

KANSAS

THE LAND OF POPULISM AND ANTI-STANDARD OIL A RADICAL PLACE.

Inhabitants Hate Conservatism and Are Ready to Pounce Upon Any New Movement that Comes Along—How Socialism Fares Within Its Borders, As Seen by Organizer Behn

(Special Correspondence.)

Pueblo, Col., March 2.—The average resident of an Eastern city pictures Kansas as a huge block of quarter-sections, where long whiskered Populists plant long rows of sun-flowers and curse the railroads and "standard oil."

It is true that the Populist Party, which controlled Kansas in 1893-4 represented the agricultural interests. But it was more than this. It advocated queer social and political reforms, in Kansas. In no state has so much been said about prohibition, sumptuary laws and anti-divorce schemes.

This much however, is true. Kansas are lying in wait for any new movement, ready to pounce upon it and make it their own. No one can justly accuse them of being political moss-backs.

The heterogeneous population of the Missouri-Kansas coal fields I found to be much the same in character as in the coal regions of Ohio and Illinois.

His own party having almost disappeared, De Leon is casting longing glances toward the Socialist Party.

In his paper—the slender sheet through which Local Kansas City has revived the Socialist National Platform, and through which members and friends of Local Kansas City have libeled Kansas state officers—the evil genius of the Socialist movement in the West is declaring that the Socialist Party must be reorganized or those in sympathy with his views must join the Socialist Labor Party.

The hope of the world is the Socialist movement. The Socialist party is its exponent.

The Socialist Party movement in Kansas is one of the most promising in the Union. Look at its vote. To De Leonine it would be to destroy it, to bury it beneath a pile of bones.

A Mission of Unionism NOT THE LEAST

The discussion, now going on upon the Trades Union, is bringing to the surface one point after another of vital importance to the Socialist Movement.

A mission of the Trades Union is to drill the membership of the Working Class in the habit of self-imposed discipline. The mission of capitalism, the Socialist knows, is to organize the mechanism of production that wealth can be so abundantly produced as to free mankind from want and the fear of want.

As that division of the Labor or Socialist Movement that will have to give the final and decisive blow to capitalist rule, the Trades Union must necessarily illustrate in its make-up the fullest development of all that is implied in that product of civilized man known as "Organization"—UNTTY.

put in an appearance at the meetings only to pay the blackmail and then go away again, or they never come; they are spared even that trouble; an officer goes around where they work and collects the money.

How far astray "pure and simpledom" has wandered from the mission to drill in discipline, and to what extent it has poisoned the mind of the Working Class, was three years ago pathetically illustrated by the American Labor Union.

During the last quarter of his speech, Thomas J. Haggerty left out the "Father," forgot the "Socialist" party audience he was addressing, forgot his college breeding, forgot his well-paying lecture job, in short, forgot himself, or should we rather say, became himself, became one of us, became the signer of the Manifesto and the promoter of true Working Class organization.

The signs are that this blunder will soon be rectified. So long as the Working Class has not disciplined itself into fitness, so long will the only remaining mission of the Capitalist Class demand the latter's continuance in power.

DEBATE IN CHICAGO. At Exchange Hall, corner of Monroe and Sangamon streets, on Sunday afternoon at two o'clock, between Comrade A. Lohansen, Socialist Labor Party candidate for Mayor of Chicago, and Braest A. Untermyer, of the "Socialist" party, on the following: "Resolved, That the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was built from above and emanated in the head of one man."

HAGGERTY IN 'FRISCO

SIGNER OF CHICAGO MANIFESTO SPEAKS ON INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

Scores Gompers' American Federation of Labor, Ridicules the Trades Union Policy of the "Socialist" Party and Makes Clear the Necessity for the Class Conscious Organization of Labor—Who Is "Flip-Flopping"?

(Special Correspondence.)

San Francisco, Cal., Feb. 27.—The bogus Socialists of this city, during last week, extensively advertised the fact that Father Haggerty was to speak last night at the Alhambra Theatre.

About the first three-quarters of Mr. Haggerty's speech require no comment. It was a typical "Socialist" party speech upon the conditions of to-day, the duties of man to man, and his relation to society.

During the last quarter of his speech, Thomas J. Haggerty left out the "Father," forgot the "Socialist" party audience he was addressing, forgot his college breeding, forgot his well-paying lecture job, in short, forgot himself, or should we rather say, became himself, became one of us, became the signer of the Manifesto and the promoter of true Working Class organization.

First, he branded Gompers and Mitchell, et al., as traitors and fakirs (he said the very words and proved them). He showed their fraternity with the capitalists; proved their unions to be scab concerns and promoters of scabbery of every kind; showed how, by high initiation fees, they build up unions for the few to the detriment of the mass; showed how one union scabs upon another; showed how the labor fakirs divide and subdivide the Working Class.

No need to tell readers of The People and of Socialist Labor Party literature where that came from. It is easily recognized as sentences out of "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism," by Daniel De Leon.

FIFTH EXPLOSION

THIS TIME FROM EDITOR, PRESIDENT, ETC., SAMUEL GOMPERS. MORE TO COME

(Federationist, March, 1905.)

THE TRADES UNIONS TO BE SMASHED AGAIN.

The Socialists have called another convention to smash the American trade union movement. This is the sixth "concentrated" effort in this direction in the past decade.

In 1893 the Socialist political party called into being the great trade union demagogue, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Then, in order, came the St. Louis congress of Socialist trade union "busters," at which a non-union Socialist without so much as a credential declared he represented two million "unorganized picks."

And yet another congress, in which the Western Federation of Labor became the American Labor Union.

And now the American Labor Union, confessing its insufficiency and failure, joins with a number of other Socialists in a call for another congress to again annihilate the American trade union movement.

