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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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BOHN IN KENTUCKY

FINDS SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY IN A GRATIFYING CONDITION THERE.

Its Unity and Class-Consciousness Affords Striking Contrast To S. P. Disensions and Conflict of Tactics—Trades-Unionism, the Race Question, and the Recent Political Upheaval.

Marion, Ind. Dec. 3.—Gratifying indeed, is the condition of our party in Kentucky. A State so largely agricultural can hardly be expected to ring with the blows of the class struggle. It contains only three industrial cities of any considerable size. These are Louisville, (200,000); the urban group of Newport, Covington, etc., (80,000) and Paducah (25,000).

In Louisville, although the Socialist Labor Party polled a few less votes than the Debs' Party this year, our organization is much the stronger of the two. In striking contrast to the fine spirit of unity which marks the activities of our Section, the "Socialist" party local is sundered into two factions, which, despite the repeated attempts of the "Socialist" State Committee, cannot be brought together. A third group organized an independent "Propaganda Club" during the heat of the campaign. But this is said to have broken up. Elements which could not agree while the enthusiasm of the campaign acted as a partial bond of union, will hardly be found in each other's embrace during those fretful days of stomach troubles and divorce which are already upon the Debs' family.

The heart of the hair-plucking contest among the "Socialists" at Louisville is the Trades Union Question. A recalcitrant member refused to knuckle under the fakirs. "Throw him out of the party," shouted a few who never worried because Kelly voted for a franchise steal at Marion, Ind., and then got one himself; but who trembled in their boots last trades unionists cut the ticket. And then there were others who saw the matter in a different light, even claiming that a man might continuously oppose capitalist "labor unions" and still be a Socialist. Of course each faction claims to be the local and ignores the others. Result—one of their best members comes to the Socialist Labor Party and after declaring his intention to join, hastens back to his late comrades with a bundle of "The Difference" for each faction. Others are on the point of following.

Now, ye Socialist Labor Party veterans everywhere, from New York City to the loneliest gulch of Colorado, what difference does it make to you and me that Debs received more votes in Louisville than Corregan? If you have had a sinking feeling in the stomach, feel ashamed of it all by yourself and get out and hustle. Verily, verily, to "gain the whole world and lose your own soul" isn't it with the new version—what profiteth it a movement to gain a half million votes and quail before the outposts of the enemy by compromising truth and making friends among them? In Newport and Covington, where Section Cincinnati did yeoman service during the recent campaign, our vote was increased, if my memory serves me rightly, from about 50 to over 270. And this is in the face of the fact that the two towns are the "Socialist" party stronghold in Kentucky, and the seat of their State Committee. The outlook for a strong Section there is promising and the eyes of the party will be fastened upon Section Cincinnati, which must do the work.

But of all points this side of Peabody's Caliphate, Paducah incited most interest. Situated in the extreme western portion of the State, this city is entirely American and largely "Southern" in character. I remembered this district situated in the angle of the great rivers, as hot-bed of secession during the Civil War. Paducah has just given a fine vote for Corregan. I believe that the figure is 65 to 34 for Debs. "How about the race issue among our Southern comrades?" thought I, as the train rolled along the south side of the beautiful Ohio. The next day at noon, I met one of the Paducah shops, where our comrades have been doing effective work. As I looked into the eager, intelligent faces of those young men, the question as to whether the old American population of the South would be "there with the goods" in the great days seemed answered. Capitalism is so infirming that belated section so

rapidly that one must think fast to keep up. The first comrade I met was tall and spare, while his bearing and conversation suggested at once "He is of the old regime." Later I learned that he had served just three years and four months in the Confederate Army. In young manhood he was a fighter for chattel slavery and states' autonomy, and in old age the onrushing times have made him a staunch member of the Socialist Labor Party. No other period of the world's history in any country can furnish a parallel to this. A single generation witnesses four distinct systems of society. No one ever doubted that, both physically and mentally, the Southerner is a fine fighter. Make him a wage-slave and he is as ready for Socialist doctrines as any man in the world. And the bugbear of the "race issue", that problem which our editors and other professional saviors of society have so often said is to be predominated during the coming generation! It does not seem to interfere in the least with the agitation conducted by our Southern comrades. No one can deny, of course, that the political fight along class lines becomes more general, the fact of the deep rift, physical and psychical, in Southern society, will seriously hamper our work. But with the supreme fact of the Socialist movement the hack-writers on the much worn "race question" have not reckoned. Socialism comes into the life of our class everywhere and raises them out of the narrow grooves of social thought and action cut for them by the peculiar interests and prejudices of the class in power. The ex-Confederate soldier, on becoming a class-conscious Socialist, makes a world idea the guiding principle of his life. He is exalted to world citizenship. Organized by the Socialist Labor Party, the white workers of the South will scorn the masters' claim that both robber and robbed belong to the "dominant race". The catcalls of the "race conflict" will soon be drowned by the thunders of the Social Revolution. At Paducah the "Socialist" party has no organization and conducts no agitation. The few "Appeal to Reason" "Socialists" appear to be just as kindly disposed toward the Socialist Labor Party as toward the "Socialist" party. Judging from the work done by Section Paducah and the fine results obtained the Debs party will never get a foothold there. In Comrade Scopes the party has a speaker of the first order, and vigorous out-door agitation has brought large numbers of the working class in touch with the Socialist Labor Party. From conversations with Democrats in Kentucky it is evident to me that the time is at hand in that State for something extremely radical. The following statement made to me by an old-fashioned inn-keeper in a small country town is typical of the thinking being done by "died in the wood" Democrats of the ante-deluvian period: "I don't just know what the Democrats will do. I stuck to them this Fall, but it was mighty hard to do it. I believe a new party will be organized. We need one." "What kind of a party would you favor?" "I don't exactly know, but not one run by the rich." On another occasion, while I was eating my proletarian lunch in a Paducah restaurant, a countryman came in, got down beside me and started the conversation with "What is your business?" "I am devoting my time," I observed, "to speaking the doctrine of revolutionary Socialism." A photograph of the man at this moment should accompany this narrative, but I was not armed with a camera. He looked me over in a confused way, and I, meanwhile, hastened to tell him just what I meant. "There are lots of people out our way who are thinking that way," he answered. "Can't you come out and speak to us? We will furnish you a hall free and a good crowd." But to give him a little of our literature was the best I could do. Radical, indeed, must be that great tidal wave of "reform" to catch the vote even of rural America. But the Watson-Bryan-Hearst-Johnson-Lawson Co. may be depended upon to furnish variety in form and color sufficient unto their purposes in 1908. The South and West, evidently, will require a platform about as radical as Victor Berger's marvelous production in Wisconsin. And then we shall know, at last, who are Socialists and who were "voting for Debs". Frank Bohn. Marion, Ind. Dec. 3.

A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

MORE DISHONOR FOR SOCIALISM, THANKS TO "BORING FROM WITHIN."

Even the Pure and Simpler Ridicule Berger's Idea of Pensions—Militia Resolution Exposes Bogus Socialists Contradictions—What do the Western "Socialists" Think of La Follette's Aid Now?—Gompers and "The People."

(Special Correspondence.)

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 22.—"Boring from within" continued to-day. Two more bogus Socialist resolutions were utterly defeated. Those two resolutions are worthy of the "noble" author, or inspirer—as the case may be—of the Wisconsin Platform. They are:

Resolution No. 104.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger, International Typographical Union:

"Whereas, labor creates all values or makes them useful and accessible to mankind, but the present economic system is such that it is impossible for the great mass of wage-workers to save up a sufficient amount of money or property to secure them against want and misery and the indignities of capitalistic charity in their old age; and

"Whereas, it is the prime object of the trade union movement to improve and elevate the standard of living of the working class everywhere and in every possible way; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use its best efforts to induce the Congress of the United States to pass a bill which will secure to every wage worker in the United States who has earned no more than \$1,000 average wages per year, a pension of not less than \$12 per month at the age of sixty, and thereafter for the rest of his or her natural life; provided, however, that such wage worker is a citizen of the United States and has lived in this country for at least twenty-one years continuously at the time when the application is made."

Resolution No. 195.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger of the International Typographical Union:

"Whereas, Experience has proven that the militia can be used by capitalists as an engine of destruction in the subjugation of the working people, workmen have thus been arrayed against workmen, and ordered to shoot down their comrades; therefore be it

"Resolved, By the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we declare our intention and hereby instruct all affiliated bodies, to hold absolutely aloof from all connections with the militia, with the military system in vogue in Switzerland, or a similar system, as adopted in the United States."

Of course, the "borers" got it, and if they deserved what they got before, they more than merited what they got to-day. There might be some sense in asking that the workers be educated but when it comes to \$12 a month pension AFTER THE AGE OF 60, then even a pure and simpler can make them ridiculous and they did, utterly ridiculous. The pension was termed an insult to the working class and the poor bogus Socialists were dubbed "pliable reformers". Some of the speakers, we are positive, took their cue from The People.

On the militia proposition the patriotism of the noble audience was positively shocked. The militia is and always has been a bad case for the bogus Socialists, and one speaker contradicted another until they were all tangled up and made themselves the target for some biting sarcasm. They were, if possible, worse handled than yesterday, because to-day they had no ground to stand on whatever. How can these people make themselves so ridiculous? But as if Socialism had not yet been made a target of scorn enough the worse is yet to come.

Towards the close of the afternoon session Victor Berger handed Gompers a note. Gompers said: "Mr. Berger makes the request for the unanimous consent of the convention to make a statement. If there is no objection it will be granted." "I positively object at this time," cried J. Mahlon Barnes. J. Mahlon, we take it for granted, was not ready to eat humble pie in quite as big chunks as Victor. It was then moved and carried that he be given the floor. Gompers either knew or positively felt what was coming, and made no effort to conceal this glee. Gompers, it must be said, had acted splendidly on every occasion up to that, but at that moment he lost himself. He even invited "Brother Berger to come up on the platform, so all could hear him," when at other times he had not even taken pains to keep the house quiet

when Berger was struggling to speak with his cracked voice. Berger thanked him for the courtesy, but declined, because he had had "a platform enough to do him for months". This scene was then enacted: Berger said: "I wish to speak in regard to the unfortunate affair of last evening. The squib brought up here emanated from the business office, I did not write it, had nothing to do with it, and did not know it was sent here until this copy was shown me. Of course, being one of the editors of the paper, I am responsible, but personally I have nothing to do with the squib, and I don't say I like the contents. I repeat again that I stand for the Social Democratic Herald in its general policy, because I am a Socialist personally, but I want to disclaim being responsible for this squib." Vice-President John Mitchell—"In view of the assurance given by Mr. Berger that he is not personally responsible for the statement in the circular, and in view of the fact that he does not approve of the statements made there, I ask that my statement, wherein I said that unless Mr. Berger furnished proof of the allegations, he be branded as a liar, I ask that that part of my statement be stricken out of the minutes. I move that that part of my statements be stricken from the minutes." The motion was seconded and carried. In yesterday's letter we said Berger acted a whipped dog, he kept up the role to-day and went to the length of licking the hand that whipped him. It is all very fine to have a thing eradicated from the minutes after it stands there and moreover the press of the country has echoed the fact that the "Socialists" had been branded as liars before the A. F. of L. convention. Our San Francisco comrades are now going round like living question marks. What agitates them is this: Was the friend of La Follette in the convention with the pre-rehearsed role of making a fool of Socialism? It matters little if we know it to be so or not, the fact is he did act the part as well as if he had been paid a thousand dollars for the trick. It matters, as said before, little if Mr. Berger is an outright fool or a knave. What is really of interest, in this convention, is if the "Socialists" throughout the land, and in particular of the West, where a rather radical breeze has been blowing, are going to put up with his tactics. If they do, they are not made of the stuff that we had hoped they were made of. There was one thing I forgot to mention in yesterday's letter. It was when Brown's resolution about the non-union ads in "The Federationist" was up Mr. Samuel Gompers gave an absolutely unfounded dig at the Daily People and its representative. He said that such a thing coming up "would furnish material for THAT PRESS that was laying for something that it could use to prejudice the mind of the workers against the A. F. of L." And he added, "let me say that when I say press I do not mean what is generally known as the capitalist press," and here he gave The People's reporter a very bad look. Now Mr. Gompers ought to and does know better than to insinuate such a thing against The People, but if he does not let me tell him now, that The People has never had to take up the cue from the bogus Socialists; on the other hand that it is for ever the habit of the bogus Socialists to take up the cue from The People. Mr. Gompers knows that for years The People has called public attention to the inconsistency that exists between the advertising and the editorial departments in "The Federationist" and it is quite possible that this has made it so disagreeable for some borers from within that to save themselves from public scorn they pushed this resolution through the N. Y. C. F. U. and brought it here. Please, Mr. Gompers, never make such a "mistake" again. The People never howls with the wolvies. It always leads in calling attention to inconsistency and thus makes the wolvies howl. The convention adjourned Tuesday evening until Friday morning. Wednesday the delegates went on an excursion on San Francisco Bay. Some few delegates wanted a session on Thanksgiving Day, saying that the best way to spend the day would be in the cause of labor, but the majority would not.

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 25.—To-day was a day of "Nobly wagging". First it was the craft struggle, then it was the "class" struggle, and it wound up with the graft struggle. When the session closed last night the S. L. P. comrades present agreed unanimously that Comrade De Leon is absolutely correct in his phraseology when he terms it "the annual rowdy-dow". A rowdy-dow for fair!

ITALIAN ELECTIONS

THE PRESENT MIXED-UP COMPLEXION OF THE CHAMBER.

The Suicidal Manoeuvres of the Giolitti Ministry to Down the Socialists and Preserve its Majority—Prospects of Wrangles that Will Inevitably Precipitate Giolitti from Power.

(From the Rome, Italy, correspondent of the Berlin "Vorwarts.")

Rome, Nov. 18.—The elections are over. The great excitement is passed. The fierce governmental effort of the last week has succeeded in installing, in lieu of the old chamber, a new one that resembles the other like one egg does another. The new chamber has a numerically very large ministerial majority—337 ministerialists, besides thirty-nine representatives of the conservative opposition, three clericals and four conservative-clericals (two groups that are unable to tell the difference between themselves); finally, thirty-eight radicals, twenty-five Republicans and thirty-two Socialists. There are thirty other seats still undecided and to be passed upon by the chamber itself. Things, accordingly, remain pretty much as they were before. The conservative opposition has lost several seats; the Republicans, two; the Socialists, none. There is, accordingly, no real shifting of forces. We Socialists are, of course, far from considering our campaign efforts as lost. For the party, the campaign was an exceptional opportunity for propaganda, it also offered the opportunity for the review of our army and its strength. The result is rich in instruction and encouragement. To us no campaign is lost, any more than any other agitation carried on with seriousness and zeal. Very differently, however, is the posture of the cabinet in face of the elections. The cabinet had no program to agitate for. Its only aim was to recruit a willing and pliant majority. A majority is now there; a majority as oppressive as that of the last months of the last legislative period. But there is a serious flaw in the present majority—it is wholly unreliable. The unreliability of the present majority is not due to its being made up of different elements from the elements that usually go to make up ministerial majorities in countries that have no sharply marked bourgeois parties. The present majority is like all others—pliant only towards the end of the legislative periods, but overbearing and inclined to bolting and treason at the start. Giolitti stands before substantially the same chamber that faced him in October; but now he lacks the wonderfully effective whip that he then wielded, to wit, a decree dissolving the chamber. The young chamber knows that in case of a conflict between itself and the cabinet, it is the minister who must go, while it remains. Hence the deputies of the chamber are not now afraid of a conflict; while, at the same time, the possibility, however remote, of the overthrow of the cabinet, unchains the covetousness and ambition of all the aspirants after ministerial seats, around whom special interests are apt suddenly to rank themselves. In the demoralized condition of our political life, together with the resultant proneness for "bolts," all of which flow directly from the lack of cohesion among the bourgeois parties, all cabinets are unsafe before new than before old chambers.

Giolitti, moreover, centers in himself a special source of danger. This proceeds from the political dishonesty and mendacity of the campaign that he conducted. I not here allude to silent intimidations and underhand manoeuvres. These all belong to the technique of bourgeois elections, and will be readily pardoned him by those who profited thereby. But the pragmatic dishonesty by means of which the cabinet gathered its present majority out of bourgeois groups of all shades, is bound in the end to be fatal to him. By name, the Giolitti cabinet has hitherto been known as "liberal," distinguishing itself in some points quite sharply from the reactionary opposition. Despite all its doublings, the Giolitti cabinet followed a different program from Sonnino. Now this identical Giolitti has blurred in the campaign all the existing differences between conservatives and liberals. With the exception of the few officially known Sonninians, who could not, out of pure shame, make common cause with him,

Giolitti has allowed everything to pass for "ministerial" that was not Socialist, Republican or pronouncedly radical. The hedge-podge was eminently practical in the "struggle against revolution." The struggle is now over. How will Giolitti now get along with his pie-bald majority? It is not to be supposed that the liberals, who supported the first liberal era of Zanardelli-Giolitti, can pull at one string with conservatives and clericals. As far as their general declarations are concerned, all of the latter are alike "liberal," "friendly to labor," and "progressive." In matter of "declarations" all they aim at is to fill their mouths well. But when it comes to practical acts, distinctions will have to be drawn. The right wing will ever stand for the use of the military against strikes, for the persecution of labor organizations, etc. The left wing, as a whole, cannot go to quite such lengths. Innumerable questions, such as the surrenderer of Wessels to the Russian police in Italy, will be judged from different standpoints by the ministerial "bloc." It is not enough to christen clericals and dyed-in-the-wool conservatives as Giolittians, in order to convert them to a semi-liberal policy. If, on the contrary, Giolitti is converted by them, he will then lose the liberal wing which numbers 150 votes, and which was his original mainstay. In either eventuality he loses the majority. In the hot water of such a situation the Government has placed itself out of "fear for the Socialists." It is the price with which the Government pays for its so-called triumph over our party. The apprehension of seeing our delegation rise to forty or perhaps fifty members in the chamber, was such that Giolitti threw himself into the arms of the clerical-liberal-conservative confederation, in that way expecting safety from us. Even if the Government had actually defeated us, the price would have been too high. But Giolitti has allowed the victory to cost him his political future. Allied with the clericals he has been able to make front to the Socialists. But with the clericals he cannot work—nor without them.

