyage, such multitudes cannot live without pillage along the route, three-fourths of them will have been exterminated by the inhabitants of the countries that they must cross, or will die of hunger and fatigue before being able to reach Jerusalem. The small number of them that will arrive before the Holy City will be still further decimated by the Saracens. It is safe to say that hardly any of those who leave will return.

Thus we shall be rid of this vile and dangerous populace that dares rise against its masters, especially against the Church."

"It remains to be seen, Jeronimo, whether this plebs mass will be senseless enough to venture upon so distant and perilous a journey."

The monk answered: "Is not the lot of the villeins and the serfs on the lay or ecclesiastical seigniories the most wretched? And, of all the yokes, is not that of the glebe the heaviest, which forbids them to cross the boundaries of their own seignior. When the Church will say to those myriads of people, chained down to the glebe: 'Go! You are free! March off to fight the Saracens in Palestine, the country of miracles, where you will gather an immense booty! Take no heed of provisions for the journey, God will provide! Above all, you will accomplish your eternal salvation!' the serfs will depart in mass, drawn by the desire to be free, the thirst for booty, the spirit of adventure, and by the pious ardor to deliver the Holy Sepulchre from the defilement of the infidels!"

"Jeronimo," rejoined the Bishop of Nantes, "the craving after freedom, the spirit of adventure, the hope of booty, may, perhaps, drive those wretches to Palestine. But desire to avenge the tomb of the Saviour from the pretended defilement of the infidels, is, meseems, too feeble a motive. We shall fail there."

"When this holy cause, thrice holy and eloquently preached by the Church, is furthermore backed by the thirst for freedom, the hope of booty, the certainty of gaining Paradise, and curiosity regarding the future, that, though unknown, could not be worse than the present, the attraction of the populace for Palestine will become irresistible."

"I grant it. But will the seigneurs consent to have their lands thus depopulated by allowing the serfs to depart for the Crusades?"

"As much as ourselves do the seigneurs dread the revolt of the serfs. In that we two have a common interest. Moreover, that plebs overflow, which it is the part of wisdom to empty out abroad, constitutes, at the highest, only one-third of the serfs. Only that third will depart."

"And who guarantees that many more will not yield to the attraction, that you consider irresistible, and will not go along?"

"This plebs mass has become craven through the habit of slavery that weighs it down since the Frankish conquest. Only a part of the village and country populations is sufficiently disposed to revolt. It is those very ones who are most impatient of the yoke, the most intelligent, the most venturesome, the most daring, and, consequently, the most dangerous, who will be the first to start for Palestine. Thus shall we be rid of those inciters of rebellion."

"That reasoning is correct."

"Thus only one-third of the rustic plebs will emigrate. Those who remain behind will suffice to cultivate the land. Being fewer to the task, their toil will increase. The ox that is heavily burdened, the ass that is heavily laden, does not kick. The danger of a new revolt will have been conjured off. The Church will resume her preponderance over both the plebs and the seigneurs."

"I admire, Jeronimo, the powerful combinations of the politics of the papacy. But one of the most important results of this policy would be to deliver us from a large number of those accursed seigneurs, always at war against us. Oh, they will not, like the serfs, be driven by the desire to escape a fearful lot, or of enjoying freedom. They, I fear, will remain at home."

"A large number of them are as anxious as their serfs to change their condition. After all, what is the life of these seigneurs? Is it not that of chiefs of brigands? Always at war; always on the watch, fearing to be attacked or surprised by their neighbors; unable but rarely to leave their seigniories except armed to the teeth; often not daring even to go on the hunt in their own domains; forced to entrench themselves in their lairs; these ferocious men are tired of such monotonous life. They will follow the stream."

"I have, indeed, often been struck by the expression of mortal tiredness reflected upon the faces of the seigneurs."

"This will be the language of the friars to these men steeped in crime, brutified almost as much as their own serfs, and all of them nursing at the bottom of their hearts a more or less profound fear of the devil: 'You are smothering in your castles of stone; you here wrangle over the meager spoils of some traveler, or over the barren lands of the Occident—lands peopled with wretches resembling animals rather than human beings. Leave the ungrateful soil and somber sky of the Occident! Go to Palestine, go to the Orient, the land of azure and of sunshine, fertile, splendid, radiant, studded with magnificent cities, palaces of marble, gilded cupolas, delicious gardens! There you will find the treasures for centuries accumulated by the Saracens, treasures so prodigious that they suffice to pave with gold, rubies, pearls and diamonds the whole road from Gaul to Jerusalem! God delivers into your hands that teeming soil, its palaces, its beautiful women, its treasures. Depart on the Holy War! A large number of seigneurs will bite with all the snap of their heavy jaws at that bait glittering with all the fires of the sun of the Orient."

"You are right, Jeronimo," observed the Bishop of Nantes. "But do you not fear that the seigniorial station, thus stripped, shrunk and ruined, will leave the place open for the royalty, to-day without power, and that that royalty will not endeavor to share with us the dominion of the people, and will not even strive to dominate the Church?"

"We need not fear the rivalry of the Kings. Even their private interests are to us a safe guarantee of their submission to the will of the Pope, the representative of God on earth, the dispenser of eternal rewards or punishments."

"Oh, Jeronimo, your words have opened a new horizon before me. I see now the future of the Catholic Church in all her formidable majesty. I now cleave to life, and would wish to assist at that magnificent spectacle."

"This topic has a close bearing upon our present position of prisoners of Neroweg VI, and you must inspire yourself with it, Simon, to the end that you may regulate your conduct accordingly."

"Tell me what I am to do, Jeronimo. I can take no more precious a guide than you in all matters concerning our holy religion."

"Neroweg relies upon your torture to extort from you the possession of the domains of your diocese, which he has long coveted. Accede to all that he may demand. Peter the Hermit and Walter the Pennyless will not be long in arriving in this region to preach the Crusade. Neroweg will depart for Jerusalem, and will not be able to profit from the concessions you will have granted."

"But say he insists upon putting me to the torture to glut

his thirst for revenge upon me! I shudder at the prospect."

The conversation between the Bishop of Nantes and the monk was here interrupted by a rumbling and weird noise, that seemed to proceed from the interior of the thick wall. The two prelates trembled with affright, and looked at each other. Then, drawing near the wall in the direction from which the noise came, they applied their ears with bated breath. But the noise slowly receded, and a few minutes later died away completely.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHAMBER OF TORTURE.

The dungeon of Bezeneq the Rich and his daughter, vaulted and floored with stone slabs like the other subterranean cells, but located on the second story of that redoubtable structure, received a somewhat better light from its narrow loop-hole. In the center of the cell stood a gridiron, six feet long, three wide, raised a good deal above the floor, and constructed of iron bars placed slightly apart from each other. Chains and rings, fastened to the gridiron, served to keep the victim in position. Near this instrument of punishment rose two other engines of torture, devised with ingenious ferocity. The one consisted of a projecting iron bar, in the nature of a gibbet about seven or eight feet above the floor, and terminating in an iron carcan that opened and closed at will. A heavy stone, weighing about two tons, and furnished with a ring and a strap to hang it by, lay at the foot of the gibbet. The other engine had the appearance of a gigantic prong, sharp and turned back similar to those used by butchers to hang their quarters of beef on. The slabs of the flooring, covered everywhere else with greenish moisture, wore a blood-red tint under the prong. Opposite to this instrument of punishment, there was grossly sculptured on the wall, a sort of grinning mask, hideous, half beast, half human; its eyes and the cavity of its gaping mouth, resembled deep black holes. Finally, close to the door of the cell stood a wooden box full of straw, and there lay the daughter of the townsman of Nantes, colorless like a corpse, and frozen with terror. At times her body shook with convulsive shivers, other times she remained motionless, her eyes shut, without, therefore, however, her tears ceasing to stream down her cheeks. Bezeneq the Rich, seated on the edge of the straw bed, his elbows on his knees and his forehead hidden in his hands, was saying to himself: "The seigneur of Plouernel. . . . A descendant of Neroweg! . . . Strange, fatal encounter! . . . Woe is us!"

"Oh, father," murmured the maid in a fainting voice, "this encounter is our sentence of death."

"The sentence of our ruin, but not of our death. Calm yourself, poor child, the seigneur of Plouernel knows not that our obscure family, descended from the Gallic chieftain Joel, who made a head against Cæsar, has been at strife with his own all through the past ages, since the Frankish conquest. But when that bailiff pronounced the name of Neroweg VI, which I had not heard mention during this ill-starred journey, and when questioned by me, that man answered his master belonged to the ancient Frankish family of Neroweg, established in Auvergne since the conquest of Gaul by Clovis, I no longer had any doubts, and, despite myself, I shuddered at the recollection of our family records, which our father once read to us at Laon, and that have remained in that country, in the hands of Gildas, my elder brother."

"Oh, why did our grandfather leave Brittany. Our family lived there so happy."

"Dear child, our grandfather, who lived near the sacred stones of Karnac, the cradle of our family, could no longer endure the oppression of the Breton seigneurs, who had grown to be as cruel as their Frankish fellows. He sold his little havings, and embarked with his wife at Vannes on a merchant vessel bound for Abbeville. He settled down in that city, where he set up a modest trade. Later, my father moved into the province of Picardy, and settled at Laon, where my elder brother Gildas still carries on the currier's trade. Coming by sea from Abbeville to Nantes to traffic in the articles of our trade, manufactured in Laon, I became acquainted with your mother, the daughter of the merchant to whom I was directed. Her parents did not wish to part from her. They made me promise not to leave Nantes. I became the partner of my wife's father, and grew rich in the business. Your mother then died. You were still a child. Her death was the greatest sorrow of my life: But you were left to me. You grew in gracefulness and beauty. Everything smiled upon me again. I was happy. And behold us now, while yielding to the wishes of your grandmother— and Bezeneq interrupted himself with a cry of despair: "Oh, it is frightful!"

"But how could we have merited the terrible punishment that seems reserved to us?"

"Oh," replied the bourgeois of Nantes with a sigh, "my happiness rendered me forgetful of the misfortune of our brothers! I was selfish!"

"Dear father, you surely exaggerate the faults or errors of your life."

"Millions of serfs and villeins people the lands of the seigneurs and the clergy. Among them, some drag along a painful existence, that ends in death from exhaustion and misery; others are hanged from the patibulary forks. Those unhappy people are Gauls like ourselves. If some townsmen live in tranquility in the cities, when they have for seigneur so gentle a master as Simon of Nantes, millions of serfs and villeins, on the other hand, are devoted to all the miseries of life, and victims to the seigniories and the Church."

