without remittance must state distinct-ly how long they are to run.

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CRAFT AUTONOMY AND INSINCERE PROFESSIONS MUST FAIL.

'Again: Lofty is your declaration of 'firm ad-TO CIVILIZATION'?!?! "Such a pretension is utterly repulsive

sentiment and to industrialist fact. Important a step though mining was, in

is anti-industrialist. "Grotesque enough is the notion of unrepentant disrupters calling a convention for consolidation; grotesqueness is piled upon grotesqueness by the further notion of craft-union superstition, of craft superiority becoming the foundation for a universal indus-

"There is no sense in weeping over

Fred W Helsewood Thos. J. Cole. Rudolph Katz. B. H. Williams.

General Executive Board,

A. S Edwards, Editor

disorder-a NEW convention and a NEW organization-will not materialize.

GOLDFIELD REPORT

tunately, the firebrand of consecrated

Washington January 22 -- A resolution was passed by the house to-day requesting the President to submit to Congress

Card System Knocked Out in Goldfield. Goldfield, Nev. Jan 27-The Goldfield Mine Operators' Association has been compelled by the miners to discare its attempted card system, which required all employes to sign an agree ment renouncing the Western Federa-

tion of Miners.

An Invitation to Unity Which Shows How the Burrs and Cockles Stick to Those Who Walk in the Byways of Compromise.

[Under the above heading the Industrial Union Bulletin publishes an invitation received from the officers of the Western Federation of Miners-Wm. D. Haywood's name among the signers. The invitation is to meet on April 6 in Chicago for the purpose of launching a new, or re-launching the former 1. W W., and the threat is made of using "drastic measures" and, if necessary, to industrialist thought, to industrialist issuing charters to other organizations by the W. F. of M. on the ground that "the mining industry is the stepping stone to civilization"; in other words, placing one craft in overlordship over

The answer issued by the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. is a lengthy one; it takes up almost the whole of the issue of January 25 of the Industrial Bulletin The following passages from the answer give the gist and spirit of it:]

others in génuine craft-union style.

"Lofty, no doubt, is the purpose of consolidating the workers against 'the onslaught and aggression of organized capital,' of securing 'the solidarity of the working class,' etc., etc. These are lofty purposes that deserve applause; but how do they square with YOUR call for a

NEW Industrial Convention? "You set the example of schism. You set the anarchist example of secession, even before taking a general vote of either your own subdivision or of the whole I, W W. You set the deplorable example of ignoring the general vote of the I. W. W., which (even including the peculiar vote taken by your own division), upheld the convention of 1906. You set the disruptive example of leaving unrebuked, and of even approving the fraternal relations of your leading officers with the Chicago Pinkerton sluggers in an endeavor to thwart the will of the majority. With such a record to your credit, how does YOUR present demand for a NEW convention square with your protestation of desiring consolidation? Your record is one of anarchistic disruption; a CALL from YOU for a new convention is but an emphasizing of the principle of disruption. A call for a NEW convention and for the formation of a NEW organization, issuing from such a quarter and to the tune of 'consolidation,' 'soli darity,' 'unification,' etc., would be grotesque, even if your disruptive conduct had succeeded: in view, however, of the fact, well known to yourselves, that your disruptive tactics failed, and a lusty and growing trunk has remained, the only evidence of I. W. W. organization in the land; -in view of this fact, a call for a NEW convention and for the formation of a NEW organization, coming from such a quarter is worse than grotesque. There is but a step from the tragic to the ridiculous. Such a call. for such a purpose, from such a quarter. is at once laughable and tragic. It is an attempt, however, destined to failure despite all the 'drastic measures' that you threaten, to consecrate, not the order necessary for labor's unification, but to consécrate FIREBRANDISM Sufficient unto the day is the evil of such a call, from such a source. For-

The I. W. W. declines to afford the move a chance of success by joining it

herence to the principles of industrial unionism.' That also deserves applause; but how does the declaration square with your pretension that your particular industry 'IS THE STEPPING-STONE

the remote ages of the past, to man's march toward civilization, other arts preceded it without which mining never could have been reached. One of these arts, for instance, is the art of potterya leading, vital industry in the land today. But leaving ancient history aside, TO-DAY no one particular industry is entitled to or can exercise overlordship over all others: TO-DAY industrialism is not pivoted, can not be pivoted, upon any one or two industries; TO-DAY industrialism is pivoted upon the industrially blended labor of the working class in ALL industries. It is just that very anti-industrialist, in fact, craftunion pretension, now peeping out of your letter, that was the evil genius of your conduct toward the I. W. W. It was that very craft-union spirit of Labor aristocracy over Labor, that caused you to attempt the role of dictator to the other industries represented at the Chicago convention. It was that very craft-union, Labor-dislocating superstition and vanity that caused you 'to withdraw from the game,' imagining you could disrupt the I. W. W. if 'you refused to play.' Your craft pretension

trial labor organization."

the past. Rupture and reconsolidation is the process toward final solidarity in the Labor Movement. We must be united; we will be united. But as corn can not grow out of dragon's teeth, neither can the consolidation of Labor's forces proceed along lines traced by disruptive methods, besides calls that still breathe the offensive breath of craft-unionism. Therefore, we, the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World, we who have resisted disruption, we who have forever cast off the incubus of craftunion superstitions and vanities, and are proud of our industrialist fanaticism? we extend to you fraternal invitation to appoint delegates to confer by which old wounds may be healed and your organization may once more take its place in our ranks-the equal of all our industrialist divisions and sub-divisions."

The answered is signed

Wm. Yates.

Wm. E. Trautmann, Gen. Sec.-Treas. Vincent St. John, Ass't. Sec. and Gen. Organizer.

House Asks Roosevelt to Give Them a

mission sent by him to investigate the

Capitalist "Directing Genius"-Legislation in Theory and in Practice-Decency Discouraged, Indecency Promoted-"Individualism" and Capitalist

of the Worcester, Mass., "Telegram" with a letter in which he claims that "brains and push" is what the workingman needs. Mr. Hall chooses his season badly. At this season, when the "brains" of the capitalist is being exhibited as the crass ignorance which leads society to panies, and this "push" is exhibited as a virtue leading to jail or to suicide -at such a season such a theory is badly

Swift and sharp did the axe work in the hands of Judge Phillips of the Cuyahoga County, O., Court of Common Pleas upon the neck of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' Union. The Union was held to be "a Trust," "in restraint of trade," the \$110,000 in its treasury was ordered to be distributed among its members, and the Union dissolved. Quite otherwise did Rockefeller's Trust fare. For it the axe had a softer side.

"What is legislation!" asked Ambassador Bryce in his speech before the annual meeting of the New York State Bar Association, and he answered saying: "An effort of the people to promote their common welfare." Abbe Sieyes, just before the French Revolution, asked:" What is the Third Estate?" and then answered: "Nothing!" He then asked the second question: "What should it be?" And the answer was: "Everything." Ambassador Bryce has much to learn from Abbe Sieyes. The Ambassador should have asked and answered: "What is legislation? The effort of the capitalist class to entrench itself behind the physical powers that will enable it to despotize the people." "What should legislation be?" "The people's effort to ote their common welfare." Ambassador Bryce confuses what IS with what SHOULD BE

A dispatch from Hyeres, France, announces that Mrs. Henry Addison Alexander, the daughter of Gen. Florence of Chicago, left her home in that city in the company of William Graham Blackstune, a London attorney. The dispatch proceeds to say: "Mrs. Alexander is reputed to be wealthy." The last sentence was superfluous.