Scanning the list of the twenty-six signers of this call, one will look in vain to find the name of one man who has not for years been engaged in the delectable work of trying to divert, pervert, and disrupt the labor movement of the country.

W. J. Pinkerton, A. M. Simons, Thos. J. Haggerty, Wm. E. Trautman, Chas. H. Moyer, Geo. Estes, William D. Haywood, W. Shurcliff, M. E. White, Thos. J. De Young, C. O. Sherman, Fred D. Henlon, Mother Jones, Frank M. McCabe, John M. O'Neill, Frank Bohn, Daniel McDonald, John Guild, Jos. Schmitt, W. L. Hall, Ernest Untermyer, W. J. Bradley, Frank Kraft, A. J. Swing, J. E. Fitzgerald, Clarence Smith.

Conscious of the frequency with which Mr. Eugene V. Debs has periodically inaugurated a new movement, we were somewhat surprised to notice that his name was conspicuous by its absence from the call, but "comrade" Trautmann explained after in a newspaper item that "comrade Debs was unable to sign the document owing to nervous prostration."

We feel sure that the endorsement and the latest accession to this new movement of Mr. Daniel Loeb, alias De Leon, will bring unionism to the souls of the promoters of the latest trade union smashing scheme.

It may not be interesting to note that President Moyer and Secretary Haywood of the Western Federation of

East St. Louis Municipal Platform of the Socialist Labor Party, With List of Candidates.

like municipal ownership of industries, will result in no good to the Working Class as long as the capitalist class controls the machinery of government.

Teaching the principles of the Socialist Revolution is a delicate work and should be conducted by the superior sense of the collective thought of the political party entrusted with the task:

We maintain that this Revolution must be brought about by the manual and mental workers, and that the first fundamental step towards a Union of the Working Class must be to base ourselves on the rock of class-consciousness, that is, to understand that the interest of the Working Class and the interest of the capitalist class are violently antagonistic, and that all reforms,

CONGRESSIONAL

THE CLIMAX OF CYNICISM IS CAPPED.

\$190,000 Are Voted to Themselves by the Congressmen for Money They Did Not and Could Not Possibly Have Expended—Shamelessly they Admit the Fact and Pocket the Cash.

What may be called the climax of insolent cynicism was reached on the afternoon of March 1 when the House of Representatives, voted \$190,000 to the members of Congress as "mileage" for a journeying that was not and could not be performed.

The members of Congress are entitled to mileage, that is, to the railroad fare to and back home from Washington. In 1903 President Roosevelt convened an extra session of the Fifty-Eighth Congress.

The session started in November and lasted up to the last second that it was possible to last. It lasted until the moment of convening for the regular session on the first Monday of the December. Of course, there was mileage due in traveling to Washington for the extra session.

Of course, we are aware that some Socialists have declared that this latest effort is wrongful, but the protest of the most of these is half-hearted and, upon the face, insincere.

The last Socialist congress held in Chicago, 1904, reaffirmed the declaration of the Socialist congresses held in Brussels, Zurich, and London, in effect that "the trade and labor unions are a necessary in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working classes, and we consider it the duty of all wage workers to join with this movement," and further declared that "Neither political nor any other differences of opinion justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement."

These declarations were solemnly made, even by those who now sign the call in direct conflict with their own political party declarations. The inference is logical that the declaration was made for a purpose, and that purpose was the vote-getting of the trade unionists, and that after it had served its purpose, the declaration was tossed into the waste-paper basket to be gathered together at some future time for repetition for the same purpose.

The more open and aggressive of the political Socialists recognize this time as good as any when they may make a move to renew the effort to crush the American labor movement. The citizens' alliances and the Parryites may be counted upon to be their willing allies and accomplices.

And so far as the trade union movement is concerned, it might as well have to face all its enemies, open or secret, at one and the same time.

Representative De Armond said: "It is perhaps, too late in the day, and too late in the session, to discuss at any particular length the legal question involved. But it must be an exceedingly acute mind that can find a gap between one session and another session so as to make two out of what, to the apprehension of the ordinary man, with no dollars and cents involved, would seem to be one. But, however, that may be, nobody went home, nobody remained from home, nobody did any traveling, nobody was out anything on account of travel, and, in my judgment, nobody is entitled to any mileage. I for one shall vote against the proposition."

All of no avail. Amidst great excitement and lobbying the clause was adopted by 90 votes to 70. "What does it mean? Are these gentlemen so greedy after cash? That may have contributed its share to the disgraceful scene, or rather to a scene that is an insult to the American people. The meaning of it is that the political committee, named Congress, of the American capitalist class has become utterly cynical. They care not a whit what people may think; America is their oyster; they propose to treat the land as such; and in the language of their patron saint Tweed they brazenly ask: "What are you going to do about it?"

The Revolution in Russia

(From the German of Rosa Luxemburg in the "Berlin Vorwärts," translated for The People by Gotthold Ollendorff.)

The development of revolutionary events in the empire of the Czar, by the transplanting of the proletarian uprising from Petersburg to the Russian provinces and to the Lithuanian and Polish territories, has already put aside every doubt as to the fact that, at present, in the empire of the knout, the question is not one regarding a spontaneous, blind revolt of oppressed slaves, but concerning a de-facto political movement of the class conscious city-proletariat, a movement carried on in complete union and in the closest political connection, in answer to the sudden signal from Petersburg. The Social Democracy, all over, stands at the head of the revolt.

And this also is the natural position of a revolutionary party at the outbreak of an open, political battle of the masses. To conquer the leading position in the course of the revolution, to skillfully make use of the first victories and defeats of the elementary uprisings, to gain the power of the stream within the stream itself—that is the task of the Social Democracy in revolutionary epochs. To master and to direct, not the commencement, but the end, the result of a revolutionary upheaval, that is the sole object, a political party may in reason aspire to if it will not fall a prey to fantastic illusions of self over-estimation or to an indolent pessimism.