"But, father, it did not depend upon you to alleviate the ills of these wretched folks."

"My father spoke like a brave and generous man when he said to the bourgeoisie of the city of Laon: 'We are subject to the exactions of the bishop, our seigneur. But, after all, we townsmen enjoy certain franchises. It, therefore, devolves upon us, being more intelligent and less miserable than the serfs of the fields, to aid these to their deliverance by ourselves rising against the seigneurs, and thus setting the example of revolt against oppression. In the instances where, of their own accord, they rise as happened in Normandy, as happened in Picardy, as happened in Brittany, it is then our duty to place ourselves at their head, in order to insure the success of the insurrection. Is it not a shame, an unworthy timidity, to allow those unhappy men to be crushed and punished for a cause that is ours as much as theirs? Does not the tyranny of the nobles and the friars weigh upon us also. Are not we the prey of the

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The Pilgrim's Shell

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feudal brigands the moment we leave the enclosure of the cities, where we suffer an amplitude of affronts? But my father's words were not able to convince the townsmen to decide upon insurrection. They feared to risk their property and make their lot worse. Myself, having grown rich, sided with the self-seekers, and I echoed the views of the other merchants: "No doubt, the condition of the serfs is horrible, but I can do nothing to improve it, and I dare not stake my life and fortune upon the result of an insurrection." Our cowardly and selfish indifference increased the audacity of the seigneurs, until to-day we cannot set foot outside the cities without being exposed to the brigandage of the chateains. Oh, my child, I am punished for having lacked energy and for disregarding the precepts of my father!"

"We are lost; there is no hope left!" exclaimed the maid, no longer able to restrain her sobs. "Death, a shocking death awaits us!" And Isoline, whose teeth chattered with terror, directed her father's attention, with a gesture, to the instruments of torture that furnished the cell. Hiding her face in her hands, she moaned convulsively.

"Isoline," rejoined Bezenecq imploringly and overcome with grief, "my beloved child, listen to the word of reason. Terror exaggerates. The aspect of this subterranean dungeon frightens. Oh, I understand that. But let's not lose all hope. When I shall have subscribed to all that the seigneur of Plouernel can exact from me, when I shall have consented to strip myself for his benefit of all that I possess, what do you imagine he could still do? Of what use to him would it be to have me tortured? He entertains against me no personal hatred. He is after my wealth. I shall give it all, absolutely all."

"Good father, you are seeking to calm my spirit. I thank you a thousand times."

"Is not our fate sufficiently sad? Why make the reality still darker? I had hoped to give you a rich dowry, to bequeath to you later my property, that would have insured the happiness of your children. And now I am about to be stripped of all. Our descendants will be reduced to poverty!"

"Oh, if only the seigneur of Plouernel grants us our lives, I would care little for that wealth that, for my sake, you bemoan."

"Nor shall I be less courageous than you," said Bezenecq, tenderly clasping the hands of his daughter: "I shall imagine I placed all my money on board a ship that went down. Once out of this infernal castle, dear child, we shall return to Nantes. I shall see my friend Thibault the Silversmith. He knows my aptitude for commerce. He will employ me, and will pay me a salary that will suffice for our needs. But it will be necessary, my pretty Isoline," Bezenecq proceeded, forcing a smile to calm his daughter, "it will then be necessary for you to sew our clothes with your own little white hands, and prepare our frugal meals. Instead of inhabiting our beautiful house on the place of Marche-Neuf, we shall take humble lodgings in the quarter of the ramparts. But, what of it, provided the heart is joyful! Moreover, I shall always have in my pocket a few deniers wherewith occasionally, on my return home, to buy you a new ribbon for your neck, my dear, sweet child, or a bouquet of roses to cheer your little bedroom."

Isoline felt hope rising within her at the words of her father, and shut her eyes not to be reminded of the horrible reality by the sight of the hideous stone mask and of the instruments of punishment. The maid hid her face on the breast of her father and murmured with emotion: "Oh, if only your words would prove true! If we only could quit this castle! So far from regretting our lost riches, I would thank God for affording me the opportunity of working for my venerated father!"

"Damosel Isoline, I shall know how to provide," gayly replied Bezenecq. "Moreover, who knows, but I may soon find an assistant. Who knows but that some worthy lad will demand you in marriage, falling in love with this charming face, when it shall have regained its rosy hue?" added the merchant, tenderly embracing his daughter.

"Father!" screamed Isoline, pointing with a gesture of dread toward the wall where the hideous stone mask was sculptured, and whose eyes seemed lighted from within. "Look, look at those flashes of light that escape from it! Some one has been spying upon us!"

The merchant quickly turned his head in the direction of the wall indicated by Isoline and to which he had given his back up to that instant. But the light had disappeared. Bezenecq took it for an illusion, proceeding from the wrought-up spirit of Isoline, and answered: "You must have deceived yourself. How do you expect the eyes of that rude figure to flash light? It would require a candle in the middle of the wall. Is that possible my child? Regain your senses!"

Suddenly the door of the cell opposite the mask was opened. Bezenecq the Rich and his daughter saw the bailiff, Garin the Serf-eater, enter with the scribe of the seigneur of Plouernel, and followed by several men of sinister mien. One of these carried a forge-bellows and a bag of coal; another bore several fagots. Isoline, for a moment reassured by her father, but now recalled to reality by the approach of the gaolers, uttered a scream of fright. In order to calm the agonies of his daughter, Bezenecq rose and said to the bailiff in a firm voice, while pointing to the scribe: "That, dear sir, is certainly the notary of the seigneur of Plouernel?" Garin the Serf-eater nodded in the affirmative. "This notary," continued the bourgeois of Nantes,

"comes to obtain my signature to the document by which I consent to pay ransom?" The bailiff again nodded in the affirmative. Addressing himself then to his daughter and affecting absolute calmness, almost cheerfulness: "Fear nothing, dear child, I and these worthy men will soon agree, after which, I am certain, we shall have nothing to fear from them and they will set us free. Note, then, master scribe, I am ready, by means of an authentic deed in favor of the seigneur of Plouernel, to give and cede to him all my possessions, consisting of five thousand and three hundred silver pieces, deposited with my friend Thibault, the silversmith and nainter of the Bishop of Nantes; secondly, eight hundred and sixty gold pieces and nine bars of silver, deposited in my house in a secret closet that I shall indicate to the person whom the seigneur count may commission to go to Nantes; thirdly, a large quantity of silver vessels, precious fabrics and furniture, which it will be easy to bring here by wagon, upon the written order that I shall issue to my confidential servant. There, finally, remains my house. Seeing it would not be quite practicable, worthy masters, to transport that also, I shall write and place in your hand a letter to my friend Thibault. Only two days before my departure from Nantes he promised to buy my house for two hundred pieces of gold. He will keep his promise, I am sure, especially when he learns of the tight place that I now find myself in. Accordingly, that's two hundred more gold pieces that, at my order, Thibault will have to deliver to the envoy of the seigneur of Plouernel. These assignments made, there remain to me and my daughter the clothes we have on. Now, worthy scribe, draw up the assignment, I shall sign it, and I shall join to it the letters to my servant and to my friend the silversmith. He knows too well the fashion of these times to fail to acquiesce in my wishes in the matter of the deposit that he has and of the purchase of the house. He will deliver the sum to the messenger whom the seigneur count is to dispatch to Nantes. As to the money in the secret closet of my house, it will be easy to find it with the help of this key and the directions that I shall dictate to the scribe—"

"The notary will first have to draw up the assignment, then, you shall write the letters to your friend," broke in Garin. "The directions for the secret closet will follow. Now hurry up."

"You are right, worthy bailiff," replied the bourgeois of Nantes with eagerness, fully at ease by the tone of Garin; and, leaning towards his daughter, who was seated on the edge of the bed, he said to her in an undertone: "Was I not right, my dear bundle of fears, in assuring you that, by a complete surrender of all my goods, these worthy masters would abstain from harming us?" Again embracing Isoline, whose fears began to make room for hope, and wiping with the back of his hand the tears that, despite himself, he was shedding, he turned to Garin: "Excuse me, bailiff, you would understand my emotion if you knew the foolish fears of this child. But what else can we expect! At her age, having until now lived happily at my side, she is easily alarmed—"

"First item: Five thousand and three hundred silver pieces deposited with the silversmith Thibault," recited the scribe, interrupting Bezenecq with his harsh voice; and, taking his seat on the edge of the gridiron, he wrote, on his knees for a desk, by the light of one of the lanterns. "Next and secondly," he pursued, "how many pieces of gold are there in the secret treasure of the Nantes house?"

"Eight hundred and sixty pieces of gold," Bezenecq hastened to answer, as if in a hurry to disengage himself of his riches; "and also nine bars of silver of different thicknesses." And, thus proceeding to enumerate his goods to the scribe, who entered them apace, the merchant pressed the hands of his daughter in an intoxication of pleasure to add to her confidence and courage.

"And now, Bezenecq the Rich," said Garin, "we shall want the two letters to your confidential servant and your friend Thibault the Silversmith."

"Kind scribe," answered the merchant, "lend me your tablet, give me two parchment sheets and a pen, I shall write yonder on my daughter's knees," and, suiting the act to the words, he placed himself at Isoline's knees, where he lay the notary's tablet, and wrote the letters, occasionally addressing the poor child with a smile: "Do not shake my table that way; you will have these worthy gentlemen form a poor opinion of my handwriting." The two letters finished, the merchant passed them over to Garin, who, after reading them, said:

"Now, we want the directions for the secret treasure, without which the assignment may not be effective."

"Here are two keys," said the merchant, drawing them from his pocket. "The one opens the door of a little vault which connects with the room that serves as my office—"

"In the room that serves as office," repeated the scribe, writing while he repeated the words of the merchant. The latter proceeded: "The other key opens an iron-bound box back of the vault. In that box will be found the bars of silver and a casket containing the eight hundred and sixty gold pieces. I own not another denier. And here, worthy masters, you have me and my daughter as poor as the poorest serf. I have not wronged the seigneur of Plouernel a single obole. But, for all that, we shall not lose courage!"

While the scribe finished transcribing the directions of Bezenecq, the latter, occupied only with his daughter, did not notice, any more than she, what was going on a few steps off in that cell, so feebly lighted by the lanterns, seeing that night had already fallen. One of the gaolers commenced heaping the coals and fagots under the gridiron.