"Little Egypt," the dancer of Seeley dinner fame, furnishes a bright illustratien to Adam Smith's philosophic ob-servation on the economic methods that promote indecency and discourage decency. "Little Egypt" has been gathered to the bosom of Abraham. In the process she left an estate behind. The same is found to be worth \$30,000. The indeceney of "Little Egypt" was rewarded and thereby encouraged, while the had a hand in the affair, but none hides decency of productive labor, being discouraged by wage slavery, renders such want their property to depreciate in by the wage slave, an absurdity to

The bankers are said to be preparing a new currency bill. Whatever the bill may be, it will be essentially old. It will be the same old corpse embalmed by a new process-but a foetid corpse still. Capitalist money means a volcano, yawning to engulf the people. And ist money, the reflex of capitalist production, can no more reflect popular safety than a crocodile can reflect the shape of a dove.

The Countess von Sturza, of the Hunearian nobility, has been arrested in Dresden for a series of literary swindles which constituted in selling, as her own, works of authors unknown to Germany or Austria. The Countess should now import Joseph H. Choate, the brilliant lawyer-ambassador, to paraphrase his speech to the N. Y. Bar Association, and say for her: "There may be such countesses. I don't believe it."

The \$30,000 estate, left behind by "Little Egypt," allows a glimpse of the many more \$30,000 that the police must ducked her of in order to be allowed to be at large. It is only through "Little Egypts" that capital, once con-centrated, is at all scattered.

Every experience is said to be valuable to a man. Perhaps the experience of Alfred G. and Reginald C. Vanderbilt, ound in the recent storm ad had to so fourteen hours without drives to profligacy

One J. W. Hall appears in the columns | food will furnish them a text by which to order further reductions of trainmen's wages. If they, so used to plenty, could stand the fast, how must better should a trainman, always on the verge of starvation, be able to!

> On January 21, from his seat on the floor of the House, Representative Champ Clark cried out, pointing at the Republican side of the House: "There are not ten among you who dare stand up and name your choice for President!" The shot went home; but also is a boomerang. It hit not the Republican majority only, it hit also the claim upon which Democrats as well as Republicans stand-the claim that capitalist society is the breeder and guardian of individualism, and that the capitalist is a paragon of individuality. Like master, like man. The politician is the capitalist's man. What amount of individuality there is among these Champ Clark's unanswered challenge proves well.

Socialists should not fail to profit by the spectacle now presented by the warring factions of the Republican and the Democratic parties. Each is protesting his fealty to all that is good under the sun-but what are their actual acts? Deeds, not words, does the hour call for! Clear utterances, not phrases that can be interpreted in a score of different ways! Republicans and Democrats, the political reflexes of capitalist sliminess, may indulge in fly-paper tac tics. For that very reason the Socialist who is a Socialist not for sport or revenue only, must watch closely the conduct of his Rep-Dem adversariesand deport himself exactly otherwise.

A bomb blew up part of the Italian bank of Pasquale Pati and Sons in this city scattering \$40,000 of the display money in the show window. The cap italist class has everything to fear from the working class in ignorance, and everything to dread from the working class when enlightened.

Hungry men in New York blowing up a bank in New York for bread, and hungry men clubbed down by the police in Chicago while parading for breadsuch are the supplementary spectacles of the hour.

The Nazarene Church, a Negro place of worship on Compton avenue, Los Angeles, was demolished by a body of white men. The surrounding residents, all of whom are white, disclaim to have value by permitting Negroes to live among them." With property holders, "order" and "religion" are adapted to the exigencies of the purse, not the purse to the demands of law, order and religion.

Having decided to loan to the farmers the sum of \$4,000,000, the Canadian Government may soon expect to receive a message from Theodorus Rex that it is false to the best standards of monarchy and is paternalistically making molly coddles of its farmers. Or is the fact that they are farmer bosses, and not farm workers, sufficient cause and justi-

C. C. Snapp, treasurer of the Carpen ters' and Joiners' Union No. 1494, has consistently proved his theory concerning the peership of the Capitalist and the labor leader of craft unionism. In these days when capitalists innumerable are found out to have made ducks and | feel disposed to criticise the action of drakes of other people's moneys, Snapp followed suit, absconding with \$1,200 of the law that has placed us in this posithe union's funds.

The National and Social Purity Crusade is setting its cap to a difficult job when it attempts the "moral education of boys and girls" by "special litera-The example of the Coreys, the Thaws, the Castellanes, the Schwabsall of them honored and respected pillars a disturbance, you have as much right | lish a soup house in El Paso to feed of the family-are much more potent to speak in a hall as a representative the hungry. A committee of the ladies for evil than any special literature can be for good. Wipe out the profligate by wiping out the system which leads and

"INDIFFERENCE"

The Socialist agitator is very often his place of abode in the evening don't ing class mind topples from its pedestal. struck with the apparent indifference forget that the din of the machinery The bribery, lying, cheating, stealing of many workingmen when approached by the Socialist propaganda, and often the agitator wrongly concludes that such workingmen are "satisfied with things as they are," that they have no interest in life beyond that of the beast. Such a conclusion is rather a hasty one, and a Socialist, above all others, should not jump too quickly at conclusions.

There is no doubt that many of the working class lack the power of mental concentration. I have often found it difficult to get men to give steady and continuous attention to arguments that I tried to make as plain and interesting as I knew how. By the character of the questions, the nature of the objections, and by the attempts to anticipate one's conclusions, it may readily be seen that, instead of properly directing the mind to the subject brought before it. they go at it in a hop, skip and jump

The reason, I take it, is that the average workingman has no occasion for cultivating the habit of continuous attention, save that required by the machine or the nature of his job. And, just as his occupation may develop one finger, a hand, arm or leg, so it develops his mind in spots, but it no more exercises the whole thinking faculties than it exercises the whole body.

When you call upon a workingman at

OUT ON BAIL

YOUNG AND CAMPBELL RELEASED

PENDING APPEAL.

Are Told by Magistrate Crutchfield That

They Have Right to Speak on Streets,

But Must "Move On" When Ordered-

Will Hire Hall and Continue Campaign

-Richmond Field Ready for Sowing.

Richmond, Va., January 22 .- Frank

Young and Joseph P. Campbell, national

organizers of the Socialist Labor Party,

arrested here recently for speaking on

Through their counsel, M. L. Spotts-

wood, they were granted bail by Justice

Crutchfield in the Police Court this

morning, on an appeal from their "peace

warrant," and the case was certified in

the Hastings Court, Otto Blersch went

their security. The two men were ac-

companied by Blersch and A. B. McCul-

Before giving the bail bond the ques-

tion of "breaking the peace" was con-

sidered and defined by Justice Crutch-

"You gentlemen have as much right

to talk on the streets to citizens as I

have," said Crutchfield. "But if we are

talking to a party of people and an

officer thinks we are blocking traffic

and liable to create a disturbance, he

if we refuse he has the right to place

In reply to a question by McCulloch.

Crutchfield said that men had a perfect

right to engage a hall for the purpose

of speaking, and that they could not

be molested so long as their language

was kept "within the bounds of respect-

"Who is to be the judge of this?"

