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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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CAPITALIST DOINGS

LIGHTED UP BY SOCIALIST COMMENT.

"Trials" and "Convictions"—Flexibility of Compensation Prevents Workers From Breaking Bondage—Resourcefulness of Capitalists Drives Labor to Organize Better—Hearst's Omens.

Lies, like oil, to the surface rise. The news from Manila tells of two Filipinos being hung for "brigandage." The Filipinos called these victims patriots. While the native papers were pleading for a light punishment, the American press clamored for the extreme penalty. This is an example of capitalist methods of trial—gaining conviction by prejudicing the public mind. Any one who dares to strive for betterment for the many is a brigand to the ruling class and will be convicted if the capitalist mouthpiece, the press, is powerful enough to work up a sentiment for the extreme penalty.

The longshoremen are on strike in New Orleans. The employers want the "community" to settle upon "just what is proper compensation" for the longshoremen. That is a step in the right direction. If established society everywhere would declare what is "proper compensation" for all wage-workers, the workers would soon be lined up as a class for the overthrow of "established society."

The steamship companies threaten to do all their shipping from Galveston, Mobile and other ports, if the longshoremen of New Orleans cannot be beaten into accepting the employer's terms. So if the New Orleans workers don't want to submit, they must organize the workers of all the other ports to stand shoulder to shoulder with them for the increase.

With the telegraph companies teaching the operators that their case is hopeless until the telegraphers, telephone operators and post office employees are united in one union, and with the steamship companies teaching the longshoremen that the workers of all ports must stand together

or fall separately, the prospects look bright, for all the workers eventually will be driven by the capitalist class into one militant body.

"Brother" Capital is congratulating its noble self on the fact that its late loss in the Quebec bridge disaster will not be even one-fourth of what it at first feared it would be. That's strange since the number of workmen reported killed the first day still remains the same. Can it be "Brother" Capital has forgotten its "Brother" Labor and is thinking only of its God—Mammon?

Judge Gary, returning from abroad, says France is fearful of American investments. Judge Gary should have shown the French financiers the United States statistics, and proved thereby that the holders of American property rob the American proletariat of eighty-seven per cent. of their product. That surely should convince the wily Frenchmen that an American investment is a very juicy proposition.

Since Mr. Hearst has said, "Both employer and employe are entitled to their share of the profits, and as long as the division is just and equitable there is no occasion for conflict," it is up to Mr. Hearst to tell the people what shall form the basis for the apportionment of the share of the employe, and what the basis for the share of the employer.

"If the division (of profits) is not just," says Mr. Hearst, "it can always be made so by arbitration, and there is no occasion for conflict." But how is any arbitration board to decide what is the proper share of the employe and what the proper share of the employer, unless the board is furnished with some rule to be guided by—with some standard to measure their respective shares by?

Simpson mills. Meetings were held in Jersey, Forest City and Minooka, on Sunday, at which the girls were told to return to work at these mills Monday morning. They were enthusiastically congratulated on their victory.

The following is the text of the agreement:

AGREEMENT.

This agreement, entered into this sixteenth day of August, nineteen hundred and seven, by and between the James Simpson and Co., known as the James Simpson and Co. mill, and hereinafter known as the party of the first part, and the organization known as the United Textile Workers, hereinafterwards known as the party of the second part, shall be, and is, binding upon the party of the second part for the term of two years.

In consideration of conditions hereinafter stated, the said party of the first part agrees, promises to perform and keep the following terms of this agreement:

First—No employe of said party of the first part engaged in the silk industry and employed in the mills known as the James Simpson and Co. mill, shall be employed more than nine hours in any one day, nor for more than five hours on Saturday. All work to be performed between the hours of 7 a. m. and 5 p. m.

Second—And further: All employes of the said party of the first part shall become and remain a member of the organization herein known as the party of the second part, and make application within one week after entering into the employment of the said party of the first part.

Third—And further: The said party of the first part shall deduct from the wages of the members of the organization herein known as the party of the second part on the last Saturday of each month such dues, contributions, assessments or fines as may be levied upon the members of the said party of the second part, employed by the said party of the first part; and shall pay to the elected agent or representative of the said party of the second part all such aforesaid dues, contributions, assessments or fines on the Monday following the last Saturday of each month.

Fourth—And further: To maintain a minimum rate of wages. Such aforesaid minimum rate to be adjusted by representatives of the said party of the first

SHIFTINGS OF AUTOOCRACY

The third Duma will soon convene. Premier Stolypin is reported to be "framing a policy." A French group of financiers is loaning \$50,000,000 in Russia to start there, if possible, an industrial boom. Meanwhile, the horrible practice of oppression, torturing, hanging and burning to death of revolutionists is going on.

Slowly, intermittently, with agonizing painfulness Russia is floundering toward the solution of her diplomatic problem. If she follows the course blazed by the history of more advanced nations, she will gradually yield from the position of governmental autocracy; she will grant governmental democracy, with popular suffrage. But, by a stroke of diplomacy, the Russian aristocracy will maintain all their privileges. A campaign, again and again baptized in blood, is being waged in Russia with fanatic zeal. This campaign is first against the usurpation of power by the government, and, second, against the autocracy of the government. The final coup will be the yielding of both demands. The government offices will be yielded to the people's suffrage—and the government will be divested of its power. Thus it has been in all the more advanced countries—in a measure the machinery of government has been yielded to the

control of the populace, and in equal measure government has been stripped of its power. Both these measures, moreover, have been granted with consummate diplomacy, being conceded reluctantly on the one side—being purchased dearly by the other side. So dearly has the populace bought its "rights" that it dearly prizes what is little more than an empty shell. It cannot be maintained for an instant that the rank of the population, who struggled for democracy in England, France, Germany, America or Japan, have ever tasted the kernel of their victory, have ever enjoyed democratic power. They have not. The mass of the population of all these countries are a herded, driven, cajoled, dependent, proletarian people. They exercise no authority, and are vested with no authority to exercise.

But, empty as governmental democracy is, the Russian aristocracy must not concede it except at the end of a long struggle. If they were to concede everything that is without substance readily, they would soon be confronted by an oppressed people struggling for and demanding something with substance and no cherished empty shells would remain with which the disturbers might be appeased.

In America Russia has its parallel.

AN S. P. DODGER

Organizer Goebel Employs Open Falsehood and False Insinuations to Exemplify S. P. "Neutrality" As to I. W. W. and A. F. of L.

Los Angeles, Cal., September 1.—On Sunday evening, August 18th, George Goebel, a Socialist-Party national organizer, spoke for the Socialist Party in Burbank Hall, in Los Angeles. The hall was well filled, many I. W. W. and S. L. P. members being present.

The speaker made but a short twenty minute talk; then proceeded to take up questions, which had been written on slips of paper.

Questions were not called for from the floor. At a meeting the night before the speaker (Goebel) had agreed to answer on the following evening (Sunday) any questions presented in writing beforehand. These were the written questions he proceeded to read one at a time and answer.

While some questions were satisfactorily answered from the standpoint of a class conscious Socialist, in answering others he took occasion to make insinuations against the Industrial Workers of the World as well as to misrepresent its position and its purpose.

He expressly stated that should he be a delegate to the next Socialist Party Convention, and, should such a proposition be brought up, he would most assuredly vote against the party's endorsing the I. W. W. That whatever good there was in either national party or labor union would be the more effective if each attended strictly to its own affairs. That no matter what good points there were about the organization, the I. W. W., we should not forget when we are shouting about the fakir in the American Federation of Labor, that the fakir will also get into the I. W. W.; that the Socialist has no assurance that the I. W. W. will follow Socialist principles as it is governed by the people who join it; that already the trend is toward anarchy as in some places the I. W. W. is controlled by direct actionists, in other words anarchists.

He said he was not opposed to an industrial union. That the A. F. of L. was steadily taking on more of the industrial aspect—that more and more unions were demanding closer affiliation with each other.

Also that it would be working right into the hands of Gompers and his associates to have the Socialists all leave his organization and go into anything that would leave him in peace and in control of the American Federation of Labor. That all they want is to hold onto their jobs and fleece the rank and file and would like nothing better than to lose the opposition on the part of Berger and other Socialists. (If only Mr. Goebel had been at the last A. F. of L. convention held in Minneapolis—and had

realized what a small, sorry figure the Bergers, the Barnes's and their followers made there, he might lose some of his belief in the efficiency of boring from within.)

After receiving an interruption from a man in the audience because of a statement of the speaker's that was to say the least unfair, he asserted that he was a fair minded man and capable of discussing these different organizations, economic and political, on their merits. He had first stated that the chief difference between the S. L. P. and the S. P. in the past was in the attitude of each toward the labor union question, giving his version of the birth and the growth of the Social Democratic party, and saying that the constitution of the Socialist Labor Party in the past had forbidden any member of its organization becoming an officer in the A. F. of L. That they were allowed to join the trade union and get any of its benefits, but must not accept any of the responsibilities or obligations. Then it was that one man, fellow-worker Appel, more exasperated than others in the audience, spoke up, saying, "You know better than that. You know that was not the purpose for which the clause was inserted."

Then fair-minded Goebel told his interrupter to refer to any S. L. P. constitution of the past and he would find therein that clause, namely that no member could be an officer of a pure and simple union. As no one had denied the existence of such a clause, that was not the question at issue, but it was interpretation of the reason for which it was inserted that was objected to.

In telling how the Social Democratic party was organized in opposition to the Socialist Labor Party because of the latter's tactics and its action in launching and clinging to the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, he gave another knock at the I. W. W., when asserting that the S. T. & L. A., being a union organized in opposition to a labor union already here, and fighting that union, it followed that they had to take the jobs of the A. F. of L. That it could not be successful and that the I. W. W. was in the same position. That while the I. W. W. principles were all right in his opinion STILL IT WAS BOUND TO GO DOWN.

He thought another organization would later take its place.

He also belittled the power of the economic organization, asserting that there are just four ways in which the union can act, four methods of making this fight:

That supposing we have every working man and woman and child in the I. W. W., what can they do. They can have a general strike. True they can paralyze industry. But who would suffer most? While the masters could take a trip to Europe and live in luxury, the workers could remain out till they are tired of it, and then go crawling back to work, go back on the terms of the boss.

Here revolutionists and reformers are attacking industrial autocracy. Here is witnessed the same fatal blindness that characterized the attacks that have always been made upon governmental autocracy. The clear-sighted revolutionists oppose the autocratic management of industry by the capitalists; they, nevertheless, maintain that industry must be managed by industrial organization; and they demand that the management be vested in the organized workers. Paralleling, however with the move to divert the autocratic government of its powers on the eve of the destruction of its autocracy, American reformers are now advocating the divesting of industrial management, the trust, of its powers, and the centering of those powers in the government. Thus their work tends to prepare a situation permitting of a grand coup in America—the workers to be conceded some voice in the industrial concern, but the powers of industrial management to be taken away from the industrial organizations and vested again in the government.

It is doubtful, however, if the revolutionists of either Russia or America will in this era be appeased by concessions of empty shells. In order to avoid being tricked by diplomacy, they must go straight for the kernel of their victory.

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(Continued on Page 6)

B'KLYN PLASTERERS CLASS ALIGNMENTS

Job Trust Methods of A. F. of L. Illustrated in Conduct of Brooklyn Building Trades.

Brooklyn, N. Y., September 6.—Please publish this and let the world know what the A. F. of L. is, and give us advice what to do in the future.

Since we organized the plasterers we have had to stay out of work and put up with all sorts of abominable treatment from the A. F. of L. building trades. But at last they have found that they can do nothing; so they have elected a special delegate, and are paying him as high as \$40 a week to see that the I. W. W. is put down and out. There are a lot of dirty, shameful things they have done, but I can't give you every detail, as it would take me a week to do so, but here is one instance. Our I. W. W. plasterers started to work on some houses on Fulton street, near Norwood station. The A. F. of L. went to take their men off the building, and they succeeded in taking off their lathers, as the plumbers did not want to stop they are still working. Then the builders went and got four unorganized lathers, and they were working a day. In the evening the delegate came around and told them to stop. He offered to take them into the union and to furnish them with plenty of work as soon as they were in the union. So they were waiting till 12 o'clock at night, and then they were told that if they would pay \$26, the union would take them in, but the men are very poor, so they are not in the union yet. Then the builder told me that if I cannot furnish him with lathers he'll tell our I. W. W. plasterers to go, and will take A. F. of L. plasterers in our places. As we have some I. W. W. lathers in New York, I went and got them. So they started to work on Monday and were working Tuesday, and on Tuesday evening, at 5 o'clock, after work, the lathers' delegate, A. Frankenstein, and the Plasterers' delegate, J. Reilly, and a few more loafers with all kinds of irons in their hands started to run after the lathers and they nearly killed Nathan Greenberg, Jack Levy, and others.

A. Gurowitz, Organizer.

Dear Sir—

The Employers' Association of Boston and Massachusetts sprung from the needs of the hour. Many responsibilities, not strictly its own, have been forced upon it. These it has undertaken gladly and has met successfully. It requires the further assistance of manufacturers, employers and citizens throughout the Commonwealth, and now calls upon you for your support, moral and physical.

The latest and perhaps the greatest task of the Association was to beat the baseless and dangerous teamsters' strike in Boston—at what appalling cost it does not need to be stated. Together with other organizations equally alert and public spirited, it turned back last winter the tide of class legislation which would literally have made it difficult if not impossible for the leaders of our varied and magnificent industries to do business at all. That some of this has been enacted makes it absolutely vital to their continued success—and to your continued success, if you prize at all the rights of property and opportunity—to join with us and others of similar patriotic aims to stop this onslaught of coercive Socialism, and of Socialism in theory and in practice, WHERE IT IS.

This Association believes itself still to be alive to the needs of the moment. Not only will its tried and successful organization be brought closer and closer to perfection, but special attention will be given to the agitation of this great question, in all its phases, before the public. Our Executive Board has appointed as chairman of its Committee of Public Affairs, Mr. Marshall Cushing, a Massachusetts man, for the five years just passed General Secretary of the National Association of Manufacturers. At this office and throughout the state, in conjunction with our Secretary, Major Albion P. Pease, he will co-operate with us and we with him. We propose to meet the situation; we must all work as practical men who take no chances and make no mistake about it.

The great heart of the public in this Commonwealth, its real people, do not want and will not have revolutionary class legislation any more than they will submit to the dictation of a body of labor monopolists who propose their schemes and fight for them, intending to destroy the rights of property, without let or hindrance. Besides being mighty because it is right, this cause is mighty because it is defensive. But the more radical and aggressive the attempted coercions of unionism and Socialism, the more resolute and resourceful that defense must be and shall be.

We want you to give serious and even prayerful thought to this; to correspond with us, to visit us at this office whenever occasion offers, and to respond favorably and promptly to the letter as well as the spirit of this appeal by applying for Active Membership or contributing liberally to our Defense Fund.

Respectfully yours,
Geo. B. Ingo,
President.
Albion P. Pease,
Secretary.

Should a United States president have a third term? American precedent answers "No, it has become customary for a president to so discredit himself during his first two terms, that a third term is impossible."

STRIKERS' MEETINGS REOPENED IN COBALT—Splendid Response of W. F. M.

Cobalt, Ont., September 10.—The mine-owners' joy was short lived. On advice of our lawyers, the meetings which have been discontinued since last Friday start again to-night; when we will again prove that we are not, as the capitalist press states, talked to death.

An appeal for funds with which to fight the injunction has been issued to the local unions of the W. F. M., and is being responded to. A letter from one local in Butte states they are sending \$2500 to help their striking brothers who are putting up one of the grandest battles in the annals of the labor movement.