"The seigneur of Plouernel may send his messenger to Nantes with an escort," Bezenecq observed to Garin the Serf-eater. "If the messenger is quick he can be back to-morrow night. We shall surely, my daughter and I, be set at liberty when the seigneur count will be in possession of my property. Only, while

waiting for the hour of our departure from the castle, be generous enough, bailiff, to have us taken to some other place, whatever it be, only less depressing than this. My daughter is broken down with fatigue; moreover, she is very timid. She would spend a sad night in this cell, surrounded by instruments of torture."

"Now that you mention these engines of punishment," said Garin the Serf-eater, with a strange smile, and taking the hand of the bourgeois, "come, Bezenecq the Rich, I wish to explain their use to you, especially their mechanism."

"I am not inquisitive to learn the details."

"Draw near to us, Bezenecq the Rich."

"That surname of 'Rich' that you insist in applying to me, is no longer mine," said the merchant with a sad smile; "rather call me Bezenecq the Poor."

"Oh," exclaimed Garin, as if in doubt and shrugging his shoulders. He then added: "Come on, Bezenecq the Rich!"

"Father!" cried out Isoline, uneasy, seeing her father stepping away from her. "Where are you going? Father, father, stay with me!"

"There is nothing to fear, dear child. Stay where you are. I am to give the bailiff certain directions as to the route that the messenger of the seigneur count will have to take." And, fearing to displease Garin, he followed him, happy at the thought that Isoline could not hear the explanations he was to receive from the Serf-eater. The latter stopped first before the iron gibbet that terminated in a carcan. One of the gaolers having raised the lantern at the order of Garin, he said to the merchant: "As you see, that carcan opens at will. You may guess its object."

"Yes. The neck of the patient being inserted in it, the poor fellow remains fast!"

"Just so. He is made to climb the ladder you see here. Then, as his neck is in the carcan, all you have to do is to close the collar with a latch and remove the ladder. The gibbet being raised nine or ten feet above the floor, you may imagine the rest."

"The patient remains hanged and strangled?"

"Not at all! He remains suspended, but not hanged. The carcan is too wide to strangle. Then, while our man is thus kicking in the air an equal distance between the ceiling and the floor, this large stone is fastened to his feet by means of these straps to moderate his kicking and induce him to keep quiet."

"That strain must be terrible."

"Terrible, Bezenecq the Rich, terrible! Just think of it! The jaws are dislocated, the neck is stretched, the jointures of the knees and hip crack fit to be heard ten paces off. And yet,—would you believe it?—there are people of such a stubborn make-up that they do not yield to this first trial?"

"What I do not understand," answered the merchant, suppressing his horror, "is that, instead of exposing themselves to this torture, they do not forthwith and loyally surrender all they own, as I have done. One, at least, escapes physical suffering and regains his freedom. Not so, worthy bailiff?"

"Bezenecq the Rich, you are the pearl of townsmen. It is evident that you are of extraordinary sagacity."

"You flatter me. I merely put myself through a very simple process of reasoning," rejoined the merchant, endeavoring to capture the good will of Garin. "I reasoned thus with my daughter: Suppose my whole fortune were placed on board a vessel; it goes down; I lose all my wealth; I find myself in the same position that I am in to-day; but so far from allowing myself to be discouraged, I start to work anew with fresh vigor to sustain my child. Is not that the better choice, worthy bailiff? Would you not do likewise?"

"You never will be reduced to that, Bezenecq the Rich. You have inexhaustible resources."

"You love to banter; you love to give me that surname of 'Rich' to me, now no less poor than Job."

"No, no; I do not banter. But let's return to the torture. I was saying that if the first trial failed to convince a stubborn fellow to give up his goods, he is then put through the second torture, which I shall now explain," and Garin, keeping the hand of the merchant, conducted him to the iron prong. "You see this prong? It is of well-beaten metal, strong enough to hold the weight of an ox."

"I readily believe it. That hook is, indeed, of large dimensions—"

"Our stubborn guest having resisted the trial of the carcan, he is hooked naked on this prong, either by the flesh of the back, or by the skin of his bowels, or by any other and more sensitive part of the body."

"Speak not so loud," implored the merchant, hardly able to restrain his indignation and horror, "my daughter might overhear you."

"You are right," answered the bailiff, with a sardonic smile; "your daughter's blushes must be spared. Well, now Bezenecq the Rich, think of it. I have seen stubborn fellows remain suspended from that hook by the skin for a whole hour, bleeding like a cow in the shambles; and still refuse to relinquish their goods! But they never resist the third trial, with which I am now about to entertain you, Bezenecq the Rich. Give me your ear, the description will interest you."

"Strange!" suddenly exclaimed the merchant, interrupting Garin the Serf-eater. "I smell smoke. Whence does the smell proceed?"

"Father, there is a fire!" cried out Isoline, horrified. "They are making a fire under the iron bars!"

The bourgeois of Nantes turned around sharply and saw the heaped-up combustibles under the gridiron beginning to take fire. Several tongues of flame lighted with their ruddy glow the black walls of the cell, while forcing themselves through thick columns of smoke. A frightful suspicion flashed through the

mind of the merchant, but he dared not even allow his thoughts to dwell upon them; and, wishing to comfort his daughter, said to her: "Be not afraid, you dear bundle of fears, that fire is built to drive off the chill in this cell; we may have to spend the night here. I was thanking the worthy bailiff for his thoughtfulness." But immediately upon this answer, uttered only in order to reassure his daughter, the merchant, shivering, despite himself with fear, turned to Garin: "Speaking truly, why is that fire made under the gridiron?"

"Merely to give you an idea of the omnipotence of this last test, Bezenecq the Rich. I now commence the description."

"It is superfluous. I take your word for it."

"A fire is built under the gridiron, as they are doing now; when the fire has ceased to shoot up flames, a necessary precaution, and consists of a bed of live coals, the recalcitrant patient is stretched naked upon the gridiron, and he is kept there with the aid of those rings and iron chains. At the end of a few instants the skin of the patient, red and shriveling, rips up, bleeds, then turns black. I have seen the hot coals pater with fat that, clotted with blood, dripped from the body of men even less fat than you, Bezenecq the Rich."

"Hold on, bailiff! I must confess to you my heart fails me, my head reels at the mere thought of such infliction," said the bourgeois of Nantes, shivering from head to foot. "I am ready to faint. Let me out of this cell with my daughter. I have assigned to your master my whole fortune. You have taken everything—"

"Come, come, Bezenecq the Rich," broke in the bailiff, "a man who empties himself as easily as you did at the first word, and without having suffered the least tortures, must have reserved other riches. That's what we'll learn all about in a moment."

"I? I have reserved part of my fortune!" exclaimed the merchant, struck almost speechless with amazement. "I have given you all, down to my last piece."

"You observed, my wily friend, that despite the assignment of all the property that you were credited with having, I continued to call you Bezenecq the Rich. I feel certain you still merit the name. Come, now! You must disgorge. Come, let's have the rest of your fortune."

"Upon the salvation of my soul, I have nothing left! I have given you all I possess."

"May not the three tests draw from you some admission to the contrary?"

"What tests are you speaking of?"

"The tests of the carcan, of the hook and of the gridiron. Yes, if you do not surrender to me the other property that you are hiding from us, you will undergo the three tests under the very eyes of your daughter," and saying this, Garin the Serf-eater raised his voice in such a way that Isoline, hearing his threats, darted through the gaolers and threw herself distracted at the feet of the bailiff, crying: "Mercy! Mercy upon my father! Have pity upon us!"

"Mercy depends upon him," said Garin, imperturbably. "Let him surrender to our seigneur what he still holds in reserve."

"Father!" cried out the young girl, "I know not what the extent of your wealth is. But if, in your tenderness for me, you sought to reserve ought to shelter me against poverty, I conjure you give it all! Oh, dear father, surrender everything!"

"You hear!" resumed Garin the Serf-eater, smiling fiendishly upon the couple, and seeing the demoralizing effect upon the merchant of the imprudent words that terror had drawn from Isoline, "I am not the only one to suspect you of hiding from us a part of your treasures, Bezenecq the Rich. Like a good father you have sought to keep a fat dowry for your daughter. Come, now, you must give us the dowry!"

"Garin," one of the gaolers approached to notify the bailiff, "the coals are red hot. They may go out if you put the man through the trials of the carcan and the hook."

"As a favor to this young girl I shall be generous," said Garin. "The gridiron test will be enough, but stir the coals. And now answer, Bezenecq the Rich. I ask you for the last time, yes or no, will you give all you possess to my seigneur, the Count of Plouernel, including your daughter's dowry?"

"It is my daughter whom I shall make the answer to," answered the merchant, in a solemn voice. "Gaolers will not believe me; and addressing Isoline in a voice broken with tears: "I swear to you, my child, by the sacred memory of your mother, by my tenderness for you, by all the pleasures you have afforded me since your birth,—I swear to you, by the salvation of my soul, I have not a denier left; I have surrendered all to the Seigneur of Plouernel!"

"Oh, father, I believe you!" exclaimed the girl at his feet, and turning to Garin, she extended her hands towards him in prayer: "You have heard my father's oath; you may join mine to it."

"I hold Bezenecq the Rich incapable of leaving his daughter thus penniless," retorted the bailiff. Turning then to the gaolers: "He will now have to confess to us. Strip him, stretch him on the gridiron and stir the coals. Let the brand flame up."

The men of the seigneur of Plouernel threw themselves upon Bezenecq the Rich. Despite the resistance and the heart-rending, desperate cries of his daughter, whom they brutally held back, they stripped the bourgeois of Nantes, spread him upon the gridiron, and, by means of the iron chains, fastened him over the burning coals. "Oh, my father!" exclaimed Bezenecq, "I have disregarded your advice . . . I now undergo the punishment for my cowardice . . . for my selfishness . . . I die under the torture for having been afraid to die arms in hand at the head of the serfs in revolt against the Frankish seigneurs . . . Triumph, Neroweg! Yet, perchance, the terrible day of reprisals will come to the sons of Joel!"

(To be Continued.)

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

The total number of subscriptions secured for The Weekly People for the week ending Saturday, January 30th is two hundred and three. These figures do not indicate that the work is being pushed the way it should be. This is the best time of the year to get subscribers. There are no street meetings or other campaign work to attend to. During the remaining winter months every comrade, friend and sympathizer should improve his idle moments by getting subscribers.