"The court, of course. If the officer

thinks be has the right to arrest, he

must prove his case. Otherwise there is

nothing upon which to base a convic-

the court in this case and comment on

tion, would at be an infringement upon the bond under which we are being

placed? Understand, we have no dis-

position to break any law, but we want

"As I said before so long as you do

not speak in disrespect of any person,

do not incite to disorder, do not provoke

or any other political party, and you

have the protection of the police. But

"Suppose," said McCulloch 'we should

asked McCulloch. "Is it to be the officer

ability and free from incendiarism."

or the court?"

our rights defined."

the streets, are now out of jail. .

and the vibration of the floor still affect him, much the same a man just off the sea continues to "feel" the motion of the ship. In other words, the workingman is never free from the degradation of his exploitation and your ideals may seem altogether unreal and impossible to him. The only real thing he knows is toil or the more vivid reality, the lack of

But do not despair, my propaganda friend-capitalism has been rendering you a better service than you may have thought: Capitalism has killed in the worker the old faiths and the old ideals which in the very nature of things had to go ere you could hope to plant there your newer and higher hopes and aspira

Thanks to capitalism the old ideals are dead. Men see the churches defending the class that grinds the faces of the poor, and though such churches may hide behind the Sermon on the Mount and other saying of Jesus, yet when they defend the system that means wretchedness and misery for the many the worker says: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself' means nothing to them," and church authority ends.

When capitalist newspapers, blowing their own trumpets as "friends of labor vilify labor, and arouse hostility against strikers by misrepresenting them, another capitalist idol set up in the work-

Propagandist. streets and are told to move by the police, you must move."

"That is all we wish to know," said Campbell, "and we thank you." The men then went out of the court room and went to the office of the Chief of Police. where they had a conference with the Chief, who defined their rights as had the police justice.

Campbell and Young, pending the appeal, will probably remain in the neighborhood, carrying on the work. They are anxious and now have a splendid opportunity to dispose of their magnificent stock of Labor News literature. There was talk that they would have to get "license" in order to sell books. If this turns out to be the case, the license will be secured.

As soon as arrangements for a large enough hall can be completed, the two organizers will begin a series of rousing Indoor meetings. The field in Richmond A. B. M. is ready for sowing.

DE LEON ON MALLOCK.

English Falsifier of Marx Triturated and Exposed for a Fraud.

Section New York County, Socialist Labor Party, opened the winter course of lectures on Jan. 21, at Maennercho Hall, 203 East 56th street, with Daniel De Leon's lecture on "Marx on Mallock;

or, Facts vs. Fiction." By using the case of the New York Central and the New Haven Directors arising out of the awful tunnel disaster in which 90 persons were burnt up some sixteen years ago, the lecturer showed industry, as Mallock claims they do. In this case Justice Van Brunt accepted the plea of Chauncey Depew and the other directors that they were not guilty of violating the State law compelling trains to be heated with steam, because they "were not running the trains, and did not know the law was being violated." "Likewise in the Thaw case, Once old man Thaw was held up as a genius, because e was a millionaire. Now that young Thaw is in trouble, they are trying to prove both him and the old man insane by heredity. There is not a capitalist institution in the land which is not run by wage slaves from top to bottom. The whole capitalist class could die to-night. and production would go on just the same, or even better, being freed from their incubus." (Great applause.) Many questions were asked and well answered.

SOUP HOUSES IN EL PASO.

El Paso, Tex., January 18.-Following the example of Los Angeles, where there have been established three soup houses to feed 10,000 idle men, the Christian Temperance union has decided to estabthe Democratic or Republican party. waited upon the council the other morn ing and asked for financial aid. They were allowed 850 per wouth for three if your are engaged in talking on the ment's from the city

and other like features of the capitalist

system disgust the working class mind

It is a somewhat sceptical man that

you approach. He looks at you with

wonderment, not sure that you are "all

there," or suspicious that there is some

thing in it for you. Even this doubt

is a healthy sign. "Reformers" and

other "friends" have, before now, fooled

and duped the workers, and that you are

not at once received with open arms

means that you must prove yourself,

and no fault can be found on the score

To you, who have undertaken the

sacred task of spreading the light, there

is nothing written here that should serve

to discourage you. On the contrary, it

should nerve you to your work, to your

duty. When you look at the problem

before you with calm and correct judg-

ment you will come to the conclusion

that you must inculcate in the workers

new ideals: moral courage, honesty,

truth, love of knowledge, and the deter-

mination that industrial slavery must

Kindle the flame of working class

consciousness, and the vested interests

the tradition, the churches and all else

that may attempt to stand in the way

will be overwhelmed. Upon the militant

Socialist depends the future of civil-

of that requirement.

which at bottom is honest and clean.

WORKERS OF NEW BRITAIN PRO TEST AGAINST HARD TIMES.

Marshalled by Organizers of the Industrial' Workers of the World, 'Five Hundred Unemployed Make Impressive Demonstration-Resolutions of Protest Presented to Mayor.

New Britain, Conn., January 21 .-One thousand unemployed men, marshalled by the organizers of the Industrial Workers of the World, paraded the streets of the city to-day, visiting the several large factories and bearing aloft a banner which read: "Parade of Hungry People Looking for Help." Lined up on the curbs, watching the demonstration were several times the number in the parade.

The demonstration was orderly. Stops were made in front of the different factories and a halt made in front of City Hall. No speeches were delivered. Police in plain clothes followed the line over the route of march, and at the police station, the whole of the city's regular police force, augmented by the supernumerary force, were on duty ready for a moment's notice to get out. The police patrol was, under harness. There was no call for their gentle services, however,

There was a mass meeting in Calumet hall last evening. The first speaker was a young man. He spoke of the unreasonableness of the capitalists. He said has the right to tell us to move on, and | that the capitalists do not usefully direct | that the 1,000 people about him were hungry and out of work. The law says that we must not steal or become prostitutes, but the speaker said that is what the capitalists are forcing them to become

Organizer Thompson, of the Industrial Workers of the World, was the next speaker. "It's an organization, membership in which, that makes you 'undesirable citizens, and I am known as one of the undesirable citizens." Then he spoke on the men slaving themselves in factories until their days of profit are past and then they are thrown out in the street

BOSTON'S UNEMPLOYED PARADE.

Boston , Jan. 24 .- Several hundred unemployed followed by many spectators, appeared in front of the State House yesterday and marching up the steps demanded work. Sergeant-at-Arms Remington went out to meet them and in response to their demands

If you want employment go to the Sinte Free Employment Bureau, If you need aid go to the Chardon street home. If you do not leave here I shall be oblined to call the police." At the among they were informed

there was nothing for them to do

Copy.

a copy of the report of the special com labor troubles at Goldfield.

British Laborites, in Round-About Way,

Stand on Class Struggle, Hull England, January 22.-The del-

"ADOPT" SOCIALISM.

egates to the conference of the Labor Party who are holding a session here and vesterday voted down the resolution binding the party to Socialism, to-day passed a motion declaring Socialism to be the definite objective of the party. Delegates representing over half a

million members of the party favored this resolution. To secure the DAILY PEOPLE regr

larly ORDER it from your newsdeal As the paper is not returnable, The People is a good broom to brush | newsdealers must have a STANI the coburbs from the minds of the ORDER for it, or else they will me workers. Buy a copy and pass it around | it for you. INSIST ON GETTIN-

PIERCING PERNICIOUS TEACHINGS OF CAPITALISM.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT FOR RUSS

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY PROF. PAUL MILYUKOV **********

Professor Paul Milyukov, member of | eader of the Constitutional Democrats the events of the last three years, the sought for allies in the peasantry and Petersburg, Socialists were unwilling of Russia (also known as the Cadets), I first two mark an ascending movement, in the army. In the third phase, the dressed the Civic Forum, in Carnegie Hall, New York, Tuesday evening, January 14th, on "Constitutional Gov-erament for Russia." Professor Milyukov spoke as follows:

Four years ago, when I first came here o address an American audience on ussian affairs, Russia was approaching ts political downfall and I tried to unsome threatening symptoms under the then placed surface of things. On my second trip a year later, I hardly time to complete the picture by pointing out the urgency of radical reform, political and social. We were already in the rapids of the year 1905the year of the Russian Revolution. year brought with it a real downfall of the autocracy, by the well-known Manifesto of October 30th. Some people thought then that the reasonable of the movement had already been attained, since Russia thenceforth was to be a modern constitutional state. Others took the event as a new departure in the direction of something larger and unprecedented. But few foresaw that the success achieved was the utmost mark to be recorded by this flood-tide, or that after some few months of surprise and bewilderment, a descending e would set in.