Bribes and threats are turned down alike by these Cobalt slaves, who realize that they are putting up a fight for the working class.

Shipments of ore fell to their lowest last week, only five cars of second grade ore being shipped from here. This shows the reptile capitalist press at its lying tactics when it reports "Mines all working with full force of men."

We hope to organize a building trades industrial union in Halesbury this week.

R. R.

SAMPLE "CONTRACT"

Statement of the Terms under Which A. F. of L. Intends to Bind Workers in Slavery to Capitalists.

Paterson, N. J., August 31.—Enclosed herewith I mail you a clipping in which is quoted in full the agreement that the labor fakirs and owners of silk mills in the district of Scranton, Pa., have entered into, for the employes.

The check-off system is provided for, and "arbitration" is also provided for. I have never before seen such a brazen statement of the terms upon which the A. F. of L. intends to bind the workers in perpetual slavery to the capitalists. You will note that the last paragraph provides that it is agreed by the parties (employers and labor fakirs) that these conditions will eventually become general throughout the trade. They won't become "general" in Paterson where the I. W. W. has a foothold. P. C.

[Enclosure.]

Scranton, August 20.—James Simpson, proprietor of the Simpson group of mills, has signed what will be known to the industrial historian of the future as the "Harvey agreement." Mr. Simpson had a conference with Organizers Miles and Frayne on Saturday morning and signed the document. Mr. Simpson was negotiating with Messrs. Frayne and Miles a day or two previous to signing the agreement. He was supplied with a copy of it, and came readily enough to the conclusion that there was nothing in it which he could not accept, and did so without the least demur.

It is now probably that all the other mill owners will follow where Harvey and Simpson have led. The Harvey and Simpson mill hands returned to work yesterday, and it may be accepted as within measurable distance of an actuality that all the girls now on strike will be back at their jobs within a week or so, working under the conditions which the Harvey agreement stipulates. Of course, the agreement will apply to all the girls, whether they came out on strike or not.

The labor leaders consider that this is one of the greatest victories that trade unionism has accomplished in this section of the country.

There are 800 girls working in the

THE DOMINATION

HELD OVER THE WAGE WORKING CLASS BY THE "CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY."

As a general rule, laborers cannot co-operate without being brought together; their assemblage in one place is a necessary condition of their co-operation. Hence, wage-laborers cannot co-operate unless they are employed simultaneously by the same capital, the same capitalist, and unless, therefore, their labor powers are bought simultaneously by him. The total value of these labor powers, or the amount of the wages of these laborers for a day or a week, as the case may be, must be ready in the pocket of the capitalist before the workmen are assembled for the process of production. The payment of 300 workmen at once, though only for one day, requires a greater outlay of capital than does the payment of a smaller number of men, week by week, during a whole year. Hence the number of laborers that co-operate, or the scale of co-operation, depends, in the first instance, on the amount of capital that the individual capitalist can spare for the purchase of labor-power—in other words, on the extent to which a single capitalist has command over the means of subsistence of a number of laborers.

And as it is with the variable, so it is with the constant capital. For example, the outlay on raw material is 30 times as great for the capitalist who employs 300 men as it is for each of the 30 capitalists who employ 10 men. The value and quantity of the instruments of labor used in common do not, it is true, increase at the same rate as the number of workmen, but they do increase very considerably. Hence, concentration of large masses of the means of production in the hands of individual capitalists is a material condition for the co-operation of wage-laborers; and the extent of the co-operation, or the scale of production, depends on the extent of this concentration.

Exigency of Capitalist Production.
A certain minimum amount of capital was necessary in order that the number of laborers simultaneously employed and, consequently, the amount of surplus value produced, might suffice to liberate the employer himself from manual labor—to convert him from a small master into a big capitalist—and thus formally to establish capitalist production. A certain minimum amount is a necessary condition for the conversion of numerous isolated and independent processes into one combined social process.

At first the subjection of labor to capital was only a formal result of the fact that the laborer, instead of working for himself, works for, and consequently under, the capitalist. By the co-operation of numerous wage-laborers, the sway of capital develops into a requisite for carrying on the labor-process itself—into a real requisite of production. That a capitalist should command on the field of production is now as indispensable as that a general should command on the field of battle.

Central Direction.
All combined labor on a large scale requires more or less directing authority in order to secure the harmonious working of the individual activities, and to perform the general functions that have their origin in the action of the combined organism, as distinguished from the function of its separate organs. A single violin player is his own conductor; an orchestra requires a separate one. The work of directing, superintending, and adjusting becomes one of the functions of capital from the moment that the labor under the control of capital becomes co-operative. Once a function of capital, it acquires special characteristics.

The directing motive—the end and aim of capitalist production—is to extract the greatest possible amount of surplus value, and, consequently, to exploit labor-power to the greatest possible extent. As the number of the co-operating laborers increases, so, too, does their resistance to the domination of capital, and with it the necessity for capital to overcome this resistance by counter-pressure. The control exercised by the capitalist is not only a special function due to the nature of the social labor-process, and peculiar to that process, but it is at the same time, a function of the exploitation of a social labor-process, and peculiar to that process, and is consequently rooted in the unavoidable antagonism between the exploiter and the living and laboring raw material he exploits.

Whence the Despotism Rule of the Capitalist.

Again, in proportion to the increasing mass of the means of production, now no longer the property of the laborer, but of the capitalist, the necessity, increases for some effective control over the proper application of those means. Moreover, the co-operation of wage la-

borers is entirely brought about by the capital that employs them. Their union into one single productive body, and the establishment of a connection between their individual functions, are matters foreign and external to them—are not their own act, but the act of the capital that brings and keeps them together. Hence the connection existing between their various labors appears, to them, ideally, in the shape of a preconceived plan of the capitalist, and practically in the capitalist—in the shape of the powerful will of another, who subjects their activity to his aims. If, then, the control of the capitalist is in substance two-fold by reason of the two-fold nature of the process of production itself—which, on the one hand, is a social process for producing use-values; on the other, a process for creating surplus-value—in form that control is despotic. As co-operation extends its scale, this despotism takes form peculiar to itself. Just as, at first, the capitalist is relieved from actual labor as soon as his capital has reached that minimum amount with which capitalist production, as such, begins, so, now, he hands over the work of direct and constant supervision of the individual workmen to a special kind of wage-laborer. An industrial army of workmen, under the command of a capitalist, requires, like a real army, officers (managers) and sergeants (foremen, overseers), who, while the work is being done, command in the name of the capitalist. The work of supervision becomes their established and exclusive function. When comparing the mode of production of isolated peasants and artisans with production with slave labor, the political economist counts this labor of superintendence among the *faux frais* of production. But, when considering the capitalist mode of production, he, on the contrary, treats the work of control made necessary by the co-operative character of the labor-process as identical with the different work of control necessitated by the capitalist character of that process and the antagonism of interests between capitalist and laborer. It is not because he is a leader of industry that a man is a capitalist; on the contrary, he is a leader of industry because he is a capitalist. The leadership of industry is an attribute of capital, just as in feudal times the functions of general and judge were attributes of landed property.

What the Capitalist Gets Gratia.
The laborer is owner of his labor-power until he has done bargaining for its sale with the capitalist; and he can sell no more than what he has—i. e., his individual, isolated labor-power. This state of things is in no way altered by the fact that the capitalist, instead of buying the labor-power of one man, buys that of 100, and enters into separate contracts with 100 unconnected men instead of with one. He is at liberty to set the 100 men to work, without letting them co-operate. He pays them the value of 100 independent labor-powers, but he does not pay for the combined labor-power of the hundred. Being independent of each other, the laborers are isolated persons, who enter into relations with the capitalist, but not with one another. This co-operation begins only with the labor process, but they have then ceased to belong to themselves. On entering that process they become incorporated with capital. As co-operators, as members of a working organism, they are but special modes of existence of capital. Hence, the productive power developed by the laborer when working in co-operation is the productive power of capital. This power is developed gratuitously whenever the workmen are placed under given conditions, and it is capital that places them under such conditions. Because this power costs capital nothing, and because, on the other hand, the laborer himself does not develop it before his labor belongs to capital, it appears as a power with which capital is endowed by Nature—a productive power that is immanent in capital.

The colossal efforts of simple co-operation are to be seen in the gigantic structures of the ancient Asiatics, Egyptians, Etruscans, etc. "It has happened in times past that these Oriental States, after supplying the expenses of their civil and military establishments, have found themselves in possession of a surplus which they could apply to works of magnificence or utility; and in the construction of these their command over the hands and arms of almost the entire non-agricultural population has produced stupendous monuments, which still indicate their power. The teeming valley of the Nile . . . produced food for a swarming, non-agricultural population; and this food, belonging to the monarch and the priesthood, afforded

ed the means of erecting the mighty monuments which filled the land. . . . In moving the colossal statues and vast masses of which the transport creates wonder, human labor almost alone was prodigally used. . . . The number of the laborers and the concentration of their efforts sufficed. We see mighty coral reefs rising from the depths of the ocean into islands and firm land, yet each individual depositor is puny, weak and contemptible. The non-agricultural laborers of an Asiatic monarchy have little but their individual bodily exertions to bring to the task; but their number is their strength, and the power of directing these masses gave rise to the palaces and temples, the pyramids and the armies of gigantic statues of which the remains astonish and perplex us. It is that confinement of the revenues which feed them to one or a few hands, which makes such undertakings possible. This power of Asiatic and Egyptian kings, Etruscan theocrats, etc., has in modern society been transferred to the capitalist, whether he is an isolated or, in joint-stock companies, a collective capitalist.

Genesis of Co-Operation.
Co-operation such as we find it at the dawn of human development, among races who live by the chase, or, say, in the agriculture of Indian communities, is based, on the one hand, on ownership in common of the means of production, and on the other hand, on the fact that in those cases each individual has no more torn himself off from the navel-string of his tribe or community than each bee has freed itself from connection with the hive. Such co-operation is distinguished from capitalistic co-operation by both of the above characteristics. The sporadic application of co-operation on a large scale in ancient times, in the middle ages, and in modern colonies, reposes on relations of domination and servitude, principally on slavery. The capitalistic form, on the contrary, presupposes, from first to last, the free wage-laborer, who sells his labor-power to capital. Historically, however, this power is developed in opposition to peasant agriculture and to the carrying on of independent handicrafts, whether in guild or not. From the standpoint of these, capitalistic co-operation does not manifest itself as a particular historical form of co-operation; but co-operation itself appears to be a historical form peculiar to, and specifically distinguishing, the capitalist process of production.

Just as the social productive power of labor that is developed by co-operation appears to be the productive power of capital, so co-operation itself, contrasted with the process of production carried on by isolated independent laborers, or even by small employers, appears to be a specific form of the capitalist process of production. It is the first change experienced by the actual labor-process, when subjected to capital. This change takes place spontaneously. The simultaneous employment of a large number of wage-laborers, in one and the same process, which is a necessary condition of this change, also forms the starting-point of capitalist production. This point coincides with the birth of capital itself to us historically as a necessary capitalist mode of production presents itself. If then, on the one hand, the condition to the transformation of the labor-process into a social process, so, on the other hand, this social form of the labor-process presents itself, as a method employed by capital for the more profitable exploitation of labor by increasing that labor's productiveness.

Transformation of Co-Operation.
In the elementary form, under which we have hitherto viewed it, co-operation is a necessary concomitant of all production on a large scale; but it does not, in itself, represent a fixed form characteristic of a particular epoch in the development of the capitalist mode of production. At the most it appears to do so, and that only approximately, in the handicraft-like beginnings of manufacture, and in that kind of agriculture on a large scale, which corresponds to the epoch of manufacture, and is distinguished from peasant agriculture mainly by the number of laborers simultaneously employed, and by the mass of the means of production concentrated for their use. Simple co-operation is always the prevailing form in those branches of production in which capital operates on a large scale, and division of labor and machinery play but a subordinate part.

Co-operation ever constitutes the fundamental form of the capitalist mode of production; nevertheless, the elementary form of co-operation continues to subsist as a particular form of capitalist production side by side with the more developed forms of the mode of production.—Marx's "Capital."

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THE MILLERAND AFFAIR AT PARIS CONGRESS

[From the Edinburgh Socialist.]
As the delegate of the (Bury) Lancashire Branch of the S. D. F., I went to the Paris Congress.

I arrived in Paris the morning before the Congress, and, in the evening, was strolling about the hotel (Cook's), looking for comrades with whom I was acquainted, and casually entered a large room, where many visitors were sitting. At the end of the room was a small group of persons, and, on walking up to them, I recognized some members of the S. D. F. standing around a small table, at which Burrows, Hyndman, and two others sat. They were just putting a resolution to the effect, "That we, not understanding the circumstances in France so well as the French comrades, remain neutral on the question of Millerand."

I asked the chairman how this meeting had been called, not having had any notice, and reminded him that all the delegates were not present, and probably, like myself, knew nothing about such a meeting. He answered saying it was just a scratch meeting. I reminded him that the agenda had been considered by the branches, and the delegates had received their instruction, and that they had no right or authority to pledge the branches without their consent, and that personally I utterly opposed their action. They, however, put the vote, and, having no doubt previously seen that their particular clique were there in full force, carried the resolution.

I then asked what other resolutions, if any, they had passed, and their reasons for having done so. The chairman said he could not go over all the matter then, and said a special meeting of the delegates would be held at the place of the Congress at 9 A. M. the following day, and, as Congress would not meet until 10 A. M., all the information could then be given.

No such meeting was held. The business of the Congress proceeded, the ordinary part of which is well known. It was generally understood that a special meeting of the delegates would be held at another place in the evening, and after the Congress adjourned. I spoke to a group of S. D. F. delegates, among whom was J. Kent, and asked him if they were going to attend the meeting, and also if he knew the way to the place. He said: "Yes, certainly." I then told him I would have their company if they did not object, so that I would be certain not to miss the meeting (about two hours later). We strolled about the city, and, when it was getting near the time at which the meeting was to take place I asked if we were near the place. They said we were then three miles from the place, and could not possibly get there before the meeting would be over. I do not know whether such a meeting was held or not, as I could not get to know anything further about it.

The Congress agreed to appoint a commission of the various nationalities to deal with the Millerand affair, the outcome of which was the "Kautsky resolution" and the amendment thereto. During the time that the resolution was being spoken to, the English section remained quiet, but when Ferri was speaking to the amendment, Hyndman rose to his feet several times, protesting against the waste of time, followed, marionette-like, by a number of his admirers. Headingley's interpretation of the resolution and amendment was such that no difference appeared to exist between them.

Lee told us we had to support the resolution, and, when asked to explain the difference between the resolution and the amendment, declared he could not do so, as he did not know. He was then asked if there was any printed matter on the subject in English, and he said there had only been one copy got, and that we could not have it, as Headingley, the interpreter, had possession of it. This caused a commotion, as several delegates ridiculed the idea of setting type up and only getting one copy. I then appealed to the delegates not to vote, as Lee's statement was untrue. He sat with the commission, and must have known the difference, and now wanted us to believe that only one copy had been obtained after setting type up, etc., and that we could not get to see it. The other nationalities appeared to have plenty of literature, as the tables around were strewn with printed matter which was of no use to those of us who could not understand the languages.

The resentment against being played was spreading; and this caused Lee to get up from his seat and bring Hyndman from the end of the table. Lee told Hyndman that some of the comrades were dissatisfied because they could not understand the difference be-

tween the resolution and the amendment. (Lee, although saying he did not understand anything about it, was not disturbed thereat, but was quite prepared to do as he was told by his chief.) Hyndman thereupon told us that it was not OUR fault, but that the French comrades had not made sufficient accommodation for us, and that he could only ask us to support the resolution, as he could not now explain.