Only in case the cabinet had taken up the battle with a liberal program that included the demands of the radicals, could Giolitti have avoided his present plight. He should have fought FOR his program, not merely AGAINST ours. Not the next weeks, but the next months, will show that the too-smart-by-half Giolitti will have to foot the costs of the electoral campaign, and leave to others the gathering of its fruits.

That our party will be able to step out of the parliamentary isolation into which the dissolution of the extreme left wing has thrown it, is not to be expected. True enough, the supplementary elections have brought us into alliances with Republicans and radicals—a measure allowed to the party by the resolutions of its national convention. But at the same time these supplemental elections have taught us the lesson that in all such cases the Socialists pay the piper. We have helped all the Republicans, who entered the supplemental elections, to their victory, and the Republicans re-venge themselves therefor by failing to redeem their promise of voting for those of our candidates who also entered the supplemental elections. Whether it was a case of treason, or of lack of discipline cannot be determined, but the result was the same to us. Out of thirty supplemental elections, we won in only four; the Republicans, however, in all the eight out of their eight supplemental elections. The final Socialist returns are these: Our comrades captured twenty-five seats at the first election and four in the supplemental ones. Of these seats eighteen were previously held, eleven are in new districts. Besides these twenty-nine, three others, not within the party, were also elected—Turatti, De Felice, and a Sicilian named Auteri-Verretia, who only recently appeared in the colors of Socialism. All told, thirty-two Socialist seats, as before.

The party had indulged the hope of emerging from elections with a considerable increase of seats. We had not foreseen that the cabinet would come out of the election politically compromised, carrying in one hand the holy water sprinkler and in the other the free mason's triangle. Such a spectacle we did not expect to see—nor dared we hope for. The one result reconciles us with the other.

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CORREGAN WINS

JUDGMENT RENDERED IN HIS FAVOR IN SUIT AGAINST OFFICERS OF HIS UNION.

An Instance of the Crying Outrage That the Labor Fakirs Perpetrate On the Rank and File—It is Resisted by A Socialist—He Wins Out—Free Speech Upheld, Heresy Hunting Downed.

(Special Correspondence.)

Syracuse, N. Y., Dec. 1.—Charles H. Corregan, the recent Socialist Labor Party candidate for President, gets judgment against the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class in his own Union. This is the case that was tried before, judgment was rendered against Corregan and he appealed. His appeal was sustained and new trial ordered. The judgment just rendered is upon the second trial.

The case arose from an attempt on the part of the lieutenants of the capitalist class in Corregan's printers Union, Local 55 of this city, to muzzle Corregan, and failing in this to browbeat him as they do all who allow them. They barked up the wrong tree this time. Corregan was one evening speaking in this city in the open air, and in the course of his address he referred to the labor fakirs who are humbugging the workmen. He illustrated his point by naming a fakir of his own Union, No. 55, who was in the audience. The fellow first tried to intimidate Corregan. The result of the attempt was that Corregan proceeded to make the case only stronger. The fakir thereupon gathered his fellows around him, and they drew up charges, themselves tried and themselves convicted Corregan and fined him without even the formality of notifying him of the proceedings. As he refused to submit to such Czarism, they expelled him and he was deprived of his job, upon which Mamie Hayes of Cleveland, who, it seems, has again voted for Gompers, announced in his paper: "Another De Leonite kicked out of the Union. Good!"

Upon losing his job, Corregan instituted proceedings for damages and for reinstatement. The decision grants him both. The rank and file of the Union are delighted.

Justice Rogers writes the following memorandum on his decision: "The orderly administration of justice requires that the findings of fact at the first trial, so far as then made and based upon substantially the same evidence as now presented, be followed on this trial. This leaves only the question of damages. The plaintiff, at the time of his expulsion from Typographical Union No. 55 was employed by Lyman Brothers at his trade of printer at \$14 per week. While the employment was only from week to week and could be terminated at any time, and though it cannot be known certainly that the plaintiff, except for the expulsion, would have had continuous employment at that compensation there or elsewhere, I think it must, as against the defendant, be so assumed. The measure of damages should be compensation for time lost, at the rate mentioned, down to the time of this trial, less what actually has, or with reasonable diligence would have been, received from other employment. This is unquestionably the rule between employer and employe for personal injuries by assault or on account of negligence. There the recovery for time lost is the difference between what would have been earned, except for the injury, and what actually was earned with the impaired incapacity. The same measure I think, should be applied here. The action being in equity, the computation may be made down to the time of this trial. Findings may be prepared in accordance with these suggestions, and, if agreed to, submitted for signature; otherwise they will be settled on three days' notice."

On the first trial the complaint was dismissed by Justice William S. Andrews on September 11th, 1903, with \$102.43 costs against the plaintiff. An appeal was taken to the Appellate division, which reversed the judgment of the trial court and ordered a new trial. Presiding Justice Peter B. McClellan wrote the opinion. His court differed from the trial justice in the latter's second conclusion of law, "that the plaintiff was bound to exhaust his remedies within the organization before appealing to this court for redress" and "that said remedies were reasonable and not burdensome."

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(From the Rome, Italy, correspondent of the Berlin "Vorwarts.")

Rome, Nov. 18.—The elections are over. The great excitement is passed. The fierce governmental effort of the last week has succeeded in installing, in lieu of the old chamber, a new one that resembles the other like one egg does another. The new chamber has a numerically very large ministerial majority—337 ministerialists, besides thirty-nine representatives of the conservative opposition, three clericals and four conservative-clericals (two groups that are unable to tell the difference between themselves); finally, thirty-eight radicals, twenty-five Republicans and thirty-two Socialists. There are thirty other seats still undecided and to be passed upon by the chamber itself. Things, accordingly, remain pretty much as they were before. The conservative opposition has lost several seats; the Republicans, two; the Socialists, none. There is, accordingly, no real shifting of forces. We Socialists are, of course, far from considering our campaign efforts as lost. For the party, the campaign was an exceptional opportunity for propaganda, it also offered the opportunity for the review of our army and its strength. The result is rich in instruction and encouragement. To us no campaign is lost, any more than any other agitation carried on with seriousness and zeal. Very differently, however, is the posture of the cabinet in face of the elections. The cabinet had no program to agitate for. Its only aim was to recruit a willing and pliant majority. A majority is now there; a majority as oppressive as that of the last months of the last legislative period. But there is a serious flaw in the present majority—it is wholly unreliable. The unreliability of the present majority is not due to its being made up of different elements from the elements that usually go to make up ministerial majorities in countries that have no sharply marked bourgeois parties. The present majority is like all others—pliant only towards the end of the legislative periods, but overbearing and inclined to bolting and treason at the start. Giolitti stands before substantially the same chamber that faced him in October; but now he lacks the wonderfully effective whip that he then wielded, to wit, a decree dissolving the chamber. The young chamber knows that in case of a conflict between itself and the cabinet, it is the minister who must go, while it remains. Hence the deputies of the chamber are not now afraid of a conflict; while, at the same time, the possibility, however remote, of the overthrow of the cabinet, unchains the covetousness and ambition of all the aspirants after ministerial seats, around whom special interests are apt suddenly to rank themselves. In the demoralized condition of our political life, together with the resultant proneness for "bolts," all of which flow directly from the lack of cohesion among the bourgeois parties, all cabinets are unsafe before new than before old chambers.

Giolitti, moreover, centers in himself a special source of danger. This proceeds from the political dishonesty and mendacity of the campaign that he conducted. I not here allude to silent intimidations and underhand manoeuvres. These all belong to the technique of bourgeois elections, and will be readily pardoned him by those who profited thereby. But the pragmatic dishonesty by means of which the cabinet gathered its present majority out of bourgeois groups of all shades, is bound in the end to be fatal to him. By name, the Giolitti cabinet has hitherto been known as "liberal," distinguishing itself in some points quite sharply from the reactionary opposition. Despite all its doublings, the Giolitti cabinet followed a different program from Sonnino. Now this identical Giolitti has blurred in the campaign all the existing differences between conservatives and liberals. With the exception of the few officially known Sonninians, who could not, out of pure shame, make common cause with him,

Giolitti has allowed everything to pass for "ministerial" that was not Socialist, Republican or pronouncedly radical. The hedge-podge was eminently practical in the "struggle against revolution." The struggle is now over. How will Giolitti now get along with his pie-bald majority? It is not to be supposed that the liberals, who supported the first liberal era of Zanardelli-Giolitti, can pull at one string with conservatives and clericals. As far as their general declarations are concerned, all of the latter are alike "liberal," "friendly to labor," and "progressive." In matter of "declarations" all they aim at is to fill their mouths well. But when it comes to practical acts, distinctions will have to be drawn. The right wing will ever stand for the use of the military against strikes, for the persecution of labor organizations, etc. The left wing, as a whole, cannot go to quite such lengths. Innumerable questions, such as the surrenderer of Wessels to the Russian police in Italy, will be judged from different standpoints by the ministerial "bloc." It is not enough to christen clericals and dyed-in-the-wool conservatives as Giolittians, in order to convert them to a semi-liberal policy. If, on the contrary, Giolitti is converted by them, he will then lose the liberal wing which numbers 150 votes, and which was his original mainstay. In either eventuality he loses the majority. In the hot water of such a situation the Government has placed itself out of "fear for the Socialists." It is the price with which the Government pays for its so-called triumph over our party. The apprehension of seeing our delegation rise to forty or perhaps fifty members in the chamber, was such that Giolitti threw himself into the arms of the clerical-liberal-conservative confederation, in that way expecting safety from us. Even if the Government had actually defeated us, the price would have been too high. But Giolitti has allowed the victory to cost him his political future. Allied with the clericals he has been able to make front to the Socialists. But with the clericals he cannot work—nor without them.

Only in case the cabinet had taken up the battle with a liberal program that included the demands of the radicals, could Giolitti have avoided his present plight. He should have fought FOR his program, not merely AGAINST ours. Not the next weeks, but the next months, will show that the too-smart-by-half Giolitti will have to foot the costs of the electoral campaign, and leave to others the gathering of its fruits.

That our party will be able to step out of the parliamentary isolation into which the dissolution of the extreme left wing has thrown it, is not to be expected. True enough, the supplementary elections have brought us into alliances with Republicans and radicals—a measure allowed to the party by the resolutions of its national convention. But at the same time these supplemental elections have taught us the lesson that in all such cases the Socialists pay the piper. We have helped all the Republicans, who entered the supplemental elections, to their victory, and the Republicans re-venge themselves therefor by failing to redeem their promise of voting for those of our candidates who also entered the supplemental elections. Whether it was a case of treason, or of lack of discipline cannot be determined, but the result was the same to us. Out of thirty supplemental elections, we won in only four; the Republicans, however, in all the eight out of their eight supplemental elections. The final Socialist returns are these: Our comrades captured twenty-five seats at the first election and four in the supplemental ones. Of these seats eighteen were previously held, eleven are in new districts. Besides these twenty-nine, three others, not within the party, were also elected—Turatti, De Felice, and a Sicilian named Auteri-Verretia, who only recently appeared in the colors of Socialism. All told, thirty-two Socialist seats, as before.

The party had indulged the hope of emerging from elections with a considerable increase of seats. We had not foreseen that the cabinet would come out of the election politically compromised, carrying in one hand the holy water sprinkler and in the other the free mason's triangle. Such a spectacle we did not expect to see—nor dared we hope for. The one result reconciles us with the other.

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CORREGAN WINS

JUDGMENT RENDERED IN HIS FAVOR IN SUIT AGAINST OFFICERS OF HIS UNION.

An Instance of the Crying Outrage That the Labor Fakirs Perpetrate On the Rank and File—It is Resisted by A Socialist—He Wins Out—Free Speech Upheld, Heresy Hunting Downed.

(Special Correspondence.)

Syracuse, N. Y., Dec. 1.—Charles H. Corregan, the recent Socialist Labor Party candidate for President, gets judgment against the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class in his own Union. This is the case that was tried before, judgment was rendered against Corregan and he appealed. His appeal was sustained and new trial ordered. The judgment just rendered is upon the second trial.

The case arose from an attempt on the part of the lieutenants of the capitalist class in Corregan's printers Union, Local 55 of this city, to muzzle Corregan, and failing in this to browbeat him as they do all who allow them. They barked up the wrong tree this time. Corregan was one evening speaking in this city in the open air, and in the course of his address he referred to the labor fakirs who are humbugging the workmen. He illustrated his point by naming a fakir of his own Union, No. 55, who was in the audience. The fellow first tried to intimidate Corregan. The result of the attempt was that Corregan proceeded to

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CLASS CONFLICT IN COLORADO

The Struggle for the Eight-Hour Day—Its History, Significance and Failure, Culminating in the Capitalist Riots of 1904.

Written by H. J. BRIMBLE,
Florence, Colorado, 1904.

FIFTH EPISODE CONTINUED.

CIVIL AUTHORITIES SNUBBED AGAIN.

"The next morning it was reported that the military had decided to recognize the civil authorities to the extent of turning over to them three of the prisoners. The three to be proceeded against criminally and affidavits to be filed with the district attorney on which to prepare information and have capias issued. This announcement was made in court Tuesday morning by counsel for the military. It was not stated which of the prisoners were to be given to the sheriff, and none of the officers would give any information on the subject, but it was understood that Campbell, Lafferty and McKinney were the three and that Sherman Parker would be produced in court on the habeas corpus contest and the hearing proceeded with. Court did not convene until nearly 11 o'clock, and the delay was occasioned by complications of the military counsel on the move it proposed to make. When the hour for opening the court had passed and Chase had not appeared with his prisoners and escort, there were rumors that the military had decided to defy the court and decline to proceed further with the habeas corpus proceedings, but after court opened the examinations were made. After much argument by attorneys for military and prisoners, Judge Seeds ruled that unless three of the men were turned over to the sheriff at 2 o'clock, he would go forward with the hearing in all four cases. Counsel for the military said that they would have the affidavits ready for the district attorney not later than 12:30 or 1 o'clock, and that then it would be up to him to prepare the informations and secure capias for the accused.

"The court then adjourned at 2 o'clock. The streets were lined with people and the court room was crowded, but no officers and prisoners arrived. Later Judge Seeds received a message from Camp Goldfield to the effect that the officers could not get their evidence together until 10 o'clock Wednesday, 23rd, and again the court granted them time.

MILITARY DOMINATION AGAIN IN EVIDENCE.

"The gaudy glare of war and the apparent domination of the military powers were again in evidence upon the opening of the court Wednesday morning. Bennet Avenue was again invaded with cavalry and infantry. A gatling gun was stationed with its muzzle pointing to the Midland depot. A detail of sharpshooters who are recognized as the most expert marksmen, was placed on the roof of the National Hotel, four stories above the grade of Bennet Avenue. These men were perched upon the cupolas stationed at intervals upon the building and had their guns pointed toward the street for immediate use. The court-house was guarded by men who confronted intruders with bayonets and citizens who attempted to cross the lines were brought face to face with the power that the militia saw fit to exercise. As soon as the train rolled into the depot half the troopers dashed up the street with General Chase at their head and threw their line across the frontage of the Midland depot. The prisoners were escorted to the court room with two files of infantry on either side. The troopers followed. The court room was crowded with spectators and soldiers with bayonets glistening wickedly. The fact that the court should again tolerate a display which had so thoroughly angered the citizens stirred the wrath of General Engley. He informed the court that he would not proceed because of the intimidating forces in and about the court room. He characterized the court as an armed camp and stated that the constitution provides that the court shall be free and untrammelled and open to every one for the transaction of public business. He said:

CONSTITUTIONAL COURT SUPERCEDED BY ARMED CAMP.

"There has befallen my duty to make closing argument for the petitioners. When I filed the application for writs of habeas corpus and invoked the jurisdiction of this court for the issuance of the highest writ known to law, I supposed that these proceedings would be heard under constitutional guarantee; but it is not so. The court may say that it is, but the fact remains that the forces of intimidation are present. The constitutional guarantee that the court shall be open and untrammelled has been invaded."

"This is no longer a constitutional court. It is an armed camp. The court has been surrounded by soldiery."

"After long and sharp colloquy by all attorneys, Judge Seeds adjourned the court until Thursday morning and back to the bull-pen went the prisoners."

"Judge Seeds Thursday morning notified General Chase to be present in court with the prisoners before 2 o'clock in the afternoon, as promptly at that hour he would make a decision in the habeas corpus cases. Chase stated that whatever the decision of the court might be, he would certainly bring the prisoners back to Camp Goldfield unless otherwise ordered by the Governor of Colorado. At 1:30 the military appeared with the same pomp."

"That afternoon Judge Seeds rendered his decision, accompanying it with a long argument, from which two extracts are given. Following a discussion of the actual state of affairs in the Cripple Creek district, the Governor's proclamation, and the conditions under which martial law may be declared and the writ of habeas corpus suspended, in which he especially denies the authority assumed by the military, the judge goes on to say:

JUDGE CONDEMNS MILITARY INTRUSION.