This was our case. The obstacles rose ore and more threatening, until now, after two years of struggle, after two umas dissolved, we find ourselves in sort of political whirlpool. Whether or not a natural outlet will be discovered, whether the flood will follow a quiet course or rush toward new cataclysms,

who can foretell? The party to which I belong, which was the leading party in the first two Dumas, has always kept up to the last at at the centre of political moveent. Some of our enemies consider our policy too radical, while many others and it too moderate. But every one operatic party has found it particuarly dangerous for this very reason, hat it has kept within the reach of setical possibilities. Precisely for this on the party was particularly hated and feared by both extreme currents of es as well as by the revolutionaries. Both extremes appealed to violent thods of struggle and were busy preng new strokes and counterstrokes, our party tried to make unnecessary and impossible. And, of course, were the Constitution to strike root in Russia and were quiet to be secured by large social reforms, what hope would in either for a restoration of autoracy or for a social overthrow? That mies on both sides have

As a result, we must admit that our n as mediator is now very much akened. Other parties much more servative than ours now play the role find their good services quite dis-Democratic. We believe that the political situation they are going to create will be extremely unstable, being too organize, and it was public opinion in general, and its leaders, the intellectuation of the color on is likely to bring with it new plications and to provoke new strugeles, we do not wish to take upon ourives the responsibility for its consences. That is why we realists of rday preferred now to be classed visionaries; and having yesterday en described as opportunists, suffer selves now to be termed revolutiones. We have not changed, but things ave changed very much all around us Public opinion is with us. But the ters of the present day do not repnt public opinion. The leading arity of the Third Russian Duma governmental, while the country res what it was before-in opposition.

Now that you know the general situon and my own place in it, let us er into our subject. This, of course of be a detailed account of the Rus-Revolution. All that I can do is analyze the moving forces of that on and to outline the principal es through which it has passed. s I hope to help you to a clearer ht into the real causes of the origin the failure of the Russian moveand thus to enable you to form dependent judgment as to its pos-

he Third Duma for St. Petersburg, and one may distinguish in the course of tarians," but at the same time they while the last two show a gradual but Constitutional, the party which I have uninterrupted retrogression. I am the honor to represent, played the leadtempted to call the first ascending phase ing role, the Constitutional Democrats. of the movement the national phase. In the fourth phase, the court, the For the movement is national in its bureaucracy and the nobility begin to origin as well as in its manifestations. prevail. The court and the nobility in The revolutionary movement originated in a state of general disaffection which forces in an openly avowed movement grew acute after the great national disaster of the late war with Japan, and ration of autocracy. spread widely through all classes of the population. The aim of the movement in those days was, "We do not want reforms, but the Reform, the Constitution." And its action was united. This accounts for the strength of the movement and for the rapid success in the plies a certain explanation. To make of October 30.

The second ascending phase begins with the fall of autocracy. This was the negative aim of the movement, common to all of the aggressive parties. As soon as it was reached, the divergence in the positive strivings of yesterday's allies became manifest. The revolutionary elements of the movement, intoxicated by their sudden victory of October 30, persuaded themselves that the world stood on the eve of a social gin the movement was two-fold. It overthrow and that Russia must give the signal for it. Thus the revolutionary movement first differentiated itself from the Constitutional movement. The revolutionary phase, however, was short and proved fatal to the success of the whole movement. It began with the October victory. It came to its close with the December defeat of the armed insurrection at Moscow. Then the ebbing tide was held back for a time by the initial activity of the first Russian Parliamentary representation. Thus the movement, with the opening of the in its extension, the Socialists repeatedly

First Duma, entered upon its third stage. I should sall this third stage "constitutional," from the methods of struggle then tried. How did this phase end? I should be very much pleased to tell you that the employment of Constitutional methods of struggle have not ended yet. But this would not account for the predominant fact by which the fourth phase of the movement was characterized, namely, the increasing use of constitutional methods by the enemies of the movement who now take the offensive. Therefore I call the fourth phase "Counter-Revolutionary." It began with the wolent act of the dissolution of the first Duma, and it became particularly emphatic after the "Fundamental Law" was flagrantly violated simultaneously with the dissolution of the second Duma. Will this counter revolutionary phase end with the fifth phase, that of a restoration of autoeracy? Or rather will it bring us back ed their most violent means for to the third—the Constitutional phase? thwarting the political course which our I do not wish to play the prophet, but one must prepare for the worst, and there is no use in attenuating the danger.

Let me now go a step further in our analysis. After having discriminated political phases, we can discriminate beakers. Unfortunately, we can- tween the leading social groups involved ed. Nor do we find general re- phase we shall be able to point out a nditions. The order of things they for it. The first or national phase, is the one exception, characterized as it to be either Constitutional or was by the co-operation of many adprofessions and the representatives of local self-government, these were the chief moving forces which promoted the movement and tried to formulate its demands.

> In the second or revolutionary phase, the leadership belongs to the Socialists.

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particular have now become the leading

Now, brief as this analysis is, I be lieve that it will throw a certain light was one and unified-a current saving upon the delayed outcome of the general movement and explain why it provedpartially and temporarily, let us hopea failure. The exactness of the analy sis one can hardly dispute; and it imconcession conveyed by the Manifesto this clear it remains for me to fill in the gaps and to supply the most necessary links between the political movements and the social elements just ana-

To repeat, the national movement was distinguished by the fact that the aims of all advanced groups were then held in common. Even groups which in the revolutionary stage went far asunder contributed together to the success of the initial phase. Thus in its very ori spened with the famous Petition of Right, formulated on November 22, 1904, by members of the gentry, and two months later it was reinforced by the appearance of the working masses, whom Father Gapon led to the Winter Palace on the Red Sunday, January 22 1905. The final triumph, the Manifesto of October 30, 1905, was also attained through the indiscriminate co-operation of all the advanced groups. After this first victory, won through a general strike which was quite unprecedented issued orders to the working men to strike again, and each time the attempt was a failure. The one successful strike which won from the government the decisive concession was thus prepared and led in great measure by the intellectuals, and in a quite spontaneous way was supported by various social groups For example, even the capitalists, without exception, supported their laborers while on strike by paying their wages for the entire time. Private shops and offices voluntarily closed in compliance with the general state of public opinion Professors forcefully told the government that it must not oppose the meetings held within the walls of the higher institutions of learning. The juries desentences during the days of the strike, while judges and tribunals went on strike with the rest. Even the officials in several State offices stopped their work. In short, it was an outbreak of universal enthusiasm, which proved to the government that further resistance was impossible and brought it to sur-