But how far the party will succeed in this task, how far it is able to cope with the situation, that most largely depends on how much influence upon the masses in pre-revolutionary times the Social Democracy has undertaken to acquire, how far it has already succeeded in creating a "corps d'elite" of clear-sighted, politically schooled workmen, how large the amount of educational and organization work is, which it has performed. The present happenings in the Russian empire can only be estimated and comprehended in the light of the previous experiences of the labor movement, only through the perspective of the entire fifteen to twenty years old history of the Social Democracy.

When the question is put, what share the Social Democracy has in the present revolutionary uprising, it should be stated before all that at no time and right up till now, in Russia proper, nobody at all, the Social Democracy excepted, has been concerned about the working class, about its mental and material improvement, about its political education. The industrial and commercial bourgeoisie proper, as a class, has not even been able to reach up to a weakly liberalism, and the liberal agrarian noblemen have made wry faces from afar, ever traveling politically upon the narrow path of virtue "between fear and hope." As political educators of the industrial proletariat, they do not enter into consideration at all. But in as far as radical and democratic intelligence concerned itself about the Russian people, and it did so zealously, especially in the years between 1870 and 1890, it centred its activity as well as its sympathies exclusively upon the rural population, upon the farmer class. As physicians in the villages, as statisticians in the Zemstvos, as village teachers, as landlords, the Russian liberals and democrats essayed to promote culture: The farmer, "mother earth"—these up to the first years of the decade of 1890 to 1900 were, for intelligence, the main points taken into consideration for the uplifting of Russia and its political future. The industrial city proletariat, together with modern capitalism, on the contrary, were looked upon as essentially foreign to the nature of the Russian people, as a dissonance, as a sore spot of national life. Even as late as in the first half of the decade of 1890 to 1900, the intellectual leader of the Russian opposition, the late, once brilliant author Michajlowsky, copiously attacked the Marxian doctrine of the social significance of the industrial proletariat, citing, for example, the city street songs and similar matters as a proof that the factory proletariat lead directly towards a moral and mental degradation of the Russian people.

And in the same courses up to the nineties also the socialistic trains of thought moved in Russia. The terroristic movement of the old "Narodnaja Wola"—theoretically, mainly resting upon the fiction of the communistic farmer community and its socialistic mission—up to the end of the eighties still affected the revolutionary circles and held the minds in the ban of the horizon of the old nativism, opposed to the city proletariat, although the political climax of the terroristic tactics had already been

passed in 1881, with the removal of Alexander the second.

Under such circumstances it was incumbent to actually conquer at first for the modern Russian city proletariat the social and historic civic right, to demonstrate its social and economic significance, to show the in it slumbering germs of a future revolutionary force and also the special connection of "the idea of the working class" with the political delivery of Russia from Czarism. The hot, theoretical, literary battle against the nativistic, anti-capitalistic theories regarding the right of existence of capitalism and the position of the modern proletariat in Russian society—this task alone has occupied the best part of a decade. Only towards the commencement of the nineties were the terroristic traditions and the nativistic prejudices of the Russian intellect vanquished and the Marxian doctrine impressed upon the minds, so that Social Democratic activity could commence.

But with this the difficulties and the painful errors of practical work also began. It, at first, naturally, took the form of a secret propaganda in closed, small labor circles. The still totally uncultivated Russian proletariat in most cases had to be enlightened at first in a general sense, he had to be instructed at first in the most elementary principles of education before he could be made receptive of Social Democratic teachings. Thus propaganda of necessity was connected with general educational work and transformed into an extremely cumbersome, slowly advancing undertaking. Circles of five, of ten, of twenty workmen for years laid claim upon the best, nay, upon the entire forces of Social Democratic intelligence. Thanks to the conscientiousness and the zeal with which in Russia the temporarily dominant form of agitation is ever carried to its extreme consequence, to absurdity, the unavoidable element of pedantry soon appeared in the circle agitation and the Social Democracy became aware that Socialism within the circles had become almost a caricature of the Marxian doctrine of the class struggle. The workmen in the circles were not fashioned into fighting, class conscious proletarians, but, so to say, into learned rabbits of Socialism, into perfect sample specimens of enlightened workmen, who did not carry the movement into the masses, but, on the contrary, uprooted from their native soil, became estranged from the masses.

"Cruelly profoundly" the first phase of the Social Democratic activity was submitted to self criticism, jeered at and thrown aside. In place of the isolated "home work" and the "learned studies" in the circles for Socialism, towards the middle of the nineties, the motto: "mass agitation, immediate battle" was raised. Under a mass agitation and mass battle, but under absolutism, without any political forms and rights, without any possibility of approaching the masses, without the rights to organize and to hold meetings, without the right to coalition, appeared to be like, a squaring of the circle—a hare-brained idea. And still very soon, this very Russia, proved by its example, how much mightier and brighter the materialistic social development is, than all the various "legalities," which, with their rigid yellow parchment faces, instill such a great amount of holy fear and veneration into so many West European Social Democrats. A mass-battle, a mass-agitation under absolutism proved possible. The squaring of the circle was accomplished in the first place in Poland, where, already in 1890, the first Social Democratic organization was founded. But it should be stated that this organization devoted itself to the economic struggle in an empiric, tentative manner, yet it succeeded in calling into life a healthy mass-movement. Russia followed the example of Poland and soon the hopes of the Social Democratic trade unions were raised to a high pitch. By a lively agitation upon the basis of the immediate, material requirements, the masses were actually set in motion and after a long series of smaller and larger strikes the agitation reached its climax in the enormous strike of 1896 in Petersburg. Led exclusively by Social Democrats, this mass-revolt seemed to crown the work and to give this new, second phase of the agitation a splendid testimonial.