His challenge to debate with Millerand afterwards, is, of course, known to all. W. D.

[The foregoing is interesting, as showing the low intrigues and underhand tactics which the bosses of the S. D. F. resort to in order to bull-doze their fellow-delegates into voting in accordance with the wishes of Hyndman & Co. The Kautsky resolution is a flagrant example of the fruit of these subterranean plots. Notice how it was passed. First, a caucus of the privileged few meet, excluding the rank and file from their select communion, and arrange beforehand what action is to be taken by the English delegation. Second, in order to prevent the "masses" from knowing what they were voting for, and from acting intelligently, they are prevented from comparing the Kautsky and the Guesde resolutions. The later is not translated at all, and the English delegation is misled by the colossal falsehood that there is no difference between these two resolutions, albeit the latter is the complete negation of the former.]

The Millerand affair is now a matter of history. The following extract from Daniel De Leon's "Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress" offers a good summary:

"The Socialist movement of France held its breath in amazement, when, in 1898, Millerand, a member of one of its organizations, accepted a Cabinet portfolio at the hands of the bourgeois government, and took his seat in that executive body, beside General Gallifet, the butcher of the Commune. Whatever hope against hope may have at first lingered in the minds of the serious French Socialists was soon dispelled by Millerand's placid continuance in the Cabinet, after the orders issued that provoked the military butcheries of the striking workmen at Chalons, and that upheld the military butcheries of the striking workmen at Martinique. That which, based upon a long, uninterupted series of facts, theory had before been established, was but confirmed in the instance of Millerand. It is no longer a matter open to discussion. The Socialist Revolution has no common ground with class rule. Despite the bugaboos of 'Clericalism' and 'The Republic in Danger,' periodically gotten up by the French bourgeoisie, France, though not advanced to the capitalist height of America, is well out of her feudal swaddling clothes. There, like here, 'reform' is now a snare and a delusion; there, like here, the ground is solid for the revolutionary movement to step on and proceed from; to tread the path of barter, as Millerand did, is there, as it is here; when not visionary, corrupt. The Millerand barter rent the French Socialist movement in twain. The earnest Socialists, headed by Guesdes, repudiated Millerand; the reformers, headed by Jaures, upheld him. The International Socialist Congress met when the discussion was at its height. The two factions (if the Jaures element can, except in scorn, be termed a Socialist faction), rushed into the hall, the latter seeking international justification, the former the international condemnation of the theory—to say nothing of the practical betrayers of Socialism. It is enough of a commentary on the structure of these International Socialist Congress that such an issue could at all rise in their midst. It did. It was the one issue before the body; and it took shape in a resolution, since known to fame as the Kautsky Resolution.

"The 'Kautsky Resolution' is a product typical of its source. It is a panel, painfully put together, of symmetrically-rounded theses and antitheses on the Ministerial question, in which 'the head eats up the tail.' This feature of the resolution is so marked that—despite the closing sentence, it distinctly enough gives up the class struggle by conceiving the possibility of 'impartiality' on the part of a capitalist government in the struggles between capital and labor—they gave rise to a verbose controversy as to whether or not they favored Millerandism. . . .

"Thus, the gory spectre of the traitor Millerand stalking across the floor of the International Congress at Paris, and the very window-panes of the hall still rattling to the musketry that butchered the workers of Chalons and Martinique, the 'Kautsky Resolution' was introduced, was recommended, and was carried."

...HISTORY...

...OF...

A PROLETARIAN FAMILY

ACROSS THE AGES

... BY ...

EUGENE SUE

... TRANSLATED BY ...

DANIEL DELEON

In order to understand our own time it is absolutely necessary that we know something of the times that have gone before. The generations are like links in a chain, all connected. The study, by which we can learn what has been done and thought before us, is history, and this is perhaps the most fascinating of all studies. Many historians fill their books with nothing but battles and doings of "great" men, but happily this style of writing history is becoming obsolete, and the history of the people is taking its place. Socialism is more concerned with the history of the people than with the doings of kings and queens; and with a knowledge of the history of the people we can better understand how the great men achieved prominence. Eugene Sue has given us in the form of fiction the best universal history extant. It is a monumental work entitled "The Mysteries of the People," or "History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages."

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BEBEL'S SPEECH

DELIVERED AT THE OPENING OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS.

[Translated from the Berlin "Vorwaerts" by G. Ollendorf.]

Party members and comrades-in-arms! In the name of the German Social Democracy, I bid you welcome to Germany and to Stuttgart, and extend to you our best wishes. Now, for the first time, we hold an International Congress in Germany. True, the old International had already decided to arrange for an International Congress to be held at Mayence in the summer of 1870, but then the unfortunate war between Germany and France broke out and the Congress became impossible not alone for that year, but for years to follow. The new German empire was not an empire of liberty and justice. Immediately after its creation, it proceeded, with class legislation and class justice, against persons and parties obnoxious to it, and thus an international congress of Socialists in Germany became an impossibility for the time being. We waited long before we dared invite the International to Germany, and when we extended the invitation at Amsterdam there still existed many doubts as to the advisability of meeting in the new German Empire, which up to that time as far as protection of personal liberty was concerned did not enjoy the best of reputations in foreign countries. We have risked it, we have left it in their hands to compromise themselves before the entire civilized world by making impossible in Germany an international congress of Socialists. Certainly, to go to Berlin we had no desire whatsoever. To meet under the eyes of Prince Buelow and of the Berlin police was not exactly to our taste. But we thought that what is not possible in Berlin might be possible in Stuttgart, and, as you see, it is.

To-day we have before us a magnificent meeting, a meeting on such a large scale as no previous international congress of Socialists has ever been able to show. (Bravo!) Certainly, in the course of the last few years serious doubts as to Germany's being the proper country for an international Socialist congress have often entered our minds, and justly so. Exactly two years ago, when the miserable Morocco affair agitated the entire civilized world, the Berlin comrades decided to invite our friend Jaures, that he, in the name of their French brethren, might speak for peace to the German proletarians. At that time Prince Buelow moved heaven and earth to keep out of Germany the man for whom only a short time before, he had expressed his high esteem in the German Reichstag. He even went so far as to threaten deportation, through the German ambassador, (Gries of Flie!) But you all know about this. (Hilarity.) At any rate, it was not a good omen for the holding of the Congress in Germany. Nearby, Karlsruhe followed the example of Berlin. On the same day as in Berlin a great demonstration for peace was planned to take place in Constance, where the boundary lines of three countries meet. Adler, Groulch, Todes, and myself were to be the speakers. But the glorious example of Berlin was followed by Karlsruhe (capital of the Grand Duchy of Baden, in which the city of Constance is situated.—Translator.) In Constance, also the meetings were forbidden, but there we had the advantage of being able to say, in friendly adjoining Switzerland, what had been made impossible for us to say on German soil.

Furthermore, the attitude of the Prussian-German government towards our persecuted Russian comrades greatly perturbed us. All of you still remember the speech of Prince Buelow as to beggars and conspirators. You all know how dozens and dozens, and at last hundreds, of Russian students were ordered out of Germany in the most ruthless manner. These were moments well calculated to raise doubts as to the possibility of meeting in Germany. We have dared it, as Hutten says, and we hope that this Congress will finish its labors in glory, for the benefit of the entire world of proletarians. See how mightily the idea of internationalism has taken root in the whole civilized world! To-day, before our very eyes, an international movement of human progress, on a scale of such grandeur, takes place—a movement such as the past history of humanity is unable to furnish a precedent for. Since Amsterdam we have made great progress in many different territories.

All those who had the good fortune to be present at Amsterdam were deeply impressed, undoubtedly, when, at the opening of that Congress, the chairman alluded to the terrible battles in the Far East between Japan and Russia, and when, at this moment, the delegate of Japan, Katayama, and the delegate of Russia, Plechanoff, grasped hands in fraternal greeting. (Bravo!) Further-

more, after the debates in Amsterdam regarding the question of participation in government by Social Democrats, we parted with the idea that the establishment of unity among our French brethren could hardly be expected. But lo and behold! To our joyful surprise the great work has been accomplished. The seed of Amsterdam has produced fruit, our French brethren have waged, jointly, a tremendous campaign; they have emerged victorious, raising their deputation from 37 to 54 and augmenting considerably their vote. (Applause.)

And this gratifying effect is immediately followed by another one. For the first time in the English labor movement the English working class faced the bourgeois parties as an independent labor party in the elections. And behold—what nobody expected—this battle, too, ended in glory, and for the first time 32 delegates of the English proletariat entered Parliament as an independent labor party. (Cheers.) It took rather a long while before Europe's economically most progressive country thus witnessed the march of its proletariat as an independent political party. But, English friends, your beginning was a good one and what followed delighted us still more. Even when that happened, what I predicted already at Amsterdam, namely, that in case of a victory by the English workers the government would admit a Socialist into the Cabinet has also occurred—I also mentioned at that time John Burns. Still this concession has been unable to swerve our English friends even the breadth of a hair from their fighting tactics. (Applause.)

To these victories in France and in England was added the victory in Finland. There, under the Czar's regime, which denied its own people the most insignificant rights, our friends understood and so exercised a peculiarly radical right of suffrage, that not only a strong male delegation, but also nine female Socialists were enabled to enter the Finnish parliament. (Bravo!) But this does not complete the victories of the International: the great battle in Austria took place. Our Austrian comrades, who for years have heroically and spiritedly battled for the right of suffrage, made their entrance into the Austrian parliament 87 strong, the strongest Socialist delegation in the world. (Enthusiastic applause.) Furthermore, our friends in Holland, as well as in Switzerland, have had great success at the local elections, a proof that the International is everywhere forging ahead.

The German Empire, the German Social Democracy, apparently makes an exception in this regard. I do not need to here state the reasons which, during last winter, brought about the unexpected dissolution of the Reichstag. Never, since the existence of a North German and of a German Reichstag, did we have to fight such a campaign. Not only the entire aggregation of the bourgeois parties—which was to be expected—but also the governments of the empire and of the individual states, and the local administrations—all of them made one solid front against us in the campaign. The result—and a different one could hardly have been expected after such a campaign—was an increase of the vote from three millions to three and one-quarter millions, a decrease of seats from 79 to 43.

For this reason the Palace in Berlin indulged in some talk regarding the Social Democracy to the effect that it had been ridden down under the hoof. Friends and comrades of all countries, we do not feel "ridden down" at all; we hold the saddle as firmly as ever we did! (Great applause.) Three and a quarter millions of votes after such a campaign, that means three and a quarter millions of men of iron, men who can be depended upon in any crisis; an army of propaganda more numerous than ever existed anywhere else. And in the meantime our opponents have recognized that their victory was an accident; that they cannot depend upon conquering us by such means, and they deserve credit for such recognition. For all of us, down to the last man, are longing to wipe out the stain of January 25th and February 5th. (Spirited applause.) And we most sincerely regret that in all probability no campaign will be fought until 1912.

But the German Social Democracy stands by its guns in the meantime. This, the splendid results of the Hamburg local elections and of the elections to the Bavarian diet—a whole series of supplementary elections, especially that in the district of our late lamented Comrade Auers—amply prove.

Furthermore, during last year the number of active party members, male and female, has risen from 384,000 to

530,000. This is an increase of 146,000 or of 38 per cent. (Applause.) In like manner, the party press has grown, in spite of the tremendously expensive battles, the financial difficulties of the party. Really, it is something quite elevating for a "ridden down" party, when its cashier is enabled to receive in one month—during the last—dues to the amount of 170,000 marks.

The German trade unions, with a membership of 700,000 in 1900, now show a list of 1,800,000 members, a colossal growth of proletarian strength. Thus, then, appears the "ridden down" party! If they really believe that we were "ridden down," in the true sense of the words, why then do Prince Buelow and his master so persistently refuse to grant the general, equal, direct right of suffrage for the elections to the Prussian diet? That would give them one more occasion to ride us down! (Hilarity.) But Buelow's official organ, in characteristic fear, declares that the demand for general suffrage is "a chase on horseback after wild geese." (Hilarity.) I therefore can assure you that whenever, within the next few years, the opportunity will arise for the German Social Democracy to swing its sword, it will prove itself the same old party. Perhaps, it really does not do any harm when, after many victories, an occasional defeat comes along. (Hilarity.) It certainly is but human that continuous victories should easily engender fool-hardiness. Our "Altmeister" Goethe already has said that there is nothing more difficult to bear than a series of happy days. Well, we have had a dark day, but the sun shines again, even over this Congress. (Applause.) Perhaps, even the gods are our allies. (Renewed applause.)

In the United States of North America our comrade Haywood has been subjected to a scandalous trial. The ruling class has done its utmost to convict this innocent man of murder. Even the chief officer of the great republic has lent himself to designate Haywood as an undesirable citizen. The trial ended with the triumphant acquittal of Comrade Haywood. But it did more than that—it stirred the workers of the United States; it opened their eyes to the faults of the great republic, which, notwithstanding the guarantee on paper of all rights and liberties, has no liberty, no justice for the proletariat. It is to be hoped that the now awakened proletariat of America will take part in the political activity of the republic from now on, in the same forceful manner as the English proletariat does. At all events, we have to-day with us a numerically stronger delegation from America than we ever had before.

After all this, I am fully justified if I say: The International marches on! With every year it gains new ground! Already to-day there are at this Congress representatives from all the five continents of the globe. It will be not very long before every state of the world will also be represented. Thus we see before us a strong, mighty party, rushing forward, fully conscious of its purpose. And so I hope that the labors of this Congress will contribute to nourish and to strengthen the International and to procure new adherents to the great ideas and objects which it aims at. I hope that this Congress here in Stuttgart will produce a different example of international opinion from the international of the governments which meet at the Hague and hold sittings upon sittings, resulting finally in this pregnant mountain giving birth to a wee little mouse, and even this wee little mouse may be still-born. (Hilarity.) But as for us, let us go to work joyfully, sure of purpose; and, as a sign of your assent, I beg you to join me in the cry: "Hurrah for the Social Democracy, the deliverer of nations, of humanity!"

A Connecticut milkman, on the way home from a collecting tour, was shot and robbed of the \$20 he had. Had the highwayman been up in the fine points of finance, he would have waited for a larger collection day.

In the five years from 1901 to 1906, the number of paupers in Great Britain rose from 979,600 to 1,289,000, or from 236 to 249 per 10,000 of the population. The capitalists of the Isles are congratulating themselves on their prosperity. In a country with over a million-actual paupers there must be many more millions just on the threshold of the poor-house. It is upon the bodies of this immense reserve army of disappropriated wage workers that the prosperity of the capitalists is built.

Secretary of State Root declares Roosevelt's views are extreme, and that unless they are moderated, there will be a disturbance in the business world more disastrous than that of 1893. Secretary Root surely has not used his eyes aright. It was Roosevelt's tactics which caused the recent slight slump in Wall Street and thereby forced from some soaring stock an amount of water which, if allowed to accumulate, would have produced a really serious collapse.

HEARST'S NEWSPAPER METHODS

HIS REPRESENTATIVE EXPLAINS TO NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS' ASSOCIATION.

By Claudius.

All the papers controlled by William R. Hearst are owned by the Star Co. with Hearst as principal stockholder, and S. S. Carvalho as president and general manager. Carvalho is considered a valuable newspaper man, having served under the late Chas. A. Dana, and for years he was one of the aides to Joseph Pulitzer.

