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OVER THE FIELD

AND WHAT WE SEE THERE.

"Church" and "State," so to speak, were officially consolidated at the A. F. of L. convention this year in Norfolk. The force of opposition to Gompersism, so long carried on by Berger and Barnes of the so-called Socialist party, came to an end when, seconded by Barnes, Berger declared his full confidence "not only in Gompers, but in all the officers of the A. F. of L." Thus the official stamp is set upon the fact that the lion swallowed the lamb—the meek S. P. is devoured by the Civic Federalized "Anti-Japanese," "Anti-Inferior-Races" A. F. of L.

"What's the earthly use" ask some impatient spirits, "of these annual conventions of the A. F. of L.? What on earth do they do for Labor?"—What? Why, a good deal. At this convention, for instance the A. F. of L. declares that it is going to fight the \$1,500,000 fund, raised against it, with a \$500,000 fund, which it is going to raise itself. Thus the A. F. of L. announces itself to be still doing business at the old, exploded and discredited stand of "Fighting Capital with Capital." A. F. of L. conventions are mighty useful. They annually publish, by recording the fact, that the A. F. of L. has earned nothing during the previous year.

There are no "backward races" to the capitalist. His race is international, every member thereof abreast of the other. The panic in America has caused the closing of the Exchange in Rome, and the subsequent failures of a number of "wealthy" institutions. While one set of workers in America call another set "Dagoes," "Dago" and "Jingo" American capitalist are partners, the world around, in skinning American and "Dago" workers.

The hypocrisy back of the recent capitalist yell against foreign immigration is now being exposed in the yells from the same quarters against the phenomenal exodus of workers back to Europe. When the stream of immigration seemed strong enough to be able to resist patriotic speeches against it, then the wood-louse patriots pretended that it was immigration that was sending the country to the damnation bow-ows; now that the stream has set the other way, the wood-louse patriots are stripped of their pretence, had feel correspondingly soft-shell-crabby. There is nothing like the hour of danger to wring the truth from a hypocrite's breast.

When a Single Taxer talks economics his tale sounds like a Norse legend, woven of mist. At the recent Single Tax conference in the Plaza Hotel, a "Brooklyn delegate," James P. Kohler, declared that "the enormous rise in real estate values in this city has tied up all the available capital." From which it would seem that, out of the, say, \$1,000,000 paid by a purchaser for land that previously was worth, say, only \$100,000, either the whole amount, or at least \$900,000, took wings, and evaporated. Common mortals, not initiated in the Mysteries of the Single Tax cult, are of the benighted opinion that money "paid out" is not "tied up." It has been merely transferred from one pocket to another, and is as "available," after the transfer, as it was before—only by a different "availor."

It begins to look as if the "Fourth Duma" is casting its shadows ahead. In this third Duma the liberal "Octobrists" have point-blank refused to accept the dictation of the reactionary group. The affinity between this group and the right wing of the Octobrists has caused a regrouping, with the result that the anti-autocracy bloc has a majority. This spells dissolution, a new shuffling of the cards and a "Fourth Duma." So long as the Duma has not an absolute working majority for the Czar it is not "representative of the people," and must be dismissed.

It takes a rich man like Hearst to defray the bill of the instructive lectures now read to the people by the highest authorities of the land respecting the worthlessness of a ballot that is not backed by the requisite physical force. Hearst was elected Mayor in 1895. He was counted out. He appealed from Court to Court; went to the Legislature; got a law passed giv-

ing him a recount of the ballots; and now the Court of Appeals declares the law unconstitutional. At each stage of the proceedings the visionaries shouted "Victory!"—and then collapsed. It won't be Hearst's fault if the lesson, which he has caused to be taught, and the expense of which he has defrayed, is not taken to heart by the working class.

Mrs. Ruth McCracken, her two daughters and her son, as they lie in a Washington, D. C. prison, have leisure to ponder the truth of the maxim that "little thieves are caught, while big ones break through the web of the law." They are "fashionable people" at the Federal capital, charged with obtaining goods to the amount of \$12,000 under false pretences. The error of the McCrackens lay in that they did not realize they were not capitalist society, but only a fraction thereof. No capitalist Government will come to their aid with a \$100,000,000 issue of United States Treasury Certificates to "restore" the traders' confidence in the family.

A picture of Barney, the ex-President of the Knickerbocker Trust, as a suicide, and a worthy who faced divorce proceedings with two "distinguished ladies" as co-respondents, would seem to be quite telling enough. And yet the picture would be incomplete. It must be completed by the Rev. Dr. Parkhurst, the foe of "houses of ill fame," as the pet parson of Barney.

Senator Bailey of Texas is the latest privileged interpreter of the "will of God." God, the Senator announces, does not want Socialism, and the reason is plain. The "equality idea" is nonsense and a flying in the face of God, for, says the Senator: "God did not intend us to be equal, or He would have made us so."

Down with medicine! God did not intend us to be well, or He would have made us so.