"Were this court to admit that civil power is overthrown

in Teller county it would be in conflict with its unaffected consciousness to the contrary. Its courts are open; its decrees respected; its officials are capable, earnest and law-abiding persons, and no evidence has been brought to the court's attention that the violators of law will not be proceeded against with vigor and promptness. Though there were evidence of some neglect or indifference in the performance of duties by some of the officers of this court, that would be no proof that the civil authority within this country was overthrown. Were it so, civil power would be overthrown in too many States and counties of the country. The constitution of Colorado declares 'that the military shall always be in strict subordination to the civil power.' Not sometimes, but 'always.' There could be no plainer statement that the military should never be permitted to rise superior to the civil power within the limits of Colorado.

"I cannot close without reference to the military display committed with the hearing of this case. It was offensive to the court and in its opinion, unwarranted and unnecessary. Nevertheless, I tolerated it because it was by the National Guard, and had I insisted upon its withdrawal, a conflict would have arisen with the entire National Guard of the State on one side and a mere posse committatus upon the other. The hearing of the case would have been necessarily indefinitely delayed, a great wrong to the prisoner and a denial of the justice to which he was entitled. I trust that there will never again be such an unseemly and unnecessary intrusion of armed soldiers in the halls and about the entrance of an American court of justice. They are intrusions that can only tend to bring the courts into contempt and to make doubtful the possession of that liberty which is the keystone of American governments. It follows from what I have said that, in the opinion of the court, upon the facts stated in said petition, and the return of the respondents, the return ought to be quashed, and that the said Parker ought to be discharged from custody and it is so ordered.

PRISONERS ORDERED DISCHARGED—MILITIA IGNORES ORDERS.

"The cases of James Lafferty, C. H. McKinney and Charles Campbell, relators versus the same respondents, by stipulation, stand decided as the case of Parker, and the said James Lafferty, C. H. McKinney and Charles Campbell are ordered to be discharged from custody as in their respective petitions prayed.

"W. P. Seeds, Judge."

"Judge Seeds' order was read to a crowded court room. Immediately after the decision was finished Chase arose and notified the court that he would not abide by the order of the court and, facing his soldiers, he commanded them to take the prisoners.

"Mrs. Sherman Parker, who sat by her husband during the reading of the decision, screamed, and, grasping her husband, fainted. The soldiers grabbed Parker and pulled him away from his wife, and created one of the most heart-rending scenes ever witnessed in a Teller County court room. Mrs. Parker was in a dead faint for about twenty minutes, and her husband begged to be permitted to remain by his wife, whom he declared to be dying, but was refused by Chase, who also, it is claimed, refused medical assistance, laughingly claiming that she was all right and would soon recover. Senator Patterson was near and admonished the soldiers to leave the husband with his wife until she could recover, which a lieutenant in charge of the prisoner finally agreed to do. The court was then cleared and Mrs. Parker recovered and her husband was taken back to the bull-pen.

SUDDEN RELEASE—THE STATE'S RESPONSIBILITY.

"Later in the evening the military authorities released the prisoners. No explanation was given. The men went straight to their homes and did not tarry even at union headquarters. The news came as a surprise to everybody, since just a few hours before the officers had defied the order of the court and refused to release them. The supposition is that this was done in compliance with a telegram from Governor Peabody instructing Chase to comply with the order of the court."

It may be urged, in defense of the State administration, that they were ignorant of what was passing in Cripple Creek, and, therefore, cannot be held responsible for the actions of Chase and his men. As a matter of fact, Chase was at all times in direct communication with the occupants of the State house, and they, had his actions been distasteful, could have checked him at any moment. For what was done in Cripple Creek, as related in the preceding pages, the State administration and the men behind it must be held responsible. Chase and his men were only puppets.

A COMPARISON THAT IS OBLIQUE—TO PEABODY.

To bring out the actions of the Governor in invading the courts with his armed men in the strongest light, a comparison between the present administration and that of D. H. Waite may be of use. Waite, while in the last analysis an upholder of the system under which we live, inclined to the side of the workers, and upon him and his administration the men who uphold and profit by capitalism, through as contemptible an array of intellectual prostitutes as was ever enlisted in the cause of reaction, have well-nigh exhausted their vocabulary of abuse and misrepresentation, reserving, of course, their choicest epithets and bitterest hatred for the greater-than-Waite who is yet to come, and who will head the movement that is to sweep the system that breeds Peabodyism and all kinds of injustice out of existence.

(The attitude of those in authority to-day toward the courts that dare stand for the right has been well established during the past year. Permit me to quote from a letter sent to the writer by a member of Waite's administration: a man who was a leading part in the drama of those days.

"Cripple Creek, Colo.
June 20th, 1904.

"H. J. Brimble, Esq.
Florence, Colo.

"Dear Sir:—Referring to yours of recent date will say that sometime during the night preceding the day when General Tarsney appeared in Judge Campbell's court, I received instructions by special messenger from Governor Waite to proceed to Colorado Springs and defend Tarsney on the charge of contempt of court in not obeying a subpoena of the grand jury. On my arrival at the depot in Denver I found General Brooks

and some other officers of the militia with Tarsney. In answer to my enquiry General Brooks stated that he had been ordered by Governor Waite to proceed to Colorado Springs with the other military officers for the protection of Tarsney. I immediately informed General Brooks that it would be improper for them to appear in the court room in uniform. My recollection is that he made no answer at the time. Upon arriving at Colorado Springs Tarsney, the militia officers, and I went to the court house.

"The militia officers accompanied me to Judge Campbell's room and I then and there informed the judge as to the nature of my business and that I was not responsible for the presence of the militia, and that I distinctly repudiated any connection with their mission, insofar as their appearance in the court house was concerned. Judge Campbell thereupon stated that the militia must not appear in his court room armed or even in uniform. When the case was called for hearing the militia officers appeared in the court room in citizens clothes and unarmed."

Mr. Engley concludes his letter with matters that have no bearing upon the point under discussion and which are omitted here.

FICTION WITHERS BEFORE FACT.

That the force of the foregoing, and its bearing upon the conditions of to-day may be brought out to the best advantage, I may say that the Tarsney referred to was Adjutant-General under Waite and had been sent to the Cripple Creek district in command of the State troops in the "War of '94," that peace might be preserved, a mission in which he was eminently successful. Of course, in so doing he earned the enmity of the "best people," and was rewarded by the good citizens of Colorado Springs, that stronghold of the ore-wagon and stock-swindling aristocracy, with a coat of tar and feathers. What the mine-owners wanted in '94 may be imagined from what they have done this year. The Campbell spoken of is the man of that name who is at present an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. At the time spoken of in Mr. Engley's letter he was District Judge in El Paso County. You will have noticed his righteous anger at the bare thought of militiamen appearing in his court room. That was when they were detailed to protect a man who had stood between the Bull Hill miners and the thousand or more thugs in the employ of the sheriff of El Paso County, which, at that time, embraced the Cripple Creek district, who, under the direction of County Commissioner Boynton, a Republican politician, would have anticipated the actions of General Bell and the State militia of to-day, had they been allowed to do so. This is the man whose silence gave consent to the outrageous insults offered to the Supreme Court by John M. Waldron, Governor Peabody and the rest of them, when they flatly intimated that they would obey the orders of the Supreme Court if they saw fit, and not otherwise. Why did not Judge Campbell drive Sherman Bell from the court room when he appeared before the Supreme Court in uniform? The answer is simple: In the Tarsney case the officers were there to protect a man from the machinations of the mine-owners, while in the Moyer case the officers were in court in the interest of mine-owners. Hence the difference in the treatment accorded to the protectors of Tarsney and the captors of Moyer. The fiction of the Supreme Court's impartiality withers away before the evidence here presented.

"THE COURTS MUST BE RESPECTED."

If the comparison established does not satisfy the reader that there is one interpretation for the workers and another, quite different, for the exploiters, then I cannot hope to convince him by any argument that I may produce. The cry that "The courts must be respected" is a favorite with the defenders of capitalism. Yes; when they go the "right way." When the contrary is the case, the "intelligent people of the State," in the language of John M. Waldron, do not respect them, their economic position enabling them to set the courts at defiance.

I will close this part of the chapter with an invitation to the reader to compare the action of Eugene Engley, a man looked upon by the "best people" as a dangerous individual, with that of the present attorney-general, who, being "safe" and "sane" stands for every abuse committed by the Peabody administration, not the least of which is the trampling under foot of the constitutional guarantee of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and the destruction of the machinery of justice, when it could not be forced to do the bidding of the agent of capitalism who now occupies the gubernatorial chair. Who respects the courts: Engley or Miller?

UNION OUTWITS MILITARY.

A striking incident in connection with the military occupation of Teller County is given by Mrs. E. F. Langdon, the lady from whose book I have quoted so freely, and to whom I am indebted for many facts. On Sunday afternoon, September 20th, while hundreds of the citizens of Victor, with their wives and children, were out walking and driving, a dozen or more non-union men were escorted into a restaurant by a couple of troops of cavalry under the command of General Chase. Naturally the people crowded forward to see what was going on, when, without the slightest warning, the troopers charged the masses of men, women and children, and drove them to the sidewalks. Not satisfied with this, the soldiers galloped down the sidewalks, the people running for their lives into saloons, billiard halls, hallways, anywhere, in fact, to avoid being trampled under foot by the horses, spurred into madness by the preservers of law and order. An old man, being unable to move quickly enough to suit Chase's warriors, was pricked repeatedly in the back with the point of a sword.

From this time forward military arrests became so common that it is impossible to keep track of them. Among the many brilliant exploits of the military was an attempt on the part of the military to capture every man who attended the meeting of the Altman union. The miners, however, got word of the proposed raid, and when the time came, the 200 troopers charged into an empty hall.

On September 26th, General Bell, who had been sent at the head of the troops to enforce the law, announced that he would pay no more attention to the civil authorities unless ordered to do so by the Governor.

SUPPRESSION OF THE "VICTOR DAILY RECORD."

As I have already remarked, the "Victor Daily Record" was

the official organ of the Federation in the district. This fact did not cause it to be beloved by the Mine-Owners' Association and its tools, and, as a consequence, the office of the paper was surrounded by soldiers on the night of September 29th, at 11:05, when the entire force was being rushed to get out the paper. With little ado the men in the place were lined up and marched to the bull-pen, not a word being said as to the reason for the arrests. Mrs. Kyner, wife of the magazine editor, communicated the news of the raid to Mrs. Langdon, and that lady, with Messrs. Miller and Conrad, the pressmen, hurried to the office and made preparations for getting out the paper at the usual hour. When the soldiers discovered that a substitute force were about to make their efforts at suppressing the "Record" of no avail, they endeavored to gain admittance to the office in the "name of the Governor of Colorado." Fortunately Mrs. Langdon and her associates had barricaded the place, and the soldiers dared not break their way in.

Mrs. Langdon made preparations to get out the next issue, but about 12 o'clock the regular force was released and again took charge. The experience of the arrested men, as related by Mrs. Langdon, is worthy of note:

"The prisoners were marched unceremoniously to the bull-pen. Armed thugs forced them into a filthy and squalid little tent, absolutely barren of furniture or bedding, where they were told to stay under penalty of having their heads blown off if they appeared an inch outside the entrance.

THE "BULL-PEN" FROM THE INSIDE.

"The 'bull' tent had just been vacated by a number of drunken soldiers, who had vomited all over the interior. The stench was sickening, but there they were forced to lie, without even as much as a gunny sack to protect them from the cold. Shortly after sunrise they were told to 'come to breakfast.' Emerging from the filthy kennel they were escorted to a mess table a short distance away. A dozen guards kept them covered with guns loaded with riot ammunition while two grimy negro cooks dished out a little soup on tin plates and told them to eat. There were no knives, forks or spoons at hand. 'Use your fingers,' said the head negro, when remonstrances were made.

"Beneath the table were a number of washboilers and buckets filled with the accumulated garbage of several days, and the stench arising therefrom was nauseating enough to insult the gizzard of a buzzard. It is quite needless to say that they had no appetite.

"They returned to the tent hungrier and more distressed than ever. The day was raw and cold and they were chilled to the marrow. Faint and sick Mr. Richmond approached the captain of the guard and implored him for God's sake to obtain some blankets. This appeal was cut short by an oath from that dignitary.

INTIMIDATION BY GATLING GUN.

"A little later a murderous looking gatling gun was drawn up, trained on the prisoner's tent, and they were subjected to the nerve-rending ordeal of posing as targets. The excitement attending this outrageous intimidation completely unnerved some of them.

"Attorney Tully Scott succeeded in getting them liberated through some legal procedure and after unwinding a few miles of military red tape the commanding general turned them over to Sheriff Robertson, of Teller County, when, for the first time, they learned that they were defendants in a libel case.

"The excuse for taking the 'Record' force was that in the issue of the day before there was an article of about six lines which referred to two tools of the mine-owners as ex-convicts. It was learned that in the case of Vannich it was true, but Scanlon, with all his faults, has not, as yet, worn the stripes. However, there was a correction coming out the following morning. The truth of the matter was that the military was watching every move of the 'Record' for a chance to raid the office. The real reason for the military raiding the office at that hour was to suppress the official organ of the Western Federation of Miners. The reader will at once realize that had the editor been guilty of criminal libel the operators or the mechanical force could not legally be held responsible."

(To Be Continued Next Week.)

The Ideal City

BY

Cosimo Noto, M. D.

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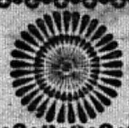
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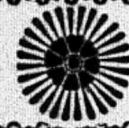
From the press of

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Masaniello



[From Cyclopaedia Britannica.]

(Modern history is best understood by knowing ancient history. Masaniello is not exactly ancient, yet useful reading just now.)

Masaniello (an abbreviation of Tommaso Aniello or Anello) was the leader of the Neapolitan revolt in July, 1647. For many years the Spanish Government, in straits for money, had exacted large sums from the two Sicilies, although the privileges granted by Ferdinand and Charles V had exempted them both from taxes on the necessities of life and from all external payments whatever. Now, however, under Philip III and Philip IV, the exactions, heavy in themselves, were made more oppressive by being farmed out to contractors, while the sums raised were usually conveyed to Spain and spent on purposes often having no connection with Naples. Meantime the industrial classes were scourged by the excesses of the nobility and the lawlessness of the banditti. At length, at the end of 1646, the duke of Arcos demanded a million ducats in gold; and it was resolved after much opposition to raise it from fruit, one of the most necessary articles of food to a Southern people. Petitions delayed but did not remove the tax; on June 6 a toll house was actually blown up, but the viceroy did not give way. The discontent was fomented by Genovino, who had been chosen "elect of the people" (that is, of the district of the city where the common people had the right of voting) in 1619 by the duke of Osuna's influence, and had been employed by him as an agitator. After the duke's recall he had been long in prison, and then returned to Naples and became a priest. He selected for his purpose Masaniello, a fisherman of Naples, then twenty-seven years old, well built, intelligent, and very popular in the city. He was so poor, we are told, that he was usually obliged to content himself with selling paper to wrap up the fish that others sold. He had special cause, too, for hatred to the taxes; his wife had tried to smuggle a bag of flour into the city as an infant; she had been imprisoned, and his scanty possessions had barely sufficed to pay her fine. The temporary success of a rising at Palermo had stirred the people to a sense of their power, and very little was wanting to

produce an explosion. On July 16, the feast of S. Maria del Carmine, it was customary to make a sort of castle which was defended by one body of youths armed with sticks and stormed by another. Masaniello had been chosen captain of one of these parties, and got together four hundred young men, with whom he had already raised the cry of "Down with the taxes!" when the crisis was precipitated by a quarrel. On Sunday, the 7th, a dispute arose in the market (on which Masaniello's house looked) whether the gardeners or the buyers of their fruit should pay the tax. Finally the owner of the fruit (said to have been a kinsman of Masaniello) upset his basket, saying he would sooner let the people have it for nothing than pay the tax. Masaniello came up: the tax collectors were pelted with fruit and with stones, and the toll house was burned with cries of "The king of Spain and plenty; down with misgovernment and taxes." The viceroy attempted, without effect, to quiet the people by promises; his carriage was surrounded, and he escaped with difficulty to St. Elmo. Meanwhile the populace broke open the prisons, and released all charged with offences against the custom. In the evening by advice of Genovino, a meeting elected officers, and decided on their demands. Masaniello was chosen chaplain, with one Perrone, who had been in the service of Maddaloni, and at another time a captain of bandits, as his lieutenant. Next day the people went in search of arms; many houses of persons who had made themselves obnoxious to the people, and especially of tax-farmers, were sacked, and their contents burned; but most of the historians of the time state that there were few attempts to appropriate anything and those few were immediately punished. The duke of Maddaloni, a man of lawless life, but a decided opponent of the viceroy, was selected as a likely intermediary with the people. The latter demanded the original charter granted by Charles V, which was said to have wrongfully come into the viceroy's own hands, the removal of all taxes imposed since Charles V's death, and that the elect of the people should have as many votes as the representatives of the nobles. All was granted, but the viceroy made entrenchments to guard the approaches to the castle. Next day the sacking of the tax-farmers' houses went on. The

viceroy attempted to cheat the people by sending documents simply drawn up by himself; and then their rage burst out. Maddaloni was seized and given into custody, but escaped in the night by Perrone's connivance. The people were summoned to arms. The cardinal archbishop, Fjomarino, who did his best to mediate between the parties all through, came to them from the viceroy, and it was arranged that he should bring them the document. The seizure of arms went on, and Masaniello, marching out of the city, disarmed and took prisoners four hundred soldiers, while another body of people did the same with six hundred German mercenaries. On Wednesday Perrone made his appearance at the head of three hundred bandits, partly mounted, and fired upon Masaniello, but without injuring him. The people rushed upon them, and they were killed almost without exception. Some confessed to having been instigated by Maddaloni, and a price was set upon his head. His brother, Giuseppe Caraffa, was found in a monastery and killed, and his head and feet were set up on pikes. A new elect of the people was chosen, Arpaia, who had been a partisan of Genovino's in the Duke of Osuna's time, and had been condemned to the galleys. On Thursday Maddaloni's house was plundered and his property placed in a heap in the market under guard. The castle being short of provisions, Masaniello sent some as a present to the viceroy. The Neapolitan galleys, under Gianettino Doris, arrived the same day, and Masaniello refused permission to land or come nearer than a mile to the shore, but sent provisions on board. In fact, he was now undisputed master of the city, not only organizing the military force in it with surprising ability, but dispensing strict though severe justice. Often he sat inside his little house on the market, sword or loaded gun in hand, while petitions and complaints were handed to him on the end of a pike through the window; yet he still went barefoot, dressed as a simple fisherman. The people, having assembled, consulted together on the terms of agreement, it was settled on the advice of Genovino that Masaniello should show the articles agreed on to the duke at the palace (he would not risk himself in the castle), and that the viceroy should afterwards swear to them in the cathedral. Towards evening the procession set out,