Then it was that the revolutionary elements grew self-confident, and went their own way, preparing for a more decisive blow. Much later, the Socialist the number of workingmen in the facin the movement. With each political leaders themselves were brought to a realization that their own estimate of the population, while the peasants conliation to be acceptable on their definite social group that is responsible their power was greatly exaggerated, as likewise the amount of real influence which they had over the proletarians. But by this time their optimism had grown boundless. Even the impossible had begun to seem possible-I mean the impossible according to their own doctrine. The element of truth in their argument was that no decisive results could be won from the government in the way of voluntary concessions. And indeed, even such concessions as had been granted on October 30 were by no. means voluntary. If proofs are wanted for this assertion, they will be found in the present activities of the government-in its attempt to withdraw as far as possible even the concessions given. But from an exact observation the Socialists drew quite a wrong conclusion, namely, that no concessions of any kind were wanted because the proletarians, by themselves were strong enough to bring about an armed insurrection, to form a revolutionary government, and thus to dictate the will of the people. The general strike, according to them, was nothing more than a modest introduction to the real fight. They ordered new strikes after strikes; they organized a nucleus for a revolutionary government their St. Petersburg Couniel of the Workingmen's delegates, elected by the workingmen in St. Petersburg factories. They even anticipated an actual advent of Socialism as a result of their coming victory, though such a result was in formal contradiction with their own accepted theories. The current doctrine

then was that the coming revolution was

in their growing impatience, the St. even to wait for this bourgeois victory for the realization of their minimum programme. The Council of Delegates issued an order on November 11, according to which the eight-hour day was to be introduced in all factories by the workingmen themselves in a revo- Russian village, and particularly so after lutionary way.

In vain some few delegates tried to persuade their comrades that it was with the capitalists before their struggle in the "great reform," receiving only with autocracy itself had come to a satisfactory ending. The results were, for his landlord. And for this little of course, disastrous. The private and he was compelled to pay too much out government factories, challenged by of his scanty earnings. From that time, their workingmen, replied with a series of lockouts their work, and the threat of a new strike proved ineffective. After two of all proportion to the increase in the weeks of hopeless resistance, the Council had to surrender and withdraw its order. The government felt encouraged, vation. During the summer months of and took the offensive. On December 9, the President of the Council was ar- quite spontaneously. Famine-stricken, rested. On December 16, one day after the revolutionary Manifesto was launched by the Council, all its members were these possessed much more grain than imprisoned. Then as a last attempt a they needed, while they themselves had new strike was proclaimed, to serve as nothing to eat, the peasants quietly laran introduction to the armed insurrection which was to be tried at Moscow. The moment could not have been more badly chosen for the decisive blow. After some ten days of haphazard fighting, the Moscow insurrection was crushed by the larger scale and took a more violent guard regiments, and this put a speedy end to all theories of a "permanent" revolution in Russia. Moreovers the Moscow defeat served as a signal for a relentless prosecution of the adherents of the revolutionary movement throughout Russia. Special military trains were kept ready and military expeditions were sent far and wide in Russia, especially to the outskirts of the Empire, the Caucasus, the Baltic provinces, and to Siberia, which proved particularly rebellious. The army ransacked the population, with no discrimination between the guilty and the innocent. Whole villages were burned, people were hanged and killed on mere suspicion, contributions were levied on the "internal enemy, and so forth. By means of all these atrocities, what still remained of the revolutionary conflagration was mercilessly stifled. "Peace" was restored on the great roads and in the large cities. Still the end of the revolutionary movement was not yet. There remained the villages, and the last hopes of the revolutionaries were transferred to these. Of course the outbreaks in the villages were less dramatic and less calculated to attract public attention than role in the constitutional phase of the revolutionary proceedings by the works

But the agrarian froubles were far more perilous, and they affected the well-being of the privileged and influential class of landlords more strongly than the strikes of workingmen affected the Russian capitalists. Russia is not yet an industral country, and in spite of all the recent development of Russian industry, tories does not exceed two per cent, of stitute eighty-five per cent. of the in-

habitants. The peasants of course were unable to march under the banner of Socialism and obey its orders. But we saw that even among the proletarians the influence of Socialistic societies was not so strong as their leaders presumed it to be. If Socialism had some elements of organization, which lead to success, it also had its theories which brought the movement to ruin. Socialism tried to impart to the Russian peasants organization and theories. A counterpart to the Council of Workingmen Delegates was started under the name of "The Peasants" Union," in order to organize the agrari-

Of the four consecutive phases which | They acted in the name of the "prole- to be "bourgeois," not Socialistic. But | an outbreak. Socialism tried also to adapt its doctrine to the kind of agrarian terrorism to which Russian peasants were particularly inclined. But here the centralizing influence of Socialism was still weaker; the movement itself was even more spontaneous and depended more upon its own intrinsic causes.

These causes were never lacking in a the great emancipation reform of 1861. "More land"-this was for half a century the constant cry of the Russian too little from the land he had tilled About 100,000 men lost the individual land-holdings became still smaller, while indirect taxation grew out population. The cry for more land became the cry of distress, the cry of star-1903, an agrarian outbreak took place the peasants came in crowds to the neighboring landlords. Finding that ried off in their carts what they considered superfluous. In the year 1905 the year of revolution, amidst the general excitement of that time, agrarian troubles broke out again on a much form. In the autumn of 1905, the trouble spread over more than a third of European Russia-that is, in one hundred and sixty-one districts out of four hundred and thirty-six-sixty-seven per cent. of the area of the country. About two thousand estates and country houses of landlords were burned or ravaged. The entire loss suffered by the landlords at this time was estimated at about fifteen million dollars. "Some one must perish, either we or our landlords," the peasants were heard saying. And the landlords' utterance was no less telling: "If we do not give them new allotments

of land, they will cut us down!" Thus the agrarian question assumed first rank among the burning questions of the day. The different proposals for the solution of this question served thericeforth to differentiate the political groups. After some brief period of hesitation, corresponding to the third political phase, the government sided with the land owners while the opposition took decidedly the side of the peasants. Under such circumstances, the Constitutional Democratic party was founded, which had to play the leading movement. This party was composed of the more advanced elements among the Russian gentry and of the more moderate elements among the members of the learned professions. The chief aim of the party was to reconcile the idealistic aspirations of the movement with the practicability of the issues, and thus to inaugurte in Russia a regime of political freedom. The elements of the new party already existed in the previous political organizations; and that is tituent congress, held in the very tur moil of the October strike, the party counted already more than one hundred thousand members. A few comparisons will make clear the political position of the Constitutional Democratic party in the midst of the extremes of the move-

1. The revolutionary movement aimed at a commonwealth, while the reactionaries wanted to re-establish autocracy. The Constitutional Democratic party decided to fight for a parliamentary rule under a constitutional monarch. 2. The revolutionists wished to have

a charter worked out by a constitutional convention and sanctioned by a victorious revolution. The reactionaries did not want any charter at all, or at the worst, a consultative representation granted by the Czar. Our party proposed a charter worked out by the first representative assembly, subject to the approval of the Czaz

3. As to agrarian reform, the revolutionists defended the principle, "The whole land to the whole people," the land to be appropriated by the people themselves, acting through their delesgates in local committees, which were to be elected on the basis of universal suffrage. The government would permit nothing except a regular sale of land through the medium of the existing Pensant Bank, and at the open market price. Our party proposed a systematic extension of the emanciption reform of 1861, by dealing out additional allotments to the communes from the free (crown) lands, and from the larger private estates, to be expropriated by means

munes in equal numbers. This was a very radical progress, but to our view it corresponded thoroughly with the necessities of the moment and the peculiarities of Russian conditions. Of course we did not believe that the government would accept this programme willingly and voluntarily. But one must always remember that this was the moment when the government, in spite of its December victory, was quite cowed by apprehension at the coming agrarian troubles. And they knew but too well that even for the Cadet programme, the peasants were yet to be However, at the same time the gov-

price was to be settled by special com-

of a compulsory fale at a fair price. The may likewise have determined the gov-

ernment still cherished the hope of being' able to palliate discontent and disorder by some demagogic means. Owing to try itself and abroad, considering the scious of its own weakness after the defeat in the war with Japan, the government did not think of forsaking entation. But it expected to organize in whom the electoral law secured a very large representation. And thus the government decided to prepare for the electoral campaign. It even enlarged the franchise by the additional law of December 24, 1905, as a concession to general demands for universal suffrage. The revolutionary elements, on their side, learned nothing. They continued attacking the bourgeoisie furiously as being alone responsible for their December defeat. They tried to discredit and denounce in advance the coming Duma as an assembly of landlords and officials, and in their blindness they proposed to the masses to boycott the impending elections. The Constitutional Democratic party was then the only party in opposition which did its best to win public opinion to the idea of a struggle by parliamentary means. Great was the disappointment of the government and the astonishment of the revolutionists when the electoral returns gave a prevailing part to the Constitutional Democrats in the First Russian Duma.