But here another flaw revealed itself. The fast running cart of the Russian Social Democracy encountered disastrously another street corner. While in Poland already in 1893 the first "economic" phase of mass-agitation had been passed and a pronounced political Social Democratic movement begun in Russia, in the heat of mass-agitation, unwittingly politics as well as Socialism had almost completely vanished out of the agitation and what remained was mostly

only every-day trades unionism with a wee advance in wages as its ideal, replacing the battle with the bourgeoisie by conferences with the factory inspector. And as formerly the individual workmen in the circle by an academic course, so to say, were led to Marx, so now the entire working class was supposed to be fitted for the class struggle by object lessons, like a class of scholars, to become convinced of the necessity of the abolishment of absolutism by the sabreing of the gendarmes. In this wise, to a certain degree, preparatory work was performed for the experiments a la Zubatow of the government, the creatures of which, later on, in the unions, tolerated by the government, babbled the same counsels which the chancellor, Count Bulow lately gave in the Reichstag to the striking miners of the Ruhr district.

For the third time tactics were submitted to searching criticism and at the end of the nineties, thorough POLITICAL mass-agitation was adopted. And the soil was so well prepared that the idea of the political battle spread like wildfire. With the beginning of the year 1901 a new phase—that of political mass-demonstrations in connection with academical revolts—was entered into. Like a thunder-storm, refreshing, purifying the atmosphere, the street demonstration travelled from town to town, from Petersburg, from north to south, from the west, from Warsaw, as far as to the most extreme east in far-away Siberia, to Tomsk and Tobolsk. And again the re-vivified revolutionary forces exploded in a general strike—this time in a POLITICAL GENERAL STRIKE in the south, in ROSTOW ON THE DON in 1903, where daily surrounded by soldiers, from ten to twenty thousand workmen met under the open sky in public meeting and where men of the people, unknown until then as Social Democratic speakers, addressed the masses with fiery tongues, where tens of thousands cheered the Social Democracy and proclaimed the downfall of absolutism.

And for the fourth time the movement threatened to turn into a "cul de sac." For it is in the nature of a healthy mass movement, that if it shall not retrograde, it must advance, develop, intensify. And the Russian labor movement was living the "strenuous life." After the first cycle of political street demonstrations, there arose before the Russian Social Democracy the frightening question: What now? One cannot solely "demonstrate" for ever. Demonstration is but a moment, a prologue, an interrogation mark. Upon the lips of the Social Democracy, the answer hesitated—it was not easy to find.

Then came the war, and with it the solution. That word, which, in the sober, tranquil atmosphere of the humdrum of every day, is an absurdity, a braggardism, a hollow phrase—*revolution*—became in Russia, with the beginning of the war, the watchword which electrified all living souls and awakened the loudest echo in the working class. The Social Democracy of the entire empire, in harmonious union with the events of the war, and accompanied by the thunder of cannon in Manchuria, agitated for the idea of the revolution, the open street battle, the revolt of the proletariat against Czarism. All articles of the Social Democratic press, all the hundreds of thousands of pamphlets of the Russian, the Polish, the Jewish, the Lettish Social Democracy, all meetings, culminated in the cry: "*Proletarians, revolt against Czarism!*" One agitated with bated breath and with a beating heart, for there is nothing more in an simple than a revolution accomplished, and nothing more devilishly difficult than one which shall be brought about. A thousand voices invited the revolution—and it came, as it ever comes, "unexpected"—although prepared-for almost since two decades—inadmissible, over night, like a rising flood, carrying high upon its swollen, angry-darkening waters, all kinds of wrecking and planks, picked up on the road. He who believes that drifting planks guide the flood, may believe that Father Gapon is the author and leader of the proletarian revolution in Russia.

Thus a fair knowledge of the Social Democratic Labor Movement in Russia suffices in order to clearly comprehend that the present revolution—no matter in what forms it appears, and no matter by what provocation produced in the first place—did not come like a pistol-shot, but is an historical product of the Social Democratic movement of the whole empire. It forms a normal stage, a natural main-point on the line of development of the Social Democratic agitation, a point in which quantity again has been trans-

mutated into quality—into a new form of battle—an accelerated reproduction on a higher scale of the Social Democratic mass-revolts in Petersburg of the year 1896 and in Rostow of the year 1903.

For if one reviews the almost fifteen year old history of Social Democratic agitation in Russia, it does not appear as a well defined zig-zag course,—much as in reality it may have so appeared to the Social Democrats there—but as a perfect logical development, in which each higher stage is a result of the preceding one, impossible without it. No matter how bitterly the original phase of the closed-circle propaganda was later on criticised by the Social Democrats themselves, still this humble Sisyphus work undoubtedly in the first place has created that great number of clear-sighted individuals among the proletariat, who later on became the bearers and supports of the mass-agitation upon the basis of economic interests. The intensified economic agitation has stirred the great masses of the working class so far, has incutated the idea of the class struggle to such a degree, that the pronounced and sharply accentuated political agitation found a grateful soil and thus was able to inaugurate the series of important street demonstrations. And all these phases of development in their entirety, in their ever increasing intensity and the ever growing extent of agitation, these have created that sum total of political clear-sightedness, that capability and that revolutionary frame of mind, which led to the events of January 22 and to those of the week succeeding. And without a doubt it is the sole and direct work of the Social Democracy that, in spite of all the promotion of national prejudices by absolutism, it has so thoroughly developed the sentiment of the political class solidarity of all the proletarians in Russia, that the Petersburg uprising became the signal of a general revolt of the working class in the entire empire, in Russia proper, as well as in Poland and in Lithuania—a revolt for common purposes, with common demands.