Masaniello in a dress of cloth of silver pressed upon him by the archbishop. An immense concourse of armed men, estimated at one hundred and forty thousand, lined the way or accompanied him. Before them went a trumpet proclaiming "Viva il re di Spagna ed il fedelissimo popolo di Napoli." Before entering the palace he exhibited the charter brought by the archbishop, and charged them not to lay down their arms till they had received the confirmation of their rights from the king of Spain. "If I do not return in an hour," he added, "wreck the city." He was received by the viceroy as an equal. All the conditions were agreed to, the chief being—that the elect of the people should have as many votes as the nobles; that all taxes should be removed except those already existing in Charles V's time; that the viceroy should get the articles ratified by the king within three months; that no punishment should be inflicted on those who had taken part in the rising; and that the people should keep their arms till the ratification. On Friday Masaniello dismissed most of his followers to their work, keeping a patrol of four men and a corporal in each street. Next day the ceremony in the cathedral took place; the duke of Canjano read the articles, Masaniello meanwhile correcting and explaining, and the viceroy solemnly swore to observe them. Then Masaniello tore off his rich dress; it was time, he said, to return to his fish. And indeed from this time began his ruin. For a week the care of a city, with hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, had rested upon him; he had been general, judge, legislator, and during the whole time he had hardly slept or eaten, the latter through dread of poison; no wonder if the fisherman's brain reeled under all this. His justice had been severe, but hitherto it had struck men who deserved punishment, the oppressor, the robber, the hired cut-throat; henceforth every one who ventured to contradict him risked his life, and the only man who could persuade him to mercy was the good archbishop. Five hundred in all, it is said, were put to death by his order; though it is probable that they were few compared to the lives taken a short time afterwards by the viceroy in defiance of his pledged word. Next day, in fact, the duke set to work; Genovino was made president of the chamber in

order to detach him from Masaniello, for which he was the more ready as Masaniello was no longer the tool he wanted. Genovino had already prevented the demand for the surrender of St. Elmo, which could easily have been enforced, as the fort was not provisioned. Carlo and Salvatore Cataneo, with two others, offered to the viceroy to murder Masaniello, and he welcomed their services. On Sunday Masaniello gave orders for laying down arms and submitting to the viceroy, which were obeyed in some quarters of the city before they could be recalled. He tried in vain to get the viceroy to accompany him to Posillipo, where he drank deeply, and in reckless extravagance threw gold into the water to be dived for. Next day his violence continued; he struck his followers in the street, and condemned several of his officers to death for not immediately executing his orders. He cut out the head from a picture of Maddaloni and set it on a pike. Vitale, his secretary, sent on a message to the viceroy, talked of his intention to raise a million ducats for the king by means of forced gifts from the rich; Vitale was detained in the castle on some pretext, and on leaving next morning was killed by the people of the quarter, who had returned to their allegiance. On Tuesday, the 16th, the feast of S. Maria del Carmine, Masaniello went up into the pulpit, and in a wild harangue recapitulated his services. He knew, he said, his death was near at hand; then tearing open his dress he showed his body emaciated by fatigue and want of food. After some more wild talk he was disarmed and confined in a cell in the monastery. There the quiet seems to have restored him; but his assassins soon broke in; he turned to meet them; five shots were at once fired, and he fell dead. His head was cut off and carried through the streets, while his body was dragged about for a while and then buried outside the city. Next day some boys went and dug up the body, washed it, and took the head from the guard in charge of it. The Neapolitans forgot the excesses of the last few days, and only remembered the leader who had won them their great victory. People plucked out his hair and preserved them as relics, some even prayed to him as a saint. All the priests of the city officiated at the funeral, and even the viceroy was represented by eight of his pages.

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Eugene Sue's work of which "The Pilgrim's Shell" is a leading story; and the translation of it into English was hampered by the English censor, on trifling and unfounded objections. And Marx, the great productions his giant mind gave to society would have died with his clay but for the revolutionary working class. Our opponents are active and persevering. We should be even more assiduous in pressing this literature out to the people. The above books eloquently tell the story, defend the cause, and voice the aspirations of our class. They are absorbingly interesting, and quite appropriate for Christmas gifts. They deserve the broader field made possible by every one doing his part in placing them before the public. The prices are so low for the books well bound in cloth that they are within the reach of all. Order at once.

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Detroit's Dope Industry

Located at Detroit, Mich., are two establishments engaged in the manufacture of drugs and patent medicines. They control practically the whole trade of America, and have branches in Canada, Great Britain, and Australia. A member of the Socialist Labor Party, on applying for a job at one of them recently, was put to work in the "grease room." In this department is put up salves, tooth-paste, ointments, cold cream, etc. The pay to start with was 12 1/2 cents per hour; at the end of two weeks this was increased to 15 cents per hour, and further increase as the applicant "deserved" it. To illustrate what the capitalist knows about production, the following actual incident will answer. On one occasion cold cream was being put up. The head of the firm, after looking at it and smelling of it, asked one of the workers if it was carbolic salve! The average man would have known that much. Cough "cures" of every kind are unloaded on a gullible public. The chief ingredient of such is alcohol. In the biological department, where the sciences which deal with the phenomena manifested by living matter are dealt with, a large force of doctors,

chemists and assistants are at work. Here the vaccine points are made. The printing department is up-to-date, and does all the firm's work in that line. A tragic affair for pure and simple unionism occurred here. The printers asked for "union" wages, and through some misunderstanding when the schedule was agreed upon and lived up to, the "union" rates were lower than previously. The "union" threatened to strike, but the firm was obdurate, and held them down to the schedule. Another interesting department is the finishing or labeling room. Here all goods are sent to be labeled, which work is done entirely by girls, on the piece-work system. The more expert ones make from one dollar a day up, when steadily employed. There is also the stock room, the perfume room, order department, machine shop, and mill room, where powders of all kinds are mixed. The firm also keeps a large stable of horses, not for work, as one might suppose, but to furnish blood for a preparation called anti-toxin. The veins are opened and blood extracted. After the horses are bled all they will stand for, they are fed up and sold for \$50 or upwards. Anti-toxin is sold as a cure for diphtheria.

The treatment of the horses resembles somewhat the use to which the wage-worker is put, with the exception that the horses are always taken care of, while the worker is thrown on the street to starve, when he can not be exploited any longer. To see the enormous quantity of patent medicines, cure-alls, and other health-destroying concoctions, displayed for sale in any drug store, one would think that the American people were easily imposed on, and suffering from all the ills that flesh is heir to. Great Britain, Canada and Australia also take a goodly share of the trash turned out by such firms. This will show what deception is practiced to sell goods. Suppose a druggist wants a pile remedy, face powder, or cough cure. The order is put up and labeled in Detroit, something like this: "Pure horehound and honey cough cure, put up only by John Jones, druggist, Sydney, Australia." The chances are it contains no honey, nor horehound. The people who patronize John Jones buy it, because they believe it must be good, if he puts it up. A California Fig Syrup company sued one of the Eastern firms not long ago for infringement of trade mark. It came out in the evidence that not a

particle of figs was used by the former firm, in their "cure." The firm referred to in this article has a refined way of engaging help. A notice is tacked upon the building: "Help Wanted." A rush of applicants is the result. They are ushered before the manager, one at a time, questioned as to their ability, etc., and are required to fill out blanks, stating age, residence, name, and what pay they are willing to accept. The lowest priced ones naturally get the job. Many children of tender age are employed at \$1.50 per week, in spite of the age limit law of 14 years. Numerous cases are known of the father, mother, and children of one family at work to make both ends meet. A short time ago the following notice was issued to all employees: "There is an old saying that 'two heads are better than one,' and it is reasonable to suppose that several hundred heads are better than two, so we make the following offer—Any one having a suggestion to make as to improved methods in getting out work, or a saving in expenses, is invited to write it out and hand it in to the office. We will pay \$1 for each suggestion used by us, but no employee should feel aggrieved if his idea is not made use of."

This article would not be complete without a description of the residence of one of the firm. An imposing looking mansion, it stands on one of the swell residence streets. The walls and ceiling of the parlor and lounging rooms are gorgeously decorated, while the furniture, statuary and bric-a-brac must have cost a small fortune. A spacious billiard room is located in the basement. Every bedroom has a separate bath room and toilet in connection. Six telephones are installed in the house. Pianos and several other musical instruments grace the reception room. The carpets, curtains and hangings are elaborate. Paintings by the best masters adorn the walls. What a contrast to the "homes" of the workers! When one realizes that all these comforts and luxuries are made possible by the manufacture of impositions and the exploitation of the only useful class in society, one is tempted to ask, "When will the workers get 'wise'?" How long will they uphold a system which drives their children into the factory, their wives and sisters in many cases to prostitution, and themselves to all parts of the earth, looking for a master? Onward to the Socialist Republic, when imposition will be unnecessary and every worker will get the full product of his toil. S. L. P.

A. F. OF L CONVENTION

(Continued from page 1.)
What concerns us most was the "noble knowing of the class struggle," otherwise known as "boring from within." This time it was J. Mahlen Barnes' resolution, No. 110, that went to join the Berger and Brown proposition. It called for the abolition of lobby committee. Barnes spoke first. Like all his co-workers he was trying to perform the acrobatic feat of riding pure and simple and revolutionary Socialism at the same time; but of course, the two steeds would not pull together, and the champion fell and scratched his nose. Gompers at once took him in hand. His speech is a nice piece of sophistry and will make good reading, just to show what kind of arguments these people use. However, he made two splendid points against the horns. He said: "To show the consistency of our

fruits. They say they have concentrated what they hoped to present to the convention in the proposition now under discussion, that is, the abolition of the legislative committee. They are asking us to abolish the legislative committee, and yet during this same convention they have asked us to use our best efforts to get from Congress a law for pensioning workers." This borer's consistency had been the laughing stock of the Socialist Labor Party ever since the resolutions were printed. It is a wonder how stupid those people are. I never have believed them capable of so much stupidity before. Again when Barnes objected to Gompers' using the words "stirring tirade" he having been the only speaker, Gompers replied: "My dear Barnes! Do you believe we have given good-by to our memories? Do you think for moment we are unconscious of the fact that others—those who are associated with you and whom

you designate as Socialists—conform themselves very differently in this convention to the way they do out of it? Do you think we are entirely unconscious of these things?" It is a fact that the very same night that Berger had "kissed the hem of the mantle" of Gompers and Mitchell, the bogus Socialists, at a meeting on Grant avenue, where Gompers was present, called him all the names in the calendar, and had a majority to howl him down. Oh, how we must admire the courage of these "noble wagers of the class struggle!" When Gompers finished the convention adjourned until 8 p. m. that same day. During supper hours each party to the contest laid their plans. The pure and simple had been bored enough and were determined to stand it no more. When the convention reconvened the bogus Socialists sent as vanguard one Brown, president of the Shingle Weavers' Union, from some place in Washington, a member of the

party, innocent and sincere, but very much utopian in his ideas. A dozen contemptible fakirs in various parts of the hall at once started the game. One rose for a point of order, another for a question, a third for a point of information, etc., and so on. The Coffee Agent ruled every point of order out of order and said every time that Brown should proceed undisturbed, but for every interruption he had a very benevolent smile. Finally the whole house would start to applaud every few words he said, and the like tricks were resorted to. Brown tried to give tidings to the Federation, nothing helped. He sat down without losing his temper and took a good natured part in the proceedings afterwards, so we fear he will return home not much wiser for his experience. One Ramsey, of the Telegraphers, who at previous occasions has declared himself with the "Socialists", this time wheeled clear over to the other side. The bogus Socialists were so

badly beaten that though Barnes declared at the start that they had concentrated their efforts upon that proposition, no one else attempted to take a hand in its defense. Hundreds of persons have during the week expressed their utter astonishment at these "Socialists" attempting to invade a place like that without showing the least iota of concerted action, but each riding his own hobby as it were. To one and all we will say that that question is well answered in advance by the author of "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism" when he says: "Error is manifold; it scatters." The last struggle of the day was the graft struggle. It hinged on several questions, regulating the relation between central bodies and national and international unions. The international unions won out every trip, as of course, they would with the international presidents in the great majority in the convention, and from now on

local unions are simply wiped off from all connections. If we had hoped up to that time that there was some one in the Federation that was not a scab all our hopes were at last shattered, so sweeping were the proclamations hurled out that night. San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 26.—The entire forenoon and part of the afternoon so-day was taken up with the craft struggle between the sailors and 'longshoremen. The 'longshoremen have the rest of the day was taken up with the election of officers and the selection of next year's meeting place. Pittsburgh, Pa., gets the show next. Every one of the old officers was re-elected. Berger stuck to the fools' part to the last. Gompers was nominated and elected unanimously with a whoop and hurrah; but Victor would not have it; he stood up to register his vote against Gompers, but the delegates would not have that, so they hooted him, and

cheered Gompers all the more. Eri-tongues will have it that the other "Socialists" shared nobly in the jeering of the one and cheering of the other; but that may be a mistake, of course—probably they were called to the telephone just then. Anyhow we suggest it, for the comfort of the local "Socialists", who are having all kinds of trouble with an inquisitive public that insists in finding out the why and wherefore of some of the "Socialist" inconsistencies at the convention. Late in the evening the convention adjourned. The delegates came here by special train from the East and will leave in the same manner Monday morning at nine. So they have met and quarrelled and banqueted and had a general, glorious, good time. Will organized labor throughout the land watch its condition and see what good it gets out of this convention? Olive M. Johnson.

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SOCIALLY ST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

Table with 2 columns: Year and Number of votes. Rows include 1888, 1892, 1896, 1900, and 1904.

The economic subjection of the man of labor to the monopolizer of the means of labor—that is, the sources of life—lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms of social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence.—Marx.

UNEASY LIES THE HEAD OF THE EVIL-DOER.

It is now barely ten years ago that The People took the Sacramento, Cal., "Bee" over its knees, and dusted the Pacific slope luminary for its then utterances on Socialism. The "Bee" had haughtily threatened to shoot down the Socialists, should the "brigands" ever become numerous enough to be taken notice of.

And now? Not a word of "rataplum plam-plam." The "Bee" recognizes the rapid strides Socialism is making. It no longer calls the thing "brigandage," it has lowered its tone. Now the thing is called a "fad," a "fad" that, as soon as victorious, "would go to pieces inside of twelve months." Yet amidst all its confidence in the impracticability of Socialism, the "Bee's" mind is disturbed. It correctly refers to the Socialist propagandists as "Indefatigable"; it admits that "Socialism has become a great force in the nation." It gives another toss on its uncomfortable bed and quotes "many deep thinkers of the times" as believing that "inside of twenty years at the very furthest" the political issue in the country will be fought out between two parties "one the Socialistic, the other anti-Socialistic."

Can the disconsolate, now "un-rataplummed plam-plamed" "Bee" be blamed if it seeks comfort and imagines it has found comfort pillowing its aching head upon the belief that "no two Socialists will agree as to what Socialism really is"? Hardly! The "Bee" deserves sympathy, all the more seeing that even that imaginary pillow does not seem to afford it rest. Its dreams are troubled. In its sleep it mumbles the ominous reflection: "And yet they are persistent and ceaseless in proselytizing as though they were fighting for ONE UNITED IDEA!"

Aye, indeed! There is no balm in Gilead for the distressed apostle of capitalism. One central idea unites all Socialists. With the Socialist, as with his predecessor the Abolitionist, as the latter was described by Jane Grey Swinburn, there may be different views on tactics; even within the Socialist Labor Party, at times violent discussions may convulse the organization, just as happened with the Abolitionists; and just as in the instance of the Bourbon slave-holders and their Northern Copper-head sympathizers, the descendants of these, the modern Capitalist Class, expect their salvation from such divisions which, the wish being father to the thought, they magnify into irreconcilable feuds, and cause them to leap and cling to the broken reed that "no two Socialists are agreed." But, again just as in the instance of the Abolitionists, the broken reed will plunge the usurper into the despair of crushing disappointment. As the Abolitionists were held united by one central idea, the Abolition of CHATEL SLAVERY, so the Socialist, wherever found, is indissolubly bound to all Socialists, wherever found, by the central idea of the abolition of WAGE SLAVERY. That bond holds them now, that bond will draw them together at the bustings of the approaching "Nov. 6, 1864" That bond holds them now; that bond of this century and generation; and that bond will marshal them, together with their increasing hosts, at the approaching "Appomattox" of this century and generation.

AVE, ELIOT, LIBERATOR! "Private and Public Liberty!" "Freedom of Contract!"

These were the blood-tingling exhortations that punctuated President Eliot's recent speech before the Economic Club of Boston. Of course, he was applauded to the echo by the enraptured employers present. Whose heart would not respond to the call of Freedom, all the more seeing the steady approach of Socialism, or what Spencer termed "The Approaching Slavery"? And shall a gathering of rotund and spongy employers, panting after more rotundity and more sponginess, be thought to be possessed of less responsive hearts, perchance no heart whatever?