The government then hastily took measures of precaution against the 'revolutionary" assembly. A foreign loan of two and a quarter milliards of francs set the government free from immediate dependence on the national representatives. A series of "temporary" laws were hurriedly published in order to bring into legal limits the "civil liberties" promised by the Manifesto. And last but not least, this period of what was called in Russia "quick-fire gun" legislation, was crowned with a most important declaration. A few days before the opening of the session, a sort of charter or "fundamental law" was published, which put as narrow limits as possible to the legislative powers of the Duma. These laws were not to be changed except by the initiative of the Czar. And yet even though thus muzzled, the national representatives held the government in a state of constant fear and bewilderment, or else of malicious expectation. The ministry releft to itself, particularly after it answered the ministerial declaration by a vote of dissent. The government was compelled to decide between a dissoluwhy only a few weeks after its con- tion and a ministerial change. A disfraught with every sort of danger. That is why, in its extreme embarrassment, the government thought for an instant of regular co-operation with the majority in the Duma. One of the high dignitaries who was intrusted with the preliminary negotiations, told me openly what their motives were for proposing to call a Cadet ministry to power. "When a house is on fire," this gentleman said, "one is obliged to choose between leaping from the fifth story at the risk of a broken leg, and the peril

of being burned alive." I am inclined to think that this argument did not appear to the Czar con clusive. The following considerations

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ernment to try a dissolution instead of "a leap from the fifth story": in the first mittees formed of private landowners and representatives of the peasant complace, the Carlets (or Constitutional Democrats), whom the government regarded for a while as leaders of the whole movement, proved unable to control the "revolution," and even in the Duma did not always command a maiority. There was another important group in the Duma, the so-called Group of Toil, which became very popular among the peasants, owing to its revolutionary programme of land nationalization. The activity of this group in the Duma and outside it rekindled revolutionary hopes for the attainment of The revolutionists now compower pletely changed their minds as to the part to be played by the Duma in the Russian revolution. After having disquite powerless, they now wanted it to take possession of the executive power. the state of public opinion in the coun- The Cadets found themselves in an exceedingly complex position. On the one necessity of a foreign loan, being con- hand, they had to fight for a responsible ministry in order to establish a normal influence on the part of the Duma over the executive power. On the other tirely the principles of national represen- hand, they had to hold in check every attempt to appropriate the executive the first Duma a subservient ministerial, functions by the Duma itself. Of course party, formed chiefly of peasants, to this was enough to paralyze any great measure of exertion But the chief reasons for the government to abstain from any co-operation with the Cadets was the agrarian programme, which frightened the nobility. Here again the Cadets had to debate between the government, which did not wish to decide for the principle of compulsory sale, and the extremists, who proposed the pure spoliation of landlords to the great satisfaction of the inexperienced masses. Finally the government committed itself to the unconstitutional step of publishing an announcement to the people by which the legislative plans of the Duma were repudiated in advance. The Duma tried to reply, insisting on the fundamental principle of compulsory sale and inviting the population-the latter point being opposed by the Group of Toil-to remain quiet and await patiently the results of the Duma's legislation. Upon this attempt to address the population the Duma was dissolved

> principle of passive resistance. The fears of the government ran high at the moment of this declaration. For some few days one dreaded military outbreaks and revolutionary dictators at Tsarkoe Selo. One spoke even of a foreign fleet to appear at the mouth of the Neva. A circular letter of the Premier anticipated serious disorders in the interior. Once more all this only showed that the government itself greatly exaggerated the forces of the organized revolutionary movement. The few outbreaks that really followed the dissolution were easily stifled. The government then gradually turned to another extreme, or rather to its habitual mistake. It began again to underrate the amount of political disaffection which had become endemic in the Russian masses. The reactionary forces lifted up their heads and the "counter-

and the address was never published.

The leading majority replied by the fam-

ous Viborg Manifesto, proclaiming the

revolutionary phase" set in. up its resistance to the movement, and it never tried to change its usual methods of administration. The "liberties" granted by the Manifesto were never regularly used: Many of the provinces of Russia (in 1906, three-quarters of them) were administered by exceptional law and this gave a legal pretext for not enacting the constitutional liberties.

The general evil from which Russia (Continued on page 2.)

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greatly increased in the state of civil war which practically prevailed in Russia after the Manifesto of October 30. By long practice of arbitrariness, certain ere formed which made adaptation possible. But after the Manifesto, private considerations of individual officials took the place of an established routine. The country was divided into two hostile camps, between which no compromise was possible. High-handed deeds of petty officials were formally encouraged and approved by their superiors. The feeling of general unsafety increased immensely under these conditions and the existing misrule became largely responsible for that state of anarchy and terror for which Russia now suffers. To quote some striking instances: In the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century, one hundred and thirty-four death sentences were nced in Russia, on the average five sentences a year. In the two years following the Manifesto, the number of criminals sentenced to death (almost nut exception for political offences) rese to the enormous total of two thousand seven hundred and seventeen, of m one thousand seven hundred and eighty were executed. The whole numof persons condemned for political offences during these two years was eighteen thousand two hundred and seventy-four, while formerly it had not exceeded one thousand a year, and the number for 1904-about four thousand

-was considered as quite exceptional. Out of the eighteen thousand two hundred and seventy-four condemned, one thousand one hundred and fourteen criminals belong to a class which is rare ly considered as criminal; they were tors of newspapers and periodicals. who tried to make use of the Freedom of the Press proclaimed by the Manifesto. Nine hundred and thirty-eight newspapers and periodicals were stopped er in the same period of time Public meetings - another "liberty" granted by the Manifesto-are practicalitted by the police only during electoral campaign and almost exclusively in large cities. The right of forming unions and societies, which make the thrd "liberty" of the Manifesto, can be of service only for such izations as enjoy the protection of nt. Registration is regularly refused to organizations which are suspected of opposition, on most futile pretexts. Not satisfied with the prosecution of such associations, the govern ment recently began a systematic proseexisting professional unions. In short any one who would tell you that Russia really enjoys civil liberties granted by the Manifesto, would advance a lie. The truth is that only those liberties were and are permitted which the govent was and is powerless to forbid; and such liberties are often used without any legal restraint, while a regular and hiding practice of civil liberties is early always refused legal permission.