The prepaid subscription blanks have been sent away with. In place of them, the new "Post Cards" have been intro-

duced. The "Post Cards" are good for half-yearly subscriptions and are mailed with a one cent stamp. A quantity of them can be mailed in an envelope. The "Post Cards" will be found more convenient to handle. They are already addressed to this office, no envelopes are needed, they can be better preserved in your pocket and can be mailed as fast as subscriptions are secured, thereby avoiding delay to subscribers. The postal cards will be used for yearly subscriptions as heretofore. Prepaid "Post Cards" and "Postal Cards" simplify the handling of subscriptions. They are a sort of guarantee to anyone paying money to a stranger. Get a supply of them and if it will not help you in securing readers. Either kind sold in five dollar lots.

Comrade Goodwin is doing very good work in Los Angeles, securing twenty-six new readers during the week just ended.

The comrades of the 34th A. D. New York have sent in twelve more subscriptions during the week, making forty in all since the contest for the banner began. The 35th holds second place with twenty to its credit. Other districts in New York and Brooklyn are doing very little. Take the list of enrolled S. L. P. voters, divide them up amongst the members of your district and let every member resolve to visit and make readers of The Weekly People all the names assigned to him.

Section St. Louis and Comrade Stromquist, of San Francisco, each take a block of prepaid blanks.

Five or more subscriptions were secured by the following: H. Gunn, Schenectady, N. Y., 8; R. H. McHugh, St. Charles, Mo., 6; Section St. Louis, Mo., 5; G. A. Jenning, East St. Louis, Ill., 5. For the Monthly: C. M. Carlson, Tacoma, Wash., 8; S. Johnson, St. Paul, Minn., 6.

When sending in renewals please state that they are renewals or they will frequently go on the list as new subscribers before the old subscriptions have run out.

Several comrades have sent in quite a number of names to send sample copies to. We want more names and we want them from everywhere. Send in as many lists of names as you like and we will use them from time to time. Last week 800 sample copies were sent out.

Solicitors are wanted to work on good commission for The Weekly People. References required. Address The Weekly People, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

LABOR NEWS DEPARTMENT.

"The Ideal City," by Dr. Cosimo Noto, of New Orleans, which was reviewed in The People some weeks ago, is now on sale at this office. Price \$1.00.

Comrade Kemp, of Toronto, Can., writes that he believes that if every section kept a full stock of literature at their meetings there would be beneficial results both financially and intellectually. Such, at least, has been his experience since he took hold of the literature for his section. Last Sunday he sold \$4.70 worth of books, because he had

them in stock. Every section should keep a good and varied supply on hand, not only for their own members, but for the strangers who attend meetings. Sections can make a good increase in their income by handling the books.

Now that wage reductions and curtailment of production are the order of the day, and the impotence of the pure and simple union is plain even to its most stubborn adherent, it is timely to spread the leaflets on that subject. We have a number particularly good for distribution: "New and Old Trades Unions," "The Attitude of the Socialist Labor Party Towards Trades Unions," "Union Wreckers," "A Fair Day's Pay for a Fair Day's Work," "The Unemployed,"

and "The Manifesto of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance." Fifteen cents a hundred, \$1.25 a thousand.

The Edinburgh "Socialist" speaking of the forthcoming issue of Bebel's "Women Under Socialism" says: "Surely Great Britain can place an order for at least 100 copies. And our readers are reminded that this work can only be had in Britain by ordering it from the Socialist Labor Party." With orders coming in from all English-speaking countries, it looks as if the first edition will be a rapid seller. Get your orders in rapidly. The book will appear in two weeks.

Workingmen's Mutual Sick and Benevolent Society meets every first and third Wednesday at 501 East Eighty second street

2, 4 and 6 New Roads St., New York. P. O. Box 1576. Tel. 129 Franklin.

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As far as possible, rejected communications will be returned, if so desired, and stamps are enclosed.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

Table showing Socialist vote in the United States from 1888 to 1902, including percentages and total votes.

The law does not create right; right must dictate the law.

THERE GOES A PILLAR!

The latest issue of "The National Magazine" has an article signed by Senator Marcus A. Hanna. The subject is "Socialism and the Labor Unions."

The leading allegation of fact upon which is built the Senator's argument against Socialism and in behalf of his beloved system of capitalism is this:

"Until within a comparatively few years big capitalists, or the employing interests, have had the advantage, because there were more workmen than there was work. But conditions have changed, and for every workman, on an average, there are two jobs now in the heyday of our prosperity."

Now, then, before us is a copy of the Cincinnati "Times-Star" of the 5th of this very month, — the "Times-Star," be it noted, is a paper published in the second largest city of the Senator's own State. What testimony does the paper give? With billboard type across the whole width of the page the paper announces:

"Hundreds on the river front driven by the pangs of hunger to steal bread and meat by wholesale to save their lives—Testimony heartrending to the last word was given by a veteran police officer in court in pleading for the men he had been compelled to arrest, and the judge and prosecutor alike were moved."

And two days later the same paper has this to say:

"The old cry for 'bread' that has been heard in many places, but rarely in Cincinnati, until this present winter, is no longer sounding out in its weird and distressing pathos along the river front. There was bread enough and some to spare on Wednesday after several hundred applicants had been relieved, and the work of distribution was continued on Thursday under conditions that made the case-hardened police officers turn their heads away. The applicants were confined to no particular class or kind. There were women and children, strong men and weak men, and the story they nearly all told was monotonous in its ure want."

Again:

"Occasionally the police officers asked the applicants why they did not save up so as to have something for a rainy day, and in nearly every instance they got a reply that left them speechless for want of further logical argument."

With the present price of provisions it is next to impossible for him to keep soul and body together, if he happens to have a family on that sum [\$5.50 a week], and any idea of 'saving up,' as suggested, is, of course, out of the question."

Again:

"Nearly every morning at 1 or 2 o'clock policemen on their beats find men picking potato peelings out of ash-barrels."

Of course, soup-houses have gone up in Cincinnati. Thus things stood, and stand, in his own State, not to mention others, at the time that Senator Hanna was romancing about there being "two jobs now for every workman in the heyday of our prosperity!"

No further attention needs here to be paid to Senator Hanna's argument in favor of his social system, the system in which he "stands pat." The underpinning of his argument being knocked off the argument itself is a heap of rubbish.

Let not the double fact escape notice—

capitalism can not be defended and Socialism attacked but with falsehood, robust, shameless and deliberate; nor is the truth ever far to seek to knock down both the falsifier and his fraud with.

WHITAKER WRIGHT.

If the contemplated temple of The Hague's International Tribunal—the only international temple of capitalist society—were in existence, its flag would, at least, it should be now at half-mast. Whitaker Wright, in life a type and symbol of the full-orbed capitalist, in death prophetically symbolizing by his suicide and the cause thereof the attending fate of capitalism itself, lies on the funeral bier—mangled autopsied.

Whitaker Wright had the capitalist mind and also its physique. He was a "captain" of millions. His enterprises were launched thick and fast upon each other, and never to a lesser tune than \$5,000,000 each. In the aggregate, he had \$23,000,000 on the stocks. He knew to perfection the capitalist trick—nowadays blessed with a text by parsons and approved by lawyers—of making something out of nothing, plus the hide of the workman. He shot up like a rocket. He blazoned forth illustratively whatever truth there is, and in how far there is, in the capitalist moralists' claim that "opportunities are ample for all but the lazy." It matters not that his career was suddenly truncated by a British Court that sentenced him to seven years penal servitude for swindling, whereupon he committed suicide. On the contrary, the circumstance is brilliantly suggestive.

How many capitalists would there be at large if the swindle upon which capitalism thrives were prosecuted in each instance with the severity that Whitaker Wright ran up against?

There we have, for instance, the great Steel Trust. How dazzling three years ago were not its prospectuses and the dizzy array of figures of its profits that the Republican and Democratic press printed! To-day its stock has tumbled in a veritable break down. It was discovered to be insolvent. Hundreds, nay thousands, were swindled by it! Yet the criminals are at large.

And there is the Ship-building Trust. The last six months or so its affairs have been the subject of judicial fustigation. Telegrams have been published that read like a cross between "Town-Topics" jokes and the archives of the criminal courts. Swindle rampant, and to the tune of millions, but the Whitaker Wrights of the concern are at large.

And there is the Panama-Canal-Railroad affair. With \$40,000,000 cash as loot on the Federal Treasury and as bribe fund for Government officials and for the French "entrepreneurs," not a few of whom have before now been convicted of felony, the Whitaker Wright genius is obvious. As yet no convictions have been reached, or even arrests made.

Capitalist society certainly mourns in the death of Whitaker Wright a foremost member of the fraternity whom the fate that awaits capitalist society overtook before all the pillars of that society could be corralled—as they will be when the hour will have sounded for THE PEOPLE IN MASS to be the prosecuting attorney.

MODERN KNIPPERDOLINGS.

When, under the throbs of the capitalist revolution, seeking to free itself of the trammels of feudalism, the religious revolution of Luther broke out in Germany, the language he held, and which was sanely in harmony with material development, fell also upon the ears of several lunatics outside of the lunatic asylums, and was lunatically interpreted by these. Luther had spoken of the "naked truth." The expression seems to have knocked out what little sense there was in the heads of the aforesaid lunatics. They interpreted it literally. They stripped themselves—men and women—and rushed about proclaiming themselves the "Naked Truth." The wild chimera became tragic. A band of these seized the town of Munster, where they indulged in their wild capers, until massacred. A leader in that insanity was one Knipperdoling. The Knipperdolings are not dead. The "Iowa Socialist," an organ of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic Party, dishes up, in its issue of January 16, and over the gentleman's own signature, the latest Knipperdoling that we know of—brought up, however, to date, that is, with the sincerity of fanaticism left out, and in its stead self-seeking scheming tacked to the old Knipperdoling freakishness. The gentleman in question is

the Rev. Frederick G. Strickland.

Like the Knipperdolings of old, the Rev. Strickland has heard something he did not understand; that, as in their instance, filtered queerly through his head; and, just as with them, reappears colored with his own quaint genius. The Rev. Strickland heard about Trades Unions. He has heard a great deal about that. But his Knipperdoling mind could not digest the subject. He could only perceive in it something to get at cash by. Having been trained in no useful trade, he became a jaw-smith, joined the only party that has any use for the occupation—the said alias "Socialist" party—and now proposes a jaw-smiths Union—"speakers Union" he calls it! In other words the sober-sane revolutionary idea of Unionism, of an organization against the exploiter by the exploited, now leaps from the Rev. Strickland's Knipperdoling pate transmuted into a scheme whereby members of an organization, all of whom are supposed to be gathered for a common purpose, are to band themselves with the object in view of, by "Union rules," preventing—what? Why, PREVENTING THEMSELVES FROM EXPLOITING THEMSELVES!