"Freedom of contract" is a term of equity. It is weighty with meaning, sense and justice. According thereto a contract is not valid if the contracting parties are not absolutely free to enter into it, or refuse. A contract is even considered immoral, as against public policy, if entered into under duress. "Freedom of contract" means all this. But now, a perverse mob, leavened with the perverser leaven of Socialism, is setting up its many-headed monstrosity, and interpreting the term in a novel way—a downright abominable way. It is claiming that hungry men, unable to reach mother earth, from whose womb of natural opportunities they are barred by the holders of the social opportunities (capital), are not in the condition prerequisite for entering into a free contract! The many-headed monster is setting up the theory that such hungry men are under duress when they contract with an employer, that the employer takes advantage of their stress, and that the "wages-contract," thus entered upon, is no contract at all, no more than when the wayfarer surrenders his purse to the highwayman, who covers him with a bludgeon! The many-headed monster is even more impudent. It demands the establishment of conditions for what it impudently calls the "true" freedom of contract—conditions under which natural and social opportunities, land and machinery, being open to all, as the property of all, whoever contracts shall be at a par with whomsoever he contracts with! And in the meanwhile the many-headed monstrosity carries its monstrous impudence to the point of setting up artificial fortifications, which it unpatriotically names "Unions" and from behind which it seeks to restrict the freedom all along enjoyed by the employer!

Of course, such impudent assumptions are enough either to disgust or to enrage the liberty-loving employer. His one-time freedom of whacking the lion's share out of his helpless workmen, is threatened to be put in chains, and even his one-time dearly cherished liberty, of calling the terms that he dictated to his workmen "a contract," is being questioned!

"VESTED RIGHTS" AND "POLICE POWER"

Both the owners of antique tenement houses and the advocates of the new Tenement law are making history and establishing precedents. The new Tenement law proceeds upon the theory that many of the existing tenements are unsanitary. The smallness and location of the rooms; the absence or bad location of the bathrooms; the impossibility of proper ventilation;—in short, the system upon which the concerns were built is injurious to health. The changes were ordered as "an exercise of police power," a head of the law under which legislation has the right of way. All this, in a way, is history and precedent. It makes havoc of the capitalist pretence of "individuality," behind which the capitalist criminal is ever wont to entrench himself. Legislation, mandatory legislation, at that, was restored to its order to protect the lives of tenants, despite the one-time claim that such protection was "paternalism" and harmful to the development of "individual initiative."—So far, so good.

But the owners of the antique tenements, which the law ordered to be overhauled, were not disposed to be left behind in the praiseworthy act of making history and establishing precedents. If the Tenement law upholders were to Lurch arguments to the Socialist Movement, why not the antique tenement owners also? So the latter started in, and it must be admitted, have out-run their competitors. Their competitors only furnished precedents for the stout use of the legislative broom, "individual initiative" or no "individual initiative." The antique tenement house owners have furnished illustrations of "vested rights." Their argument against the new law is that it requires certain structural changes in the tenements that have hitherto yielded neat little incomes, and they set up the claim that that is "TO TAKE AWAY THEIR PROPERTY WITHOUT COMPENSATION." A grander illustration of "vested rights"

for future use can ill be imagined! The antique tenements are pronounced unsanitary. If to condemn them and to order structural changes in them is "to take away property without compensation," or "confiscation," what else is the "vested right" of these "interests" but the right to undermine health and thereby take life?—The antique tenement house owners prove the case to perfection.

The usurpation of to-day becomes the "vested right" of to-morrow. There is not a vested right in existence but flows from a usurpation of yesterday. The "exercise of police power," a well established principle of law, can and will sweep out of existence these "vested rights" in the blood and marrow of the working class. What else is Capitalism but a "vested right"? And what else is Socialism but an "exercise of police power"?

TOLDEROLLOL, FATHER VAN AKEN!

At this critical epoch when Europe at large, and now America also, are in the convulsions that denote the affliction—at least the belief in the affliction—of a grave social struggle; the struggle foretold by Marx, the Reverend E. M. Van Aken has come forth with a soothing balsam—something even better than a soothing balsam, a positive counter-irritant. The potion is administered in a neat 78-paged, blue-covered booklet, that establishes beyond peradventure the "fad-and-fanciness" of Socialism, the utter unreliability of Marx.

The argument is neat, forceful and terse: Marx prophesied increasingly acute industrial competition as a result of private capital; in the wake of that the enslavement, moral and material, bestialization of the laborer; hence in hand therewith the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, with the eventual disappearance of the middle class and the appearance of a large reserve army of superfluous labor; finally the assumption of the control of society by the working class and the establishment of Socialism. Having thus summarized Marx, the Rev. Van Aken, summarizes the summary with the following dismissal and confutation:

"More than thirty-five years have elapsed since Marx flaunted this threat into the face of society, and yet we have not seen its fulfillment; there are no signs on the social and economical horizon of increasing poverty, of bestialization, of a reserve army of superfluous laborers."

This is settler—for all time. Nevertheless and for all that, us seems to see some impertinent fellow rise in his seat, in the vast auditorium of civilization into which he has squeezed his insolent personality; and rush forward; pull out of the good Father Van Aken's belt the holy man's pocket-Bible; turn up impudently St. Matthew, Chap. 24; peritly read aloud verses 29 to 33 foretelling the darkening of the sun and moon, the falling of the stars, the appearance of the Angels of final Judgment, the summoning of the elect and their gathering from the four winds, closing with verse 34: "This generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled." Us seems to see and hear the bumptious fellow jauntily apostrophize the scandalized Father: "With what grace, by what process of reasoning can you, who clothe yourself in the sanctity of the words of this book, presume to refute Marx's 'prophecy' on the mere allegation that thirty-five short years have elapsed and the 'prophecy' has not yet been verified? Marx never specified so short a period for the downfall of capitalism; on the contrary his argument shows the process would be slow. Granting, for the sake of argument that there is as yet no sign of 'increasing poverty', of 'bestialization' or of the 'reserve army'! How dare you weave out of that a proof that Marx's 'prophecy' was a 'gratuitous prophecy', in the face of the fact that the moon and stars have not yet fallen, that no one has yet either seen or heard the final Judgment Angels and their trumpets, that the elect are yet scattered to the four winds and that Satan—as your own activity on earth testifies—is still busily at work keeping you stirring and your hands full, and all that after unnumbered generations have passed since the generation which was not to pass till all those things were fulfilled?"—To the impudent fellow, who would make such an argument against Father Van Aken's settler, we would simply say this:—"Thou art obviously a Socialist. Obviously thou confirmest Father Kref's words that Socialism destroys 'the submission due to the priest in all things'. Sit down, thou perambulating lump of insolence!"

And no sooner was this scamp disposed of when, us seems, another would rise. He would quote the statistics on concentration of wealth, the statistics on crime, the statistics on the increasing numbers of paupers, too numerous to be attended to by the charity organizations, the statistics on the mortality in the working class, the statistics on the recurring increasing volume of the unemployed. He would quote all that and sit down with a heathenish look of self-approval and blurt out: "There goes your 'settler'!"—But to this misguided brother we would give the warning: "Knowest thou not that FACTS are material, and FICTION only ethereal, spiritual? Be not thou a grovelling materialist!"

Oh, what a relief! A nightmare is

lifted from the chest of humanity. We thought there was a social crash on. It has been called off—all thanks to the Rev. E. M. Van Aken.

Why did he not speak up before?

IT HAS STARTED!!! The Appeal to Reason—"the leading Socialist" weekly in this country"—in its issue of November 25th, contains an instructive object lesson. It consists of a three-page advertisement. The advertisement is headed by a three-inch cut, which runs across the entire width of one of the pages, and depicts a hand writing on a wall the word

"CO-OPERATION"

The above is followed by the following sentences, which also trail clean across the page, in proportionately smaller type:

"Heed the Handwriting on the wall. 'Co-operation spells the doom of all capitalistic monopolies."

"Co-operation is the principle which will deliver the producing classes of the country from the bondage of the competitive profit system."

"Co-operation, wherever applied for the distribution of merchandise, has meant to the consumer savings in expense and profit on the savings."

"Co-operation doubles your purchasing power and doubles the money saved of your purchase if invested in a co-operative system."

Underneath these glaring headlines appears

"An Open Letter To The 600,000 Socialist Voters of 1904."

The character of the open letter is partly revealed in this sentence:

"As yet Socialism is a theory only, and must remain a theory, until its value can be DEMONSTRATED BY PRACTICAL APPLICATION. (Caps are ours). This practical application must come first in a small way; and, if successfully executed, will command respect and attention for greater things"—and partly in the fact that it states the application has already been made by a PRIVATE CO-OPERATIVE MAIL-ORDER STOCK COMPANY, which, on that, and the other pages, offers its shares to the readers of the Appeal to Reason, in a manner that recall the advertisements of the get-rich-quick bogus stock schemes.

The object lesson furnished by the Appeal to Reason, is plain. It means that "the 600,000 Socialist votes" are already being exploited by private interests, in the honored name of Socialism!

In the interests of a concern that, because of its purely distributive character, appeals mainly to middle-class consumers—in the interests of a concern that is bound by the inexorable law of profit TO EXPLOIT ITS OWN WAGE-WORKERS, I. E., THE PRODUCERS, IN ORDER THAT IT MAY PAY THE DIVIDENDS ON ITS INVESTMENTS, AS PER PROSPECTUS—in the interests of a concern, in brief, that means the perpetuation of the middle-class and the wage system, the great doctrine of INTEGRAL co-operation, I. e., Socialism—already practically demonstrated and foreshadowed in the workings of the great trusts, beside which this concern is not merely a veriest pigmy, but a positive caricature—is misrepresented, abused and perverted to ignoble ends.

The object lesson furnished by the Appeal to Reason is a repetition of the colonization spirit of the early Debs party, which even that party abandoned. It is a keeping alive of the sordid spirit of the schemers, who, like carion crows, ever seek to turn to private profit the movement of the workers, and who are "practical" only in the sense that they demonstrate their own graft spirit!

Ho there, ye stairwells of the Socialist Labor Party! Get busy! There is a big educational task before us, if our class is to survive the many frauds that are sure to arise intent upon exploiting latent Utopianism.

If the New York Commercial is to be believed, "Industrial war will continue just so long as employers are timorous and lack self-assertion." If one looks about him, he will find that where employers are most aggressive, as in Colorado, for instance, there industrial war is a long drawn and deadly reality, and not a mere figure of complacent journalistic speech. Industrial war is due to the conflicting interests of capital and labor. Cowardice may invite it, but courage, such as the Commercial lauds, only serves to accentuate, but never to end it.

According to press despatches, an engineer, writing to a Washington friend, complains that systematic deception with regard to expenses, traveling privileges, habitation and wages, is practiced by the Panama Canal Commission. If this is the fate of the skilled engineer, what will be the fate of the unskilled laborers who follow? The indications for plenty of jobbery and labor troubles on the canal in the future, are not lacking.

Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan's discussion of "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism" should not be missed. Read it!

The People is a good broom to brush the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

Flash-Lights of the Amsterdam Congress

[Rather than try to give a condensed report of the Amsterdam Congress and of what I saw of the European Movement in general, I shall present a series of articles under the above general head, subdivided under special heads. This flash-light method will be on the whole better. It will deal in detail with persons and things; and the flash-lights will, in the end, be seen to run into one another and portray the scene more effectively.—DANIEL DE LEON.]

THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU.

Marx's name has reached the point where tradition clusters around him. Among the Marxian traditions that I heard in Europe was his conception concerning the central administrative body of the International. According to that conception, the International Socialist Congresses were to be only a temporary, transitional and social affair. The real, ultimate and effective fruit of the transitional period being an International Conference essentially different from the Congresses. The Congresses were large, the Conference would be small; the Congresses were public, the Conference would be secret; the Congresses were legislative, the Conference would be executive. While the Congresses would debate, discuss, gather for friendly intercourse, the Conference would meet for action. The tradition forecast the present International Bureau, and this, in turn is supposed to foreshadow the real "Bureau" of the tradition—an unobtrusive meeting of one or two representative men from the several nationalities, in some unadvertised place, for the purpose of conferring upon the ripeness of the time, and at-the fit hour, decide upon and give the signal for the downfall of Capitalism, or bourgeois rule. The tradition sounds luridly revolutionary, much akin to conspiracy. And yet there is nothing lurid or conspiracy-like about the thought in its essential features. It is perfectly natural. The very thing is now going on in capitalist circles. The Socialist program is no secret: It demands the unconditional surrender of capitalism; its International Congresses so announce it to the world; its local organizations work to that end. Nothing more natural than that conferences, intended to feel the pulse of the times, should be held. They certainly are held now whenever two Socialists meet. That the day will come when more than two will make up the conference, and that such conferences will not be heralded and cried from the house-tops, is obvious. Whether, however, the conferences in question will proceed upon the theory that the Social Revolution will be simultaneously international, and that it will take place with the mathematical precision implied by the tradition, is another question. Indeed, the tradition, as traditions generally, has certainly come down distorted. It is hardly likely that Marx could have expressed a view indicative of such a PUNCH and Judy conception of society. For all that, the tradition does forecast correctly the formation of an International Bureau, where the international affairs of the Movement can be attended to more soberly than it is possible to attend to them in mob Congresses. In so far, Marx's forecast reflects the uniformity of the man's clearness of vision.

The Edinburgh "Socialist", organ of the British Socialist Labor Party, published in its September issue a witty periscope of both the manner in which the delegations of the present International Congresses are made up, and the manner in which the International Bureau deports itself. As to the former, (the delegations) the satire refers to the fact that the British delegation greatly out-numbered the German, despite the latter's 2,000,000 votes; and graphically reproducing the spirit in which many of the delegations were made up, the British especially, the satire puts into the mouth of Hyndman of the British Social Democratic Federation a speech illustrative of the situation. The gentleman declares to his fellow British delegates that he is "gratified at the enormous growth of Socialism in Great Britain"; that the enormity of the growth "was evinced by the large number of delegates"; that that was "the best and most reliable test"; that some people estimate the strength of a Socialist organization by the amount and soundness of agitation it carried on, but that those who thought so "took a very narrow and provincial view of things"; and that the thing to do was to strive and send ever more delegates to the International Congresses. As to the latter, (the International Bureau) the satire gets up the following resolution in the name of the said huge British delegation as the climax of their deliberations: "Resolved, That the class struggle does and shall continue to exist until notified to the contrary by the officials of the International Bureau." I may here also add the opinion of Mrs. Corinne S. Brown of the "Socialist", or "Social Democratic" delegation, whom I quoted once before. Writing from Amsterdam to the Milwaukee "Social Democratic Herald" the lady said: "Every thing seems to be settled by the Bureau, nothing by the convention"—all of which correctly reflects two facts: the loose, picnic spirit in which the Congresses are made up, as a whole, and the arbitrary department of the Bureau.

In fact the latter is the inevitable consequence of the former. Marx must have foreseen the social or picnic character of the Congresses. He must also have realized the impossibility of remedying the evil, in so far as it is an evil. Difficult to conceive is any scheme of "basis of representation" that would impart to the delegations another, a soberer character. Moreover, even if such a scheme were conceived and enforced, its contemplated purpose would suffer shipwreck upon the rock of the unavoidable Babel of languages. There is but one way out—a working Bureau. Thus arose since the Paris Congress of 1900 the International Socialist Bureau called for short International Bureau, consisting of two representatives of each nationality that chooses to enroll itself.

I have not yet heard a criticism of the International Bureau that is not correct. It is, on the morrow, inconsistent with its own precedents of the previous day; it is hasty; it is childish; it is arbitrary. An illustration of these facts was furnished in my report to the Australian and the Canadian Socialist Labor Party; another, and if possible, stronger illustration will appear in the subsequent article "The British S. L. P." The satire quoted above from the Edinburgh "Socialist" is felicitous: the Bureau's present attitude is just one to warrant the joke that it could notify the class struggle that the latter was abrogated. The International Bureau is all that, and yet it is eminently necessary and eminently useful. All its defects, and they are numerous, are inevitable; but they are inevitable only at this, the Bureau's unripe age. Born of the need for order and of the purpose to solidify the international movement through a channel of rapid intercommunication, the International Bureau may be safely expected to gradually cast off the slough of the defects of its youth, and set itself into proper working order. This consummation is all the more certain seeing that the Bureau consists of the elite of the Movement.

The Administration's projected anti-trust prosecution promises to be as lively, and as futile, as the Rooseveltian anti-trust campaign of some two years ago. What a "strenuous" blow and bluster was created then! What direful disaster was to befall the trusts then! "Publicity" was wanted. Given that, and death would mark the scene. "Publicity" was enacted into the law of the land, but the trusts suffered not. They continued on their destined way, inflating here, consolidating there, and transgressing the laws intended to restrain and curb them elsewhere. This will be the case again. The administration's anti-trust crusade will deprive the "trust busters" of their thunder, but it will not hurt the trusts. They thrive during such "prosecutions".

Mrs. Florence Kelley, addressing the Women's Conference of the Ethical Society, on "The Condition of the Women Wage Workers in Factories and Shops" said: "I have made a study of the condition of girls working in white goods mills and find that those running machines that make 4,600 stitches a minute last about six months after they have acquired skill in their trades. Then their eyes give out or their nerves are so shattered that they suffer from nervous collapse or tuberculosis and other diseases."

This exhaustion of nervous and physical energy, is also characteristic of the male machine wage worker. He lasts somewhat longer, but in the end, the pace becomes too much for even him.

The declaration of President Parry that the "open shop" increases output 25 to 50 per cent. is incomplete. He should also tell how much it increases the death rate, as in these days of intensified labor and high death rates among wages workers, it is hard to conceive of such a big difference in output without a corresponding big difference in the number of working class deaths. When that is done, it may appear that President Parry's open shop is closely related to the open grave.