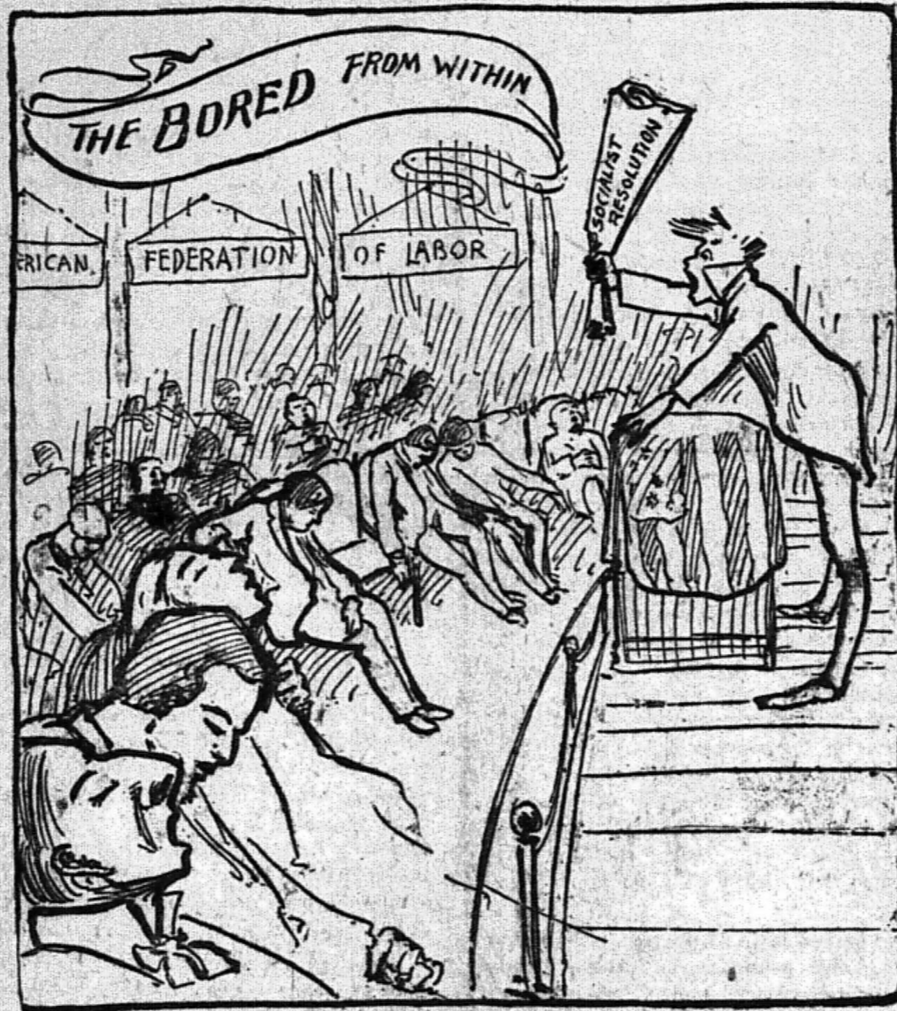
Down with Science! God did not intend us to be scientific or he would have made us so.

Down with the Senate of the United States! God did not intend any Senators, or he would have made them without the aid of the Standard Oil.

The story is told of a devout Spanish Grandee being received by the Pope, on a certain ceremonial occasion early in the XVth Century, when the Turks had captured Constantinople, owned Jerusalem, ruled the Levant, and their fleets swept the Eastern Mediterranean. On that occasion the Pope conferred upon his visitor the title of "King of Jerusalem." The absurdity of the title overcame the reverence of the devout Spanish Grandee. With a stately wave of his hands he acknowledged his gratitude for the impossible title of "King of Jerusalem" with the words: "And I confer upon your Holiness the title of 'Admiral of the Combined Turkish fleets.'"—Query: Will Gladys Vanderbilt and her Hungarian bridegroom Count Szechenyi, when the Pope carries out his advertised plan of conferring upon them the titles of "Count and Countess of the Holy Roman Empire," prove themselves as prompt and witty as the Spanish Grandee in the story? Voltaire said "the Holy Roman Empire is neither Holy nor Roman." It, nevertheless, existed in Voltaire's days. In these days of Gladys and Szechenyi, not only is the "Holy Roman Empire" neither "Holy" nor "Roman," it does not even exist.

An injunction, to prevent working-men from striking for higher wages, implies an order for the workingmen's specific performance of certain work. This, in turn, implies the bayonet to enforce the performance—or the days of Edward I. The first step in this direction has been taken by the Lackawanna Railroad against the switchmen in Buffalo.

The police raid upon a labor meeting in Havana, the arrest of the 250 persons present, the refusal of the Judge to accept bail, and the summary search and seizure of all the papers and records in the hall, without a warrant, is a timely reminder of the fact that Russia is much nearer to our doors than is usually supposed.



ECHOES FROM NORFOLK

The below article was first published in these columns on December 16, 1900. It was that year entitled "Echoes from Louisville, Ky." The article was a pictorial synopsis of the "Debate on Socialism" that took place at the Louisville convention of the A. F. of L. of that year. That synopsis portrayed so graphically, philosophically and lucidly, not the "Debate" of that year only, but also the previous nine periodically recurring "Debates on Socialism" in the annual convention of the A. F. of L.; in fact, it was such a graphic photograph of the downright farcical principle which underlies these A. F. of L. "Debates on Socialism," and that is bound to continue to underlie them so long as the A. F. of L. continues to exist, that it has since been reproduced in these columns from year to year, headed by the above cartoon, and with the promise and forecast that it will continue to reappear in these columns from year to year until the day shall have come when—emancipated by Socialist Labor Party consistent and persistent teaching from the intellectual thralldom that to-day holds the bulk of the toilers under the yoke of the Labor fakir, the Labor-Lieutenant of the capitalist class—the working class of the land shall have risen in their might and overthrown for all time the scabby crew of freaks and frauds that annually meets to "debate" Socialism at these A. F. of L. conventions, that is, at these annual Auction Sales of Labor. The below synopsis was, accordingly, republished in 1901 under the title "Echoes from Scranton," in 1902, under the title "Echoes from New Orleans," in 1903 under the title "Echoes from Boston," in 1904 under the title "Echoes from Frisco," in 1905 under the title "Echoes from Pittsburgh," and 1906 under the title "Echoes from Minneapolis." In obedience to the promise made in 1900, and in keeping with the facts, which every intelligent man, if honest, and every honest man, if intelligent, knew would substantially recur, the synopsis is again reproduced this year and with the same promise and forecast for the future, under the title "Echoes from Norfolk," where the A. F. of L. convention met this fall:

The undaunted dozen threw themselves valiantly into the fray for Socialism at the American Federation of Labor convention. The fray was partly on the floor of the convention hall, partly in the brains of some of the contestants, but mostly on the reputations of those who fought the good fight. There were in appearance only two sets of contestants. In fact there were three.