A serious mistake it would be were the Rev. Strickland to be taken for a unique freak in his set. Knipperdoling was not alone; would not have been heard of had he been the only one of his kind. He typified a set of people. So does the Rev. Strickland. Owing to the relentless logic of the Socialist Labor Party on the burning subject of Trades Unionism, and to the consequent wild dance that the S. L. P. has unremittingly led the "Union" frauds and fakirs of the Rev. Strickland's party, his party has come as a whole, to assume a Trades Union posture that puts its foot into the "party's" mouth, and that simultaneously wriggles every toe of the "party's" foot into its own Trades-Union-posture's mouth. The net result of it all is that the said alias party is extensively a Knipperdoling affair in point of "pure and simple" freakishness, only brought up to date in the matter of low down labor fakir scheming—the which two features have found their joint and clearest expression in the Rev. Frederick G. Strickland, and his proposed "Jaw-smiths Union."

Fortunately for the modern Knipperdoling, his life has fallen in benigner days. He will not be massacred, he will be uproariously laughed out of existence.

HOW WAGES RISE.

From Shaffer, down to Max Hayes, every grafter on the Trades Unions declaims about how their pure and simple Unions "raise wages," and the statements, from Hayes up to her superior Shaffer, have again and again been riddled in these columns. Hitherto the riddling has been done in words. Let it now be done in figures.

On January 5, the steel workers of Pittsburgh, Pa., returned to work under a new scale that then went into effect, and which the company decided upon. The below tables tell the tale:

The first table gives the old rates received by the men, the men's own scale of wages, and the present, or the company's scale, applicable to the 40-inch mill:

Table showing wages for 40-inch mill, listing jobs like Heaters, Rollers, Manipulators, etc., with Old rates, Company's scale, and Workers' scale.

The next table gives the same set of rates applicable to the 48-inch mill:

Table showing wages for 48-inch mill, listing jobs like Rollers, Heaters, Shearers, etc., with Old rates, Company's scale, and Workers' scale.

Such is the "rise of wages"—a steady plunge downward!—magnificent! as magnificent as Artemus Ward's "majestic rise" from colonel to drum-boy when he

was kicked out of the paper regiment he tells about;—only, the above figures are not quite so humorous!

And these are the figures for a thoroughly organized trade, for a trade that comes under the head of "skilled"—what must it be for the others!

And these are the conditions of an organization, whose officers and whose journal prate about the "brotherhood of capital and labor," and are beating the bush to find a way for "amicable relations" between the class whose earnings decline and must decline and whose share in the wealth they produce sinks and must sink, as the above figures show, and the class whose plunder increases and must increase proportionally,—so long as capital and labor remain brothers!

That the Hayeses, the Shaffers et al should be allowed by the rank and file to talk of the "rise of wages" when they can only mean their own wages—frequently of sin—in other pursuits than the regular ones of their trade, is one of the feathers in the cap of the criminal schooling of British or pure and simple Trades Unionism.

BUT THAT FEATHER WILL BE PLUCKED! UNPRECEDENTED EXPORTS MINUS "PROSPERITY."

What is the matter with the capitalist class? Its inconsistencies in the matter of exports require explanation. In the exports of domestic products the United States in 1903 held first place among the countries of the world. 1903 was a record year in the value of exports. Despite this fact the capitalist class which dominates the United States is not jubilant. Unlike in 1901, when a similar export condition prevailed, nothing is heard of "prosperity," "the job seeking man," "the full dinner pail," and the many other unsurpassing features of great industrial and financial expansion. What has come over the nature of the capitalist vision, that, instead of these, the necessity for wage reductions and curtailments is dwelt on, and the prospects of a panic with public soup-houses in full blast, are pointed out? Why this apparent inconsistency?

Export is the safety valve of the over-supply and under-demand caused by capitalist production. The decline in exports for 1902, is attributed by a capitalist commercial authority, to "the corn crop shortage of 1901, high prices demanded for our surplus products, and insistent home demand." This year a similar crop shortage exists in cotton, and its probable effect on exports has already been considered as unfavorable. The "high prices" and "insistent home demand" of 1902 were due to great improvements and extensions to industry and transportation growing out of the colossal production of the trusts. When these ceased, "insistent home demand" ceased, and low prices based on extensive wage reductions, enforced by curtailments, became a vital necessity, as a preliminary to unprecedented exports. Add to this the fact that the country's productive capacity is increasing at a rate that continually demands new markets, that that foreign competition is gaining in the power of resistance, and it can easily be seen that unprecedented exports are now a reflex of paucity, instead of prosperous conditions; a fact which the conduct of the capitalist class makes clear!

"In the 'World's Work' for February," says Bradstreet, "Mr. Charles M. Harvey, the well-known Western historical-political writer, adds his prediction to those which have gone before, to the effect that the building of the Panama Canal will establish new conditions and shift the country's trade centre from the East to the great central valley, just as the building of the Erie Canal gave New York a long lead over its then rivals, Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore. Influences now at work, and new forces brought into being by the shifting of trade currents, will, he thinks, give this movement momentum. He points out that to-day supplies of four-fifths of the country's most important commodities are found in the great plain between the Alleghenies and the Rockies, and instances the fact that a large and steadily increasing proportion of the country's new cotton mills are between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi River."

This summary of Mr. Harvey's views, will explain, why, aside from the millions of bribes that may be offered them, Southern and Western Democrats are voting for Panama along with the Republicans. The dazzling prospect brooks no delay such as Nicaragua offers. It also shows how great economic changes operate to modify society and its institutions, thus giving endorsement to the materialist conception of history as advocated by Socialism.

Chicago University has outgrown denominationalism must not be understood to mean that it has outgrown Rockefellerism. Standard Oil dollars will be received, and Standard Oil economics will be taught, in the future as in the past.

The conflict of opinion among capitalists regarding trades unionism goes on apace. This conflict is of such a character as to lead the unwary to believe that the capitalist class is not united in its exploitation of labor, and that its interests on the whole are not diametrically opposed to those of the working class. Hanna tours the country advocating what he is pleased to call an "Americanized Unionism," as an antidote to Socialism and all its alleged evils. Parry, on the other hand, insists that this same "Americanized Unionism" favors the creation of the worst kind of Socialism. Whence this difference of opinion? A man's psychology is determined by his economic position. A working man, having interests opposed to those of the capitalists, views things from an anti-capitalist standpoint, and expresses opinions in accordance therewith. Capitalists, too, have their opposing interests. A small capitalist will rail against those forms of capitalism that are favorable to the large capitalist and detrimental to himself. He will, for instance, rail against trades unionism, when it imposes conditions on him that his small production cannot overcome, with the result that his large competitor profits therefrom. Reasoning along this line further, the questions arise, Why shouldn't Hanna favor a unionism whose strikes and bogus arbitration redound to the profit of the soft coal and other interests, in which he and the capitalists of the Civic Federation are largely concerned? And why should not Parry object to a unionism which is being manipulated by la Sam Parks, to the detriment of the capitalists of his status in economic life?

Hanna in wanting "Americanized" union, and Parry, "free" labor, are favoring forms of labor exploitation that are profitable according to their respective economic conditions. The consequence is their conflicting union views. Against the abolition of all forms of labor exploitation, however, both sink their difference. Both are then opponents of Socialism—capitalists conscious of their class interests.

Pittsburg dispatches report Amalgamated strike against attempted reductions of wages in independent sheet mills at Zanesville, Ohio, and Parkersburg, W. Va. Why were there no Amalgamated strikes against actual, not attempted, wage reductions in the trust sheet mills?

TO THE PRODUCERS

Written for The Daily People by J. K. G. Brooklyn.

For those who for the idlers toil, what boots it That my heart with pity beats unceasingly To see them slaving like dumb animals, To hear them groan, not knowing that they could Be free if they themselves but so desired? To be bound by shackles invisible, To bow before masters like cowering brutes, To fear raising their heads, for the master Whose sight is as keen as that of an eagle, Who will not fail to spy that second-wasted— Will curse at them wounding their hearts as deep As could the lash, for, to him who can not give answer to an undeserving insult, A word is sharp as is the leathern whip. Slaves, not knowing their very lives are sold. Heart rending woe! Truth, where is thy voice. To proclaim their misery? Beguile The life's strength they drain without recompense? 'Tis time that justice should unseath her sword. Right's banners it is high time to unfurl. 'Tis time man should no longer be a slave. You who hold right as might, the time is come When it is yours to do and not to sigh. Sympathy may ease, but never can it aid. Arise and put your shoulders to the wheel. That will unwind the crushing coils of greed. And unfathom the cause that makes man slave; The cause that makes babes toil, and sends their sires Whose place it is to do this work, on tours Of idle suffering, and makes their lives A hell on earth. A cause that makes parent A stranger to his child, and the father Seem like a visitor at his home. Rise up, Oh! you nations, and unite, this struggle In which now we battle involves all men, All lives, all homes, it is no idle dream. But a reality that must be met! That must be fought with, and must be conquered.

No time is there to waste in idle fancy. It is a duty that calls loud for action. It is the voice of Freedom; and answer We will, necessity will compel it. Then, why be a hindrance? The time is here. Our cause is just, then, why should we delay? The blow must be struck, and we must strike it. Our's it is to vote this cruel system down. No blood need we to spill, we need but unite And the victory is ours, and Freedom's. Her light will guide our lives through paths of peace And fill us with the love that nature's smile Has long then for the hearts of men. HASTEN THEN, O MEN, THE DAY OF JUSTICE!

AN EASY LESSON TO PARRY

"The average profit on capital to-day is estimated by good authorities at about four per cent. Since what does not go to capital goes to labor, how ridiculous are the claims that are made by labor agitators and Socialists that labor is being robbed of seventy-five per cent."

—Parry in Kansas City address, Jan. 26, 1904.

The above reasoning is this: "Seeing that Capital earns but four per cent. on its INVESTMENT, it follows that Labor, and not Capital gets the lion's share of PRODUCTION. If honestly made, a more scatter-brained system of reasoning can ill be imagined. As well reason: "Seeing that a man is YOUNGER than his own father, therefore he can not be OLDER than his own children." Mr. Parry's "reasoning" implies a confusion of thought.

The percentage that Socialists prove Labor is robbed of is a percentage, not of the CAPITAL INVESTED, but of the WEALTH PRODUCED.