Parry's claim that 1,000 open shops were established during the past year, overlooks the depression prevailing during that time. This made labor conditions bad and the abolition of the closed shop easy. A year from now labor conditions may swing to the other end of the pendulum. Then will come the true test of the open shop. Then, as before the depression, the closed shop is likely to supersede it.

The press rejoices in the re-election of Gompers. They see in it "a rebuke to Socialism". The editorial tribe will be surprised to learn some day that what Gompers is rebuking is not Socialism, but a despicable, cowardly caricature of it. Their elation will then give way to fear.

The thugs who do the strike-breaking for the capitalists who are interested in the simple life, no doubt are duly impressed with the simplicity of their method of settling industrial disputes.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—Uncle Sam, I wish to have a heart-to-heart talk with you Uncle Sam—it shall be heart-to-heart!

B. J.—About the Trades Union Question.

U. S.—A big question!

B. J.—You are a Socialist Labor Party man; I know where you stand on that question.

U. S.—None can mistake us.

B. J.—And I'm a Socialist Party man—you know where we stand on that.

U. S.—No, I don't! Some of you stand one where; others of you stand elsewhere.

B. J. (embarrassed)—There's a good deal in that—and that's why I wanted a heart-to-heart talk with you.

U. S.—You're having it.

B. J.—Is not capital concentrating?

U. S.—It is!

B. J.—And the more it does, aren't the chances of a Union to resist capitalist encroachments slimmer and slimmer?

U. S.—So they are.

B. J.—And the Trust stage of concentration is bound to come?

U. S.—It is.

B. J.—And then the Union's chances of resistance will be gone, would they not?

U. S.—In that ultimate event, they would.

B. J. (in great glee)—Now, that's why I say—to hell with the Union! There's no use bothering with them! They're going to smash anyhow! Let 'em go!

What's the sense in either joining or fighting 'em! Let's turn our backs on 'em, and give all our time to the political movement. Let's save ourselves the annoyance of all these union wrangles! Let's—let's—

U. S.—Not so fast!

B. J.—Ain't I right?

U. S.—You're wrong!

B. J.—Notwithstanding you admitted the inevitableness of the Trust stage?

U. S.—Is it a shouting match you wanted, or a heart-to-heart talk?

B. J. (cooling down)—A heart-to-heart talk.

U. S.—Very well! Then keep cool! With what element do you expect to man your "political movement" with pulpless parsons, briefless barristers, patientless physicians, jobless wind-jammers, or with workmen?

B. J.—With workmen!

U. S.—Good! Stick a pin there. Now, then, to another line of the inquiry. The Trust stage is much advanced, but would you admit or would you deny that the Trust stage has not yet reached perfection?

B. J.—I admit it has not.

U. S.—And even gigantic corporations are still struggling with competition!

B. J.—They are.

U. S.—And minor concerns, of course?

B. J.—Of course.

U. S.—And, if let alone, this state of things may last fifty years longer?

B. J. (startled)—F-i-f-t-y—!

U. S.—Will you accept forty?

B. J.—I can't think it could last that!

U. S.—Well, thirty?

B. J. (incredulously)—Sooner that!

U. S.—Will you accept twenty-five?

B. J.—No; I cannot!

U. S.—Will you accept ten years?

B. J.—Yes; ten I'll accept.

U. S.—Safe, then, to argue from the premises that there will be considerable competition for the next ten years?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—From that it follows that for the next ten years the union will enjoy some chances in the struggle with the capitalists—

B. J.—Yes, some; but declining chances.

U. S.—Thank you for saying "declining chances"; that expression helps out the point I'm driving at. But let's first be clear upon one point—the unions will have some chance?

B. J.—Yes; some chance.

U. S.—But the chance will be a declining one?

B. J.—Decidedly declining.

U. S.—Correct! Now, put on your thinking cap and tighten the strings, Jonathan. So long as the unions' chances are good, are dual or competing unions likely to spring up?

B. J. (scratches the back of his head)—No—I think not!

(Continued on page 6.)

CORRESPONDENCE

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

"GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP."

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Having heard much recently about how "government ownership" of railroads, telephone, telegraph, etc., can advance "the interests of the people," let me, as an employe of the postal service, give a little light on the subject. I want to state emphatically that the condition of employes in the post office department is the most degrading, morally, physically and economically; not because the individuals will it, but the surroundings breed such an effect.

Take for example the carrier. Before one can become a carrier he has a trying time as a substitute, serving from two to two and one half years as such, without salary, making a living by filling up the regular carrier's time when the latter is sick, and receiving his pay for same; also by delivering special letters, which pay eight cents each. To this is added the nominal sum of one dollar a year, paid by the government to meet all the legal requirements.

After this experience, the substitute may be added to the force of regular carriers. His first year yields him a salary of \$600; the second, \$800 and third, \$1,000. This is the maximum. The hours of duty are such as would try the strongest constitution being from 5 to 6 a. m., until 6 or 7 p. m., only working eight hours during that time, but through a system of swinging tours, the hours are drawn over a period as described above. The working conditions or quarters are most foul and unsanitary, unfit for the use of human beings. The state of affairs are such as to dull the intellect. The individual who, at some time, may have had hopes of improving his future in some other occupation, finds but little opportunity to develop such ambitions. There is very little time for sport or pleasure seeking. Considering the uniform, cap or hat, to be bought from the meagre pay, also the cost of living under present conditions, the number of years before receiving the maximum salary, etc., and the Socialist's contention that "the price of labor is determined by the amount necessary for its subsistence," proves correct.

The pension bill has been under discussion for such a number of years, that the case looks hopeless, also the increase of salary bill, on which the false leaders in the organization (Letter Carriers' Association), manage to mislead the rank and file. In this branch of the postal service there is no promotion, whatever the ability.

The clerks are in a decidedly worse position, they receiving their promotion according to political influence or affiliation. There is a merit system, under which employes enter the service. But once entering, other means are necessary to improve one's position and politics is the means of securing the most comfortable and best financial positions. The eight hour law is not established. They receive \$600 on entering as regular clerk, having also to substitute, but only for a few months. No stipulated time when promotion occurs. Working conditions are shocking, involving unreasonable hours of day and night and never considering the physical impossibilities of the human system.

There is also the transportation department, and railway mail service, where men perform tasks, most trying on the system. The work is such as to require quite an intelligent man to perform, the remuneration insignificant. They are both governed by the same rules and regulations as the clerical department.

I would state here that almost every weak new rule is printed by the service, as conditions require, and it behooves employes to keep familiar with such published rules.

The conditions of affairs here portrayed is by no means that desired by any reasonable workingman, and by Socialists, especially. "Government ownership" under capitalism is not collective ownership under Socialism, which is truly a government of, for and by the people, and not like the present one a government of, for and by the capitalist class. Under Socialism the cure for most social evils, including "government ownership," will be found.

One Who Knows.
New York, Nov. 30.

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE WITH NOTHING TO REGRET IN THE PAST.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—How many times have the ears of the Socialist Labor Party heard the remark "You are too narrow, too antagonistic to everything, nothing can be accomplished by an attitude such as your party takes." Let us see what the past presidential election says: Reaction in the

form of the Democratic party has received its death blow; progressive capitalism has triumphed far beyond its expectations; the Social Democratic party has polled a big vote, though falling short of its votaries forecasts; the S. L. P. refuses to be "dead."

The big vote of the Debsites shows that a large mass of discontent exists in the United States to-day (only a deluded Debsite would tickle himself with the fancy that it was a class conscious vote), and the question for us to consider is how is that mass to be moulded into a revolutionary form. Is it by means of the Debs party? In answer to this query let us take a look at Massachusetts. Everyone knows that in this State several members of the Social Democracy held office and all in all it was, in the opinion of the Debsites, the bright jewel in their "crown of thorns." In the tidal wave of capitalism how has "the bright jewel" weathered it? It has gone down with all hands.

The reason therefore is not far to seek; they have had an organization whose broadness none can imagine and whose glad hand welcomed everyone were he crook or fakir. The actions of the members elected to office were not discernible from that orthodox humbug, the "friend of labor." Judging from these facts is it any wonder that their "votes" stampeded, when someone cries, "Let's get something now?"

What happened in Massachusetts will happen, more or less, sooner or later, throughout the stamping grounds of the Debsites. All the more necessary, consequently, is it that the members of the Socialist Labor Party should recognize the absolute necessity of building up the organization, carrying on an unceasing propaganda, spreading the literature of the Party and securing as many readers of the People as hard persistent effort can accomplish.

Yes, the Socialist Labor Party is "narrow," far too narrow for people with patent nostrils for the cure of the wage-slave's body politic; too narrow for crooks and fakirs; too antagonistic to self-seeking deluders of our class; too antagonistic to worn out ideas, realizing that nothing can or will be accomplished until our class is educated to a consciousness of their class interests, which latter must be done by a "narrow," "intolerant" organization, such as the Socialist Labor Party and not by a broad gladhandism such as the Debsite fellowships.

The Socialist Labor Party looks forward to the future, having nothing to regret in the past.
Fraternally,
James M. Reed.
Toronto, Canada, Nov. 28.

FACING THE MUSIC LIKE MEN.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Despite the fact that we have no organization in Manchester, Conn., we received ten votes, and as I view the situation, it seems to me that the line or point is reached where the working class, conscious or otherwise, divides into two camps: A capitalist camp on the one hand and a labor camp on the other. Therefore I fully agree with "S. L. P." in his letter in last week's Weekly People, that "now is the time to put in good work and make it tell."

As the classes began to divide in their last campaign, it is the duty of every Socialist Labor Party man to direct this division to the best of his ability. If he can't do it by speaking, let him do it by distributing literature and gathering subs for the party press. Up to now, I think we have not done much work, but it seems to me the time is here when we must strain every nerve in order to reach the hundreds of thousands of workmen who, according to returns, do not see clear enough to vote for their own interests by voting for the Socialist Labor Party, but voted for any freak party outside the roughshod plutocratic Republican party. Therefore, Comrades, if we have pledged our energy to the Socialist Labor Party and working class emancipation, we must face the music like men.
G. Reichenback.
Rockville, Conn., Nov. 28.

POVERTY IN DENVER.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The Denver Post, is giving away with each cent ad in the Sunday issue of its publication, a fifteen cents box of Pillsbury's Vitas (Where does the middle class come in), and then brags of the large number of ads displayed in its columns. The News is giving away to each subscriber to their paper a phonograph. I notice that large crowds of unemployed are blocking the sidewalks in front of the numerous employment offices, jostling each other to be the first one to get a glimpse of some favorable adv.

I am working in a cigar store four hours a day. One day last week as I went to relieve the proprietor for lunch I noticed that he had purchased some coal, about a half a ton remaining outside, which was not taken in, the man who had the job having gone to

eat. Well in three quarters of an hour, fully five men came in to apply for the job of taking in the coal.
Last but not least, I am collecting for a certain party, and one incident is worthy of mention. There is a family the father is a carpenter and a good mechanic. The man had employment, but is now laid off. He has been unable to obtain any other employment. The mother is very anxious to give her children a good education, but she has been compelled to take her daughter and son from the school room. She found the daughter a job for \$3 a week, the boy is not very strong, and has been less fortunate. Well, to make a long story short, last week when the girl brought the \$3 home, her soles were worn through so that her foot was bare, and she wept, because the mother was unable to get her shoes, requiring all the money to live on during the following week. The father has left town, and gone to Salida, to get work. It is about a week since he left, but she has heard nothing from him.
M. H.
Denver, Colo., Nov. 24.

CAPITALIST "INCENTIVE."

To the Daily and Weekly People:—One of the particular hobby horses which the opponents of Socialism are very fond of riding, is that under Socialism the incentive to all inventions and progress will be eliminated. To this particular point they cling with the tenacity of a monkey hanging on a tree.

The inclosed clipping from "New Ideas" is submitted to the perusal of the above mentioned people.
A. Orange.

(Enclosure.)

The "Vision-box" which J. B. Fowler, of Portland, Ore., is said to have invented as an attachment to the telephone will probably never have a career of usefulness for reason that the inventor is so jealous of the instrument that he has destroyed it. The secret of the machine has been guarded carefully and although a few persons have seen it in operation, the method by which the results are accomplished are known only to the inventor. His motive in destroying the apparatus was his fear that the invention would be stolen from him. He said in explanation of his conduct that, some years ago he perfected an invention for an entirely different purpose and had it stored in a trunk in his room. An acquaintance who had learned something of the device secured admission to the room and breaking open the trunk stole the device, which he subsequently sold for \$60,000.

Some mention of the apparatus has previously appeared in "New Ideas" and a photograph of attachment appeared in a recent issue of the Portland Oregonian. It consists of a large lens encircled by a protective frame and placed just below the transmitter of the telephone. It is claimed that the picture of the person at the other end of the line with whom the conversation is being conducted can be seen perfectly. At a recent demonstration of the device the inventor's sister took her place at one end of the telephone circuit in one room and the persons in another room at the other end of the line could see her plainly and as she spoke her lips were seen to move.

THE DAILY PEOPLE CHRISTMAS FUND.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Christmas is soon at hand. But a few weeks more and the time will once more come when it is customary to remember our dear ones and distribute among them tokens of our love and respect. Perhaps you are already counting your meagre savings, and planning what you shall get and give this or that one.

Before it is too late I want to call your attention to the fact that The People is and should be counted among your friends and dear ones. In the face of great difficulties, it has fought YOUR battle for you throughout the year and you should not forget it now, but place it upon your list of those whom you will remember at Christmas time. Do not hesitate because you can give but little. We are not all situated equally; some can give more than others. However, every little helps and is most welcome.

I have to-day contributed my little mite (\$1.00), to start the ball a rolling, and it is now up to you to make that gift as large as possible. Don't wait to the last, send it in at once, for the faster the gift grows the more it will arouse those who at first might hesitate. Now, all together for a rattling big Christmas gift for our struggling press—the People.

Fraternally,
Frank Janke.
Indianapolis, Ind., Nov. 29.

DEMAND FOR S. L. P.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The official count of vote, as issued by the Secretary of the Commonwealth, gives us 2,311 votes for Corregan. This is real good and shows that there is a demand for a party like the S. L. P. in this State. The thing to be done now is to spread the party literature throughout the State.
Silas Hinkel.
Reading, Pa., Nov. 27.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

ARE WE AT BULGARIA OR ITALY?

The flash-light on Enrico Ferri and Bulgaria is a searchlight as well, inasmuch as it throws an unlooked for light along the path upon which we ourselves are moving onward—a light for which I, for one, have been looking for months.

Having had an excellent opportunity during the last year to observe the Party in several States, certain conclusions have forced themselves to my mind, and became stronger as the months passed by and new evidence piled up.

That the Kangaroo split was inevitable no S. L. P. man will to-day dispute; that it took vigor, bravery and moral backbone to challenge the brigade of labor leaders, and brand as capitalist institutions all that had formerly been considered and honored as the labor movement is unquestionable; that it took revolutionary clearness and foresight to brush aside opportunism can not fail in time to be admitted. The time has long since passed for discussing whether the one or the other is the thing to do; the thing is done, and for five years we have been grinding down and polishing up, so to speak, so that the Socialist Labor Party now presents a well-defined policy. Throughout the land, and to all concerned, to the shrewd and clear-sighted politicians of the Hanna type, to the labor leaders of the Gompers type, the biggest and smallest Kangaroo, and, moreover, to the mass of the workers who have heard the Socialist Labor Party speak—to all of these the Socialist Labor Party stands for several cardinal and clearly understood truths: First, that the Socialist Labor Party has nothing in common with the capitalist class and its parties, and that it neither will, nor can, compromise an inch. Second, that it considers the modern labor leaders, agents of the capitalist class, and the A. F. of L., and its kindred organizations, capitalist institutions. Third, that to it, there exists only one economic labor union—the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Fourth, that it cares not for a single vote behind which there stands not a clear-sighted, intelligent and class conscious proletarian. Fifth, that it scorns opportunism, and the visionary notion that society can be reformed behind its back.

These, as said, are now cardinal points of faith of the Socialist Labor Party. They are written in red letters over the portal of our temple, so to speak, and the whole world has a chance to know them. They are the fundamental principles of our revolutionary tactics, and if it had been necessary to split the party into a thousand fragments, and grind down to the smallest atom in order to get the least particle of such clear crystal, it would have had to be done. He who can not accept these truths, we scorn to call a Socialist, a comrade.

At this state, it ought to be plain to the observer, that the Socialist Labor Party is entering upon a new status of development, when policy, tactics, judgment, or whatever you may call it, are as necessary as force of character, bravery and backbone. It is at this stage that the danger is threatening, as perceived by Enrico Ferri, of persons becoming extreme, one-sided, and even petrified in their views. To give some concrete illustrations: I have met comrades who take the position that, in order for the Socialist Labor Party to remain "clear," it is necessary to have a split once a year, or once every two years, or once in a while at least; and there are others inclined to think one utopian and a little sentimental who will declare that the Socialist Labor Party splitting period is passed, and that the building-up period must be on hand if the Party is to fulfill the historic mission for which it has been inaugurated. Again, some comrades, if the discussion has led upon the struggle of the proletarians in the "Socialist" party, and we have held that there is in that party hundreds of young men and women giving their time, strength and mind to the movement, honestly desirous of Socialism, and that these belong to us and must come, perhaps singly, maybe also in numbers, a rather pathetic smile will spread on their faces, and they will say: "I hope not; I hope not, we have had enough of Kangaroos, and don't want them."