Every child knows Mr. Hearst is a man of great wealth and is very ambitious. He is not only a splendid newspaper man, but a politician. For years the Hearst publications have tried in a vague and insipid way to smash the trusts and at the same time laud the instrument that was going to buttress the system—the A. F. of L.

Now, to show the capitalist Hearst. A short time ago a controversy raged between the Typographical Union No. 6 and the Newspaper Publishers' Association, of which the Hearst newspapers are members. This conflict was caused by a demand of the printers for a higher scale of wages. The dispute was submitted to arbitration, the proceedings of which developed some interesting facts regarding the publication of the New York newspapers. The decision will cost the newspaper owners a good sum of money.

If the row had been between the United States Steel Corporation and its employees, Hearst would have gotten up articles, cartoons, etc., all of them going to show in a desultory manner the "rights" of the workers over their masters, and slush of a yellow journal style.

Now, the above program is very satisfactory to Hearst in disposing of his papers, but when the issue is placed before him of increasing wages in his line it subjects him to considerable annoyance, to put it mildly.

In his testimony in the arbitration proceedings, Mr. Carvalho gave a very clean picture of what these conditions are. After giving the figures of the enormous circulation of the Hearst papers published in New York, Mr. Carvalho said that there was no profit in the bulk of the morning circulation. There is a slight profit in the Sunday paper. There is a loss on the evening edition in everything over a fourteen page paper. This loss is in circulation.

ALASKA UP TO DATE.

Free Speech Prohibited—Injunctions Granted—Scabs Brought In on Special Trains—Despite This All Strikers Remain Firm.
Cleary Creek, Alaska, July 18.—At the present time there are two daily newspapers and a weekly published in Fairbanks, all capitalist, with claim owners their largest shareholders. Since the Tanana miners organized on the 1st of March last, they brought every kind of pressure to bear on the union with a view of extermination, and after the strike was called they took great pleasure in calling the business men and operators together in order to starve the mine workers into submission. They got all the shyster lawyers in Fairbanks on their side. Injunctions were served on the union and members prohibiting the right of free speech on all the roads running through the claims, but to injunctions and starvation alike the union was impervious. Their demands were just.

The operators employed agents in Seattle and other places to hire strike-breakers and swamp the country with men. The first batch of strike-breakers landed about June 26th, the operators had a special train waiting for them at the wharf in order to rush them out to the different creeks; but they found themselves sadly disappointed when, instead of getting a boatload of strike-breakers, they faced about 200 newly formed union men, which met them with jeers and contempt, and made for the union hall instead of the creeks. Of course we found employment for some of those new members since, but it worked some hardships on some of our old members, but they did not look on it that way, for they were ready to sacrifice anything in order to win a victory. Defeat can only come through the importation of more strike-breakers or misrepresentation of existing conditions.

STANDARD OIL CONTROL.

A few days ago a Wall Street news agency issued a table showing that the Standard Oil Company is controlled by only fifteen individuals or estates, which hold nearly ninety per cent. of the stock of the corporation. These holders of the shares have received in dividends since 1896 \$361,000,000. Of this amount John D. Rockefeller has received, says this authority, \$110,000,000, or an average of more than \$11,000,000 a year.

There is a big profit in advertising according to the same authority. Mr. Carvalho showed the advance in the price of white paper, due, he understands, to the fact that the spruce from which the paper is made is getting used up more rapidly than it can possibly be grown; that they used to make paper on two shifts, the men working twelve hours, while now they are working eight hours and the cost of labor has been increased, so that he does not think that the paper manufacturers are making as much money on their product as they did when paper was cheaper. Thus, according to Hearst's representative, the advance in labor which has taken place in the paper trade is one of the reasons why it is difficult for the newspapers to give the advance asked for to the labor in the newspaper field.

In the arbitration proceedings Mr. Carvalho was asked whether Mr. Hearst has been consulted in regard to the proposed increase. The following conversation took place:
Mr. Scott—What is the name of the company that publishes the papers you represent?
Mr. Carvalho—The Star Company is the general publisher of all the papers.

Mr. Scott—Who is the president?
Mr. Carvalho—I am its president.
Mr. Scott—Who is the principal stockholder?

Mr. Carvalho—Mr. William R. Hearst.
Mr. Scott—Has he been consulted regarding the proposed increase?

Mr. Carvalho—Yes.
Mr. Scott—What are his views?
Mr. Carvalho—I would rather not go into that.

Mr. Scott—You decline to state whether or not Mr. Hearst has expressed any views regarding this proposed increase in the scale, as I understand it?

Mr. Carvalho—Mr. Hearst, in regard to the increases demanded in the various scales, knows, as he has been informed; that the paper cannot afford it; and at present he is away, and the matter is in the hands of the management of the paper.

Mr. Hearst's silence in view of the fact that the printers have, on paper at least, won and the publishers lost in the controversy, must indeed be embarrassing to the "great champion" of the people.

The Standard Oil Company pays more to its shareholders than any other corporation in existence. Its disbursements of \$40,000,000 a year exceed the present dividend payments by the United States Steel Corporation by more than \$4,500,000 a year.

T. W.

JOHN D.'S DIVIDENDS.

The recent dividend of \$6 a share declared by the directors for the third quarter of 1907, brings the total dividends of the Standard Oil Company from 1882 to date up to a grand total of \$581,424,392. Its dividend payments within that period exceed the authorized capitalization of \$100,000,000 six times over.

Previous to the formation of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, (the Parent Company) John D. Rockefeller was credited with holding 27.4 per cent of the stock of the company as it stood at that time. If the ratio of his holdings to the capital stock has remained unchanged he has received a total of \$160,000,000 in dividends during the last twenty-five years.

T. W.

MAETERLINCK ON THE WOMAN QUESTION

NEW SYMBOLIC WORK OF HIS SET TO MUSIC IN PARIS—OLD BLUE-BEARD WITH A NEW MORAL.

In "Ariane and Blue Beard," the new light opera by Maurice Maeterlinck, the music of which is by Paul Dukas, the Belgian philosopher has chosen to set forth his views on women in the form of a highly spiritualized version of the old nursery story.

An added interest comes from the fact that the leading role in the opera is taken by Mme. Georgette Leblanc, his wife, who symbolized the new woman, the liberator of the poor little wives who had preceded her in her lord's affections.

Blue Beard is slightly changed from the bloodthirsty monster of our childhood days, says "Le Petite Parisien." He has not killed his wives, but has locked them up. Ariane is the sixth, and she comes, young and noble, accompanied by her old nurse. The peasants are ignorant of the fate of the former wives and dread the danger that awaits Ariane, whom they love as soon as she appears. In a fine burst of music they prophesy death for her, too, and go sadly away. The nurse trembles, but Ariane is calm, for she knows in her heart that the wives are not dead. In talking with her nurse she sets forth her guiding principle that disobedience is a duty if the order is threatening and not to be understood. M. Maeterlinck pleads not guilty to the charge of symbolism, but already it is sufficiently obvious that Ariane stands for the mind's search for knowledge, for liberty, in short.

Then Blue Beard gives her the keys, six silver keys and one gold one. Of course she must not use the gold one, so, of course, she keeps that one alone, throwing the other six to the nurse to do with as she chooses. The nurse sets to work joyfully. From the first door pours a stream of amethysts piled high in the chamber, from the second sapphires, then pearls, emeralds, rubies and diamonds. Even Ariane is pleased and stops to deck herself with jewels. But not for long. She remembers the golden key, and to a noble accompaniment of the orchestra, she opens the seventh door. There is nothing but "an opening full of darkness."

Suddenly a song of women comes from below. It grows, it spreads, it soon fills the stage with its sad crescendo. Ariane is afraid and would close the door, but the pitiful sound continues and she cannot. Blue Beard enters, and standing before her, says: "You, too!" "I above all," replies Ariane, and then she adds, "How long did they obey you?" "Two of them a few days, two a few months, the last one a year." "The last is the only one who should have been punished," replies Ariane.

Then Blue Beard makes his plea. He sets forth that he asked little of them—in fact, all he asked was that they should not live. This is all he wants of Ariane, whom he loves. "Give up seeking to know and I will forgive you all." "And I," returns Ariane, "will forgive all when I know all." Blue Beard is dragging Ariane away from the door of the golden key when the peasants rush in, determined to kill their master in order to save Ariane. But she sends them away, saying that Blue Beard has done her no harm. It is right, says the poet, that liberty should end in forgiveness.

In the second act Ariane has reached the five wives in their dungeon. They fit about like poor little frightened ghosts without will or aim. Selysette,

Igraine, Melisande, Bellangere, Alladine, are their names, and they are the heroines of other dramas of Maeterlinck. In mind and body they are weak. They have forgotten the Springtime and the sun, poor, pretty slaves. Ariane breaks the window and lets in the light.

In the third act Ariane has her pale fellow-wives in the hall of the castle, and she decks them with precious stones. Around the castle the peasants are in revolt and Blue Beard is fighting them. But the nurse rushes in to say that the master is coming back. It is all over with their brave effort. Terrified with the idea of his anger, they cling to Ariane. The peasants are pressing Blue Beard hard and the poor little wives cry, "Do not kill him! Do not kill him!" The peasants bring him in bound and wish to put him to death, but again Ariane interposes. She says she herself can do all that there is to be done, and that the case of the master and his wives must be left with her.

When the peasants have gone away Ariane sets Blue Beard free. Meanwhile, the five wives watch him fearfully, but with their old love again awakening. They are servile as they approach him. Ariane understands it is useless. She has conquered Blue Beard, conquered herself, to no purpose. She resigns herself to this idea; she will go to other lives, try to teach them, try to enlighten them, to deliver them—perhaps vainly, but she must go. She makes a last appeal to the wives, then they timidly kiss her and let her go away alone. They are relieved when she is gone, for they have escaped from life.

This is the drama, which is not in the main, hard of comprehension. Parisians are interested in tracing the psychologic evolution of the great author of "The Life of the Bee." One point is certain, that his conception of intelligent women, conscious of their power, began when the admirable artist, now his wife, who interprets Ariane, first entered his life. "Wisdom and Destiny" is a work dedicated to Mme. Georgette Leblanc, and the preface says: "I dedicate to you this book, which is, so to speak, your work. There is a collaboration higher, more real, than that of the pen—the collaboration of thought and example. It was not necessary for me painfully to imagine the resolutions and the actions of a wise ideal or to draw from my own heart the substance of a dream beautiful but of necessity vague. It has been sufficient that I should listen to your words. It has been sufficient that my eyes should follow you in your life; thus they have followed the movements, the actions, the habits of Wisdom herself."

From this moment Melisande, Bellangere, Igraine, Alladine, and Selysette retire to the obscurity of their luxurious slavery. Enter the women who control their destiny, enter Ariane to break the windows and let in the light. However, the "little" heroines of Maeterlinck are not crushed by his scorn. And the end of Blue Beard, characteristic as it is, is there to prove that the author has not wished only to charge them with all the sins of femininity. Blue Beard has been for them a terrible husband. He shuts them up in a frightful dungeon without air or light. And yet they will not leave him. Is it only because of their love of slavery? It is not a little, perhaps especially, because they try to practice "the forgiveness of injuries?"

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	38,594
In 1900	34,151
In 1904	34,172

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1907.

I have an hundred loaves in my possession, and in the next street there is a poor man expiring with hunger, to whom one of these loaves would be the means of preserving his life. If I withhold this loaf from him, am I not unjust? If I impart it, am I not complying with what justice demands? To whom does the loaf justly belong?
—Wm. Godwin.

REVOLUTION VS. BLOODSHED.

There is a class of objectors to Socialism who, when all their glittering arguments have been turned to straw in their hands, when one flimsy prop after another has been knocked from under their edifice of belief in capitalism, when at last they are forced to concede the logic, the justice, the scientific necessity of the Socialist Revolution, still come back with the final objection: "But revolution implies bloodshed. We are living under some injustice now, but even that is preferable to the taking of life. Things would better be left as they are."

In the first place, revolution does not imply bloodshed. The American Revolution, no less than the French Revolution—the former of which is lauded while the latter is execrated by capitalism—was, it is true, accompanied by bloodshed. Most revolutions have, indeed, had to appeal to the force of arms as the final arbiter. But that necessity does not, by a very large possibility, cast its painful shadow over the coming proletarian revolution. Peaceful revolutions there have also been; and this may be one of them. With the working class once industrially organized and in possession of the productive machinery of the land, who shall predict that the capitalist class, arrant coward at heart that it is, may not slink off and acknowledge its defeat without compelling the shedding of blood to seal it?

The man who opposes the Socialist Revolution on no other ground than the possible shedding of blood, must work from the premise that now no blood is being shed. A cursory glance over the columns of the press should teach him better. An appeal to the statistics of the fatalities to wage earners should drive the notion forever from his head. From day to day more human beings are meeting death or serious injury under the driving of capitalist industrial warfare than ever fell victims in any war of history. But yesterday eighty-five bridge workers went to their doom at Quebec because two unsafe trusses were not remedied in time; the crushing of miners and tunnel workers, the incineration of steel workers, the thousand and one violent deaths which capitalism forges for its slaves are too common to attract attention. Details become superfluous in the face of the gigantic totals recorded in government offices. Gettysburg, Chancellorsville and Chickamauga, the three bloodiest battles of the Civil War, cost the nation a total of 12,857 killed and 62,408 wounded; but the steam railroads of the country in 1906 snuffed out the life of over 9,800 persons, and wounded no fewer than 76,500. The trolley records, if added to these, would greatly increase both figures, nearly doubling the latter. The railroads of New York State alone in that one year carried destruction to 1,276 persons; the Philippine War, three and a quarter years in duration wiped out but 1,573. The coal mines of Pennsylvania became the death couch of 1257 miners in 1905, 1034 in 1906, and are now far over the 400 mark in the present year. The coal mines of the entire country furnish an average annual death total of 2,400; Grant's whole campaign against Lee in Virginia in 1864 was cheaper. The total Japanese loss in the recent war with Russia was 57,170; a careful estimate from United States census figures puts the number annually slain in the industrial strife of capitalism as even higher than this—62,900.

Undeniably, alongside of the large possibility that the Socialist Revolution may be bloodless, exists the other pos-

sibility that a conflict may become necessary. If the defeated capitalist minority blindly seeks by force to impose its despotic will on the triumphant working class majority who will none of it, the appeal to arms may again be the only resource—as it was at Runnymede, at Yorktown, and at Appomattox. But the American who would decry the use of arms under such circumstances as a last resort to end a reign of such unbridled bloodshed, has lost his heritage of manhood; the principle of 1776 that "no man is worthy of enslavement but he who servilely bends low before it" has found in him a living proof.

PROPERTY RIGHTS INVOLVABLE.

From Colorado, from Cobalt, from Minnesota, from Boston—from every point where a recent strike, permeated to some extent by revolutionary sentiment, has been waged, there has started a wave of heresy regarding the "property rights" of capitalists. In each of these quarters where this heresy has arisen, prophets have stepped forth to quiet it, and to reduce the sentiment in their respective communities to its wonted calm and "confidence"; but in each case these prophets have soon found themselves tossed and disconcerted by a force of such power that their own calmness has turned to frenzy, in which condition they have given forth injunctions and edicts of such tenor that these, instead of quieting, have actually tended to agitate the waves of heresy.

Now, from a sacred precinct where doubt as to "property rights" has never entered, essays the champion who is to spread a calm upon all the waves which, rolling into each other, have produced an agitation of heresy no longer local but general. The Wall Street Journal under the title of "Protection for Property," quotes from the grave dicta of two learned judges and shows that the "right of private property" is absolutely inviolable. But the force of the efforts of even the Wall Street Journal and its two learned judges will soon be spent, and the heresy will wax more and more agitated.