There were, in the first place, the stalwarts who never blanch in the face of the most terrible wrong, when they did it themselves, and who never retracted unless somebody said something after their first set up. They

were the solid phalanx, the "staunch defenders of Socialism" at every convention of the American Federation of Labor, but whose Socialism was afflicted with a strong taint of Republicanism or Democracy as soon as it was over. This did not matter, because they were Socialists again as soon as another convention came. That was the first set.

On the other side were the men who "opposed" Socialism, and would be terribly offended if it did not make its appearance. For this reason it was always slated to appear, and that it might give offense to none it appeared in such disguise that those to whom it was most dear would never recognize it. It had been the center of many a stirring fight, and then its mangled remains were taken out and placed in cold storage for future reference. That was the second set.

There was a third set, the gudgeons, for whose sake the sham fight was gone through every year. They fought on the side of the first set, and glowered at, and were themselves glowered at by the second set. The "Socialist," alias gudgeon, delegates had introduced a resolution, THE resolution. They waited with past tense nerves and with their passions high wrought, and their trousers turned up for its appearance. It came, it saw—it went again, and nobody was the wiser. When it got the floor, it almost invariably got the table also, but between times there was room enough for those loud and talky debates that mean so much to those who do not understand, and so little to those who do. The enemies of the resolution, in a spirit of zeal and good fellowship, had seen to it that there was no miscarriage in its introduction.

Then commenced the battle royal. The two first sets of men lined up on each side determined to discuss that resolution if it took a whole week at \$8 a day, expenses to be paid by their constituents. There were many hard blows given and taken, and there were many blowers, who gave them. It was so strange and weird that contestants should all have the same object. Of these first two sets, those who supported the resolution did so in order to defeat it; those who opposed it, did so in order to do the same.

Between the two there was a weak puny handful of men, that third set, the gudgeons, who believed that the fight was in earnest—and so it was. It was carried on for the sake of that handful of men. It was carried on so that they might return home and say: "Behold how Socialism is on the increase. Last year at the convention of the Federation we discussed it for 47 hours and 16 minutes. This year we discussed it for 47 hours and 22 minutes, a net increase of six minutes. There is nothing can hold us back."

When the contest was over, and the vote showed that the Federation would

not resolve in favor of Socialism, the fighters, still with the smoke of battle and non-union cigars on them, separated in two "hostile" bodies. One, made up of the two sets of the sham combatants on both sides, made its way to a saloon where ten-cent whiskey was sold; the other, made up of the gudgeons who bore and are bored from within, went to a saloon which dispensed five-cent whiskey. Then both sides recounted their victory.

"Did you notice," said Gompers when he had filled his glass, after draining in a surreptitious manner the glasses of those about him, "how tractable those fellows become as soon as you let them discuss a thing, and then vote it down? It is the easiest thing in the world. All you have to do is let them talk on a subject and then throw it aside. They are satisfied with the talk." The good cheer satisfied his heart. "Next year, so help me Moses, we'll give them an increase in their vote. They have been very good boys this year, and they deserve some recognition. We humored them just to have them do all the dirty work this year, and they should not go unrewarded. I shall see that they have two more supporters when we meet again. They are becoming tamer and should be rewarded."

In the other saloon the "triumphant hosts of Socialism," that believed in the free and unlimited coinage of words, sat along the table and vowed death to the capitalist system, and carried out their threat "in our time" by gulping down the products of capitalism.

"Did you notice," said one, "how they quailed when we accused them of not being Socialists?"

"Yes," said another, "we shall win. Why, one man came to me and gave me a dollar to start a colony on Hudson Bay. That could not happen if we jumped on him for thinking differently."

"You got a dollar?"

"Yes, a dollar."

There was a short pause, and these about the table commenced to come nearer to him. It would be impossible to take a trolley car to Hudson Bay to enjoy the fruits of Socialism, but the dollar was still on the premises. It might be a bank note, it might be a silver certificate, and it might be simply two vulgar half dollars. But in sum and substance at any place it would be converted into twenty foaming schooners.

There was a motion put. It was carried, and again peace reigned about the banquet board, but the dollar had departed from their midst, which was now occupied by the gracious spirit of the hop. It warmed them up and it aroused their humanitarianism. They waited until the humanitarianism was in such a condition that it could be

(Continued on page 6.)

THE FINANCIAL PANIC

THE MACHINERY OF THE MONEY MARKET.

XI.

THE STOCK EXCHANGE, (CONCLUDED.)

Until the early part of 1892, the Stock Exchange, in order to carry on its gigantic business, employed hundreds of district messengers and an army of personal runners to deliver stocks bought and sold by its 1,100 members. In the early part of that year the Stock Exchange Clearing House was organized, in order to curtail the work involved in making deliveries of stocks, that is certificates actually purchased in the open market.