Certain points in this connection should be clearly understood. These people are not Kangaroos in the same sense that those were who jumped out of the Party in 1899 or later. They are Kangos only by association, by adoption, as it were, by adherence to the same cause. In feeling they are Socialists, and in experience, are now passing through the stage the Party did from ten to five years ago, with this difference only: that the S. L. P. had to hew its own way, but for late comers it is already a broad path which it is our duty to point out to them. Efforts are everywhere made to make them readers of The People. Its columns have been thrown open to their protests against corruption

and muddleheadedness in their party. Individuals have come into the Socialist Labor Party and some ex-Kangs acknowledging themselves deluded have returned to the Party the wiser for their experience.

While it is absolutely out of the question that there can be any flirting, association, or compromise with the Social Democratic Party, there certainly ought to be policy, tactics, or something of that sort by which we can attract to us what absolutely belongs to us, whether inside or outside the S. D. P. Again, it should be realized that the Socialist Labor Party of 1904 is not the Socialist Labor Party of 1894. The principles of the Party were then in process of formation, and anybody who had a general quarrel with anything in society was attracted to the Socialist Labor Party. To-day these principles are cardinal points of faith, echoed broadly throughout the land, and he who has not mastered them will steer clear of us.

There is to-day, then, instead of being a danger in numbers, an absolute strength in them, as numbers from now on necessarily mean CLEAR NUMBERS, and when inspired with one mind, the larger the number the stronger the mass. The Kangaroo danger is vanished from our horizon, for Kangaroism and S. L. Pism once having separated repel each other as the positive and negative poles of a magnet. It behooves us, of course, to be awake, and more so, as the movement grows stronger, that no lieutenants of the capitalist class get in and side-track the movement. But after all, the greatest danger to our movement lies in not being able to reach the working class and put the question to them in such a manner that they can understand our position, hence, become thoroughly class-conscious, because it is not the class-conscious Socialist Labor Party man, but the "half-baked" "Socialist" that falls prey to these lieutenants.

It is the duty of every Socialist Labor Party man to study the composition of the working class, and so conduct himself in all measures as to win its confidence and attract the sound judgment of the sounder elements. It is the duty of every Socialist Labor Party man to do all in his power to spread the Party's press and literature; in other words, to be an educational factor. Moreover, the Socialist Labor Party man must lay aside all petty personalities. It is the working people who the Socialist Labor Party must gather in its folds—the working people with all their virtues and also with their faults. It is the working people, good, bad, and indifferent who we must assimilate into one solid mass, with but one mind upon the economic and political issues of the day.

That there is a tendency in our Party to run "De Leonism" into the ground is a fact that more than one of our members have noticed. "De Leonism" or S. L. Pism, rather, does not consist in calling freak, crook, fakir, ignoramus or "intellectual" any member of the working class, or other classes for that matter, who happens to hold a different opinion on some things from ourselves; but, on the other hand, it consists in PROVING TO BE FREAKS, CROOKS, FAKIRS AND IGNORAMUSES those, of no matter what class or denomination, who attempt to lead, direct, or speak for labor, and either know nothing about its condition or are openly or concealingly the servants of the capitalist class.

Comrades, the Socialist Labor Party has entered upon a different stage of evolution from that which it occupied five to ten years ago. Let us recognize it, and, of all things, let us evolve with the Party.

Lowell says:
"New occasions teach new duties;
Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still, and onward,
Who would keep abreast with
Truth."

It would be as stupid now to "stay in Bulgaria" as it would have been dangerous to "go to Italy" before our time.
Olive M. Johnson.
Oakland, Cal., Nov. 13.

ALWAYS RIGHT ON THE TRADES UNION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed find money order, for which continue sending the Weekly People for one year. Its position on the trades union has always been right.
H. B. Canton, O., Nov. 28.

BACK NUMBERS WANTED.

Comrade Miller would like to get possession of the following issues of the Weekly People: November 8, 15, 22, and 28, year of 1902. He will pay a reasonable price for said copies.
Address, C. Haselgrove, 20 East Front street, Newport, Ky.
Section Cincinnati.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

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.]

A. G. B., DETROIT, MICH.—As to others, we say to you—send in matter. The best will be done here that is possible. But don't spoil the gift by demanding personal explanations. The paper is small, smaller still the force to store it, and huge the volume of communications sent.

A. S., PITTSBURGH, PA.—First—The gentleman is a wise man in his generation. The addition of the proviso "if there is any profit" to the statement that the Volkszeitung Corporation and Wayland "return all profits to their party for agitational and other purposes" is a cautious act. If the proviso were not put in, the falseness of the statement could be readily exposed. All one would have to do is to demand a report of such surrendered profits. Of course, there is none. The two concerns have no profits to give to agitation. Their own maws are too fathomless for anything to fall outside.

Second—The price of "Der Arbeiter" for six months is twenty-five cents.
E. L. B., DETROIT, MICH.—If you have the means to procure it and the time to read it, Mommsen's is the best history of Rome. But even with him you will need Lewis H. Morgan's "Ancient Society" as a corrective. Mommsen falls into frequent errors on the tribal origin of Rome. If you have no means or time for all that, Plutarch's lives may do. His lives of Romans constitute a pretty good history on Rome.

A. L. W., BOSTON, MASS.—Such charges against "3.50" should come at first, not at second hand.

P. G. C., OSWEGO, N. Y.—Send on the matter.
D. J., NEW YORK.—It is not so easy to explain the difference between the British Independent Labor Party and the British Social Democratic Federation. These two points of distinction may, however, be mentioned:

The I. L. P. is uniformly "broad"; the S. D. F. is "broad" and "narrow" by fits.

The I. L. P. applies its broadness to its organization and consistently allows its members the right of free speech; the S. D. F. applies only its "narrowness" to its organization; it exercises the right of heresy hunting. It expels whoever criticises it in other Socialist papers. That was the straw that broke the camel's back and started the British S. L. P.

H. S. A., CHICAGO, ILL.—That's news! Where does Marx allow room for the conclusion that he was a single taxer? There is plenty of evidence, pointed and conclusive, of Marx's holding to the nationalization of land (natural opportunities) as well as of capital (social opportunities)—but of single taxism? We never saw it! Hitherto, even the worst enemies of Marx never questioned the soundness of his economic logic. Marx's reputation for economic logic would stand on shaky legs if it could be shown that he held any such hairbrained notion as that the single tax would "free the land."

D. A., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—In some States the S. L. P. vote went up; in others it went down. Official returns are not yet in from all parts. In Pennsylvania the vote seems to have gone up.

A. S., PASCOAG, R. I.—The question has been forestalled. A full account of Masaniello appeared in the Sunday People. It was crowded out of the last Weekly by more pressing articles. It will appear in the next Weekly.

J. B., NEW YORK.—The exact popular vote cast at the late election has not yet been officially announced. Shall be published when ascertained.

D. C. W., BALTIMORE, MD.—Our understanding of the case is that the Pullman and the Chicago stockyard Unions are A. L. U.

F. D., WORCESTER, MASS.—The point is covered by the S. L. P. Resolution on Trades Unionism. "Politics" is the name that the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class give to Socialist economics. Preach capitalist economics, and they will laud you. Preach Socialist economics and they will raise the howl that you are "introducing politics into the Union," and that you are a "Union smasher."

F. L., SAN ANTONIO, TEX.—All that the S. L. P. delegate saw of Rosa Luxemburg at Amsterdam has appeared in the "Flash Lights." Her reputation in the bourgeois press of Germany for an "uncompromising revolutionist in petticoats" is probably justified. We have not notes enough on her for a separate "Flash Light" article. Pamphlets received.

L. K., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—First—In many papers Turati and his wing are referred to as standing outside of the Italian Socialist movement. In other papers they are referred to as the reform wing of a body of which Ferri is the

moderator, or centrist. At any rate the Turati wing did not appear at Amsterdam.

Second—Germany has passed the first disruptive stage. Whether a second disruptive stage is in store for it depends upon circumstances.

Third—Whether a "harmony stage," once reached, "nothing but harmony is in store for that movement" depends. In a Germany, for instance, where a clip and clear Socialist party, such as France and America have, is out of question, a second disruptive stage is quite within the range of possibility. There the disruption would result from the Socialists refusing to deal with bourgeois parties. There, accordingly, the disruption would proceed from the improved conditions that would enable the bourgeois radicals to go it alone, and inversely would spur the Socialists to square their actions with their words. But take America. It started with the "harmony" stage; the "disruptive" stage followed from material conditions. The "harmony" stage is certain to return, as indicated in the "Ferri and Bulgaria" flash light. But who would venture to say that, after that, "harmony" would be perennial? He must be a bold man. A second "disruptive" stage is, we should say, certain to come. Our conviction arises from the double circumstance that the power of corruption and of political chicanery that our capitalist class is gifted with is great; it will set up a new "Socialist" party to split the then united one. The second circumstance from which our conviction flows is that the present S. P. or S. D. P. has set the example and established a precedent. It set up a new "Socialist" party despite the existence of a former one; it set up false slogans of "broadness," "heresy-hunting," etc.; and it set the deplorable example of turning itself into a "house of refuge" for unquestionably tainted men whom the S. L. P. cast off—all of which scenes and slogans will be repeated in the American movement, including the claim that "the best men have left the party." No, the stage of "harmony" does not mean continued harmony. We are not aware that any violence is done to scientific terminology by the terminology used in that "flash-light."

A. C. F., NEW HAVEN, CT.—Shall take the hint.
J. M. R., TORONTO, CANADA.—You do not state facts enough to form an opinion. Does the organization, in its statutes, provide for cases of dereliction in dues? If it does, such provisions determine the case. If it does not, then the resignation of a member in arrears is wholly within the organization's province to either accept or refuse.

A. G. D., SEATTLE, WASH.—First—That course of reading is good. The literature advertised in these columns, if read through, will afford a liberal education on economics, sociology and history. Read them all.

Second—The "Flash-Lights" are to be published in book form, together with all the documents they refer to. "The Irrepressible Class Conflict in Colorado," ditto.

Third—The Editor of The People authorizes the answer that the wisdom of a certain Spanish expression would, in his opinion, stand in the way of any such proposal. When in Spanish the incongruousness of an idea is to be pointed out, one says that such a thing would be "like clapping spurs on a Saint." Inversely, and for that reason, the Editor of The People holds that the clapping of the name of Saint to a man who has spurs on would be an incongruity. Hence he disapproves of the "Saint Daniel" proposal. It is incongruous.

F. R., SAN ANTONIO, TEX.—Now to your second question:
If we could reach the moon with our hands, or carry water in a sieve, or fish for whales in a tub—what would happen? Tell us that, and we will answer your question: "What will happen if the workers were organized into a class Union, and through assessments established clothing factories, lodging houses and farms upon which the unemployed could work, receiving in payment the product of their labor which would go into a general fund, from which they could work, receiving in payment the dividually produced of any product of their labor, but no money?" Answer us, and we shall answer you.

But if you allow us to break your question in two, leaving only the first part: "What will happen if the workers were organized into a class Union?" then we are ready to answer you now. What would happen is that the capitalist system would almost instantaneously melt away like wax before the broiling sun, and the workers would not need to bother about the unemployed. The Socialist Republic would rise upon the heels

(Continued on page 8.)

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, P. O. Box 386, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

THE TOUR OF COMRADE FRANK A. BOHN.

On November 20 began the trans-continental tour of Comrade Frank A. Bohn. The comrade has put in one week's work in Kentucky, after which he will proceed to Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, California, Oregon, Washington, and then return East. When first conceived, the tour was undertaken largely as a means to get Comrade Bohn to California, the S. L. P. State Executive Committee of that State having engaged the comrade for a three months' agitation and organization tour there. But that aspect of the matter vanished completely when the result of the late election became known. A situation utterly different from what we have had before, confronts us to-day. The "safe and sane" Democracy has been smashed at the polls. No plus ultra capitalism has been placed in the saddle in a manner that must cause secret fear in the hearts of its more far-seeing representatives, it being more than they probably bargained for. As a result, the lines of the class struggle will soon become more plainly visible in our political life than ever before. During such times men will learn more in a month than they would otherwise learn in a year. Their minds will be open. Therefore, now is the time for the Socialist Labor Party to do its utmost to agitate, educate and organize. The tour of Comrade Bohn appeared desirable when first mentioned. Looked at in the light of the present situation, it has become imperative. To make possible the uninterrupted success of this tour, the National Executive Committee, who have assumed full responsibility for the work, financially and otherwise, must be supported. We therefore call upon all members and friends of the Socialist Labor Party to contribute to a fund to sustain the work now undertaken, said fund to be known as the "General Agitation Fund" under which head all contributions will be publicly acknowledged. Let those who can give send their contribution, but wherever possible instead of making one contribution and then be done with, let those who ardently desire to further this work pledge a small weekly contribution in an amount in keeping with their means and thus insure a steady income. Should the response to this call warrant it, other organizers will be put on the road as fast as means permit. Public acknowledgements of the amounts received will be made once a week in the Sunday People and will then appear in the subsequent issue of the Weekly People. Trusting that this will meet with the response the situation demands, we are, Fraternally yours, The National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party, Henry Kuhn, Secretary.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

This fund has been created to sustain the work of Comrade Frank Bohn, now engaged in making a transcontinental tour. During the past week the following amounts have been received: John Sweeney, Boston, Mass. ... \$ 1.00 Kentucky S. E. C., per Bohn ... 3.00 Twenty-third Assembly District, New York ... 5.00 Section Paducah, Ky., per Bohn ... 3.00 Eugene Fischer, New York (pledge, 50c per week)50 Bert Clark, New Brighton, N. Y.50 Total ... \$13.00 Previously acknowledged ... \$20.00 Grand total ... \$33.00 Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

NOTICE.

Owing to lack of space the General Vote on the six questions referred by the late National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party to referendum vote has been omitted from this issue. It will be published next week.

SECTION PASSAIC COUNTY.

The next regular meeting takes place on Tuesday, December 13. Every member of Section should be in attendance as matters of importance will be attended to, as well as voting on change of meeting night. John C. Butterworth, Org.

FOR OVER SIXTY YEARS.

An Old and Well-Tried Remedy. WRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP. No more feverish nights, no more crying, no more fretting, no more sleeplessness. It soothes the little ones, and is the best remedy for all ailments of the throat, chest, and lungs. It is sold in every part of the world. Beware of cheap imitations. WRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP. AND TAKE NO OTHER BRAND. Each Bottle Five Cents.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND.

Received during week ending with Saturday, December 3, the following amounts: N. Van Kerckvoorde, Durnee, Belgium ... \$.50 California S. E. C., 1/2 on list 22 (Tuttle)25 California S. E. C., 2/3 on list 8, San Francisco ... 6.34 List 473, Sheboygan, Wis. ... 1.00 New York County Committee, a/c lists ... 2.00 Section Milwaukee, Wis., balance on lists ... 3.40 New York S. E. C., 1/3 on Albany lists ... 4.12 New York S. E. C., 1/3 a/c Kings County lists ... 14.63 Ohio S. E. C., list 345, Cincinnati50 Ohio S. E. C., list 355, Cincinnati50 Total ... \$ 23.24 Previously acknowledged ... \$116.17 Grand total ... \$139.41

Note:—During the last week returns of lists have come in somewhat better, but there are still quite a number of organizations, State committees as well as sections, that have not been heard from at all, not to mention members at large who received lists and have not been heard from. Every list that has been sent out must be accounted for, no matter whether collections were made or not.

PENNSYLVANIA S. E. C.

A regular meeting of the State Committee was held on November 28, with Durnee in the chair. Minutes of previous meeting approved as read. Communications:—From Scranton, sending list 379 and money order for \$4.34; reporting Dreher not a member; also reporting that agitation will be carried on for S. T. & L. A. during winter. From Erie, reporting vote in last election, returning campaign subscription list, and stating three members joined Press Security League. From Reading, returning campaign list, and sending copies of Wisconsin S. D. P. platform as material for our speakers. From Harrisburg, received certified copy of pre-emption paper, and bill of additional \$1 to pay for certificate; same ordered paid. The secretary presented the official count of vote in State, which is as follows: Roosevelt, 840,949; Parker, 335,430; Swallow, 33,717; Debs, 21,853; Corregan, 2,211.

Judge of Supreme Court.

Republican, 737,978; Democrat, 306,205; Prohibition, 30,528; Socialist (Bacon), 16,536; Socialist Labor (Grant), 2,226.

THE STATE SECRETARY WAS INSTRUCTED TO SEND OUT CALL FOR NOMINATIONS FOR MEMBER TO REPRESENT THIS STATE ON NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, NOMINATIONS TO CLOSE DECEMBER 12, 1904.

It was decided to send a circular to sections and members-at-large reporting work in last campaign, the situation at present, and giving some suggestions for agitation during this winter. Receipts, \$6.89; expenses, \$7.00. Edmund Seidel, Recording-Secretary.

GENERAL COMMITTEE, SECTION NEW YORK, SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

A regular meeting of Section New York, Socialist Labor Party, was held on Saturday, December 3rd, at 8.30, in the Daily People Building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan. Chairman, August Gillhaus, and vice-chairman, Louis Kobel. Minutes of the previous meeting adopted as read. Three new delegates were seated. Fifteen new members were elected. Acting upon a letter received from the National Executive Committee, it was decided to elect the following Auditing Committee: Paul Augustine, A. Francis, A. C. Kifin, J. T. Vaughan and A. L. Zimmerman.

Under the Organizer's Report it was decided that the New York and Kings County Committees be instructed by the General Committee to organize as separate sections and apply for charters under the newly adopted Party Constitution, to become effective January 14, 1905.

The question of engaging a speaker for New York city was referred to the new sections to be organized. Adam Moren was nominated as the candidate of Section New York as a member of the N. E. C. from New York State. A committee of three was elected to bring before the assembly districts the Weekly People subscription plan of the Thirty-fourth Assembly District. It was decided to issue a circular letter to S. L. P. and S. D. P. enrolled voters. Adjournment followed. A. C. Kifin, Secretary.