It is now time that these bewildered prophets and champions should be told the secret of their defeats, which secret lies in the fact that their shafts have all been aimed amiss. They have been defending private property rights, while such rights have never been assailed. Nor is it the fault of the revolutionists that they have claimed they were attacking "rights of private property." The whole confusion has arisen from a practice very characteristic of capitalism, the assumption by capitalists of a false name for the privilege they wish defended.

The capitalists plead for protection in the sacred right of "private property"—what they actually want protection in is nothing of the sort. Property, as defined by the Standard Dictionary, is "the legal right to the possession, use, enjoyment, and disposal of a thing," which definition is supplemented by explanations of how original rights of property follow the exercise of personal power in production.

Not only have the capitalists not exercised any "personal power in production" of mines, railroads, department stores and factories, but they are not in possession, cannot use or enjoy, and are powerless to dispose of these things.

If a person owns a watch, a horse and carriage, a dwelling house, a canoe, they are his property, he himself can use them or he can dispose of them to someone else who may also possess, use, and enjoy these things. How differently does the capitalist stand as to "his" factory, "his" department store or "his" railroad. He is absolutely powerless to use or enjoy "his" factory, nor can he dispose of it to any one else who may use or enjoy it and thus make it function as private property. If two men were upon an island, one "owning" a factory there and the other owning a canoe, the owner of the factory would find it impossible to induce the other to part with his canoe in exchange for the title to the factory. And yet in capitalist society it would require many, many canoes to purchase the title to the factory. This transformation springs from the fact that in capitalist society there exists an army of propertyless people, who, for the receipt of wages that will buy them a mere living are ready to do a "fair day's work" in the factory. The title to the factory under capitalism gives the holder thereof a privilege to enslave these people and to appropriate to himself all that they are able to produce above the requirements for their living.

It is not the right of property, the "right to use and enjoy a thing," but it is the privilege of exploiting their fellow men which the capitalists so ardently desire to be protected, and this rampant heresy that is growing is not a want of regard for property, private or otherwise, but it is a heresy from faith in the privilege of capitalists to exploit the working class.

Brewer would defend what capitalism wants defended, let them say no more of "property rights," but let them step forward and learnedly defend the capitalists' right to exploit the working class. Perhaps they will make more headway when their shafts of learning are no longer aimed amiss.

THE BARBER'S SECOND BROTHER

In that inimitable volume, The Arabian Nights' Entertainment, who has not read the story of The Barber's Second Brother?

The story recounts how the barber's brother, yielding to the blandishments of a lady of the harem, allows himself to be metamorphosed into a woman by having his beard shaved off and his eye-brows painted, and finally to be turned out in the street in that effeminate and ridiculous condition, in nothing but his shirt, to the huge delight of his tormentors.

The American Federation of Labor is the Barber's Second Brother. Based in its beginnings, on the instinctive recognition of the class struggle, the American labor movement sprang into being as a virile, manly power. What hair on a man's face is, the badge of virility, that is what the recognition of the class struggle is to an organization of labor. What a beardless man is, a self-advertised creature of impotence, that is what a labor organization without the recognition of the class struggle is. That badge of virility, that stamp of power, the A. F. of L. once had.

Of that badge of power, the A. F. of L., like the Barber's Second Brother, has allowed itself to be shorn, under the blandishments of its one-time enemies, the capitalist class. The belief in the class struggle no longer characterizes either its expressions, ideals, or conduct. "The good union man is he who . . . has respect for the rights of his employer, and does not regard him necessarily in the light of an enemy," says the San Francisco Labor Clarion, official organ of the San Francisco Labor Council and the State Federation of Labor, in its issue of August 30. And the constitution of the Lake Pilot's Protective Association declares: "We recognize no war between the forces of Capital and Labor, no real hostilities."

Not only did the Barber's Second Brother permit his beard, the mark of his manhood, to be taken from him, but he also allowed his maltreaters to paint his eye-brows, a distinctively feminine detail of toilette, thus still further emasculating him. So has the A. F. of L. Not content with giving up the most vital principle of labor organization, that of the struggle of classes, it allows its eye-brows to be painted with the still further effeminizing doctrine of "identical interests." As its organs and constitutions express their disbelief in, or contempt of, the class struggle, so do its constitutions and organs give voice to the debilitating ideal of "harmony" and "mutuality" between employer and employe, between plucker and plucked. Witness the constitution of the International Protective Association of Lithographic Apprentices and Press Feeders, which says: "The objects of this Association are [etc.] . . . to promote mutual interest between the employers and employes." And also witness The Carpenter, official organ of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, which declares in June: "Capital and Labor are partners. Capital puts in the money. Labor puts in the muscle. The profits should be equally divided."

Having followed the Barber's Second Brother thus far in his career, the A. F. of L. inevitably plunges with him into the ridiculous yet logical climax of his conduct. Shorn of its distinctly masculine stamp of basic faith in the class struggle, trimmed, in addition, with the distinctively effeminate painted eye-brows of "mutual interests," the A. F. of L. is now turned out of doors in its shirt, for the mockery of its false friends. It is cast aside without the power to strike in such a way as to secure to itself any effective betterment of its conditions. As one garment after another was stripped from the Moslem, leaving him in almost complete nudity, so has one power after another been stripped from the A. F. of L., till now any strike it calls is practically foredoomed to defeat. Tied up to the Civic Federation, hampered by Neill-Roosevelt arbitration, it is still further rendered a thing of sport by the "sacred contract." It can not strike where and when it wants—the latest proof of which is to be found in the telegraphers' strike. Here is the text of the letter of Grand Secretary and Treasurer L. W. Quick, of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, to the men who were anxious to go out in support of the commercial operators:

"Am informed message purporting to have been signed by me is being sent over railroad wires, instructing railroad telegraphers to refuse to handle Western Union business. That message is a fake. Pay no attention to messages of that character. YOU ARE REQUESTED TO STRICTLY OBSERVE YOUR AGREEMENT WITH THE COMPANY . . ."

TWO WISPS OF STRAW.

A companion to the political wisp of straw which has long been dangled before the American working-class to keep it steady in the wage-master's traces, that "Every man may be President," is the economic wisp of straw that "Every man may be an employer."

An employer does not become an employer for the fun of it. He becomes an employer for profits—that is, value produced by his workmen but withheld from them by him. Success as an employer depends on the amount of these "profits."

Much "profits" means success; few or no "profits" means less success or failure. More "profits" can be fleeced from several employes than from few; hence a condition of success for an employer is to have many workmen to pluck from. But the larger the force of workmen to be employed, the larger must be the boss's capital before he can start. The land must be bought or rented, the plant established, the tools and machines bought, the raw material contracted for before the labor power of the wage-workers can be applied to them to the profit of the employer.

Not only that, but the prospective employer must, in self-defense against other capitalists, begin with an initial amount of capital which will sustain him against the efforts of his competitors to drive him out of the field or buy him up. In nearly every industry in the United States the census figures show fewer establishments for 1905 than 1900. This does not mean a falling-off in production. On the contrary, more employes and more capital both, are engaged, and more produce turned out, in spite of the smaller number of plants. It means that the big fellows have gobbled up the little fellows. To avoid being gobbled up, and thus being hurled back again into the wage-working class, the aspiring capitalist must start with a large bank account.

To which industry, then, shall he turn, to set up his establishment? Taste or congeniality do not enter into a capitalist's consideration of what business to embark in. He concerns himself merely with the security and the size of his anticipated "profits."

Shall he enter the paper business? There stands the International Paper Co., with its \$39,849,500 capitalization, ready to undersell him and bankrupt his business. Shall he try locomotives? The \$50,000,000 of the American Locomotive Co. are ready to be pitted against him in the struggle to the death. Do woollens look inviting? The American Woolen Co., capitalized at \$54,501,100, is already in the field, ready to beat down every competitor who may dare to rear his head. Is there promise in gas? The Consolidated Gas Co. has \$80,000,000 behind it, and would not rest till he were driven into liquidation. Would he take up sugar? The gigantic Havermeyer Refining Co., with a capital stock of \$90,000,000, guards that avenue of escape from wage slavery. Is he desirous of sharing John D.'s prosperity on oil? The Standard, with outstanding stock to the amount of \$110,000,000, shuts that door in his face. Does rail-roading beckon to the profit-seeker with the ghastly hands of murdered trainmen? The Pennsylvania R. R., supported by a common and preferred stock issue of \$305,748,350, renders that hope barren. The demand for structural iron and steel is steadily growing—shall the hungry capitalist open a steel mill? United States Steel, \$868,583,600 strong, bids him avaunt. To whatever industry or business he turns, the free-born American, who "has the right to be an employer," finds therein some gigantic consolidation which would make short work of him and his venture, and turn his boasted "right" into a hollow mockery.

Evidently "every American" can not "become an employer" in any big sense such as is compatible with modern industry. Nor can he even become a petty employer. An employer implies an employe, and if all were employers, there would be none left to exploit. At least half the population would have to remain forever wage slaves. The other half, each with one employe apiece, with frank capitalist brutality, could then proceed to exercise their "right" by keeping themselves above

the flood by standing on the shoulders of their submerged brethren.

The sound common sense of the American working class will reject the illusory "right" wrapped in that economic wisp of straw, and substitute therefor the right of every man to a chance to labor and the full product of his toil under Socialism.

PRESENT STATUS AND TWO TENDENCIES.

Returned soldiers from the Philippines tell the story that when cable news from Washington to the barracks in Manila was first established, every daily message told them about Alice Roosevelt, Alice's drives, Alice's trips, Alice's entertainments, Alice's dresses—there was practically nothing in the news cabled to the soldiers except something about Alice, until finally they were nauseated at the thought of Alice. One day they decided they could stand it no longer. So they went on strike and refused to receive any further "news" until the bureaus sending the messages from Washington would cut out all reference to Alice Roosevelt.

Identical with the Alice Roosevelt pest in the "news" furnished the soldiers of the Philippines, is the capitalists' affairs pest in the "news" furnished the working class by the papers and magazines. The headlines of one day's news, for instance, are "Christie Crippled in Auto Race," "Japan Looks for Trouble," "Loeb Forgets and Roosevelt's Guests Pay for Ride," "Wife May Send Son of Oil Trust Man to Workhouse," "Tours Europe for Wife, Who Seeks Him in U. S.," "Countess Confesses Murder," "Germany Sees Flaws in France's Moroccan Program," "Head of Big Four Railroad to Be Candidate for Senate," "German Steamship Magnate Makes Bitter Speech to Bankers," "Taft's Dates Around the World," and thus one might go on quoting nearly every headline in the paper—and what is it all? Every line of it is matter that the working class has no interest in; but such is the "news."

The attention of the working class is kept occupied with the Thaw and Corey murder and divorce affairs; with the Rockefeller \$32,000,000 contribution to "educational" purposes; with the Landis fine; with automobile and yacht races; with the Singer Building enterprise; with Wall Street stock gambling panics; with Hughes, Taft and Roosevelt speaking tours. A certain number of the more lasting topics are made to constantly absorb most of the attention of the workers while accounts of the daily happenings to capitalists are introduced with the intent of filling out the requirement to fully disconcert the workers from their own concerns.

From this point, two pronounced tendencies are apparent. One of these tendencies is typified by the work of Hearst and Lawson. Lawson would have the workers give even closer attention to the gambling of capitalists. But witness the conduct of Hearst: One day he tells of some trust avoiding payment of its taxes; another day he tells of the city government buying the Montauk Theatre for \$230,000 and selling it back to the same parties for \$11,500, virtually giving those capitalists \$218,500. Now Hearst comes with the information that Mayor McClellan is using city employes whose salaries amount to \$3,500 to do his personal election work. But all this is of no concern to the working class. The working class is robbed of its product in the shops where it is employed, and it has no interest whatever in the matter of the division which the politicians and capitalists make of the wealth which it has been robbed of. And again, foolish as it was for the workers to vote the capitalist class into control of the government, still, since they did it, the capitalists ought to be satisfied—but here comes Mr. Hearst and virtually declares that the workers haven't done enough for the capitalists in giving them the governmental powers. Mr. Hearst demands that the workers stand watch and see that the capitalists and politicians, in their use of the government to settle their disputes, use it with equal justice to each of these robber factions. This is asking entirely too much. The trouble already is that the attention of the workers is too much occupied with the affairs of the capitalist class. The tendency of reformers is to press ever more of such matters forward for their consideration, which only aggravates the evil.

In contrast to this course of reform, is that of revolution. The revolutionist teaches the workers to cease to be a gallery of spectators waiting for a thrill from the vaudeville of capitalist performances. Revolution teaches the workers to be active and attentive, but that their attention and action must be given to their own affairs. Capitalist news must be spurned by the workers as the Philippine soldiers spurned the messages about Alice Roosevelt. As the working class nears the goal of its emancipation, it will occupy itself more and more with a consideration of its own members and its own affairs, and

capitalist "news" will lose in the importance given it. The increased attention given to the affairs and doings of that class and of society as a whole, is a token of the progress of the revolutionary movement.

BINDING THE PEOPLE WITH FIFTY-YEAR BONDS.

If politicians out of office are ever alert for material for political campaigning, it is no less true that politicians in office are ever busy furnishing them with such material.

The City of New York has issued \$40,000,000 of four and one half per cent, fifty year bonds. Now the politicians out of office are screaming against the outrage. The interest on the bonds, they compute, will amount to two and one quarter times the principal, and the principal, after all, will have to be paid back; which means, in other words, that for the loan at this time of \$40,000,000 the purchasers of the bonds will, during the fifty years, be paid back the huge sum of \$130,000,000.

Out of one side of his mouth the reformer is screaming to the "common people" (the people with the votes) about this awful profragacy in the handling of city money. Out of the other side of his mouth, the reformer is exhorting the "common people" to resent the outrage of "binding" them for fifty years to come.

From both sides of his mouth the reformer speaks with but one purpose, and that an ulterior one, to create among the "common people," against the politicians in office, an antagonistic sentiment that will be fruitful in votes for the politicians out of office. The reformer, as the defender of capitalism, has also one further purpose—by working up among the "common people" an active interest in the capitalist campaign, their attention is to be so occupied that it cannot be engaged in the campaign of the working class for the overthrow of capitalism.

Through it all, the Socialist remains serenely disinterested. He is affected by neither the "extortionate rate of interest" on the bonds, nor the "binding of the people for fifty years to come." As to the "extortionate interest," what difference does it make to the working class how much money the politicians have to collect in taxes from certain capitalists and pay, as interest on bonds, to certain other capitalists? Let it be \$90,000 or \$500,000,000, it will never affect the wage working class, nor will they ever know about it unless they are told by the newspapers.

As to the "binding for fifty years," this ranks with the twenty year, fifty year and ninety-nine year franchises which have been granted to water, gas, street railway, and other corporations by nearly every city in the union, and each of which has also served politicians in like manner as the politicians of New York are now trying to make the fifty year bond issue serve their purposes.

All of these "binding" contracts, franchises and bonds are of equal rank, and they, one and all, will in the day of the Socialist Revolution, stand upon the same footing as did in colonial times the Parliamentary enactments which bound "our heirs, and our posterity, to them (the Royal Family of Great Britain) their heirs and posterity to the end of time."

To the claim that the colonists were bound by those Parliamentary enactments, Thomas Paine replied "There never did, there never will, and there never can exist a Parliament, or any description of men, or any generation of men, in any country, possessed of the right or the power of binding and controlling posterity . . . Every age and generation must be as free to act for itself, in all cases, as the ages and generations which preceded it . . . Every generation is, and must be, competent to all the purposes which its occasions require."