Of course, it does not matter if the historical course of the Social Democratic movement in Russia can be justified as the best, the sole and only proper one. Perhaps there might—especially now in the past—a much shorter and better road be found. But as social history is an eternal first performance, without repetition, the Social Democracy in particular is concerned to learn and to digest as to its inner logic, the actual ways of the labor movement as it has revealed itself in every country. Certainly the events of the war and the oppression of absolutism, grown insupportable, play a momentous role in these happenings. But that the fact that the present war could bring about such a revolt, that the pressure of absolutism became individually totally insup-

portable to the great mass of the industrial proletariat—from an objective standpoint this pressure has ever been the same—in that, the preliminary work of the Social Democracy reveals itself. The, for official Russia not less disastrous Crimean War; at the time only led to a farce of "liberal" reforms and this farce was the liquidation and the equivalent of that political power, which Russian liberalism by itself has been able to produce. The Russo-Turkish War, which, in its barbaric disposition of tens of thousands of proletarian and farmers' lives, was in no way inferior to the present war, and also at the time produced a strong ferment in society, only accelerated the rise of the terroristic "Narodnaja Wola" and, shown in its brilliant but short and sterile career, the amount of political power, *revolutionary intelligence* based on the liberal and Democratic circles of society, is able to command. The founding of the party of systematic political terror was already on its own side from the beginning a product of disappointment in regard to the ability to organize and to move to action the Russian farmer-masses. With this also this class of society in Russia had proven its historic indolence.

And only the present war has been able to conjure up a revolutionary mass movement before which, at once, the armored castle of absolutism trembled. And this is because the present war has found throughout the whole empire a modern working class, stirred up and educated by an agitation of decades, a working class able, for the first time in the history of Russia, to coin into revolutionary deed the revolutionary consequences of the war.

And only upon the basis of this Social Democratic Labor Movement, the liberal sentiments and democratic currents of the intelligence, the blood and life of the progressive nobility, gained force and significance. The proletarian revolution came just at the proper time, just as its immediate precursors, the liberal Zemstvo, action and the democratic intelligence banquets, threatened to be destroyed by their own powerlessness, just when in the whole opposition movement suddenly a serious standstill had entered, which the reaction with the unerring scent of the reigning had already discovered and was preparing to take advantage of. The strong arm of the proletarian masses has shoved ahead the cart with a push and has given it such a velocity that it cannot and will not come to rest until absolutism has perished under its wheels.

Also in the empire of the Czar, the Social Democracy is not the one which reaps where others have sown. Rather to her belong the revolutionary seed, together with the giant work of clearing the proletarian soil. But the harvest belongs to all the progressive elements of civic society and, not least, to the *International Social Democracy*.

THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST LABOR FEDERATION
National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party, 2, 4 and New Reade street, New York.

Dear comrades:—The members of the Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation of America, through the central executive committee, wish to inform all the members and sympathizers of the Socialist Labor Party, in how far they are doing the work of the Socialist Labor Party among the Hungarian workmen in this country. So we beg you to publish the following statement:

The Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation was organized for the sole purpose of enlightening the Hungarian workmen to their class interest; to propagate the principles of Marxian revolutionary Socialism. At the first convention of the above named organization, held in April, 1904, there was a slight sentiment in favor of joining the Socialist Labor Party but the majority was for remaining independent. At that time the Socialist Labor Party element thought it wise to consent for the time being, and to do all they can, to convince the honest rank and file of the fact, that the Socialist Labor Party is the only party in this country, that represents true, revolutionary Socialism; and if we want to carry on an aggressive and fruitful agitation for the cause of Socialism, we have got to organize into the Socialist Labor Party.

According to the proceedings of this convention, the central committee was barred from doing campaign work in the interest of either the Socialist Labor Party or the "Socialist" party. This decision was upheld, until election came around, then the trouble started. In order not to violate the proceedings of the convention, and still to be able to do some campaign work, the New York comrades organized the Hungarian branch

of the Socialist Labor Party and held open air meetings, sold the party's literature and advertised the party's press. Many branches of the Federation ignored the proceedings of the convention and took active part in the campaign of the Socialist Labor Party, as in San Francisco, Braddock, Milwaukee, Schenectady and Passaic. This the Hungarian "Social Democrats" did not like, and tried to stir up trouble, which culminated in a special convention, held in November 1904.

When this convention came the Social Democrats went. When they saw every delegate coming in from out of town with the emblem of the Socialist Labor Party pinned on the lapel of his coat, they felt a little uneasy and tried to make some disturbance, but we were prepared for them. From the very start of the convention they knew they were beaten and when they heard every delegate report his instruction to vote in favor of joining the Socialist Labor Party or withdraw from the Federation, they quietly left the hall. The remaining delegates unanimously voted to join the Socialist Labor Party. Ever since this convention, the Federation, with its weekly organ, the "Nepakarat," and printing plant, the property of the Federation, has endeavored to the best of its ability to spread revolutionary Socialism, as advocated by the Socialist Labor Party. We endorse the party's trade union policy in every shape and manner.

Every article, which appeared in The People and bears out the correctness of the party's principles and tactics is translated and published in the "Nepakarat." Those worth mentioning, so far, are the following: Frank Bohn's report in regard to the conference to be held at Chicago; the Chicago Manifesto; The People's editorials on this question; the

letters exchanged between Ford and De Leon; one from Charles W. Winfield; one from J. T. De Shazer; Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan; and the pamphlets, "What Means This Strike?" and "Reform and Revolution." The first pamphlet was put in pamphlet form and is now circulated all over the country. "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism" will be started soon and will also be published in pamphlet form.

In the last campaign we did everything that was possible to aid the Party in its propaganda. The only thing that separates us from the Socialist Labor Party's members, are the dues. We would like the party membership to be set right also, in regard to this question. The only way we can organize the Hungarian working people into the Socialist Labor Party, is by bringing them into a Hungarian organization, with press and literature. If we are to do this, we have got to have the necessary cash in order to meet the expenses. Consequently, if we were to pay the dues to the party we would be left without means to carry on the work of organization.