The Clearing House is as important an adjunct to that Exchange as is the Clearing House to the National Banking institutions. Both concerns are simply in the final sense labor saving devices, for without them scores of clerks, runners and messengers would have employment in the Wall Street gambling district. Briefly told, the Stock Exchange Clearing House function is as follows: "Mr. A. buys 500 shares of Lead Trust stock from M. C., his fellow broker, for delivery on the morrow, and the same day Mr. A. is ordered to deliver an equal number of Green Pea Railroad shares to Mr. D. the day following. Instead of sending boys with checks from office to office, the buyer or seller sends a check to the Clearing House where all transactions are settled without the use of cumbersome book-keeping, etc. Now, before the advent of the Clearing House, at least six messengers would be utilized for the conveying of the stock certificates referred to above, while to-day one boy does the work.

The writer well remembers preceding the birth of the Stock Exchange Clearing House. Messengers used to receive as high as \$10 a day for their services, which consisted in the delivery of stocks and bonds of great value, and also the standing in line in the various banks waiting to have checks certified, collect coupons, etc.

To-day the handful of messengers engaged in that work are receiving wages aggregating from \$200 to \$300 yearly, and in the case of Ladenburg, Thalmann & Co., No. 25 Broad street, it is common report in Wall Street that clerks entering there do not receive a stipend for one year. Ernest Thalmann, spoken of in this column as one of the receivers of the Knickerbocker Trust Co., is head of this house. So Wall Street joined, as far back as 1892, the displacing of labor-power by the introduction of a Clearing House for both the Banks and the Stock Exchange. Subsequently with the development of the Burroughs adding machine, scores more have been thrown into the debris pile of the Social System in vogue at this writing.

Russell Sage's fortune was founded on the business he built up in what we call the "Put and Call" market. Jay Gould was also a big operator in the same line. "Puts and Calls" can better be understood when we term them "Stock Privileges." They are not dealt in on the Stock Exchange, which prohibits trading in them on the Exchange.

A blank "Call" reads as follows:

New York, 19
For value received, the bearer may call on me on one day's notice except last day when notice is not required of the _____ stock of the _____ Co., _____ at _____ per cent. any time in _____ days from date.

Expires _____ M.

Assume that on November 1 you bought a call on 100 Hackensack Railroad at 75, good for 30 days, and paid \$500 for it. On December 20 you could have "called" 100 Hackensack Railroad at 112 and received the difference between the price of your "call" and the market price, 112, which would be \$3,700. Deducting the cost of the call, \$500, you would have profited \$3,200 by the transaction. On the other hand, if the Stock had fallen to advance about 75, your privilege would be worthless and you would be out \$500. There would be no delivery of stock, simply the payment of the difference.

A "put" follows the "call" blank except the words "Deliver" should be substituted for "Call on me." The reverse happens to the buyer of a "put" to what happens when he is the possessor of a "call." In the first place stocks must advance for the buyer to win, while in the second instance they must decline for him to add to his riches. Privileges have also been used by great

operators to encourage public buying of the stocks in which they are interested. Quotations for privileges depend upon the reputation of the stock for activity, the prevailing news and all the other factors that influence speculation.

XII.

THE CURB MARKET AS A FACTOR IN THE SITUATION.

In the panic the starting point was the curb. United copper was the stock which caused the failure of Otto C. Heinze & Co., which in turn developed the other incidents leading to the financial conditions now existing.

In other words this panic was a case of the "tail wagging the dog." If any financier had dared to predict five years ago, that the curb would be the forerunner of a crisis, he would have been adjudged insane and put in confinement.

But the curb market has developed into the second greatest mart in the world. It as present constituted deals in the shares and bonds of several hundred miscellaneous corporations. The list includes in the main gas, street railway, mining, bank, trust company, industrial and municipal corporation securities. The brokers making up the curb contingent congregate rain or shine, in front of No. 25 Broad street and trade between the hours of 10 a. m. and 3 p. m., just the same as the session on the Stock Exchange. The curb brokers pay no rent except that every Christmas the captain of the Old Slip Police Station receives either a gold watch or a purse of money for services rendered during the year.

Curb securities are not dealt in on the Stock Exchange. When an industrial company has organized the shares are sometimes dealt in on the curb before the certificates are printed, and when so sold the sale is made "when issued," and the subscription receipts serve as temporary stock certificates. Then there is a brief interval of curb trading in the stock of such a company after it is issued, until the stock is listed or unlisted on the Stock Exchange, when curb trading in that particular stock ceases. The Stock Exchange does not recognize curb trading in any of the stocks listed in that organization; it will not enforce contracts made outside of the Exchange.

Of course, there is a wide range in the character and value of curb securities. Standard Oil selling at \$400 a share represents one extreme and Bay State Gas selling at twelve and one-half cents a share, the other.

The growth of the curb market extends back about seventeen years. In 1890 there were a few brokers who made a specialty of dealing in the stocks and bonds of New York and other cities of this country that were not traded in on the Stock Exchange. They went from office to office negotiating sales, and transacted a small but profitable business, which grew, aided by the wonderful industrial expansion of the country. As the volume of business in outside securities grew, a common meeting place was a matter of course. Since the Stock Exchange would not allow one of its members to do any business with any other Stock Exchange in this city, the curb brokers hit upon the out-door scheme as a way out of the problem. They wanted the business of the Stock Exchange members and their conducting business with the clouds for a roof denied them organization, which in turn saved of clerks' salaries, etc. The daily transactions reached hundreds of thousands of shares at times, and the speculation extended to all sorts of securities.

Finally, five years ago Stock Exchange houses found it necessary to open branch departments to handle their business on the curb, and to-day, out of the three hundred men on the curb, a safe estimate would put fully fifty per cent. in the capacity of employees of Stock Exchange firms.