Energy spent to prevent politicians from "binding the people" with franchises, contracts, and bonds is energy wasted. Let all energy be devoted to the building of the revolutionary movement. When that movement is full grown, its slightest effort will be sufficient to abrogate every "binding contract" inherited from capitalism.

A tooth reputed to be Roosevelt's, set in an old fashioned lady's gold ring, and with two diamonds inlaid in it, is on sale in New York. Some of the railroad magnates out of whose stock Roosevelt has forced 300 per cent of water, or even John D. himself, should buy it for a watch-charm, as a mark of affection.

The career of semi-paternal government ownership entered upon by the Mikado has given the capitalist press lots to talk about. To-day, because the rice crop has failed, thousands of Japanese peasants are starving. Government ownership does not relieve the working class of the burden of exploitation.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—This Socialist card-house of yours can never stand. As soon as it established it will crumble down about your ears, and we'll be right back where we are now.

UNCLE SAM—Marry, now, unuzzle your wisdom.

B. J.—Well, suppose a man was doing a certain amount of work, for which under Socialism, he got \$20, and needed all the twenty, to live.

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—And suppose another man was doing the same work, but because of a smaller family, or some other reason, needed only half as much to live.

U. S.—Well.

B. J.—Would you Socialists then pay him only \$10 for the same work that brought the other man \$20?

U. S.—Assuredly not. Since under Socialism each will get the full value of his labor the second man would get \$20 as well as the first.

B. J.—Now I've got you! By your own statement, the second man could save \$10 a week. In a year he would have \$500, in two years, \$1000, in twenty years, \$10,000. He could then build a factory, employ men, and bring about the same conditions of so-called exploitation you are now kicking about. I knew your structure was top-heavy!

U. S.—Not so fast, Jonathan. Your would-be capitalist might build workshops from here to San Francisco. No one would stop him. But where would he get his wage slaves from?

B. J.—Why, just where he'd get them now, in the labor market.

U. S.—See here, Jonathan. Do you imagine anyone would willingly agree to work under conditions by which he will be plundered out of four-fifths of what he produces?

B. J.—Guess not!

U. S.—To-day he is forced to agree to that. He is forced because he lacks the necessary means of production. Say that someone saves up and builds a factory. What good would it do him?

B. J. looks puzzled.

U. S.—It would do him no good. It would be like burning his money. To operate his factory successfully he has to pay the workmen less than they produce. Otherwise he would make no profits. Now, then, who is going to go to work in that private factory and be plundered, if he has access to the public factory and there receives the full returns of his labor?

B. J.—remains dumb.

U. S.—The trouble with you is you do not grasp the essence of capitalism. Capitalism is that social system in which there are propertyless proletarians and property holding capitalists. The plunder of the former is inevitable under such conditions. Remove the conditions and the plunder ceases. Under Socialism the necessities of production being public, all own them and have access to them. That being so, there are no proletarians. There being no proletarians, none but idiots will set up factories to plunder people who do not exist, and none but still bigger idiots will relinquish their freedom and willingly go into wage slavery.

B. J.—I feel knocked out.

U. S.—Some folks imagine that Socialism would forbid any one from putting up a factory if he wants to—

B. J.—Oh, yes, I heard that.

U. S.—It is nonsense. Why enact a superfluous law? If it depended on the murdered man whether a murder should be committed or not, there would be no murders. Just as soon as it becomes possible for a man himself to decide whether he shall be exploited or not, there will be no more exploitation. Only Socialism, by conferring economic liberty upon the citizen through his ownership of the means of production, can put men in the position to decide that question, and thus end all exploitation forever.

The A. F. of L. machinists' "leaders" are also on deck with a howl of triumph at their success in driving I. W. W. members into their unions at Schenectady. The spectacle presented by their Journal of the bosses and the "leaders" of the A. F. of L. in each another's arms should prove an eye-opener to the honest members of the I. A. M.

CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

INFORMATION WANTED.

To the Daily and Weekly People:— Can any W. F. M. man tell me about the Hidden Treasure Mining and Milling Co., located at the head of Libby Creek, Montana? Peter D. Denny is president and Ida F. Johnson is treasurer. I should like to know if it is a paying mine, or just what kind of a concern it is. Please answer to "F. S." care of the Weekly People.

F. S.
New York, September 9.

RESOLUTIONS OF PROTEST.

Whereas, Antonio Vallaral and his companions, labor leaders of Mexico, have been incarcerated in this country on charges of a political nature; and

Whereas, An effort is being made to extradite them into Mexico; and

Whereas, The United States is and always has been a sanctuary for foreign political offenders; Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, members of Local No. 84, I. W. W., of St. Louis, protest against the action of the Federal authorities of this country relative to this case; and be it further

Resolved, That these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, to the governors of California and Missouri, and to the labor press. Local No. 84, I. W. W., of St. Louis, Mo.

Per Jos. Wagner, Sec'y.
St. Louis, Mo., September 7.

ACTIVITY IN SPOKANE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:— It is well at this time to report progress at Spokane. The section here is now on a sound footing, and we are carrying on active agitation, chiefly concentrating our efforts on I. W. W. work with decidedly satisfactory results. We have been ably assisted by W. R. Parks, and have succeeded in developing several speakers, especially Bennet, who has been elected organizer of the local here, and the local has applied for a voluntary organizer's credential for him.

During the visit of Organizer Ettor, we held very successful meetings attended with substantial results. We issued a challenge to the A. F. of L. Central Labor Council to debate the question, "Which is the correct form of labor organization, the I. W. W. or the A. F. of L.?" They declined on the plea of having too much business to spend time in a debate. We, therefore, decided to rent the Central Labor Hall, and hold a mass meeting, giving an ample opportunity to any member of the A. F. of L. to refute our argument. Needless to say, no one attempted to debate with us and the meeting was a decided success in every respect.

We have now over 90 members, which shows a decided and steady progress from the time Bohn reorganized the local with 9 members, planting the local with its feet on the ground almost two years ago.

Yours for industrial freedom,
A. Larkin.
Spokane, Wash., September 1.

ORGANIZED RAILROAD MEN DO NOT RISE TO THEIR DUTY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:— While reading your editorial "Improving the Railroads," an observation came to my mind which I made a few days ago. To make a short cut I walked through a New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad yard and had to pass a freight train all made up and ready to leave the yard. My attention was attracted by a brake shoe from which the rod which holds it in its frame was missing. This seemed a very careless matter to me inasmuch as said brake shoe was liable to be thrown out by jar of the cars and, falling in front of a passing wheel, might indeed cause a freight wreck.

My attention having been attracted, I carefully examined the trucks of the others cars, and, imagine my astonishment, when I discovered no less than seven defective brake-shoes on one side of the train of about twenty cars. Some of the shoes were in such a condition that I do not hesitate to say that such a condition borders on criminal negligence of somebody. I am no longer surprised to read of the daily occurrence of freight wrecks. But what about the organized railroad men? Are their senses so dulled to danger that they allow

such conditions to prevail without public protest?
Observer.
Holyoke, Mass., September 5.

THE WARNING THEY DO NOT HEED

To the Daily and Weekly People:— The enclosed clipping was given prominent publication in the Toronto Globe of September 2. It shows how willing the capitalist press is to advertise and help along the development of an impotent pure and simple political "socialist" organization. If these S. P. members had any working class instinct, and if they were not tools of the capitalist class, or seeking their own petty interests in the Socialist or labor movement, they would be warned from their course of pure and simple political "Socialism" by the very encouragement shown them in that course by the capitalist press.

R. R.
Cobalt, September 5.

POLITICS THEIR FIELD.

Enclosure.
Socialists Renounce Industrial Workers of the World.

Meeting in Toronto Where It Was Decided Not to Enter into Economic Question—Organization of Socialist Forces in Toronto.

Once again yesterday the platform of the Industrial Workers of the World was denounced by the Socialists, who held meetings in the Labor Temple. The question of endorsing the stand of the Industrial Workers of the World was raised by the Italian local of Toronto Socialists, but on a vote of the entire assemblage it was decided not to enter into any economic struggle as such a platform outlined. The Socialist movement, according to the vote, should remain a purely political one.

There were delegates present from Berlin, Guelph and Hamilton, as well as Toronto. Addresses were given by Mr. Jones of New York and Mr. Alfred Mance of Chicago. Plans were discussed for a thorough campaign of Socialism throughout the Province, and a committee composed of members of the Toronto locals was appointed to go into the details, which will be announced shortly.

S. P. MAN SHOWS UTTER FALSITY OF S. P. TAUNT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:— I have been informed that during Miss Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's engagement with the S. L. P. in Philadelphia, she was taunted with having, through me, solicited an engagement to speak for Local Philadelphia, of the S. P.

Early in the summer, when Miss Flynn spoke for Orange, N. J., Branch 6, of the S. P., of which I am a member, the thought came to me that Local Philadelphia might wish to have her for a week or more, and without consulting her I wrote to Comrade Young of that Local and suggested that the local engage Miss Flynn to speak for it.

In my letter to Comrade Young, I distinctly stated that she was an independent Socialist, and would speak on Socialist subjects for any party or organization whatsoever; therefore, had Philadelphia Local elected to engage the young woman, it would have done so knowing her attitude as a Socialist.

In reply to my letter Comrade Young advised that the financial condition of Local Philadelphia was such that it could not afford to employ Miss Flynn.

The matter had passed from my mind until yesterday, when I learned that while Miss Flynn was in Philadelphia, some of my fellow comrades in the S. P. had acted most discourteously in having charged her with soliciting an engagement with Local Philadelphia, which local they claimed, had rejected her offer to speak.

No offer whatsoever was made by Miss Flynn—there was merely a suggestion made by me. And as she spoke in Philadelphia for the S. L. P., I ask that the true situation be made known through that party's official organ, The People.

Fraternally,
E. S. Egerton.
East Orange, N. J., August 29.

THE WAY IS CLEAR—ACTION IS CALLED FOR.

To the Daily and Weekly People:— Herman Robinson's speech, as reported in the columns of the Weekly People of the 7th inst., was a revelation to me. I did not think it possible for a man, claiming to be honest, to stand up before a presumably intelligent audience of wage earners and spout forth a jumble of words, mere words—but words put into sentences that read: "Knowing

chicanery and unblushing effrontery." For is it not knavery for workmen to tell their fellows that the interests of the employer and employe are identical? Is it not as plain as a primer to any man with common sense that there is a constant pulling apart? Doesn't it appear that where my employer gives me a large sum for the labor I sell him, it must needs cut his share of the product? Can a man stand at the entrance of any woolen mill in the city of Providence, or any other town, at the closing hour, when the poor children and illy-paid men and women are leaving, and then go to the entrance of any office building and watch the well-fed, well-dressed, owners and stockholders on their way to home, hotel, or summer resort, and tell himself that the interests of employer and employe are identical?

In this city the machinists are "out on strike." They are putting up a game fight, but organized along craft lines they are losing. There's no argument about it. They are losing. Why? Well, first, the union molders are working and strike-breaking machinists are employed under the same roof with these craft organized molders, turning, seaming, drilling, etc.; second, union engineers are tending the prime movers that drive the machines which the strike-breakers are at work upon; and, third, the strike-breakers in a number of instances are technical graduates of divers schools and colleges. They have been trained by parasites and lackeys of the capitalist class to consider themselves superior to the average wage slaves. The truth is that these poor, duped curs, who look like men, are exploited far more than any Chinese coolie who ever left his native hearth.

"There are none so blind as those who will not see," yet how can one help seeing that, were the engineers, molders, machinists, clerks, technicians and laborers organized in one great body or union, the employing class would be at their mercy?

The telephone, telegraph, and electric light linemen went out on strike a few months ago. Did it affect the companies? No, indeed. I know this, for I am employed by one of the concerns. Why did not the companies care? Why, the power houses were running; the engineers didn't go out; the operators stayed in; the dynamo tenders were on watch; the juice kept on flowing. A few "ground-hogs" were employed; the foremen did the pole-work. If any dangerous job was contemplated the operators (union) cut off the current so the non-union men could work without danger—and the strike is now off.

Workingmen (and all ye who work for wages are workingmen), whether ye are highly skilled technicians, mechanics, chemists, puddlers, electricians, all ye, I say, hearken! Stand together, or as a great colonist said: "Hang together, or ye'll hang separately." Starve together, or ye'll starve separately. Open your ears to the warning of men who can see. Organize economically and politically. Do it now, and hasten the revolution.

E. A. See.
East Providence, R. I., September 8.

THE LESSONS OF THE TELEGRAPHERS' STRIKE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:— All strikes have a lesson to teach the working class, aside from evidencing to them more conclusively the class struggle. From the telegraphers' strike the lesson to be learned is a more striking one than has ever before manifested itself to those who are ever on the lookout for object lessons which they can use to more clearly demonstrate the necessity of solidarity and concerted action on the part of the working class.

The telegraphers are organized in two separate and distinct bodies, and, as such, are always in position to betray one another, unconsciously, into the hands of their mutual enemy.

The Commercial Telegraphers' Union having struck in the commercial lines, was more than liable to do considerable damage to the business of the telegraph companies were it not for the fact that they had as opponents not only the Order of Railway Telegraphers, who handled the railway telegraph business, but the brokers' operators and the telephone system operators as well. If the officials of the union were not in a position to fight the enemy in front and protect its flanks and rear, it was their business to tell their fellow members so, and to reserve their fight until they might come to an understanding with all of their co-unionists in that industry. Any other method on their part was an illustration of unfitness or else outright betrayal. These may be hard-sounding terms to use, but in order to show that the occasion warrants the use of plain language it might be as well that the situation be briefly summarized and conclusion can be drawn from such facts as are at the disposal of all.

In the last session of Congress there was a bill introduced and passed, in spite of a strong railroad lobby, that

makes it illegal on the part of any railroad company to work its operators in its telegraph service for a longer time than eight hours daily. At present the operators are worked, on an average, about twelve hours. The change will necessitate the employment of fifty per cent. more operators to fill the vacancy made by compliance with this law. Now, railroads do not, as a rule, shorten hours of employment and let wages remain as they are—rather would they lower wages and raise hours of employment, as all well know. In view of this situation, we can clearly see that something must be done and the usual game of playing one union against another is indulged in, much to the satisfaction of the companies.

We can all agree that the same interests that control the railroads likewise control the telegraph systems. Furthermore, if they can cripple one of these dual unions without the other aiding in the fight, they have them both whipped; for, when one has been compelled to go back to work, defeated, the members will become disgruntled over the inaction of the other union. Then, when that other union is in trouble they will usually play the game of tit for tat. Now, every Commercial Telegraphers' Union and Order of Railway Telegraphers' officer knew these facts beforehand. They knew of the provisions of the bill, of the hostile attitude of the railroads, and of the co-operation of the railroads and telegraph companies. They also knew that a combined strike of the C. T. U. and the O. R. T. would be one of the greatest industrial blows that labor could possibly give the capitalist system of America. They knew such a strike would tie up the whole country, from end to end, and cause such industrial stagnation as civilization had never before known; and yet these officers either hesitated from fear of the magnitude of such an act, or else they openly betrayed the members of their unions.

The facts are there. The defeat of the C. T. U. means, after October 1, an attack on the O. R. T., and it is hardly possible that the railway telegraphers will fare any better, fighting alone against a combination of railroad companies and commercial telegraphers than have the commercial telegraphers against a combination of telegraph companies and railroad telegraphers.