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All Socialist Books, Leaflets and Papers Indorsed by the Party for Sale.

CONCERT PROGRAMME.
The following is the programme for the Orchestra Concert to be rendered at the Daily People Festival, on Sunday afternoon, March 19, at Grand Central Palace:

- Overture, "Raymond".....Thomas
- a. Andante Cantabile.....Tchaikowsky
b. Toreador and Andalusian, Rubenstein
- Cello Solo,
a. Cantilena.....Goltermann
b. Serenade.....Haydn
Mr. Leo Schulz
- Waltz, "Die Fledermaus".....Strauss
- Overture, "Merry Wives of Windsor".....Nicolaï
- "Hymne a Sainte Cecile".....Gounod
- Suite "Peer Gynt".....Grieg
a. Asas Death; b. In the hall of the Mountain King.
- Trumpet Solo.....Mr. A. Bode
- Overture, Rienzi.....Wagner
- Columbian Festival March, Leo Schulz

BAZAAR AND FAIR.
The following presents have been received for the Bazaar and Fair to be held at Grand Central Palace on Sunday, March 19, for the benefit of the Daily People:

H. Deutsch, city, box of fine cigars; Mrs. George Rose, Stamford, Conn., two fine cushions; Mrs. B. Touroff, Brooklyn, N. Y., 10 pieces of crockery, picture album, picture frame, 6 pairs of crocheted slippers; B. Silberstein, Brooklyn, N. Y., very fine embroidered cushion; A. Biau, city, two pairs of vases; Joseph Lutkenhaus, city, safety razor; Mrs. Fischer and Mrs. Touroff, Brownsville, N. Y., elegant embroidered cushion; Mrs. D. Rudwick, city, fine cloth apron, F. W. Gerner, Brooklyn, N. Y., half-dozen fine glass dishes, glass bowl and umbrella stand; E. Mueller, Brooklyn, N. Y., fancy beer stein, pair of vases, box of perfumed soap; A. Gollerstepper, city, cash donation, \$5.

L. Abelson, Org.
2-6 New Reade street, New York.

QUEENS COUNTY, ATTENTION!
Readers of The People, friends and sympathizers of the Socialist Labor Party in Queens County, attention:

Those willing to assist in the work of S. L. P. organization in Queens County are requested to communicate with Rudolph Katz, 205 East 94th street, New York.
If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

On the Chicago Manifesto

[These columns are open for the discussion to Party members and non-Party members alike.]

From Octave M. Held, Member of the Socialist Labor Party.

Detroit, Feb. 18.—To my mind, the Chicago Manifesto presents itself as a logical deduction of distinct socio-economic forces that have been at work for some time past.

Of late this discontent has been intensified a hundredfold by the many defeats incurred at the hands of the capitalists and their labor lieutenants, every time the rank and file of those organizations tried to rebel against the miserable prevailing conditions.

In the five years I have been associated with the Socialist Labor Party I have looked forward to the day when I would be able to throw my effort to the advantage of an organization of labor built upon the class struggle.

As a member of an organization which rightly lays claim to be the best directed and least biased of any political party in existence because of the thorough understanding of each of its members of its tactics and ultimate aim, I have implicit confidence in the officers which I myself help to elect and until they are proven otherwise than true to the interest of the Socialist Labor Party, that confidence will remain unshaken.

In order that a movement may take shape and develop it must depend upon the material ready at hand, whatever it is.

Given a certain amount of time any organization should be able to demonstrate by facts that have taken place during that time, be it one, two or six years as the case may be, and whether or not during that time progress has been made.

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duction when the political party of the working class has captured the political power from the capitalist class.

Right or wrong, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance is impotent to accomplish the mission for which it was set. Its name, if nothing else, excludes the very forces which should make it mighty, and tell me, comrades, what is right without might?

If those three premises are right, then the Manifesto is certainly a thing to be wished for and for which the Socialist Labor Party should do all in its power to see that this industrial union is started aright and in the interest of the wage working class only.

Our very best men should be there with their very best arguments for, in the coming June convention I see every thing to gain for the wage working class and "nothing whatsoever to lose".

READ THIS! ALL MEMBERS, SYMPATHIZERS, READERS OF THIS PAPER AND FRIENDS, ARE EARNESTLY REQUESTED TO ATTEND THE MASS MEETING TO BE HELD AT 2109 SARAH STREET, SOUTH SIDE PITTSBURG, PA., SUNDAY, MARCH 12, 1905, AT 2 O'CLOCK P. M., AT WHICH TIME AND PLACE SECTION ALLEGHENY COUNTY WILL BE REORGANIZED.

SECTION ALLEGHENY COUNTY, WHO SECEDED FROM THE PARTY A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO, AND WHO RETURN WITH A MEMBERSHIP OF APPROXIMATELY 135, AND THE MEMBERS OF SECTION WILKINSBURG AND BRADDOCK, WITH A MEMBERSHIP OF APPROXIMATELY 100. COME AND ASSIST IN THE REJOINING OF THE PARTS OF THIS FIGHTING MACHINE AND MAKE IT AGAIN WHAT IT ONCE WAS AND SHOULD EVER HAVE BEEN: A TERROR TO THE FOES OF THE WORKING CLASS!

MILWAUKEE COMMUNE FESTIVAL. Comrades and friends of the Socialist Labor Party in Milwaukee: be at Party headquarters, Sunday afternoon, March 12. Final arrangements for the living pictures to be produced at the Commune Festival will take place.

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

and their possible continued acts. Material interests have always played a prominent part. Nations, like individuals, have been born infants, grew to complete development, then declined, and finally, died; that is inevitable law.

When Karl Marx discovered the philosophy for the foundation of Socialism other philosophers objected to his teachings. When the Socialist Labor Party came into existence the two existing parties opposed it.