Thus, under the new regme of national representation, the executive power ed to remain what it had always been before; and it never thought of changing its former methods of administra-And as long as the present misrule lasts, it is almost impossible to the

egislative power to do its proper work. The first Duma was forced to spend much of its time in useless exertion to step this evil in the only legal way by tions on the subject of all the terpellations on the subject Office. About three hundred and eighty interpellations were presented by the ence of the first Duma., The reply of the ministers was always the same: everything is being done according to the existing law. Very soon it became that unless the ministers were made really responsible to the o representative assembly, and unless the m of administration by exceptional laws was abolished, no redress of adative abuses was possible for the Duma. That is why the second Duma made a very moderate use of its right of interpellation, not because it turned a deaf ear to the sufferings of the peoele, but because it knew the inefficiency

When we say, then, that the governnt took the offensive and that a -revolutionary" phase set in, we ng new and still nger than mere enforcing of the old ods of administration, which were ver stopped. The new feature is that s and facilities given by the political freedom, are being sed as a weapon against this very re-

trying to set its autocratic system in ment which, within a week's time, caralways suffered-arbitrariness in ad- opposition to party politics, essential to ried with it three thousand victims killed tration and non-observance of law parliamentary rule. But under the dis- outright, and ten thousand wounded and guise of more elevated political maxims it only tried to organize its own political organization behind the scenes. Certain party-that of the autocracy. For this purpose the government invited all elements to unite which were likely to defend the "old, holy Russia," orthodox and autocratic

A more fatal blow to the very idea of that "old, holy Russia" could hardly have been struck, than by trying this truly crucial experiment. Only two years ago, were not the high ideals of "little Father" of Russia, the holy Synod, the credulous, bigoted, ignorant Russian peasant, supporting the edifice of the Omnipotent Bureaucracy-was not all this rubbish given out for the benefit of foreign readers, as the actual "truth about Russia"? And in Russia herself, who could pretend to know the real number of "Old Believers," ready to support the ancient political system? the partisans of autocracy are counted by the interested party itself, for the benefit of the whole civilized world, and everybody can judge for himself, who they are and how many.

The illusion of an omnipotent Bureaucracy dwindles at once to something insignificant. The "red tape," by its very essence, can rarely come to real power. It may form a powerful machinery, but if not greased and directed from outside, the machinery remains inactive. In its professional quality, bureaucracy necessarily possesses a certain standard of intelligence, and, in spite of all its routine, it is not necessarily averse to all reform. When bureaucracy is left to itself, in the periods of stagnation it uses its intelligence for self-criticism and becomes skeptical and cynical. Many writers on Russia were astonished to find these peculiar feat ures under the official surface of the Russian civil service. Russian bureaucracy-at least in its higher stages and distributed. They summoned local auto a certain extent-has grown liberal for the obvious reason that nobody knew against such as did not comply with hetter than it did. all the drawbacks of official prosperity.

I trust that you will not take these words for a defence of bureaucracy as a system of government. | Bureaucracy is but an engine which no modern state can do without. But the force and the spirit must be brought to this engine from outside. All I want to impress on you is that the responsibility for the spirit now pervading Russian bureaucracy must be laid at another door. The real moving forces of the present 'counter-revolutionary" phase are the court and the nobility. The attempts they are now making for a new organization of self-defence have but little in common with the regular work done by the bureaucratic machine. As I have just said, they turn for a new experiment to the building of political parties and to interfering with political elections. These are new 'means through which they try to perpetuate, under the new order of things, their former pre-

We can trace back the origin of reactionary organizations to the very beexpressive comparison used by Mr. to the representatives of the "Union"-Stead, between what he called a "beautiful picture" drawn by his Imperial Majesty in his October Manifesto, and the same Manifesto blackened on the very next day by the brutal "brush" of General Trepoff. General Trepoff, in his of Russia." quality of chief of the Russian police, suffered the so-called "patriotic" disorders and pogroms to take place in numerous towns in Russia, where they vere organized, with the evident connivance of the local authorities, as counter - demonstrations against the Czar's Manifesto. Mr. Stead's mistake was only in thinking of General Trepoff's "brush" as something incidental

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maimed, evidently testifies to a certain secret societies, organized by reactionary leaders and well-known to the police have existed since the spring of 1905 Their avowed aim has been to defend autocracy in the name of "patriotism." The elements of which local groups were formed belonged to the most ab ject and ignorant part of the mob in towns and cities, but the leading inspiration came from persons connected with the Court, and several members of the movement were known to belong to the Court. Favored by such patronage, some few active propagandists succeeded in uniting local reactionary groups into one "union." The central organization took the presumptuous name of the "Russian People," or, to distinguish themselves from the depraved part of Russia, the "True-Russians." The fundamental conception was that the Russian revolution was forged by Jews and for eigners, while no genuine Russian would sympathize with it. All "True-Russians were invited to join the only party of the Russian people-which was in itself a negation of party politics and an adequate embodiment of the "True-Russian" idea of a state in which all powers be long to the sovereign, while nothing but "opinion" can belong to the people. This was, of course, only the theoretical side, so to say, the sign-board of the movement. The practical side of it can be fully illustrated by the reign of terror inaugurated by the "True-Russian" mob in Odessa and in some other Russian cities, with the obliging support of the local administration.

Thus supported and protected, the "Union of the Russian People" soon grew over the head of the ministry itself. They openly organized their "fighting rings," to which fire-arms were officially thorities for help and complained loudly their demands. On the question of political reliability and patriotism they challenged ministers and Holy Synod and even reproached the German Kaiser on the ground that he had showed a friendly disposition toward Count Witte, whom the whole of Russia unanimously considers responsible for all the calamities which befell our country, and who is the chief originator of terrorism and special protector of the Jews." The most astonishing circumstance was that the Kaiser found it necessary immediately to exculpate himself, declaring that "he never displayed such a disposition toward Mr. Witte as was imputed to

Of course, very exceptional reasons vere needed to call forth such an exceptional declaration on the part of the Kaiser. The reason was perhaps that the "True-Russians" pretended to enjoy special protection of the Czar. It reads at the head of their statutes that his Majesty on two occasions, December 22, 1905, and February 16, 1906, personally assured the "Russian People" that his "autocracy remains the same as it that "the Sun of Truth would some day shine brightly over Russia": "Unite yourselves, ye Russian People, I count upon you." "With your help I hope to succeed in vanquishing the enemies

The last and most explicit of these statements was addressed to the President of the "Union" a few days after the dissolution of the second Duma, as an answer to their thanks for the dissolution. "Let the Union of the Russian People serve as a reliable support I am sure that all true Russians that love their country will unite still closer and, while steadily increasing in number, will help me to attain the peaceful renovation of our holy and great Russia." They say the President of the Cabinet first saw this telegram when it was printed in the official organ of the "True-Russians." He grew furious and made representations to the Emperor, but it was too late; the thing was done. The fault lay, as usual, at the door of a member of the Imperial household What now was the result of all this high patronage and exceptional favor The elections repeatedly proved to everybody who cared to know it, that if Russia was great, it was not owing to the "True-Russians." They commanded a Indicrously small vote. No ne of them was elected to the first In the traditional capital of 'Holy Russia" - Moscow - there was only one vote cast for the leader of the party, Mr. Gringmoot, and evil tongues asserted it was his own! In the second

elements were excluded from the vote and every kind of pressure was used in order to get a governmental majority. Yet as a result, the Duma election was Socialistic and Constitutional Democratic. Only sixty-three members out of the whole number of four hundred and sixty-one, called themselves "monarchists," and of these only seven were unswervingly autocratic. Only three voters in every hundred were found to be "True-Russians" in the Russian cities. Then, at the third election, the electoral law was changed and the "True-Russians" were repeatedly invited to "unite' and to "increase their membership," in order to "support" autocracy. was the new result this time? Out of the five thousand electors for the whole of Russia, only seventy-two belonged to the "Union of Russian People"! Thirtyfour of them were made members of the Duma, and yet they were hardly able to increase the number of uncompromising adherents of autocracy to something like sixty, out of four hundred and forty-two. If included with the so-called "monarchists," still they do not form the majority. When, on the occasion of the debates on the address to the Czar they proposed to insert in the text the title "autocratic," they were largely outvoted even by this Duma, the "Duma of the landowners." governmental Duma, refusing to the Czar the title of "autocrat" which in certain sense is still used by him according to the existing law-such is the final result, which proves definitely that there are no autocrats in Russia except a very small group of people, whose sincerity and integrity are subject to very serious doubts.