This is the greatest argument in favor of industrial unionism that we have had in recent times. If these telegraph operators who are, in the main, an intelligent body of men and women, will look these facts squarely in the face, together with other data that the writer is not so well able to get as they are, they will more clearly see the folly of their method of organization.

There is one common enemy, the capitalist class. The capitalists are ever ready to combine against the workers. Therefore, a solid army of the working class must be organized to defeat the capitalist and to take and hold for themselves and those who will use them, the tools of the production and distribution which they have at all times in their hands.

All other methods of labor organization are but trading upon the credulity and ignorance of those who join them. When they have served the purposes of the capitalist class, i. e., when they have accomplished the thorough disruption of the progressive labor organization and succeeded in confusing the working class generally, like all other things used by the capitalist system, they will themselves be cast upon the scrap-heap.

Fellow workers, to be honest with yourselves, you will sooner or later have to join together in an economic organization with the Marxian slogan as your motto, Workers of the world, unite. You have a world to gain and nothing to lose but your prejudices and chains.

Fraternally,
Samuel A. Stodel.
New York, September 10.

A. F. OF L. NO PROTECTION TO ACTIVE WORKERS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:— The General Electric Company has us pretty well wedded out. We are hardly able to get together a business meeting of the I. W. W. or the S. L. P. together. Our active men, with the exception of a few are gone. The labor fakirs may about victory, but the rank and file of the A. F. of L. has a different story to tell; they're getting it in the neck the same as we are. The Labor Day parade was a dismal failure. Hardly a hundred persons were in line. Of course, the labor fakir will have an excuse and say the weather was bad, but if the A. F. of L. men had been enthusiastic the bad weather would not have put a damper on that enthusiasm. In 1904 there were about 10,000 A. F. of L. men in line on Labor Day—last year, 1350; this year, 100. If the I. W. W. men, who were about 3,500 in this city, went over into the A. F. of L., as they claim, where are they? It is true that some of them joined to get "protection," but as soon as they found out that the A. F. of L. does not protect, they dropped. The general talk among the

workers is, "Had the A. F. of L. men stood by the I. W. W. last winter there would not be all this trouble (lay off and cutting). They stabbed the I. W. W. in the back and cut their own throat. Organized labor in Schenectady is down and out. It was killed when the A. F. of L. killed the I. W. W. last winter. The men don't want to organize into the A. F. of L. any more, although the A. F. of L. was booming before the molders struck, but since Keough drove the molders back, they say it is no use to belong to such an organization. They're afraid to go into the I. W. W. for fear that the A. F. of L. will stab it upon them again and so the capitalist class is grinding them down, and they do not even offer the slightest resistance."

M. S.
Schenectady, N. Y., Sept. 4.

CARL E. SWENSON.

To the Daily and Weekly People:— We enclose copy of resolution which Section Richmond County, S. L. P., desires published in the Daily and Weekly People. Comrade Swenson became a member of Section Richmond County May 19, 1907, and was ordered to go to Quebec to report for work on the 21st of May last, and he wrote us while at Quebec on July 28th that he had met with an accident to his right hand while at work at the bridge. We also enclose that letter of his. When we read of the bridge disaster there on August 29th, we hoped he was not in the wreck, but the New York Evening Sun published a list of names of the victims, and the second name on the list was that of our comrade, Carl E. Swenson. For verification, we wrote to the Postmaster at Quebec and also to the superintendent of the Phoenix Bridge Company, and were informed by them that our comrade was one of the victims—he had met his fate in the bridge collapse, and the body has not yet been recovered. If recovered, and in condition, it will be sent to his relatives at 209 Amity street, Flushing, Long Island, New York, for burial.

Yours fraternally,
Bert Clark,
Fred Clark,
Committee.
New Brighton, N. Y., Sept. 9.

I.

SWENSON'S LETTER.

New Liverpool, July 28, 1907.

Dear Comrade:

I am sorry not to have written before this, but on May 21st I had two fingers smashed and had to go to the Jeffrey Hale Hospital in Quebec, where I stayed eight weeks. Thank you ever so much for your promptness. Your letter was waiting for me after the operation.

There are perhaps ten or twelve bridgemen here who see the hopelessness of our present mode of fighting capital, and who are inclined toward anarchy as a remedy. I think all they need is guidance toward right thinking to make them Socialists, and with the De Leon pamphlets I think I can do it, or at least make them consider Socialism in a favorable light.

Pay day comes August 3, and then I will send my book in to be stamped for four months.

Yours fraternally,
Carl E. Swenson.

II.

RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, Carl E. Swenson, our loyal and true comrade, has departed into the Unknown from which there is no return, a victim of the great bridge collapse at Quebec, Canada, on August 29th; and

Whereas, The deceased comrade was an earnest worker for the cause of Socialism and an active member of the Socialist Labor Party; and

Whereas, By the loss of his exceptional ability and earnest loyalty to the cause, the working class lost one of its most faithful members; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Section Richmond County, New York, Socialist Labor Party, of which the deceased was a member, extend our heartfelt sympathy to his family and friends in their sad bereavement; and be it also

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the family of the deceased comrade, and that these resolutions be spread on the minutes of the Section, and a copy be sent to the Daily and Weekly People for publication.

U. S. Census figures give the organized working class of this country at two-and-a-half million. That is precisely what the A. F. of L. claims as its own membership. Gompers is nothing if not generous—to himself.

Watch the label on your paper. It 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. S. B. DORCHESTER, MASS.—For the address of the paper, "Gleichheit" published by Clara Zetkin, enquire of the International Socialist Bureau, Camille Huysmans, Secretary, Maison du Peuple, Brussels, Belgium.

J. W. McA., ALTOONA, PA.—The most The People can do is to be careful of information from that source in future. Unfortunately as was your experience, you will appreciate the fact that the publication of your letter could accomplish no good.

M. H. S., OAK PARK, ILL.—The matter referred to is in the office. It will be read and considered soon.

SECRETARY, SECTION OMAHA, NEB.—Take note that, in accordance with notice published in "official" column, all announcements must reach this office not later than Tuesday evening in order to be published in the Weekly People of the next following Saturday.

MRS. M. T. PHILADELPHIA, PA.—I. If any one tells you the landlord does not increase the rent except to recoup himself for increased taxes, he tells you what is false. Landlords fix the rents at a figure just as high as they can, consistent with the demand for houses. Taxes have nothing to do with rents. Witness how high rents soared in San Francisco after the earthquake. Was it taxes, or was it the demand for houses which made it possible for the landlords there to push rents up to a figure so much higher than usual?

2. The revenues levied temporarily upon tobacco are not usually added to the price—competition forbids it. The price of tobacco and liquors, however, is no doubt higher than it would be if there were no special taxes levied upon these products; but

3. The wages of the working class are not decreased thereby, because wages are not determined by the purchasing power of money. The prices of everything, rent and tobacco included, might be doubled, or they might be cut in two; the change, in whichever direction it were, would not affect the condition of the workers except momentarily. A readjustment would take place, when the workers would find themselves able to get their usual "fair day's wages," based upon the standard of their cost of living, and affected to rise above or fall below that standard by the temporary relations of the supply to the demand of labor. If, in the form of taxes, the capitalists were to pay their entire profit over to the politicians, they would not find it possible thereby to exploit the working class to any greater extent than they are now able to do. The workers should keep themselves free from entanglements in any of the machinations of the capitalists. They should be alert, however, to secure an increase in wages on every occasion when prices rise, as well as on every other occasion when they find it possible to do so.

E. R. M., YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO; M. M., DETROIT, MICH.; E. R., NEW YORK, N. Y.; J. H. H., BROOKLYN, N. Y.; J. P., SANTA ROSA, CAL.; E. U., JERSEY CITY, N. J.—Matter received.

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Mitchell, John, Exposed Reform or Revolution.
Religion of Capital.
Socialism.
Socialism and Evolution.
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NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
(The Party's literary agency.)
28 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.
Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

PROPOSED TOUR OF MISS FLYNN.

Miss Elizabeth G. Flynn, the well-known New York Socialist and I. W. W. speaker, is at present in Chicago, Ill., attending the I. W. W. convention. Organizations of the I. W. W. or S. L. P. in the vicinity can secure her services during her stay there, or a return tour from Chicago to New York, including St. Louis, Cincinnati, Cleveland and Pittsburgh, can be arranged by corresponding at once with Paul Augustine, Acting National Secretary, 28 City Hall Place, New York.

N. J. S. E. C.

The regular meeting of the New Jersey S. E. C. was held at Helvetia Hall, Paterson, N. J., on Sunday, September 2.

Meeting was called to order by the secretary: Buechner, of Section Essex county, in the chair; all delegates present except Herrschaft and Ball, excused.
Correspondence: From Frank Young, State organizer, in Trenton, giving details of work in Trenton, and conditions; expects soon to organize a section. Received and placed on file.

Essex County reports holding open air meetings with good success, also holding meetings in Jewish. Section Passaic County has county and city ticket filed with county clerk.
State Secretary reported having called Young off the road on September 3 on account of lack of finances. Young will stay in Trenton to organize.

Leaflet Committee reports progress, and will report to State Committee in two weeks.

Secretary instructed to request section organizers to push State nomination petitions; also to call for nominations for member of N. E. C. for 1908—nominations to be in hands of State Secretary not later than November 1.

Sections also to be called upon to settle for assessment stamps.
Order was drawn on treasury for \$30 for State organizer. Cash on hand, \$16.20; stamps on hand, 137.

WASHINGTON S. E. C.

Special meeting of the Washington S. E. C. was held September 6. Kaufmann in the chair, and all members present.

An official communication was read from Section Spokane, stating that the Section had made an appeal to the N. E. C. in re the last referendum which was carried by the State and ratified by the following State convention; also again protesting against the decision of the S. E. C. vs. Section Tacoma, and finally demanding the disbandment of the S. E. C. of Washington.

By motion adopted the recording secretary was instructed to answer said communication, on behalf of the S. E. C.

A communication was received from Paul Augustine, Acting National Secretary, relative to the expulsion of Section Tacoma by our S. E. C.; relative, also, to protests of Section Spokane and containing the ruling upon the questions involved which the sub-Committee has recommended to the N. E. C. for adoption.

A communication was also received from the N. E. C. member of Washington relating to the same matter; also information that he has voted against the recommendation of the sub-Committee.

After much discussion, in which all members took part, motion was made and unanimously carried that the Washington S. E. C. endorse the communication of the N. E. C. member of this State.

Moved and carried unanimously that the S. E. C. of Washington appeals from the decision of the sub-Committee to the N. E. C. in Session.

By motion it was decided that the recording secretary forwards to The People for publication the minutes of the S. E. C., containing the letter of Acting National Secretary Augustine for the sub-Committee in substance, and the communication of the Washington N. E. C. member in substance and also a statement of the opinion of the S. E. C. upon the matters involved.

The columns of The People are not available for publication of the facts and arguments involved in contentions within the Party, except when those matters are pending action by the entire Party membership. The N. E. C. at its last meeting took the preliminary steps to the establishment of an official Party bulletin, the columns of which will be

open to all such internal affairs. The official bulletin not yet being established, these matters have had to be eliminated from the above minutes.—Editor.]

The meeting then adjourned.
F. J. Meyer, Recording Secretary.

CANADIAN N. E. C.

Regular meeting of N. E. C. of Canada was held August 25. Absent: Weitzel and Courtenay, excused; Bryce, no excuse.

Minutes were adopted as read.
Communications: From James Neave, Montreal, enclosing \$2, \$1.20 for stamps, and 80 cents for agitation fund. Same was received and Secretary's action endorsed.

From W. G. Allen, Heywood, England, referring to supposed reasons why we did not hear from R. N. Bennett, saying that through labor troubles he had had to change his place of abode, present address, 209 Parks street, Peterboro. Same received and filed, and Secretary instructed to correspond with Bennett at new address.

Secretary reported having done as directed re getting out appeal for funds for agitation tour. Bill for same, 75c. presented and ordered paid.

Moved and seconded that Secretary write Neave of Montreal to get in touch with members of defunct Section Montreal, and report what prospect there is of forming new section there. Carried.

Moved and seconded that Secretary write Gus. A. Maves of Toronto to arrange for a re-organization meeting, and advise us of date, and we will send speakers. Carried.

Total received to date for agitation tour \$24.75.
Meeting adjourned.

F. Haselgrove, Recording Secretary.

SECTION ST. LOUIS CALLS FOR AGITATION FUND.

The Socialist Labor Party of St. Louis, Mo., calls upon its friends and sympathizers in this vicinity for contribution of funds for the purpose of carrying on a successful agitation among the working class. We must have funds to enable us to have an organizer in St. Louis and vicinity for the purpose of organizing the working class and their friends into the Socialist Labor Party. Unless we build up the organization we will not be prepared for the campaign of 1908. As the Socialist Labor Party is a strictly working class party, and, therefore, has no large corporations or millionaires to contribute to its campaign fund, we call upon the workers for contributions.
Send all moneys to Theo. Kancher, Organizer, 1304 Sullivan Ave.

CLEVELAND PICNIC BENEFIT OF GERMAN PARTY PRESS.

Section Cleveland S. L. P., has arranged for a picnic and outing at the "Ritterburg-Woods" on State Road, Brooklyn, on SUNDAY, September 22.

Take West 26th street (old Pearl st.) car to end of line (Brooklyn car barns) then walk State Road until you reach the "Ritterburg" a pleasant walk of about ten minutes. Admission to picnic grounds free.

As all net proceeds are decided to go to the German Party Organ which is in great need of funds, we hope that each and every Cleveland Socialist will attend, and help to make this picnic a great social and financial success, the more so as this is the section's last entertainment of the season.

The "Ritterburg-Woods" is a beauty spot of nature, and besides this natural advantage, the committee in charge of arrangements has done everything possible to give all guests a good time. So come, one and all, and enjoy yourselves among men of your own class and your own sentiments.
The Committee.

HUNGARIAN HEADQUARTERS.

Nepakarat and Literature Department of Hungarian Socialist Federation Moved to City Hall Place.

The semi-weekly publication of the Hungarian Socialist Federation which has heretofore been issued from 512 East 6th street will henceforth be issued from S. L. P. headquarters, 28 City Hall Place. The Federation moved its Headquarters to City Hall Place the 14th, where hereafter they will have their agency of Hungarian literature, as well as their official organ, Nepakarat.

CHARLES C. WOODLEY.

Anyone having knowledge of the whereabouts of Charles C. Woodley, at one time of Section Toronto and later of Section Buffalo, will please communicate Woodley's address to Joseph P. Campbell, 1250 West Hazzard street, Philadelphia, Pa.

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

CHILDREN'S HOUR

Dear Little Comrades:—

You are taught in school that your country is the richest, grandest and most just in the world.

It is true that we have the richest country in the world. Our resources of wealth are immense. Nature has also been very kind to us in making America very beautiful. But things are not always loved because of beauty, so much as whatever we love we make beautiful.

Our mothers think all their children are beautiful, and so they are to her, because she loves them. It is love which beautifies. It was the beauty which may be ours, in body and mind, which gave most beauty to the little tiny, red-faced infants that we were in our mother's arms. It was that thought—that we might become—that filled mother's heart with love-joy.

Look at your map of Europe. In the northern part you have a small portion marked "Finland." It seems as if all it consists of is rugged hills with marshes and ponds between. These ponds and marshes are frozen over the greater part of the year. Life in Finland used to be all struggle, because nature seemed to have been less kind there than elsewhere. Yet despite all the disadvantages we could think of, there is not a country in the world more beloved than Finland.