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East St. Louis Municipal Platform

(Continued from page 1.)

for all men's movements; that is, all men move in the direction of their material interests. Men with like interests band themselves together; hence, organization is the order of the day, each organization representing a distinct material interest.

The Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance have the principles of organizations necessary for the defeat of the capitalist class, hence the capturing of municipalities by the Socialist Labor Party is a means for uniting the workers for final action.

The conflict between these two classes in the shop, mill, mine, and factory, must be carried to the political field for final action.

The answer is forthcoming; and the Socialist Labor Party, in connection with the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance (the only revolutionary trades union), have it as a guide to the final overthrow of the capitalist class, abolishing thereby all profits and securing for the workers their full product.

where the workers assemble to plan for the revolution, I was incapable, at first, of really appreciating the situation.

Through every shade of utopian dream and bogus revolution the European movement had to pass before it was purified by science, and through science by clear purpose and honest tactics.

This remarkable statement led me to look up the booklet published in "Social Ethics". My eyes first rested upon this statement regarding the educational work of the "American Socialist College," of Wichita:

"The college was founded in May, 1903, by men of strong intellect and noble purpose, President Thomas E. Will, Ph. D., a graduate and fellow of political economy at Harvard, lecturer, ex-president of the Kansas State Agricultural College, has rejected many of plutocracy's enticing offers that he may give his all to the cause of social progress.

Ignorance alone can stay the progress of the workers' revolution.
Frank Bohn.

now exists? Do I think it possible for there to be anything better than the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance? If there is, do I want to know it?

At one time I honestly thought that the Republican, then the Democratic, party was the proper party for me to vote. Again, I thought the trade union was right.

As a member of the Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance I am in favor of sending as many as possible to present our principles at that conference and insist that our press shall be recognized as the official press of the new organization;

P. S.—This copy was read to Section meeting last night and unanimously endorsed by all present.

S. L. P. LECTURES

Buffalo—At Florence Parlors, 527 Main street, near Genesee street, on Sunday, March 12, at three o'clock, under auspices of Labor Lyceum.

Buffalo—At Socialist Labor Party headquarters, room 510, 19 West Mohawk street, on Monday, March 13, at eight p. m.

Detroit—At Mannebach's Hall, 473 Gratiot avenue, Sunday, March 12, at 2:30 p. m.

New York—At Lenox Assembly Rooms, 256 Second street, near Avenue C, Friday, March 10, at 8 p. m.

New York—At Clark's Hall, northwest corner of Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, Sunday, March 12, at 8 p. m.

THOMAS E. WILL
I had heard very loud "rumblings" from Kansas before. A serious class struggle between the workers and the middle class was known to be rending the poor old "Socialist" party in Kansas.

My first discovery was that Wichita Local, "Socialist" party, is run in connection with a church—the People's Church. The Local meets directly after the Sunday sermon.

Members of the Socialist Labor Party, also sympathizers and others who favor a progressive labor movement in our trade, in particular, are invited to attend the meetings of the Garment Workers' Local 412 Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, which meets regularly every Saturday, 8 p. m. in the Club Rooms of the Socialist Labor Party, 253 East 4th street.

The Secretary.

MILWAUKEE COMMUNE FESTIVAL. Comrades and friends of the Socialist Labor Party in Milwaukee: be at Party headquarters, Sunday afternoon, March 12.

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ers awoken to this fact and cease being dupes of the capitalists and their henchmen and unite themselves into a class-conscious trades union, with a class political party expression, their freedom is assured.

Since the mission of the Socialist Labor Party is the overthrow of the capitalist government and the establishment of a Working Class or Industrial Government, in which the worker will get, not higher wages, but the full product of his toil, the capturing of municipalities is but a preparatory step, to assist in organizing and uniting the Working Class economically and politically.

Such benefits or concessions as may be wrested from the capitalist class in the meantime, as conditions permit, are only temporary and unsatisfactory and can not be called Socialism.

TICKET:

- MAYOR—Philip Veal. CITY CLERK—Louis Brenneman. TREASURER—Joseph Halliday. ASSESSOR—Gustave Surber. SUPERVISOR—John W. Jackson. JUSTICES OF THE PEACE—William Veal; Harry Bloemsma.

ALDERMEN—Fourth Ward: Benjamin Frankford; Fifth Ward, Gustave Jenning; Sixth Ward, W. W. Cox.

KANSAS.

(Continued from page 1.)

neath a dung-hill and to damn its memory.

If the Socialist party in Kansas can be de Leonized, how can the party in other states and in the Nation escape?

Comrades of Kansas, a crisis confronts you. In your hands rests the fate of the Socialist party of Kansas; perhaps of other states, and of the Union. Pronounce your verdict.

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"Rev. Granville Lowther, D. D. the vice president, is an eloquent orator, whose voice has long been heard on the side of right. Psychology and philosophy are the subjects Dr. Lowther handles."

Then I perused the list of books recommended, which contained the following: "Why I Am a Socialist," G. Lowther; "Theology of Socialism," G. Lowther; "The Farmer and Socialism," Thos. E. Will; "The College Trust," Thos. E. Will; "Public Ownership of Railroads," John Davis; "Civilization Civilized," Thomas Maybell; "Politics of the Nazarene," Jones. And so on through the more than thirty titles. In all that list there was but one book generally known as valuable to a serious student of Socialism, and that was McClure's "Socialism."

Needless to say, several members were added to the S. L. P. and that the future for a real educational Socialist movement in Wichita is bright.

Ignorance alone can stay the progress of the workers' revolution.
Frank Bohn.

and their possible continued acts. Material interests have always played a prominent part.

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OFFICIAL

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

REGULAR MEETING OF THE ABOVE COMMITTEE held on Friday, March 3, 1905, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, with Comrade Gilhaus in the chair.