SCHENECTADY LABOR LYCEUM.

Meets every Sunday, 3 p. m. in Turn Hall, Albany street. Speaker for Sunday, December 11th, Prof. John L. March, of Union College. Subject: "The Spirit of the Age."

DER ARBEITER.

Jewish Socialist Labor Party Weekly Publication To Be Made Permanent.

To the members and sympathizers of the Socialist Labor Party. Greeting:—The Socialist Labor Club of New York, an organization founded for the purpose of educating the Jewish workingmen and women in the principles and tactics of the Socialist Labor Party is now publishing a weekly Jewish paper. A Socialist Labor Party organ in the Jewish language has been a much-felt necessity since the suspension of the "Abend-Blatt", and the constant demand for genuine Socialist literature has brought about the establishment of DER ARBEITER. Joseph Schlossberg, David Pinski and Ch. Alexandroff, formerly on the editorial staff of the "Abend-Blatt", with the assistance of other able writers, are a sufficient guarantee that DER ARBEITER will be a true exponent of the principles and tactics of the Socialist Labor Party, as well as a first class literary paper.

The above named organization, therefore appeals to the members and sympathizers of the Socialist Labor Party to do all in their power to spread and increase the circulation of DER ARBEITER wherever possible. Due cards and stamps of various denominations will be sent to those who are interested in the existence of DER ARBEITER and pledge themselves to make weekly or monthly contributions. With the co-operation of those desiring to secure the existence of the paper the management will be relieved of the many burdens brought about by such an undertaking. All information bearing upon the welfare of this weekly should be forwarded without delay. Let us not forget, as members of the working class, that there is an educational mission to be performed. The task is difficult. On the road to progress many obstacles are encountered. It is for us, the militant Socialists, to clear the road. "Let us be up and doing." Let each obtain as many subscribers as possible. The subscription price is fifty cents per year. By order of Socialist Labor Club of New York. Henry Jager, Manager. Endorsed by the N. E. C.

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting General Committee Mass. S. L. P., called to order by the secretary at Boston, Nov. 27. Comrade Englehardt, of Everett, elected chairman. Roll call showed all present, but Deans of Lynn, and Mortensen of Somerville. Minutes of the meeting of Nov. 13 read and approved. Bill of Treasurer of the committee for \$1.20 accepted and ordered paid. Communications: From Lowell, on sub lists. Accepted and filed. From New Bedford, ordering stamps, sending money for party funds etc. Filed. From Town Clerk of Brookline, notifying Berry of receipt of votes cast for Governor in that town. Filed. From Cambridge, Worcester and Lawrence, filed. From National Secretary, Henry Kuhn, on the Organizer proposition. Filed. Secretary reported that all of the articles submitted to referendum vote of the Party had been carried, giving the vote as it appeared when tabulated, and that for Secretary and Treasurer of the committee of 1905, the several sections had sent in their nominees. Berry and Sweeney had been nominated for secretary; Berry declines; Deans, of Lynn, Young of Boston, Greenman, of Boston, Englehardt of Everett had been nominated for Treasurer; Greenman and Englehardt decline. The names of Sweeney for Secretary and Walter Deans and William H. Young for treasurer were ordered sent to a vote of the Sections that elect the General Committee. It was also voted to call upon the Sections in the State to send in their nominations for one member of the N. E. C. of 1905. Secretary's report also covered the routine work of the last two weeks, with the receipts and expenses of the period. Report accepted. The agitation and entertainment committee reported that they had the tickets about ready for an event that will take place in the near future, and they ask the Sections and Alliances to do all in their power to make it a success. Report accepted as progressive. Secretary ordered to prepare and put in shape the adopted state constitution, of 1905. Comrade Englehardt, requested the use of food checks, left over from the picnic of July 16. Request granted. Adjourned. Michael T. Berry 99 1/2 Chestnut street Lynn, Mass. Sec'y Mass. S. L. P.

NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE.

Sections in New York State are again urgently requested to nominate member for new N. E. C. Hold special meetings, if necessary, for the purpose. Nominations will close December 15. They will immediately be sent to general vote, which must be in before Jan. 1, 1905. J. Ebert, Sec'y N. Y. S. E. C., S. L. P.

FURTHER RETURNS.

Table with columns: NEW JERSEY, S. L. P., S. D. P., Governor, Governor. Lists counties and vote counts for various candidates.

OHIO.

Cincinnati, O., Nov. 29.—This city gave Corregan 280 votes. Cincinnati, O., Dec. 2.—Corregan and Cox polled 2,645 votes in this state. Debs, 36,125. In 1900 the S. L. P. vote was 1,688. Hollister, O., Nov. 28.—Out of a total of 283 votes, the S. L. P. received twenty-seven and Debs fourteen.

INDIANA.

Indianapolis, Ind., Nov. 28.—The State Election Board canvassed the electoral vote of Indiana to-day, and the official vote shows that the Socialist Labor polled 1,598.

ILLINOIS.

Springfield, Ill., Dec. 1.—4,608 votes were cast for Corregan in this State. Maloney in 1900 polled 1,373. Debs received 69,225. East St. Louis, Ill., Nov. 31.—The official count shows Corregan received seventy-nine votes in this city. In 1900 we had thirty-four, and in 1896, sixteen. Every one of these votes is a nail in the coffin of capitalism.

MINNESOTA.

Duluth, Minn., Nov. 20.—St. Louis county, including this city, records 124 votes for the presidential candidates of the S. L. P. Debs got 509. Nash, the bogus Socialist's candidate for governor, received 233 votes. Anderson, S. J. P., 106.

TEXAS.

San Antonio, Tex., Nov. 25.—According to the capitalist press twenty-nine votes were cast in Harris County for Corregan and Cox.

CLASS-CONSCIOUS VOTES.

Tuolumne, Cal., Nov. 25.—Two hundred and ninety-six voters wrote th enames of ten S. L. P. electors on the ballot in Tuolumne county at the recent election.

BUFFALO SCHOOL OF SOCIALISM.

All Buffalo men and women interested in the subject of Socialism, no matter what political party they may support at present, should take notice that a school to study sound Socialist literature in a thorough and systematic manner, is now conducted every Wednesday, at 8 p. m. sharp, at the S. L. P. headquarters, room 510, Old Y. M. C. A. Building, 19 West Mohawk, corner Pearl street (top floor). The school began with the study of Karl Marx's Communist Manifesto. Every paragraph, every principle or historic event is discussed before a new paragraph is taken up. You are invited to join or at least attend a few times for trial. Bring friends along.

BUFFALO LABOR LYCEUM.

Rev. Morrell will lecture on "The Principles of the Prohibition Party", this Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock, in Florence Parlors, 527 Main street, near Genesee street. General discussion will follow. Come and bring friends. Admission free.

IMPORTANT, SECTION MILWAUKEE.

Section Milwaukee will hold an important meeting, Saturday, December 10th, at S. L. P. headquarters. Every comrade should make it a point to be present at this meeting, as business of interest will come up. John Vierthaler.

BOSTON MIXED LOCAL ALLIANCE.

Boston Mixed Local Alliance 77, Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, was reorganized on Sunday, November 13. Regular meetings occur every first Sunday of each month at 1165 Tremont street, 7.30 p. m. All members are hereby called on to take hold and make the local a success. C. H. Burnham, Rec. Sec'y.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES.

A better showing was made last week in getting subscriptions for the Weekly People. Two hundred and two were secured. That is good, but it should be much better. There are not so many other things to occupy our times as there was during the campaign. We can now go around amongst our friends and acquaintances, in the work shop and in other places, to get readers for the Weekly People. Build up a good circulation for our press during the winter months. That is one of the best things to do. Comrade William O'Brien, of Dublin, Ireland, sends in a list of twenty-two yearly subscriptions. He evidently recognizes the value of the Weekly People and acts accordingly by getting readers for it. Comrade Wm. J. Oberding, of Trenton, Ill., orders \$5 worth of prepaid sub. cards and writes, "The election is over and I'll try and get a few subs. so as to keep things moving on the right lines. Every little helps." That's the proper spirit. Comrade Juergens, of Canton, Ohio, sends in one new sub. and four renewals. He writes, "Almost all subscribers renew when called upon and some of them notify me to renew before I get to see them. I think this is a good sign." So say we. The Thirty-fourth Assembly District, New York, sends in twelve; G. A. Jennings, East St. Louis, Ill., nine; A. B. McCulloch, Manchester, Va., five; Walter Goss, Belleville, Ill., five. The Weekly People is growing steadily. Duncan McRae, of Winnipeg, Man., orders ten copies of the Weekly People for three months; Henry C. Burnmaster, of Schenectady, N. Y., does the same. Following are the bundle rates: 5 copies 3 months ... \$.65 5 copies 6 months ... 1.30 5 copies 1 year ... 2.50 10 copies 3 months ... 1.30 10 copies 6 months ... 2.50 10 copies 1 year ... 5.00 25 copies 3 months ... 3.25 25 copies 6 months ... 6.25 Let others order a bundle and get to work hustling for subscribers. On with the Party press.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

This looks like campaign times. San Francisco orders 100 "Behind the Scenes" and 20 "Value, Price and Profit"; Roanoke, Va., 100 assorted pamphlets. Winnipeg, Can., took \$8 worth of literature; Wilkinsburg, Pa., took 65 pamphlets; and Boston, Mass., 15 "Two Pages from Roman History", 6 "Value, Price and Profit" and some cloth bound books. Comrade Delhy of Seattle bought 8 "Woman Under Socialism", 8 "The Pilgrim's Shell", and 10 pamphlets. Chicago got "Revolution and Counter Revolution", and "A Contribution to Political Economy" by Marx, and 15 "Two Pages from Roman History". This is campaign time. The vigorous campaign of the Socialist Labor Party now will be more fruitful than ever before. The situation is opportune. Work with energy and dispose of all this literature. Let us work with spirit, and our work will tell. Make an issue of the books as Christmas presents. Spread them where they have never been before. Make the movement known. We have also received some orders for the gold Arm and Hammer pins. It is a very neat little emblem, and quite appropriate for a present.

ALLEGHENY, PA., ATTENTION.

To the readers of the People of Allegheny City, Pa., and vicinity: The undersigned is desirous, and thinks the times auspicious, to organize a section of the Socialist Labor Party in Allegheny City and vicinity. You are, therefore, invited to place yourselves in communication with him and others, to the end that we may more effectively work for our emancipation from the curse of capitalism in the manner suggested. There must be no further delay in the matter, if we wish to begin by participating in the Spring elections. Let all earnest and sincere wage workers promptly reply to this request. Geo. A. Brown, 9 Bartlett Street, Allegheny, Pa.

CONNECTICUT, IMPORTANT.

Sections of the S. L. P. still having subscription lists for the National Campaign Fund in their possession, are requested to send them at once to the undersigned, so that matter can be closed. A. Gierginsky, 136 Governor Street, Hartford, Conn.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

(Continued from page 4.) U. S.—Do you recognize that dual, or competing unions, are a symptom of the declining chances of the union, due, in turn, to capitalist concentration, and all that is thereby implied? B. J.—I never thought of that before—but I guess that's so! U. S.—It is, indeed! First, kindred and existing unions begin to quarrel about "jurisdiction," and next the dual, or competing, union springs up. Now, just join the last two points together, and what do we find? We find that, so long as unions have a chance, they will exist, and in the measure that the chance declines without being wholly destroyed, the dual or competing union will spring up. Seeing that you admit ten more years of competition, but of simultaneous declining chances for the union to resist capitalist encroachment, can you escape the conclusion that, the two causes co-operating, dual or competing unions will increase in number and that the "jurisdiction" fight will grow in bitterness? B. J. (reflects with puckered brow)—I can not escape the conclusion. It—it is correct! U. S.—Of course it is! We see the fact all around us! "Jurisdiction" fights galore among the old unions, and competing unions springing up everywhere! B. J.—That's so! U. S.—Now, Jonathan, keep the strings of your thinking cap fast. The crucial point is coming that will put the strings to the utmost test. B. J.—I'm ready. U. S.—Your "political movement" is to be made up of workmen; you said? B. J.—I did. U. S.—Do you stick to that? B. J.—I do. U. S.—And increasing numbers of those workmen will be either in unions that are fighting each other on the "jurisdiction" issue, or in competing unions—all of them hurling at each other the epithet of "scabs"! B. J. thick drops of perspiration gather on B. J.'s forehead. U. S.—Will they not? Will not increasing numbers of workmen be in one another's hair from opposing union camps? B. J.—They will. U. S.—Now answer up! And straight forward! Do you imagine that workmen in one another's hair, acting like wild Indians on the economic field, will behave like cooing doves inside of your workmen's political organization? B. J.'s forehead is bathed in perspiration. U. S.—Do you, in other words, imagine that, with pandemonium reigning on the economic field, outside of your political organization, you can have, within the organization, that same element comporting themselves as if in church? B. J. fidgets from one leg to the other, mopping his forehead. U. S.—Do you, in short, imagine that a workmen's political organization can escape what you call "the annoyances of union wrangles" if those annoyances affect their economic organization? B. J. looks as if he were on the point of exploding. U. S.—No answer? B. J. (making a supreme effort)—No!—It is nonsense!—The thing is unimagineable. No peace can reign within a workman's political organization if war reigns without in their economic relations with one another. U. S.—Now, what becomes of your plan "to let the Union Question go to hell," "not to bother with the unions," and "to save yourself the annoyance of all those union wrangles?" B. J.—Gone up the flue! Smashed, by Jericho! Knocked into a cocked hat, by thunder! U. S.—I should gently stutter! B. J. (beside himself)—But, then, everything else is up the flue along with my plan—at least until these ten years are over. There can be no lasting Socialist political organization of workmen before then! U. S.—Now you're again going too fast. B. J.—Is such a political organization possible, without its bursting asunder? U. S.—Yes, sir; most assuredly; and bound to triumph, too. B. J.—How? U. S.—I thought you understood the Socialist Labor Party position on Trades Unionism— B. J.—I thought I did—but I don't. What is it? U. S. (looking up at the town clock)—See there. It is near 7 o'clock, and this is Saturday evening. I have to hurry home with my pay to let my wife have some money for provisions. If you want to know more upon this burning question, meet me next Saturday again when the shop closes. In the meantime, chew upon what you learned to-day. Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

LETTER-BOX.

Continued from page 5. of such a Union, and then to be "unemployed," when one could and should work, would be a symptom of a disease that will have some such name as "Anemia periculosa capitalista." The poor fellow would be sent to a hospital for treatment. Next question next week. B. O. S. TARRYTOWN, N. Y.—A man may believe that Unions are wholly useless and will eventually vanish. It is not the S. L. P. position; but much can be said in its behalf. But the man who, like Matchett, refused to join the Union of his trade, and never could damn Unions enough, and even now damns them, such a man is a bizarre figure when he shouts "Union Smashers!" at S. L. P. men. W. I. HARTFORD, CT.—Hate? The S. L. P. hates just one thing—the capitalist system. H. O. LINCOLN, NEB.; W. T. A. REVERE, MASS.; I. V. I. ALBANY, N. Y.; A. L. NEW YORK; N. D. BROOKLYN, N. Y.; I. S. PHILADELPHIA, PA.; F. O. U. BERLIN, GER.; T. R. BROOKLYN, N. Y.; E. B. L. CHICAGO, ILL.; P. A. KANSAS CITY, MO.; H. E. T. NEW YORK; R. McD. SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH; S. H. P. PITTSBURG, PA.; O. T. R. DETROIT, MICH.; W. J. G. COLORADO SPRING, COLO.; O. S. COLUMBUS, O.; M. R. HOLYOKE, MASS.; P. McN. HAMILTON, O.; F. R. INDIANAPOLIS, IND.; J. OF. ABINGTON, MASS.; B. R. BUFFALO, N. Y.; C. S. BOSTON, MASS.; G. A. B. ALLEGHENY CITY, PA.; C. C. P. COLUMBUS, O.—Matter received. MISS CASTLE Whereas, the cruel hand of destiny has entered the family of Comrade Castle and has taken for its prey his beloved daughter, thereby creating a vacancy which will be felt for a long time, and Whereas, the members of Section Winona deeply feel with the family in its bereavement, knowing full well of the troubled waters the Proletariat must sail, therefore, be it Resolved, that Section Winona, of S. L. P., in behalf of the entire S. L. P., expresses its sympathy with Comrade Castle and his bereaved family; and be it further Resolved, that these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of Section Winona, a copy of which be sent to the bereaved family and a copy be sent to our national organ, the Daily and Weekly People. Again, Comrade Castle, we call to thee: Cheer up, she's better off now. Section Winona, Socialist Labor Party, Winona Minn. Section Calendar (Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements, at a nominal rate. The charge will be one dollar per line per year.) New York County Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m., at 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan. Kings County Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m., at headquarters, 613 Park avenue, Brooklyn. General Committee—First Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan. Offices of Section New York, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan. Los Angeles, California. Section headquarters and public reading room at 205 1/2 South Main street. Public educational meetings every Sunday evening. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings. San Francisco, Calif., S. L. P. headquarters and free reading room 836 Market street Room 40. Open day and evening. All wage workers cordially invited. Chicago, Ill., S. L. P.—Section Headquarters, 48 West Randolph street. Business meetings 2d and 4th Friday of each month. Section Toronto, Can., S. L. P. meets in Room 3, Richmond Hall, Richmond street W., every second and fourth Wednesdays. Workingmen cordially invited. Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets every Thursday, 8 p. m. at 307 1/2 Pine Street Room 6. Sec. Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P. meets every first and third Sunday of month at 356 Ontario Street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 2.30 P. M. SECTION WORCESTER. Section Worcester, Mass., meets at headquarters, 540 Main street, Room 25 the first Sunday of every month.