Say a capitalist invests \$1,000,000 in production, and the goods turned out by the factory fetch \$1,100,000. These additional \$100,000 tell us little. They neither tell the share of Capital nor the share of Labor. Everybody knows the whole amount does not go into the Capitalist's pockets, least of all into those of Labor. In order to ascertain their respective shares the cost of a number of items must first be deducted, to wit, of all the items needed for the operation of the plant. The principal items under this head are "raw material" and "wear and tear" of the plant. Say that all these items together amount to \$50,000, then there remain \$50,000 from which the shares of Capital and Labor are to come. Obviously, in this hypothetical, yet normal case, four per cent. being the profit that the capitalist gets on his capital, then—four per cent. of \$1,000,000 being \$40,000—it would follow—

1st. That the capitalist pockets forty out of the fifty thousand dollars that there remained to be divided of the wealth produced:

2nd. That, although the percentage of profit on the capitalist's INVESTMENT is only FOUR, his percentage on the WEALTH PRODUCED, and divided between him and Labor, is EIGHTY.

3rd. That the percentage of the capitalist's profit on the capital he INVESTS may, however small, be a gigantic percentage of the WEALTH PRODUCED and divided between him and Labor; and

4th. That to mention the percentage of profit on the capital that a capitalist invests, and remain silent on the amount of capital that such profit is the per cent. of, is idle talk, which conveys no idea of the amount of plunder actually practiced on Labor—the real subject at issue.

The amount to which Labor is robbed of the WEALTH IT PRODUCES is independent of the smallness or bigness of the capitalist's profit on the amount he INVESTS. His profit on that INVESTMENT may be small—it declines under capitalism seeing that ever larger capital is wheeled into line and is needed for production—and yet his plunder of the PRODUCT of Labor may be, as it is to-day, gigantic, the lion's share of Labor's product; on the other hand, the capitalist's profit on his INVESTMENT may be large—for instance, while \$40,000 are only four per cent. of a \$1,000,000 investment, \$100 are ten per cent. of a small \$1,000 investment—and yet, and naturally too, in such cases his plunder of the PRODUCT of Labor would be small, both absolutely and relatively.

Thinking not being the forte of the capitalist, and political economy being the gentry's decided weak side, we incline to the belief that, despite the capitalist's expertness and deftness in fraudulent practices, Mr. Parry's "argument" is a product, not of the gentleman's bump of cheat, but of his bump of stupidity.

E. Benjamin Andrews is progressing. When president of Brown University, Rhode Island, in 1896, he shocked the banker patrons of that seat of learning, by advocating free silver, thereby denouncing "the crime of '73." He was permitted to migrate to the West. There he became Chancellor of Nebraska University, a position he now holds. Recently Rockefeller offered to donate to this university \$66,666, conditional on gifts from the public of \$33,333. The donation was opposed. The morality of the Rockefeller method of acquiring millions was questioned. Thereupon Andrews, forgetting "the crime of '73," rushed to the defense of the crimes of Rockefeller. He glorified the crushing of weak competitors, and expressed the belief that enlightened society would return to Spartan methods in dealing with weaklings whether economic or human. From silver to Sparta is a far cry. But it is not an impossible one. Every free silverite is an embryo plutoerat, ready for transformation as soon as the economic environment permits. Witness Hogg and Townes—witness Andrews, defender and glorifier of Rockefeller.

The whole downtown district of Chicago is being honeycombed with tunnels for the removal of freight by electric traction. This, it is declared, will do away with teaming and teamsters. The latter have been a power in Chicago, entering into combination with employers for the destruction of competitors and the unionization of employes. It now remains to be seen if this power can be preserved in the face of this latest achievement of modern engineering.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—Don't you think the working class ought to become revolutionary?

UNCLE SAM—In what respect?

B. J.—That they should lay in a supply of Winchester repeating rifles.

U. S. (looking disappointed)—Is that what you consider "revolutionary"?

B. J.—Yes. Isn't that the proper and only thing to do?

U. S.—No.

B. J.—Do you believe in revolution?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Are people not revolutionary when they get ready to shoot?

U. S.—See you here. Do you remember when the traitor Tories in this country "laid in supplies" of guns?

B. J.—I do; the sealawags.

U. S.—Do you remember when the copperhead slaveholders "laid in supplies" of guns at the election of Lincoln?

B. J.—I do; I remember however, in the North such Bourbon sympathizers with the Copperheads as August Belmont and the New York Herald did likewise, and got ready rebel flags to welcome rebels in New York.

U. S.—These people were all "ready to shoot," were they not?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Would you say, therefore, that they were "revolutionary"?

B. J.—Hem—er—

U. S.—Let me give you a pointer. The revolutionary spirit is manifested not in METHODS, but by AIDS! not by HOW, but by the WHAT. Methods are like alphabets. You can spell bad well as good words with the alphabet. Men, the most reactionary in the world may take to their guns and be "ready to shoot." To determine whether a man is revolutionary or not, inquire WHAT he wants, not HOW he wants it.

B. J.—I see.

U. S.—Now, then, what do these working people want whom you think should be "laying in supplies of guns"?

B. J.—They want to overthrow monopoly.

U. S.—By nationalizing the monopoly?

B. J.—Hem—er—

U. S.—As far as they have uttered themselves they want to overthrow the large concentrations of the means of production, and restore the old-time system of small production.

B. J.—Exactly.

U. S.—And that is not REVOLUTION, that is REACTION. The system of small production is antiquated and unfit for civilization. Civilization man needs plenty of wealth; plenty of wealth is not possible under the system of small production; plenty of wealth is possible only under a system of largely concentrated means of production.

B. J.—But we have such a system now, yet see how poor the people are.

U. S.—They are poor, not because of the large concentration of the tools of production, but because those tools are private property.

B. J.—And you would call "revolutionary" what?

U. S.—The modern revolutionist, the revolutionist now needed, is he who moves to overthrow, not the large aggregations of means of production, but their private ownership, and transform that into public, collective ownership. He who would overthrow the large aggregations of the means of production and restore the system of small individual production is not revolutionary, he is, on the contrary, an arch reactionist; he would throw civilization back at least 100 years.

B. J.—Then you don't take any stock in this "laying in of guns" and "shooting" business?

U. S.—None at all. Men may shoot right and they may shoot wrong. Let me know what a man wants, and I'll tell you whether or not he will shoot right.

B. J.—But he may want the right thing and want to shoot for the right thing.

U. S.—In that case he will vote for the right thing first. Let me give you another pointer, Brother Jonathan: If in this country all those, or even one-half of those who are interested in bringing about the right thing, i.e., the Socialist or Co-operative Commonwealth, vote for it, there will be no need of shooting. The capitalist class is a coward class. Soon as it sees a vigorous demonstration at the ballot box for Socialism, it will pull up stakes and like a detected thief slink away.

B. J.—Then let us all cast our votes solidly for the Socialist Labor Party everytime.

U. S.—Yes, one and all. That is the most revolutionary act possible, and the most sensible withal, just now.

CORRESPONDENCE

(CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, REMIND THEM TO SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.)

THE MILITIA IN THE COLORADO LABOR WAR.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Fate has played many grim tricks on the workers of Colorado during the past couple of years, but it has reserved its most piquant example for the day in which the pure and simple trades unions are receiving the finishing touches from their friends, the capitalists, in the great economic struggle that is now drawing to a close.

If one thing stands out more conspicuously than another, it is the fact that the State militia has been the principal weapon of the capitalists in their warfare against organized labor. Even the courts, subservient as they generally are, rebelled at the idea of doing the dirty work demanded by the Mine-owners Association, the Citizens Alliance, and other "law-abiding" bodies. Not so the militia. It was ready for anything; laws, conventions, and common decency were as if they did not exist.

And now, strange irony of fate, that lover of the "citizen soldiery," Jas. F. Carey is to stump the State, to win back, if possible, the waning adherence of the workers to the tenets of pure-and-simple-ism. How charmed will be the men who were deported from Telluride and other places in defiance of the law of the land at the thought that their latest champion stands convicted of supporting the militia in his native State! It is just possible that he, when indulging in lofty flights of denunciation against the prevalent brutality of the State administration, may be brought to earth with a bump by some misguided individual who may question the consistency of criticising a condition in one place and upholding it in another.

Ah, it is rather a grim joke! And then, there are not a few who know why he failed of re-election last fall. That, too, may be the subject of a question.

The strike of the W. F. of M. has brought out one thing clearly, and that is the fact the blusterers who led the rank and file into the cul de sac where they now stand at bay are a lot of spineless creatures. Now, when the battle-cry of the worker should be sounded as never before, it becomes apparent that the issue is to be fogged, and the workmen of the State sacrificed on the altar of "practical politics." A "Labor party" is the cry of some; "Alliance with the old party that promises most" is the counter-cry, and alone in the State stands the S. L. P. in its demand for the unconditional surrender of the class of the exploiters. "The Socialists" have gone to the bad and that is all there is to it.

Fraternally,
H. J. Brimble.
Florence, Col., Jan. 19.

SOME LESSONS BY PARRY.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—It is seldom that we find such a powerful argument for Socialism as was given lately by Mr. David M. Parry, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, in an interview lately given to Frank Carpenter. In a single article he shows the arrogance of the capitalist, the weakness of pure and simple trade unionism, and the complete slavery of the workingman. This is all the more interesting as it comes from a man who represents 3,000 manufacturers, the untrusting capitalists of America. Of course, some of his arguments against the pure and simple trades unions are such as we would expect from any capitalist against whom they are used. He says they defy constituted authorities and try to nullify individual and property rights. In other words, they are kicking a little over some of the stiff injunctions lately issued by the courts against strikers, and are sometimes driven by starvation to rage and riot. Yes, Mr. Parry is right there; the trades unionists are getting the injunctions in the neck right along, and it's not surprising that they are often driven to rioting.

But, says Mr. Parry, "their strikes don't pay, anyhow," and again I think we will have to agree with him. He shows how the coal miners in Pennsylvania starved and tortured themselves for five months to gain a paltry increase of 10 per cent. in wages, while, in the meantime, the mine owners boosted the price of coal a hundred per cent., and are not selling it for the normal price yet. Yes, it's true, Mr. Parry, that the capitalist can boost prices a great deal faster than the workingman can boost wages, but the "pure and simple" haven't found that out yet. Just let them blindly follow Gompers and Mitchell, and they will be led to some more "glorious victories." And the consumer, who is the workingman, of course, can consume less and pay more till the capitalists are satisfied.

Mr. Parry drives another nail into the coffin of "pure and simple trades unionism" when he shows the absurdity of their "arbitration policy." "Either a man has a right to run his own business or he has not," says he, and he is right. If we approve of the system of capitalism, of the system of capitalist master and wage slaves, it is not absurd to claim that there is anything to arbitrate between this master and his slave? Mr. Parry agrees here with every Socialist. There is nothing to arbitrate. If we are to have capitalism, then we must

ent that there were two classes in the contest—capitalist class and working class, hence the class struggle.