Trading on the curb differs from the trading on the Stock Exchange. If a man wants to buy "hot air" preferred the Stock Exchange firm will ask him to buy them outright and not on a margin. Curb trading is more susceptible of manipulation than Stock Exchange trading. The dealings are not recorded (Continued on page 6.)

WHITHER ARE WE DRIFTING?

NOTES AND COMMENTS BY MITCHELL H. SHAYNIN, STUDENT OF THE ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY.

(CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK.)

Our modern society evolved gradually from, and was built on, the ruins of the feudal system in the same manner as Feudalism evolved from and was built on the ruins of the system that preceded it and constituted but one link of an unbroken chain in the history of civilization. Each link of this unbroken chain grew out of the one preceding it, and in itself gave rise to its successor. In this constant development, never-ending transformation, each link has its history, giving us an idea how it was formed, reached its climax, and crumbled, making room for the newcomer. The type of each link was superior to its predecessor. The history of each link presents us also with a vivid picture of the struggles of the different classes existing at that period. So we see freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, and to-day we have the capitalist and the working classes, and the inevitable struggles between them are with us to-day, as they have always been, only we have new ones in place of the old.

The ruling class of each link of that unbroken chain represented a distinct economic system. The subject class of each line represented the new economic system, which evolved from the old. With the overthrow of a ruling class, the economic system which this class represented was also overthrown, giving place to a new economic system with the former subject class as its ruling class. This new ruling class was in turn overthrown, to make room for a new economic system with a new ruling class. "The history of all existing societies," said Marx in the Communist Manifesto, "is the history of class struggles." But the downfall of an economic system and the overthrow of a ruling class is dependent on the ripeness of the new economic system and of the class, which it represents. When an economic system of a ruling class has decayed and a new economic system, evolving from the old, has fully developed, the subject class, driven by its class interests, accomplishes the change and becomes the ruling class. It is the law of economic evolution.

Land—agriculture—was the basis of feudalism; capital—industrialism—is the corner-stone of the present capitalist system. When the worker individually owned the means of production—land and the tools, which then were very simple—whatever he produced he used himself. Production for exchange was then very limited. It was a time of individual ownership of the tools, individual production, and also individual enjoyment of the fruits of one's labor. Gradually co-operative production with division of labor was introduced and a change has taken place. The means of production—land, and the tools, which with mechanical invention became more and more complex—slipped out of the hands of the

worker, the latter was expropriated by the capitalist, and it is the capitalist who to-day owns the means of production. Production for exchange has, then, taken the place of production for use. To live the laborer must work, to work he must use the tools, which he no longer owns, and he therefore must apply for a job to the capitalist, who owns these tools. To the owner of the tools goes the product, and the worker no longer, as in the days of yore, enjoys the product of his labor. To produce, among other things, labor-power is needed, and the capitalist is buying this labor-power in the labor market. For his labor-power the workingman gets a certain price, which is called wages.

"What are wages?" asks Marx; and answers: "Wages are the price of a certain commodity, labor-power, and are determined by the same laws that determine the price of every other commodity." (Wage-Labor and Capital.)

"And by what is the price of a commodity determined?" he asks again; and proves that "it is determined by its cost of production." "And what is the cost of production of labor-power?" he continues, and again answers: "The cost of production of simple labor-power amounts to the cost of the existence and propagation of the worker. The price of this cost of existence and propagation constitutes wages."

So that the worker sells his labor-power to the capitalist at its value, i. e., its cost of production, and the wages he receives bear no relation to the productive value of his labor. The worker then gets only part of what he produces and the capitalist pockets the rest and calls it profit.

"Rent, Interest and Industrial Profit," said Marx (Value, Price and Profit), "are only different names for different parts of the surplus value of the commodity, or the unpaid labor enclosed in it, and they are equally derived from this source and from this source alone. They are not derived from land as such or from capital as such, but land and capital enable their owners to get their respective shares out of the surplus value extracted by the employing capitalist from the laborer."

If we read the above quoted table of figures by the light of Marx's reasoning and his definitions of "wages" and "profit," we are no longer amazed. We can understand how it happened that in 1890 less than 1 1/2 per cent. of the population held more than 64 per cent. of the total wealth, while 55 per cent. of the population held a little more than 4 per cent. of the total wealth. The first, though insignificant in number (1 1/2 per cent.), owns the tools, the means of production (land, machinery) with which the second (55 per cent.) must work, if it wants to live, and while the latter produces and lives at best from hand to mouth on the scanty wages it gets, the former, by virtue of the possession of the tools, is piling up more and more of the wealth produced by others

and lives on the fat of the land without producing anything except evil effects upon the nation.

And what are the effects?

In former days, in those "good old days" before the introduction of steam and electricity, when the worker labored with the crudest implements, production was carried on for immediate consumption. To-day in manufacturing goods the capitalist is no longer governed by the demands of the local or national market, the capitalist to-day produces *en gros*, the market has become international. The goods produced in New York or Chicago are shipped all over the world, and the German or English capitalist ships his products to New York and San Francisco. To the capitalist class the world is an International Department Store which must be supplied with goods. The national and international competition among the capitalists, the ignorance of the commercial demands of the market, and the necessity of keeping the machine a-going, all this makes it necessary for the capitalist to put more and more and still more goods on the market, for which there is no commercial demand. On the other hand the working class, not getting the full product of its labor is unable, much as it would like, with the part it receives as wages to buy the whole of it produced. So that we have overproduction on the part of the capitalist and underconsumption on the part of the workingman, and as a result of both the country is convulsed from time to time with what is called a crisis.