It is my pleasure to have lived in a Finnish settlement for eight months. I shall tell you of that probably some other time. It was there I learned how much beloved Finland was. At church or Sunday school, the songs sung most frequently and enthusiastically were the patriotic songs, the national hymns. Every word uttered about Finland was a breath of love.

I asked my companion how his people could love such a forsaken kind of country. He replied, lovingly, "Ah, you know not the beauties of our land. Life is worth the struggle in Finland. Wait! Some day you will hear of our country the richest and grandest in the world, then its frozen marshes will speak beauty to you, too. There is enough there, of the necessities of life to make them happy; all they need is the liberty!"

Once in speaking of art and sculpture I quoted Madame De Staël, thus: "Sculpture is frozen music." "Oh!" he replied. "There you have it. Finland's marshes are frozen love and liberty."

After that I am not surprised that Finland is the first country to have WOMEN (Socialist women at that) in Congress.

So, we too, may say the United States is the richest, grandest country in the world, and also may become the most just, if WE SO DESIRE it.

But the Socialist knows that the United States as well as other countries cannot become the most just country until all its people really love justice and freedom, and make it so, through Socialism, that justice and freedom can be.

I should be happy indeed, to see any country establish Socialist Government, but I am just enough of an American patriot to hope that WE prove the example to the world. And we should, because we have everything here to allow us to hope we do.

You are thought in school that the highest thing for an American to be is an American patriot. To make this country the richest, grandest, and most just nation in the world, I too, hope you will be American patriots.

We can have no better patriots to pattern after than dear old Abe Lincoln. He says: "Understanding the spirit of our institutions to aim at the elevation of men, I am opposed to whatever tends to degrade him." The Socialist claims and can prove that our present capitalist institution of government does tend to degrade man, woman and child. Therefore, we as Socialists and true patriots are opposed to it, and we are in favor of Socialism, an institution of government which will elevate us.

Now is the time for each little patriot to learn which is the true patriotism. The Young Socialist Club is a good place for you and your little friends to learn it. Come!

Lovingly,

AUNT ANNETTA.

PATRIOTISM.

Where'er a single man doth pine Where'er one man may help another, Thank God for such a birthright, brother!

That spot of earth is thine and mine, There is true man's birthplace grand. Ours is a world-wide fatherland.

Our fathers fought for liberty: They struggled long and well, History of their deeds can tell. But ourselves must set us free. James Russell Lowell.

R. F. D. A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

(Continued.)

"What have you done with it?" asked the oldest of the three men, taking the gun from the owner's hands and examining it in his turn. "Lock changed?"

"Yes. Mustard-seeds has plenty of fire for a plaster, but not for powder. I believe there were twenty seeds to one pill in the last lot I bought from Loderer."

This time even the Indian's face moved. But it drew into a frown of disgust, and a contemptuous grunt interjected itself into the general laugh. Plainly the whites were not the only sufferers from a fraud extensively practiced by some unscrupulous traders, in which they mixed mustard or turpentine with the tiny percussion "pills" or grains used to explode a charge of powder. The resemblance was so great that it was impossible to detect the fraud, except when attempting to fire the gun. Then much game was lost, and the patience of the hunters was sorely tried by its failure to explode.

"I tell you that yesterday," Latimer resumed, "on my way here from the settlement, I would have given a good deal to have Loderer, or whoever the rascal was that doctored one lot of pills, in my fix. I told him so this morning, and gave him a rating that I fancy he will remember for one while."

"What was the fix?" asked the older man. Sperry glanced out at the shadow cast by the shop and hesitated. "Come come! A fellow with legs like yours can make up ten minutes on a trail like that out to Palmer's."

"Near thirty miles as the crow flies," said the second of the three, "but there isn't a straighter trail from the lake. You could find your way the darkest night that ever blew, by feeling, the trees are blazed that close together."

"Who ran that line?" asked the third of the group.

"Harris and Foote," responded the gunsmith's assistant; but he was quickly corrected by the smith himself.

"Wrong you are, Palmer himself did it. He can lay as good a line as any man in the country yet, and he's seventy past. But go on with your yarn, Latty; this is neither here nor there."

Thus urged, the youth began: "Yes, it is a straight trail, and a safe one. I have been over it twenty times in the last two years, and have never seen anything worse than a wild-cat or a hog. It's the hogs, though, that made the trouble this time."

"I heard that they were getting pretty thick in that neck of the woods," said the smith.

"Thick? Well! But I am ahead of my story. I'd traveled about twelve or fifteen miles and seen nothing out of the way, when I met a mover. [Pioneers riding or driving to new homes in the West were thus called.] He was stuck in a swale, and it looked like he was there to stay. So I turned in and worked a good hour, before we got the wagon up on solid ground. I noticed he had the body of a young pig in the back of the wagon, and asked him where he got it."

"Killed it," says he, "back here a piece, and like to got killed myself for doing it. There was quite a bunch of wild hogs scattered about, and I thought a bit of fresh pork would taste good, so I picked this chap out, and shot him. Honestly, when he squealed, it looked as if a million of them began to grunt and start my way. I whipped up—the going was not so bad just there—and left as fast as I could. If you're going west on this trail, youngster, you had better watch out."

"You may laugh, but I promise you I did not. Right ahead of me I saw a big tree that had fallen over, torn up by the roots. I rapped the hogs nearest me sharply on their snouts with a stick I had picked up, yelling at the top of my lungs; then I ran toward the tree, and climbed up on the upper side of the roots, about fifteen feet above the ground. And I did not get there any too soon. The hogs closed solidly 'round me, and two or three big-tusked fellows, with thro dropping from their jaws, began trying to climb after me. I can tell you I have seen prettier sights than those great, yellow, pointed tusks."

"I was fixed so by this time that I was ready to use my gun, and that was the time I wished with all my heart that Loderer, or the mustard-seed man, whoever he may be, was there in my place. I snapped, and snapped, and snapped—a dozen times, I believe—before the gun went off, but I did, at last, have the satisfaction of seeing the foremost hog—a wicked old boar—keel over backward. The others crowded about him, smelling his blood and then turned their attention again to me.

"I had not been idle, and at the second shot did not have to snap quite so many times. The third trial was worse than the other two, but the creatures were so close that when the gun did go off, every shot told. For some time the slaughter of their companions only seemed to make the others more determined to get me, but at last they set up a new sound; I could not tell whether the grunt meant anger or alarm, until I noticed that those on the outer edge were beginning to draw off. I kept on firing, and the mass continued separating and scampering away until there were none in sight."

"I crept down from my perch, and made quick time for the rest of the way in, but it was long after dark when I got here, and the first thing I did was to come straight to Tom, and tell him to change the lock of my gun from pill to cap, just as quick as he could do it. I had no mind to face wild hogs or wild anything else a second time with mustard-seed for percussion."

"Now I'll venture a guess," said the older man, "that when you went to Loderer, you found him out of caps?"

"True enough," laughed Latimer. "But as I said, I rated him soundly. And now good-day to you all. I must be on my way."

When the young man came again on his turn as mail-carrier, the gunsmith asked him: "Well, how did the new lock work on your way home last night?"

"I had no chance to try it," said Sperry. "I saw no hogs, except sixteen dead ones about the fallen tree. That's the way it goes; if you are ready for anything, it never happens."

"But it is wisest out here in the woods to be ready," said the smith, and the youth nodded "You are right."

GREAT INFLUENCE OF LITTLE THINGS.

Did you ever consider how great achievements have often been the result of small beginnings?

A crust of bread thrown by a careless hand made Prescott a historian; the amount of salt pork in a sailor's diet quenched Irving's desire for sea, and saved the inimitable writer; a quashed indictment disgusted Bryant with law and sent him to create his literary life; Mrs. Cooper's "Why don't you write one then?" made her husband a successful novelist; a falling apple and a swinging chandelier made Newton and Galileo discoverers of great natural laws.

Scott's lameness made him an author instead of the soldier he desired to be; a stray algebra problem in a fashion magazine made Mary Somerville the first physicist of England; deafness and the lack of sense of smell made Harriet Martineau an able writer.

AN S. P. DODGER.

(Continued from page one)

Or they could remain out and starve. Or they must use physical force. Then the organization would be outside of the pale of the law. And to win it would require a military organization and the I. W. W. is not organized along military lines.

Or they will have to take legal means, and, as the I. W. W. is not a political party, that also is not the province of the I. W. W.

In closing he said that he wanted no hard feeling, that he did not know much about the industrial organization, but that he was in a state of transition. That he was willing to learn; but that he would have to be shown, that if they succeeded in showing him he would be with them.

However no one in the audience was permitted to take the stand either in opposition or otherwise—and no questions were called for from the floor, no chance given to show anything.

In fact we were told in the course of his remarks to argue these questions out amongst ourselves, (after he was gone) at some other meeting. Press Committee, Local 12, I. W. W.

CHICAGO STREET MEETINGS.

Sept. 21, 8 P. M.—Aberdeen & Madison Sts.; 47th & State St.
Sept. 22, 8 P. M.—48th Ave and Lake St.
Sept. 24, 8 P. M.—Halsted & Obrien St.
Sept. 25, 8 P. M.—Center & Erie St.
Sept. 27, 8 P. M.—Wood & Division St.
Sept. 28, 8 P. M.—62nd & Halsted St.
Sept. 29, 8 P. M.—48th Ave & Lake St.

People's health, especially working-men's health, should know better than to go poking around in the way when profits are concerned. Of course, it is perfectly proper for the dairy owners to rebel at the Health Department rules requiring the maximum sanitary precautions in handling of the milk supply.

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

LESSON AND MORAL

SECTION COOK COUNTY FURNISHES MATERIAL FOR BOTH.

For a time propaganda and other Party activity slowed up in Chicago; then a few comrades got together and decided that the thing to do first was push the Weekly People. They went at the work with determination and they got the subscriptions. They sold literature, and cut down the old indebtedness. Recently Section Cook County, held a picnic and so well had the propaganda work been done that through the connections thus made the picnic was a great success. By reason of their good work the section is now able to contribute to the Party Press Operating Fund, order and pay for several hundred pamphlets, and increase their Weekly People bundle order by 200 copies per week. It is work that tells, and with effort of this kind a little more general, Party headquarters would be busy turning out literature instead of being compelled to call for a sustaining fund. Moral: Go thou and do likewise. It is just this kind of work that must be done.

Several comrades who, because out of work or for other reasons, find themselves unable to contribute to the Operating Fund have expressed regret thereat. Of course under such circumstances financial help cannot be expected from them, but nevertheless we do not think that they should be absolved, entirely—they can still make the effort to get a Weekly People subscription.

Contributions received:

Section Mt. Vernon, O.,	
French Branch	\$5.00
O. W. Nelson, Houston, Tex.	5.00
D. L. Barnett, Spokane, Wash.	2.00
S. B. Cowles, Sand Lake, Mich.	1.00
E. Rouser, Shawmut, Cal.	1.00
J. Larson, New Haven, Conn.	1.00
J. Ebert, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
J. Graff, New York	1.00
S. Bauer, New York	1.00
Carl Olson, New York	1.00
W. S., New York	1.00
J. Van Veen, New York	1.00
Total	\$100.13
Previously acknowledged	229.37
Grand Total	\$329.50

22nd and 24th A. D.'s, N. Y.	1.00
Section Cook County, Ill.	25.00
Comrade Martin, Chicago	5.00
O. J. Hughes, Brooklyn	2.00
A. Comrade, New York	2.00
F. W. Bosshard, Moorhead, Minn.	2.00
E. Hultberg, Prides Crossing, Mass.	1.50
Max Stern, Schenctady, N. Y.	3.00
Theo. Zollner, Houghton, Mich.	1.00
E. M. White, Pittsburg, Pa.	.50
Steer, Brooklyn	.50
A. M. S., New York	.50
Br. I. So. Hudson, N. J.	5.00
G. W. Hellstrum, Duluth, Minn.	1.00
Jane Roulston, Brooklyn	1.00
J. Samuels, New York	1.00
D. Simpson, New York	1.00
G. Kiefer, New York	1.00
F. J. Wolfe, Concord, N. H.	\$1.00
D. Lyons, Bear River, Minn.	1.00
R. Katz, Paterson, N. J.	\$1.00
N. Simmowich, Newark, N. J.	1.00
H. Press, " "	1.00
H. Hartung, " "	.50
P. Knego, " "	.50
M. Skurla, " "	.50
G. Soletich, " "	.50
M. Engel, San Francisco	1.00
Howard, Brooklyn	1.00
D. Schwartz, Brooklyn	1.00
E. Seidel, New York	1.00
M. Rosenfeld, " "	1.00
K. Georgevitch, " "	1.25
R. Clausen, Somers, Mont.	\$ 5.00
A. C. McGinty, San Francisco	1.00
M. Gunther, San Francisco	.50
Henry Goss, " "	1.00
J. J. Duffy, No. Andover, Mass.	1.00
"Two Comrades," New York	1.00
"Hall Room," Bronx	.35
L. Meinicke, New York	2.00

THE MOVING FUND

Broken Bow, Nebraska, V. Stedry	.25
Sherodsville, Ohio, D. Morrison	2.00
Goldfield, Idaho, S. Porter, \$2.50; T. Hitching, 50c.	3.00
List 37, Chicago, Ill., B. Stone, 50c.; J. Billow, 50c.	1.00
List 122, Buffalo, N. Y., F. Roloff, 50c.; S. Brooks, \$1; R. Goldstein, 50c.; A. Cleman, 25c.; W. Stewart, \$1	3.25

List 299, Faribalt, Minn., C. Lind	1.00
List 389, Clarenceville, Quebec, S. Usher	.25
Total	10.75
Previously acknowledged	3,483.00
Grand total	\$3,493.75
A. C. Kihn, Sec'y-Treas., Press Security League, Tuesday, September 10, 1907.	

BUILD UP THE MOVEMENT

ITS FIRM FOUNDATION EXISTS IN THE PARTY PRESS AND LITERATURE.

For the week ending Friday, September 13th, we received 112 subs to the Weekly People, and 34 mail subs to the Daily People, a total of 146. Expirations on the Weekly People were 154.

The week's record showed a slump from the previous week's record which in itself was poor enough.

The inactivity, of which this record is a reflection, presents a remarkable problem. Holding with absolute correctness that the success of the Socialist movement depends upon the education of the working class we find Socialists withholding that education by regarding the field with apathy.

Were it that conditions were not favorable some excuse might reasonably be made for inactivity, but the fact is never were conditions better. The workers are hungering for the knowledge that will make them free, but they do not know where to look for it. This assertion is not spun out of our imagination, it is gathered from the experience of those who are manfully spreading the light.

The education of the working class depends upon the literature it reads. The Weekly People supplies the literature needed.

You can increase the usefulness of the Weekly People by doing your utmost to spread its circulation. We do not ask the impossible, not even a difficult task, we ask but one new reader per month from each S. L. P. man.

Let us show what we can do when we but try. Other papers with less merit, and exploiting the movement, have secured much more. Why can't the S. L. P. member with the life giving message of his Party, bring in one new reader a month for The Weekly People? There is no reason at all. We can, we must and we will push the propaganda.

Here are examples for you: Press Committee, Cincinnati, 7; A. Larkin, Spokane, 8; F. Brown, Cleveland, 9. Eleven other comrades sent in two or more.

Prepaid cards sold: \$5 to W. Taylor, Worcester, Mass.
Let us see if we are not good for 500 new readers a week.

Let us show what we can do when we but try. Other papers with less merit, and exploiting the movement, have secured much more. Why can't the S. L. P. member with the life giving message of his Party, bring