Comrade Wegener, of Brooklyn, will lecture on "Socialist Labor Party Tactics and Social Democratic or 'Socialist' Party Broadness." Fraternally,
R. Berdan.
Paterson, N. J., Jan. 27.

PIERSON'S ARREST IN FRESNO, CAL.
To The Daily and Weekly People.—Enclosed find list of subscriptions taken at Los Angeles, Bakersfield and Fresno. As the capitalists and their hirelings have refused the S. L. P. permission to hold any street meetings in Los Angeles, the local comrades had to content themselves with using their headquarters for agitation purposes.

Held two good meetings in Bakersfield and five in Fresno, selling seventy-one books and distributing some 500 leaflets. In the latter city, with the assistance of Mr. Prospero Mangone, a sympathizer, I succeeded in organizing a section of thirteen members.

The first meeting in Fresno was held Saturday night and at its close as usual the capitalists or petty cockroach exploiters felt so much hurt over what was said that they through their lackeys preferred a charge of disturbing the peace against me. After lying in jail all Saturday night, Sunday and Sunday night, I was taken before the court Monday morning. I pleaded not guilty to the charge, and demanded jury trial.

The case was set for the following Wednesday, and my bond was fixed at one hundred dollars. Mr. Prospero Mangone went on my bond, and as he is an Italian by birth, it is surprising to me that the capitalist press did not circulate another Anarchist story.

Well, the trial came off with four officials swearing against me. These were the star witnesses for the prosecution, but despite their lying statements the jury, after being charged by the judge, were out about ten minutes and brought in a verdict of "not guilty." Thus ended another farce and a victory for the S. L. P.

My stay will be four weeks in San Francisco, and I am in hopes of rolling up a large list of subscribers for The People during that time.

Fraternally yours,
Charles Pierson.
San Francisco, Cal., Jan. 16.

THE HOMESTRETCH FUND.
To The Daily and Weekly People:—Being one of the receivers of crumbs from the table of the capitalist class (and very lean they are), I have been following the example of the Peekskill comrade in practicing a little self-denial. The enclosed two dollars, for the emancipation of the press, is the result of doing the homestretch from the slave pen on foot instead of riding in the cars.

May the striking arm of the S. L. P. never grow less in the sincere wish of one of the Irish Brigade enlisted under the banner of the irrepressible Socialist Labor Party. Fraternally,
Pat. A. Mackle.
Toronto, Ont., Jan. 23.

ST. LOUIS AS A CONVENTION CITY.
To The Daily and Weekly People.—Section Kansas City to-day unanimously voted in favor of St. Louis, Mo., as the place of holding the next convention, for the following reasons:

1. It will give the delegates the advantages of cheap transportation, on account of the World's Fair.
2. It is centrally located.
3. It has probably the most active section of any central-west city, which we believe, will fully attend to all details.
4. The holding of the convention in that city would give momentum and inspiration to the movement in the West.

Respectfully,
Press Committee.
Kansas City, Mo., Jan. 24.

IN SEARCH OF S. I. RANZENHOFER.
To The Daily and Weekly People:—Any comrade or sympathizer knowing the whereabouts of S. I. Ranzenhofer, M. D., will please correspond with Aug. Clever, 1120 Talbot avenue, Braddock, Pa.

CLEVELAND MASQUERADE BALL.
Section Cleveland, O., will entertain its members and sympathizers on Saturday, February 6, at a masquerade ball, to be given at Hungaria Hall, on Clark avenue, beginning at 8 p. m. Tickets can be procured from Party members in advance for 25 cents each; at the door tickets will sell at 50 cents each. The net proceeds will be a contribution to the Homestretch Fund for The Daily People.

In previous years this annual affair has netted close to \$100. Everybody interested should make a special effort this year to beat the record, considering the cause to which the proceeds are donated. Section Cleveland's pledge to the Homestretch Fund amounts to \$234; \$100.85 has been paid in. If everybody will now do his duty, and this masquerade nets the expected amount, the rest will come easy.
The Organizer.

BOSTON LECTURES.
Sunday, February 7.—Albert L. Waterman, of Boston. Subject: "Some Reasons Why I Became a Socialist."
Sunday, February 14.—Michael T. Berry, of Lynn. Subject: "The Necessity of Economic Organization."

The above lectures are held in Party Headquarters, at 1165 Tremont street, Sundays, at 8 p. m. Comrades and sympathizers are requested to attend. Questions allowed and discussion invited. Admission free.

The Development of Capitalism

(Written for The People by Mrs. Olive M. Johnson.)

(Continued from last week.)

In tracing the development of the human race, it strikes us at once, that one simple principle has manifested itself throughout, and acted as a most prominent civilizer of mankind—namely, the Division of Labor. Its first great manifestation was the separation of the work of the sexes; then that of freeman and slave; then of artisan and agriculturist. In the medieval towns, this principle took a new hold of the artisans. They became tradesmen, i. e., for example, shoemaking, tailoring, capmaking, weaving, blacksmithing, etc., etc., became separate and distinct pursuits. That was the status of the division of labor at the time of the capitalistic revolutions, and that was the status upon which simple handicraft was built. But, in the advancement of human progress, a new stage of development is reached, namely, the age of manufacture, and this is built upon a new status of the division of labor: the division of labor within a single workshop.

The principle that underlaid simple handicraft was that each workman learned to make an article in its entirety, and, in time, could become a master himself. Manufacture, when fully developed, presents a new situation, viz., that of each and every worker producing only a part of an article. In general, this sub-division of labor comes about in this way. Our old friend, the employer of eight men, after having made the all-important capitalistic discovery that surplus value is only acquired by "working the workers," faces a new capitalistic problem, that of making the labor of his workmen more productive than those of his competitors. It would not do for him to become an absolute tyrant to his men, because that was an age of strong—if not public—yet, at least, neighborly opinion, and, in the small towns of that day, everybody's affairs were pretty well rehearsed. He had competitors who might take advantage of his bad name. However, a discovery was made which solved the problem of increasing surplus value: that of subdividing the work in the workshop. Let it be understood, however, that this did not take place at a bound as a scheme hit upon by any individual—it was a growth. But, to carry out our example, suppose that in our shop it becomes a tendency for each of the eight men to do a certain part of the work until it is found that each is more skilled than the rest in his particular line. The master could then easily figure out that by this method the collective product of the men is far greater in a given time. The men, however, could not be presumptuous enough to demand more pay when work is made "easier;" so, naturally, the "whole fruit of the new method accrues to the master himself. At this stage, the "tendency" soon becomes a general rule.

This rule once established our rising capitalist soon makes a new and most valuable capitalistic discovery, viz., that he can even save wages by this sub-division. In the old days, an apprentice was bound for several years, and, besides his board and lodging, he received some remuneration, which increased from year to year. Under the new method, it soon became the rule that no one was any longer "bound." Labor became free. The young fellows were set to perform the simplest work. As they grew older and taller, they, of course, liked more pay; but our capitalist could not morally be expected to pay a high price for such simple work; so the "free" apprentices had to shift, and new youngsters took their places. In time, as the work became more and more sub-divided and simplified, this rule also applied to the older workmen.

At this stage, production for profit is manifest, not, as before, obscure. The finished products go into the markets, and he who has extracted the most surplus value from his workmen can make the most profit on his commodities; yes, more: if he is a skillful exploiter, he can even undersell his competitors and yet make a higher profit than they. It is plain, therefore, that he gains two things at once—customers for his products and more wealth for himself. This new wealth has a two-fold use for him; first, it enables him to live in a better style than his competitors; and this, in turn, has the advantage that in his town he becomes a man of importance, a prominent character, a person with whom the rest are proud to enter into relation in any shape, even if this only goes as far as to purchase and pay dear for the goods which bear his name; second, part of his wealth can be used to enlarge his workshop, so that production can be increased to supply the demand thus variously created. Instead of eight men, he may, in time, be able to employ sixteen, instead of sixteen, fifty; instead of fifty, one hundred, etc.

The type, then, of the manufacturing period is an employer who is no longer a workman himself, but simply the manager and the director of the enterprise; further, a large workshop, in which as high as 100 to 200 men may be employed, working with simple tools as before, but now only on part of the product. A commodity may pass through ten to fifteen, or even more hands before it is finished. Say our employer is a tailor. Then his shop will employ men to do the cutting, basting, sewing, pressing, sewing buttons, make button-holes, finish up, and possibly, a few more branches.

The division of labor formed the typical mode of growth of the manufacturing stage; but it was not the only one. It developed also by assimilation. Take for a typical example of this the textile industry. It is well known that during the period of handicraft, there were in every country hundreds upon hundreds of persons who made a living by doing people's carding, spinning, weaving, bleaching, dyeing, etc. During the manufacturing period, however, these branches were drawn together in large workshops and, by division of labor, and new methods, and chemical discoveries, the isolated spinners, weavers, bleachers, etc., were driven into the towns to look for a buyer of their labor power.

The large workshop was the distinct and useful product of the manufacturing period. As it developed the tools fitted for particular uses were gradually improved until finally they scaled the barrier, so to speak, and developed into machines. Out of the workshop and its sub-division of work, then, developed the machine; but the machines could not, in and by themselves, produce the revolution in capitalist industry which was necessary in order for the capitalist system to fulfill its historic mission. The amount of work put out by the worker with the simple tools had a physical limit which could never be exceeded, and even machine production, at that stage, was hemmed in and limited for lack of an adequate motive power. Human and animal power was limited by physical capacity. Water was dependent upon locality and thus, contrary to the general tendency, would isolate and scatter the workshops. Wind was dependent upon the seasons and could, therefore, never fill a general and continuous demand. In order to leap the boundaries of the manufacturing period, the human machinery, the machinery lodged within the brain of man, had to be set in motion, spurred by the demand of the age, and a new motive power was discovered, a motive power independent of the physical strength of living beings, independent of locality, independent of the caprices of the elements. Such a discovery was steam. In steam a new natural force was discovered, a new giant was harnessed, obedient to the will of man. With that giant a great revolution was performed in industry and a new period of capitalism—the industrial period or period of machine production was entered on.

However, before we leave behind the period of manufacture, it is necessary to rally a minute and notice what changes this period has wrought to our two class representatives—the capitalist, to whom we can now, without hesitation, apply that name; and the laborer, whom we find now on a wage, with no less correctness, call a wage-worker or even a wage-slave.