Financial report for week ending February 18 showed receipts \$42.71; expenditures \$21.11; for week ending February 25, receipts \$10.99; expenditures \$63.88.

Three applications for membership-at-large received and accepted: Edw. L. McCoy of Bonner's Ferry, Idaho, L. A. Tewksbury and Anna Tewksbury of Wichita, Kans.

Correspondence: From Virginia S. E. C. on the election of Ed Schade to membership on the N. E. C., with remittance for N. A. F. matter.

Auditing committee of 1904, as ordered at meeting of Feb. 12, rendered an itemized report of the financial work of that year. Report accepted.

Agitation committee report on meeting arranged in Woburn. Greater Boston Entertainment Committee make partial report of affair held and further plans in mind.

John Sweeney, Secretary, 55 Temple st., Boston, Mass.

Trade & Labor Alliance, which is to be held on the first Monday in June (June 3), at the city of Lynn, Massachusetts.

Meeting of February 20, at Section Boston's headquarters, People's Institute, 1165 Tremont street, Engelhardt in chair.

Meeting of February 26, at Section Boston's headquarters, People's Institute, 1165 Tremont street, Engelhardt in chair.

DISTRICT ALLIANCE 49, SOCIALIST TRADE AND LABOR ALLIANCE. A regular meeting of District Alliance 49, S. T. & L. A. was held at Daily People building Feb. 16, John J. Kinnely chairman.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND. In support of the agitation work of Comrade Bohn, the following contributions were received during the week ending with Saturday, March 4:

BOHN DATES FOR COLORADO. Delta, 10-12; Grand Junction, 12-15. Members and readers of the Weekly People take notice.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND. In support of the agitation work of Comrade Bohn, the following contributions were received during the week ending with Saturday, March 4:

A CALL FOR NOMINATIONS. To the Section of the Socialist Labor Party, Greeting:

In accordance with Article V, Section 14, of the Party constitution, you are hereby called upon to make nominations for one delegate to represent the Socialist Labor Party at the annual National Convention of the Socialist

since last report, admitted three new members and had a lively discussion as to their last lecture. Issued a manifesto to their fellow craftsmen. Local Alliance 140, Bronx Labor Union, held two lectures since Feb. 2, the first addressed by Com. B. Reinstein of Buffalo and the second by Com. R. Katz.

Correspondence: From Section Fall River, ordering stamps. From H. C. Hoas of Boston, declining nomination as Treasurer of committee.

It was recommended to Local Alliance 1563 to meet in Yorkville, around the 28th Assembly District, S. L. P.

TAKE NOTICE! Comrade William Bonstein, Box 256, Tacoma, Wash., intends, in the near future, to go on the road for the Socialist Labor Party, selling literature, securing subscribers for the Party press, propagating the principles of the Party in any shape and manner possible.

IN AID OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONISTS. During the week ending Saturday, March 4, the following contributions were received for the above fund:

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY SUPPLIES. Constitutions, a neat booklet with red-coated linen cover, containing besides the constitution the membership record and spaces for dues stamps, a record of transfers and the Party platform, per 100.....\$2.00

Grand Total.....\$401.48

Note.—In the last acknowledgments for this fund, the amount previously acknowledged was erroneously given as \$312.67 (the figure for the week ending with February 11); it should have been \$337.28, and that figure added, to the \$326.00 received during the week ending with February 25th foots up the above \$369.88 given above.

CORRESPONDENCE

WHO CAN ANSWER? To the Daily and Weekly People.—We would like to find out through the columns of The People where the International Furnace and Heater Company is getting its work made.

GIVE THEIR OCCUPATIONS ALSO. To the Daily and Weekly People.—The editorial "The Artful Dodger," in to-day's issue of the Daily People pleased me immensely.

LABOR NEWS NOTES. Early in the week Comrade A. G. Dehly of Seattle, Wash., ordered 285 pamphlets assorted; Boston took 105 of the buzz-saw series; Detroit, Mich., ordered 1000 leaflets and 35 assorted pamphlets.

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BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

Two hundred and sixty subscriptions to the Weekly People were secured during the week ending Saturday, March 4. The sections in the Western States are doing the most work for the Party press, and it is up to those in the Eastern States to wake up.

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S. T. & L. A. NOTES. Detroit, March 1.—A number of workmen met at room No. 10 avenue Theatre building, Sunday night, and organized a mixed local alliance of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

DATES OF ORGANIZER LOUIS BASKY. Cleveland, O., March 11 to 15; Detroit, Mich., March 16; Chicago, Ill., March 17-18; Milwaukee, Wis., March 19-21; St. Louis, Mo., March 22-23.

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

HAGGERTY IN FRISCO.

heard several enlarge upon the scabbing character of the pure and simple unions.

Mr. Haggerty, during the course of his speech said a couple of very cruel things, exceedingly amusing, however, to a Socialist Labor Party San Franciscan.

Mr. Haggerty, during the course of his speech said a couple of very cruel things, exceedingly amusing, however, to a Socialist Labor Party San Franciscan.

We must acknowledge the truth: it was a Socialist Labor Party speech on a "Socialist" party platform. He flung the gauntlet at them; he ridiculed their whole position.

Since the Manifesto came out, signed by Comrade Frank Bohn, in conjunction with Mr. Haggerty, et al., it has become a pet phrase with the "Socialists" in this town that the Socialist Labor Party has flip-flopped.

Reason—We have no army of clerks to make extracts and distribute among the various offices; time is money and life is short.

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CLEVELAND'S COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

Section Cleveland, Ohio, has arranged for a Grand Commemoration of the Paris Commune to take place at Germania Hall, street, Sunday, March 19, commencing at 3 p. m.

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Section Calendar

Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements, at a nominal rate.