None of us, I take it for granted, remembers personally the crises of 1819, 1837, 1857, 1873, but some of us, I am sure, experienced the convulsions of 1893, and those who didn't shall be accommodated in the near future, if the predictions and warnings of Jacob Schiff, a foremost financier of the country, are true. Production stops, the mine, factory, shop are closed and the workingman takes a vacation without pay. No wages, no food; and the physical and mental anguish of those able-bodied, willing and ready-to-work men and their families must be felt—it cannot be described. It is at this time that free soup houses are thrown out to the working class, and the ladies of the "upper class," whose brains are as soft as their hearts, sacrifice themselves by dancing for sweet charity's sake. Here we have the first effect of the capitalist system of production. We have the worker, willing to work, the tools to work with and the workingman starving in idleness, when the warehouses are overloaded with goods. But a crisis does not happen every day, let us then turn to the every-day life of the worker.

The average yearly income of the workingman is about \$400 a year, and Daniel De Leon, the editor of "The People," who from year to year has an ever increasing and more appreciative audience, proves that labor's share in its product is gradually declining, and he bases his proofs not on some theory, but on a document issued by the National Executive Committee of the Republican Party during the last Presidential campaign. The document in question covers the country's growth for nearly half a century, from 1860 to 1900, and furnishes on the one hand a column of figures headed "Product of Manufacture," and on the other hand a column "Wages Paid." It was this document that was

used in the last Presidential campaign as a proof of the working-class prosperity by the leading men of the Republican Party, and De Leon, on the strength of this document, using these two columns of figures, proves that the working class is getting less and less and that its condition is declining. ("The Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World," by Daniel De Leon.) He proves that, while wages are being increased from time to time, the cost of living is increased to a far greater extent and the working class gains nothing from the "higher wages." De Leon's contention is substantiated by Bradstreet's claim that the cost of living has increased 55 per cent. since 1896 (Bradstreet's, Dec. 14, 1906), and also by the following statement by the editor of "Moody's Magazine," a financial authority of standing:

"Wage increases in this country have become epidemic. Farm wages have risen in all parts of the country, so that they will probably average ten per cent. more than a year ago. The wages of domestic help, in both city and country have risen materially and will probably average ten per cent. more than a year ago and twenty or twenty-five per cent. more than six or eight years ago. The wages of common labor have also risen materially during the past few years. There are, however, no statistics of consequence as to these classes of labor. Reliable or half-reliable wage statistics do exist though, for some kinds of skilled labor, for employes on railroads and other public service corporations, and for many employes of large manufacturing and producing corporations.

"Probably the best test of the general rise in the money wage level in this country is furnished by the statistics of railroads, made yearly to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Unfortunately these are usually more than a year old before they are tabulated and published. These, in 1904, showed an increase in wages over 1896 of 18.7 of less than ten per cent. Since then, until November of this year, average railroad wages have scarcely risen more than four or five per cent. Since then, until November of this year, average railroad wages have scarcely risen more than four or five per cent. Apparently nearly all of the roads have either recently raised, or will soon raise, the wages of all getting \$200 a month or less. The standard rise appears to be ten per cent., though many instances of from five to eight per cent. are reported. Assuming that, by next spring, the average rise will be seven per cent. for all employes, it is likely that the general rise will then amount to about twenty per cent. during the last eight or ten years.

"As about half of the employes of railroads consist of skilled and half of unskilled labor, and also about half of organized and half of unorganized labor, it is safe to assume that the average rise of money wages of railroad employes is a fair average for the whole country. This being true, it would appear that money wages will not now average more than twenty per cent. higher than they averaged ten years ago.

"But the cost of living has most certainly gone up forty per cent. since July, 1896. This means that wages have risen only half as fast and half as much as have prices. It means that whereas \$1.40 is now required to buy what \$1 bought in 1896, the average workingman has only \$1.20 with which to purchase what he sells for \$1.40. It means that there is a tremendous 'take-off' left for somebody." (Moody's Magazine.)

Some professors on economics may question these statements, but when the workingman on payday takes with his unwashed hand the wages he receives and pays off the bills for his cost of living, he has a practical illustration in economics, which no text-book can refute.

It requires no stretch of the imagination to picture the "luxury" enjoyed by a man with a family on \$400 a year, and those whose imagination will not carry them far can verify it by a visit to the workingman's quarters. Here is a picture of the "luxury" the miner is enjoying, told by one who knows:

(CONTINUED NEXT WEEK.)

AN APPRECIATION

Of a Good Pamphlet from Over the Water.

It is a commonplace of Socialist thought that the apathy of the British workingman is an unending source of delight to the master class and the despair of those of us whose eyes are turned toward the Socialist Republic. Why this condition exists is made clear in one of the best pamphlets ever issued—"The Development of Socialism in Great Britain"—published by the Socialist Labor Party in that country.

The writer, in urging the timeliness of his appeal, says that "In every quarter of our land, and every section of the proletariat, are signs of a great awakening." Labor is struggling half-consciously to be free. The danger of this is recognized by the old party politicians and their henchmen, of all shades and types, who do what lies in their power to offset it. The attitude of Labor carries with it a great hope for the future.

The first part of the pamphlet is necessarily historical and we are carried swiftly through the days when the worker was a chattel slave, the absolute property of his lord and master; when he was a villain—the days of feudalism—tied to the land, part, and parcel of it and subjected by the lord to the most rigorous exactions; the days of the guild when he was a journeyman; and, last and worst of all, the wretched and dispossessed proletarian of a few generations ago, driven from the land through the rapacity of the landlord and divorced from the tools of production by the development of machinery.