(To be continued next week.)

MASSACHUSETTS FAIR COMMITTEE.
Eighth meeting, held January 27, in headquarters of Section Boston, 1165 Tremont street, Boston, Mass., with Comrade D. Enger, chairman.

Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read.

Roll call showed present Comrades Callan, Engelheart, Young, Bohmback, Sweeney, Hess, Gallagher, Ringham and Berry, of the Socialist Labor Party, and Comrades Enger, Mrs. Enger, Anderson, Mrs. Anderson, Swanson, Nelson and Gronoros, of the Scandinavian Socialist Club.

Voted that correspondence from Comrade Corrigan, informing the Fair Committee that Comrade George Wollenschlager, of New York, will donate to the fair one of his steel folding platforms, be accepted.

Voted, to accept report of Secretary of having invited Schwaben Singing Society to attend fair.

Voted, to accept report of Committee on Voting Contest for chess table that Comrade Tasche will make and donate.

Voted, that a contest for the steel folding platform be arranged for the Sections of Greater Boston and Scandinavian Socialist Clubs. Secretary instructed to write inviting same and requesting an urgent answer.

Motion carried that the platform be forwarded to Comrade Enger, so that it can be exhibited at the fair.

Voted, that we decorate the hall. Comrades Berry, Anderson and Gronoros elected as the committee. Also that five men shall be hired to get what is necessary in shape on the opening day.

Voted, that Comrades Swanson, Nelson and Carlson be the committee on the sale of admission tickets at the door, Comrades Williamson, Hayes and Burnham to receive the same.

Voted, Mrs. Tache, Mrs. Hess and Mrs. Bohlehus take charge of the lunch stand.

Voted, that Comrade Mrs. Enger have charge of the stands and assistants.

Moved to adjourn until February 3.

John Sweeney, Secretary.
75 Prospect street, Cambridge, Mass.

WEGENER IN PATERSON, N. J.
A free public lecture will be held under the auspices of the Passaic County Section S. L. P., at Helvetia Hall, on Sunday, February 7, at 2:30 p. m. Subject, "Socialist Labor Party Tactics and Social Democrat or Socialist Party Broadness," by E. P. Wegener, of Brooklyn, N. Y.

LETTER-BOX OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

(NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.)

B. S. A., BALTIMORE, MD.—(1) Most emphatically, not so! "Some of our best men" have not changed their names, and certainly not such changes as from Korkowsky to Harry White. A man's name is very close to his skin. None but scamps will tug at that. But a name is one thing, and a mask is another. Such changes are masks. It is proper to tear off masks. (2) The rest will be looked into.

L. J. B., MCKEESPORT, PA.—If ever there was a Trust, the U. S. Steel Corporation is one. Its having competitors springing up whom it must buy of, cuts no figure: so has the Standard Oil.

W. J. E., SYRACUSE, N. Y.—The editorial "There Goes a Pillar" in The Daily of Jan. 26, answers Mr. Hanna's effusion. You will find it in the Weekly of Feb. 6.

T. F. H., PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Shall take up Father Stang. Only reason he is not taken up this week is that quite recently his colleague, Father Doyle, was pitched, and there are other worthies, in other than the church machine department of capitalism standing in line waiting for their turn on our files.

A. S., LOUISVILLE, KY.—(1) The law recognizes no "national" (presidential) elections. Each State elects presidential electors at its own State election. Consequently there could be a presidential election in one State only. (2) The "logical centrals" in Pennsylvania have not, and never had the official ballot. For the rest, the action taken and resolution adopted by the New York S. L. P. State Convention at Utica on Sept. 1, 1902, sent all the "logical centrals" of whatever State on a run to their holes like poisoned rats.

A. J., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Certainly! Discussion on the question of sending a delegate to the International Congress of Amsterdam is open, and has a right to these columns. The debaters are, however, expected to stick to the question and not be too long.

W. K., NEW YORK.—It takes time to get up the full list of the recently prosecuted and convicted labor leaders. Here are five of them: Lawrence Murphy, of the building trades, Sam Parks of the housepainters, Richard Farley of the painters, Richard Carvel of the derrickmen, and Timothy McCarthy of the house-smiths. There was extortion in all the cases; Farley's was perjury besides.

J. W. R., TORONTO, CANADA.—Have no recollection that this paper ever dignified Lucien Sanial by "treating" any of his senilities against the S. L. P. There was a Philadelphia speech of his published in these columns for the delectation of the Party members, and as a final squelcher of himself. That was about a year ago. After the gentleman's correspondence over his own signature, published in these columns in August, 1902, it is wholly immaterial what he says. Don't know what article you have in mind.

REC. SEC'Y, SECTION BOSTON, MASS.—Announcements intended for the Weekly must, for technical reasons, be in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m. Your article was received Wednesday morning.

"AMOCRAT," TACOMA, WASH.—Does not the second of "The Two Pages from Roman History" cover at least one section of the question. What will prevent S. L. P. men, if elected, from being bought off? If you go below the surface, also that answer that the capitalist class never sold out to the working class and consequently the S. L. P. man could not sell out, if he would, and would not, if he could, rests on a granite foundation. The matter is intimately related to the Trades Union question. Though not directly the subject of Daniel De Leon's recent address on "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism," it is dealt with there from a side not yet fully taken up. The address will be published in these columns. The question looks simple, but it involves a world. It cannot be covered with one word or one sentence. It is the converging point of a number of distinct lines of argument—all of which come under the broad head of tactics. It is in view of these that the S. L. P. justly says its men cannot sell out if once it gets there. And it is in view of these same reasons that the "whop it up," "fly-paper," "hurrah clothing," "get there" vote-catching tactics of the so-called Socialist party are puerile—except to the schemers who can in the meantime make coppers. The S. L. P. drills the revolution. It drills it over the area of industrial America—the South will have to be reconquered by an anti-wage slavery war as it was in the sixties by an anti-chattel slavery war, so it counts not. It follows that no "local" victories can figure otherwise than as skirmishes. Revolutions have broader areas. The proletariat being the only poor-as-church-mice revolutionary class it needs the full pulse-throb of the revolutionary sentiment to keep it safe. Read again that second of the "Two Pages."

SECTION TORONTO, CANADA.—By order of the N. E. C., to whom protests were made against Sections and States' financial reports taking up The People's space, such reports have for many years been excluded.

S. B. H., COLORADO.—That "Appeal to Reason" strike was "settled" by the private owner, who "gave the paper to the Movement" making some concessions to his sweat-shoppers. But they seem to be in eruption again.

"TELEGRAPHER," WINNIPEG, MAN.—(1) The Canadian S. L. P. is separate and apart from the United States S. L. P. Between the two there exists fraternal relations. They recognize each other as bona fide Socialist bodies. (2) Communicate with John A. Kennealy, the General Secretary of the S. T. & L. A., 26 New Reade street, this city. (3) Pure and simple Unionism has acted like a brake on the downward drop of wages; in so far it would seem to have been a benefit to the working class. But seeing that it simultaneously taught the false theory of the "brotherhood of Labor and Capital," and that it therefore conveyed the false idea that treaties with the employer could save labor, it caused the working class to decline in ignorance of its condition. Thus on the whole pure and simple unionism has done harm.

M. M., NEW YORK.—The Mr. Herman Simpson, whom a young woman is now presenting on the allegation that she is his wife, for the abandonment of herself and child, was expelled from the Socialist Labor Party as far back as Nov. 22, 1902, for conduct unbecoming a Socialist. He was packed off at the time together with a bunch of his likes, and was, accordingly of the set that your Social Democratic party hailed at the time as "the best men of the S. L. P." leaving the Party. Whatever smut attaches to Mr. Simpson now sticks to the skirts of your party. The skirts of the S. L. P. are clear of it and of him.

F. I. T., PORTLAND, ORE.—Tut! Tut! If capitalism, with its myriads of papers, could not intimidate or scare the S. L. P. into silence, how silly of you to imagine that your penny-whistle and wind-broken privately owned "Socialist" party press could have greater success!

LUDWIG JABLINOWSKY, TIMBOOCTOO, AFRICA.—How come you to the notion of imagining that this paper would hold up your end in the matter of the affront put upon you at the banquet of the Mixed Trades Section of the C. F. U. where you were kicked out? And how come you to wink at this paper for such protection? We may sympathize with you, on general humanitarian principles, for having missed a square meal that you had been starving yourself in prospect of for the previous ten days. But for the rest, it served you right. You have no right now to call the banquets fakirs, seeing you were willing to eat in their meal; and they were right to see in your Volkszeitung's reporter credentials only a pretext for an unauthorized draft upon their estates. Guess they got wind of the appetite you were bringing along; moreover, what business has such a pillar of orthodoxy as you to go and fill up on "goy's" food? You know it is not "kosher."—Go 'way!

W. G. M., INDIANAPOLIS, IND.—(1) Can't yet tell. It does, however, begin to look as if Bryan will try to "hold up" the Democratic convention through the two-thirds rule in favor of Hearst. (2) Hearst has all along been our Regular Democratic and Social Democratic candidate for President. There is going on or should start a new alignment of forces politically. The free trade Manchesterian capitalists should give up their vagaries and join the Republican party. The Democratic party should become the party of the "come together" discontented, the bulk of whom claims and to a great extent is Socialistically inclined, but believes in "gradual" revolutions. That would take in the populists and all the same Social Democrats alias Socialist party men.

M. R. HOLYOKE, MASS.; T. O. J. NEW YORK; D. K. COLUMBUS, O.; F. H. WILMINGTON, DEL.; S. C. D. BRADDOCK, PA.; H. V. H. READING, PA.; D. E., NEW YORK,—matter received.

NEW JERSEY, ATTENTION.
To the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party of New Jersey:
The annual State Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of New Jersey will be held at Dahmen's Hall, Jersey and Fourth streets, Elizabeth, N. J., on Sunday, February 7, 1904.
This convention will, in addition to the usual business, nominate a candidate for Governor, twelve electors for President and Vice President, and also candidates for representative in Congress, for such districts as may be without an organization.
The various sections are also requested to make nominations for (2) two delegates to the National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party. Such nominations must be sent to the Secretary on or before the first day of March, 1904.
George P. Herrschaft, Secretary.
The basis of representation at State Convention is as follows:
State Committee, 1 delegate; Section Essex, 7 delegates; Section Hoboken, 2 delegates; Section North Hudson, 2 delegates; Section Passaic, 3 delegates; Section South Hudson, 4 delegates; Section Union, 2 delegates.