If objection may be raised to the pamphlet in question it is that too much is attempted. Still, this may not be without advantage to the reader, as a perusal may lead many of our class who have looked upon the past as something without interest to us to reconsider and go in for a study of the condition through the ages of the element in society upon which the class with which history is ordinarily concerned has maintained itself. For those who cannot do this, "The Development of Socialism in Great Britain" offers a good substitute.

The downfall of feudalism and the rise of the capitalist class is traced and it is shown that the man who has so much to say as to the injustice of the Socialist position to-day are the descend-

ants of those who hesitated not at all in breaking down law and destroying precedent when it was seen that the absolutism of the Stuart kings stood in the way of progress.

Coming down to what one may call to-day the writer touches upon the alliance of the capitalist class and the landlords in the 18th century, the object of which was to give the latter the lands formerly the heritage of the people and to the former all the propertiless and consequently helpless wage slaves wanted. And then is taken up the factory system, made possible by the theft of inventors' ideas and the misery of the displaced adult workers—the sufferings, tears and murder of helpless children, in all probability the blackest page in history.

To-day is that of the final struggle. "Capital and Labor confront each other like two vast armies engaged in a titanic struggle for supremacy." "Capital's economic strength lies in the ownership by a class of all the means of production, transportation and exchange." Labor can win its battle against capitalism only by seizing the economic stronghold, and now is brought into the field the means whereby victory is to be achieved—the Industrial Union.

One feels a thrill of joy at seeing that name in a publication emanating from British soil and in knowing that not the name alone but the thing itself is planted there. The British trade union is the nightmare of the working class and nowhere have we seen the nature of the thing brought out more clearly than in the publication under discussion. The institution is shown to be "a barricade sheltering capitalist society" from the attacks of the revolutionary forces, and its leaders men whose ideal is to be able to meet leading employers in friendly conclave and decide the extent to which labor is to be robbed. These conditions arise as a matter of course from the circumstance that, with the old line union, capitalism is regarded as a finality and a recognition of what is thought to be the truth that the interests of capital and labor are identical.

The condition of the British workingman on the political field is but a reflex of his condition on the industrial. That is but to be expected and to remedy this state of affairs the Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain came into existence. It stands for clear-cut revolutionary action on the industrial as well as on the political field and is, to-day, the hope of the British proletariat.

Orders for "The Development of Socialism in Great Britain" may be placed

UNITY RESOLUTION

Redlands, Cal. S. P. Local Calls for National Referendum on the Subject.

Redlands, Cal., Nov. 7.—The Redlands Local of the Socialist party here adopted the following resolution, calling for steps towards unity between the two Socialist parties:

We, the Redlands local of the Socialist Party, believing that too much stress cannot be put upon the necessity of unity in the Socialist movement, are desirous of bringing about a union of the two Socialist political parties, believing, as we do, that the reasons for their separation are neither permanent or necessary, and that both having been stripped of their errors, remain essentially as one in their endeavor.

We also believe that the Haywood incident has taught the workmen of America, better than theory can teach, the necessity for the solidarity of the working class, and has forcibly shown its effectiveness. And we further believe that in the face of this event the workers have realized that the end for which they are striving, to wit, industrial emancipation, holds them closer together, than their difference in tactics can hold them apart.

We also believe that the great industrial question before the working class to-day is the relation of the Industrial Organization to Political Action. Socialism being realized in the social ownership of industry, which at once results in the destruction of the wage system, the workers must be organized on the plan of Industrial Unionism. It is self-evident that capitalist craft-unionism can offer at best only temporary benefits and can never emancipate the wage-slaves, but that the proletariat must organize on the industrial plan so as to control and direct industrial affairs when the political party shall be successful on the political field, and thus assure to the worker the full product of his toil.

Therefore, be it Resolved, in view of the above preamble, we, Local Red-

lands, initiate a National referendum calling for the union of the two Socialist parties of America,—unity to be based on the recognition of industrial unionism as the economic basis of the Socialist political movement.

And be it further Resolved, that the official press and means of publication shall be owned and managed by the Socialist party and that no literature be considered official unless sanctioned by the National Executive Committee.

And be it further Resolved, that no officer of any union shall be eligible as an officer or candidate of the Socialist party.

And be it further Resolved, that if this referendum be carried and a convention called for the purpose of completing this consolidation, the delegation shall consist of wage workers holding no official position in either party.

M. H. McCoy, Chairman Com. M. Shelly, Secretary.

BOHN IN DETROIT

National Secretary of the S. L. P. Makes A Good Impression.

Detroit, Mich., November 18.—Section Detroit, S. L. P., by engaging Frank Bohn to lecture on "Industrial Democracy" at Concordia Hall, Detroit, Mich., November 17th, enabled the wide awake workers of this city to hear something to their advantage. I heard Bohn five years ago at Mannebach's Hall, but at that time I was a pure and simple union man and Socialist and what he said was wasted on me, I guess.

Having kept posted on events through the Weekly and Daily People, I was surprised to see how nearly I could follow him and appreciate the points he made at the lecture to-day.

I am a cigarmaker, and we cigarmakers like our petty bosses so much that we forget our real employer—the trust. Some day the trust will deign to notice us and our Int. Union and snuff us out of existence. Then, when it is too late, we will wish we had not sacrificed the common interests of the working class to the blue-labeled-community-of-interest of our petty bosses.

In masterly fashion Bohn expounded the necessity of ORGANIZATION, industrial and political. In the measure of our enlightenment, we would be bound to insist on the extension of our control of industry thus entirely eliminating the barbarous notion of

WHAT HAPPENED

And How the Fakirs of the I. A. M. Tried to Work It to Their Advantage.

Newport News, Va., Nov. 11.—"Although less than twenty-five per cent. of the four hundred machinists employed by the Newport News Shipbuilding Co. of Newport News, Va., were organized, some excellent work was done last month. E. M. Davis, of No. 137, is responsible for this, as he succeeded after a campaign which lasted ten days, and necessitated several interviews with the management, in getting an increase which raised wages to thirty cents an hour minimum.

"All the machinists employed in the yard were benefited by this increase and it is only fair to assume that No. 137 will wax much stronger in consequence. Those who have benefited could not show their appreciation in a better way or in a way more acceptable to Bro. Davis, than by casting their lot with his beneath the broad banner of the I. A. of M.

"Davis' excellent work will not soon be forgotten.—Machinists' Journal, Nov. 1907."

The above article appeared in the I. A. of M. Journal of November, and now for the facts.

On August 26, the secretary of I. U. 39, I. W. W. received a communication from the secretary of the local branch of Amalgamated Society of Engineers, calling on the I. W. W. and I. A. of M. to appoint a committee to meet in conference with them with the object of obtaining an increase of pay for the machinists employed at this plant.

The I. A. of M. elected a committee of two after considerable wrangling, and then only when several of their members threatened to withdraw if a committee was not sent to this conference. The committee was given to understand that they should not make a demand, but it should be a request from the men and that the organization

"physical force" which properly is but a "rudimentary survival" in civilized society.

In a brief resume he touched on all essential and closed with an earnest appeal to all listeners to carry on the agitation with ever greater vigor. A collection was taken; questions asked and answered and the meeting adjourned. Cigarmaker.

had nothing to do with it, and they would not back it up if the request was refused.

Well, the three committees met on Saturday, September 14, one of the I. A. of M. not present. (It developed after that he went to sleep and forgot about the conference.) Nothing being done, except talk, they adjourned to meet September 18th, when the following petition was presented by a new committee from the I. A. of M. (The other member of the original committee resigned because he just received notice of an increase in pay and did not think he should come.) The decision of the committee was that the union idea be dropped and all employes of machinists' departments be asked to sign a request for an increase of wages, that a general increase of 15 per cent. be requested, and that the management be addressed in the following form:

"PETITION:
Gentlemen, We, the undersigned employes of the machinists' departments, wish to make a request for an increase of 15 per cent. in our wages.

"We are of opinion that the state of trade and increased cost of living in Newport News makes our request reasonable.

"Expenses have increased about 30 per cent., and with a few exceptions there has been no increase in wages. Hoping to hear from you at an early date through a notice in the shops or through the foremen.

"Respectfully yours."

There were six copies of the above circulated, and fully 99 per cent. of the machinists signed them. They were then delivered to the Superintendent of Machinery on or about September 24th, and were not heard from until the committee called upon him October 9. The Superintendent told them it would be impossible to grant a 15 per cent. increase all around, but he would see that all would get justice. Then the aforesaid Bro. Davis, after complete silence in fore part of conversation, had to butt in and bungle the whole thing with the statement that although they made a request of 15 per cent., they did not expect more than half that amount.

On October 13, not more than 25 per cent. of the men got an increase and the present rates are 25, 26 2-3, 27 1-2, 28 1-3, 29 1-6, 30, 32 1-2, 35 cents per hour. The last three rates only old employes and foremen receive, and only one of them an I. W. W. man, got the increase. Secretary, No. 30 I. W. W.

SECTION CALENDAR.

Under this head will shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements. The charge will be five dollars a year for five lines.

Section San Francisco, Cal., S. L. P. Headquarters, Hungarian Socialist Federation, Lettonian Socialist Labor Federation, 709 Octavia street.

Los Angeles, Cal., Headquarters and public reading rooms at 409 East Seventh street. Public educational meetings Sunday evenings. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

Section Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P., meets every alternate Sunday at 356 Ontario street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 3 P. M.

Headquarters Section Cincinnati, O., S. L. P., at I. W. W. Hall, 12th and Jackson streets. General Committee meets every second and fourth Thursday. German, Jewish and Hungarian educational meetings every Wednesday and Sunday. Open every night.

Section Spokane, Wash., S. L. P. free reading room 110 Bernard st. Visiting comrades, I. W. W. members and all others invited. Business meetings every Sunday morning at 11 a. m.

Section Allentown, Pa., S. L. P., meets every first Saturday in the month at 8 p. m. Headquarters 815 Hamilton street.

Section Providence, R. I., 81 Dyer st., room 8. Every Tuesday night at 8 p. m. second and fourth regular business, others devoted to lectures. Science class Wednesday nights.

New Jersey State Executive Committee, S. L. P.—J. C. Butterworth, Secretary, 110 Albion ave., Paterson; A. Lesig, Financial Secretary, 266 Governor street, Paterson, N. J.

Chicago, Illinois.—The 14th Ward Branch, Socialist Labor Party, meets every 1st and 3rd Sunday, 2 p. m. sharp at Friedmann's Hall, S. E. corner Grand and Western avenues. Workingmen and women are cordially invited.

Section Seattle, S. L. P., headquarters, free reading room and lecture hall, No. 2000 Second avenue. P. O. address, Box 1040.

Section Salt Lake, Utah, meets every Wednesday, 8 p. m., Rooms 4 and 5, Galena Block, 69 East 2nd St. Free Reading Room. Weekly People readers invited.

All communications intended for the Minnesota S. E. C. should be addressed to Otto Olson, 310 7th ave., So. Minneapolis, Minn.