With this conclusion, we come to the last point that needs elucidation. In a country where so astonishly few were to be won for autocratic restoration. what are then the elements which stand for political reaction? The middle classes being largely liberal, the capitalists not averse to a constitution, the bureaucrey rather indifferent but closely watching the game and ready to serve the winner, who then are decidedly on the side of the government? It is the nobility and the gentry. This class would lose very much from the impending social reform, as much as the autocracy would lose from political reform. In their grave peril, both decaying or ders become natural allies. Of course even here natural interests are very far from being identical. Now and then, autocracy in its struggle for selfpreservation, gives up the defence of the nobles' privileges. Thus, half a century ago, by the great Emancipation Act, it destroyed the very foundations of the social authority of nobility. And there was a moment in the present struggl when autocracy seemed ready to endorse the Constitutional Democratic program of the compulsory sale of land on the ground that this measure, if done at all, shall be done by the grace of the Czar

On the other hand, the nobility would easily be won for a constitution, if only the political reform could be carried out without the social one. It was conspirators among the nobility who, a ginnings of political liberty in Russia. had been from ancient times." Twice ecntury ago, first demanded a constitubeen conceded then, it certainly would have had a more or less outspoken aristocratic character. But Russian nobility proved powerless to win a constitution by themselves alone. And now, after new social elements have come to the front, it would be too late, it would be impossible, to separate political from social reform. The new order of things must necessarily be at once constitutional and democratic.

> According to the differences just stated, the parts played by autocracy and nobility in their alliance were unlike, and it was the nobility that got the better of it. While the exertions of the autoemcy proved fruitless, the nobility, with much less of ostentation, achieved far more positive results. They likewise

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claimed itself above all parties, thus to the "beautiful picture." A move- electoral campaign, many democratic started a frivate organization, under the name of the "Council of the United Nobility." But the political activity of this "Council" did not awaken much attention at the beginning, and was even purposely kept half secret. The "Council" did not care for any open propaganda; it preferred to use its connections at court, and with them as its intermediary, to act directly upon the Czar. This policy proved success ful. The "Council" has played a decisive part in the all-important events of the last two years. Nearly all the demands of the nobles are satisfied by the Government. It was owing to their instance that a special kind of courtmartial was organized bp Mr. Stolypin, after the dissolution of the first Duma. The second Duma succeeded in abolishing these abominable courts, but they are now re-established in a new form which has made them independent of the legislative power of the present Duma. The same "Council of the United Nobility" urged the Czar to introduce a special police service for the defence of the landlords and their estates. This new army of watchmen was immediately organized at great expense to the treasury. Of course, agrarian troubles did not make it impossible for the landlords to dwell on their estates. It is common now to hear of country houses transformed into veritable castles. manned with armed forces hired from Caucasian warrior tribes, to protect the noble homes. On some estates searchlights are actually used at night to disclose the invisible foes who come to burn the house or even to blow up its inhabitants.

> Naturally such tension cannot last indefinitely. Therefore the landlords insist upon a thorough change in the whole agrarian policy of the government. And here again the "Council" has gained a complete triumph. For many years the policy of the government has consisted in keeping the peasantry quite apart from the other social orders. The "tax-payers" were to be preserved in a state of absolute separation from the "lords"; and their whole course of life, their standards and habits, their views of property, family and law, were to be peculiar to themselves. The results, as we have seen them, proved disastrous for the landlords themselves. So the nobles came to realize that it was a source of continuous danger to preserve in their near neighborhood the isolated existence of agrarian savages. And the "Council of Nobility," not satisfied with endorsing the liberal cry for the equalization of peasants with the other social groups, decided to change abruptly the very foundation of their social existence. The primitive agrarian collectivism of the peasant communes was now made responsible for all social and agrarian troubles. The nobles wished this collectivism changed to a regime of private property. And the government, in compliance with their wishes, is now starting a new agrarian policy which will doubtless revolutionize the masses more effectively than anything else, because it provokes the social struggle of the rich and the poor in its attention of the peasants will thus be drawn from the landlords' estates to their own internal disputes.

But the new policy was intended to take the place of the agrarian programme proposed by the opposition. In order to win for it national representation, the entire composition of the Duma was to be changed. This became now the chief object of the reactionary clique,

The "Council of Nobility" worked out a scheme which is now in process of being completely executed by the ministry. The Duma was to be dissolved, on the pretext of its "revolutionary" disposition. A new electoral lw was then to be published, securing the majority of representation for the landowners. Then a new Duma was to be summoned on the principle of the new franchise.

This scheme was quite ready after the dissolution of the first Duma. But Mr. Stolypin was not yet to be won for the abolition of the existing franchise. because it was guaranteed by the "Fundamental Law" and could not be changed without the consent of the Duma. It was then decided, as a first step, to change only those parts of the Law which could be altered by means of an "authentic" explanation of the Law by the Senate. Measures were also taken to influence the elections, the rovernment being sure of having the oper hand. To " reneral astonis"

mh a rep a cut tion much made r I than to the first one. About t hundred members belonged to Socialistic groups, some one hundred were Constitutional Democrats, while no more than a hundred took sides on the gov-

the "rebellious" Duma; and though now even the extreme parties were much more moderate in their opposition, the government decided to dissolve the second Duma as soon as the electoral law was ready in the Home Office. Even to take precautions was scorned at this time, and no effort was made to preserve simply the external show of legality, The Duma was dissolved upon demand for extradition of all Socialist democratic members, even before it had time to give any answer. Simultaneously with the dissolution, the new electoral law of June 20, 1907, was published, and thus the "Fundamental Law was openly violated for the benefit of the nobles. According to the new franchise, about thirty thousand large proprietors received the right to elect the majority of the third Duma. Practically no more than nineteen thousand came to the polls, and they chose for the electoral colleges more than half of the electors for the whole of Russia: 2,618 out of 5,160. The remaining 2,542 might belong entirely to the opposition, the maiority was in advance assured to the large landowners. Thus there is no exaggeration in saying that the majority of the present Duma is elected by 19,000 proprietors of the larger landed estates. They control 300 and odd members. while only 100 to 150 members represent large democratic masses and belong to the opposition. Some of them, as, for instance, the St. Petersburg delegates, are chosen by a larger vote (20,000 each) than all the three hundred members of the majority. The change of the Electoral Law and

ernmental side. Then the "Union of the

Russian People" came to the rescue.

They began at once a campaign against

the composition of the new Duma are. of course, the most brilliant acquisitions of the "United Nobility." The national representation is now at last brought into an artificial harmony with the interests of the ruling classes. But now that this result is achieved, what can be their reason for objection to the principle of national representation? Is it not much better to be independent of the good will of the Czar for protection, while enjoying at the same time a legal share in legislation and in the control of finance? And, on the other hand, why should autocracy insist upon an immediate and formal restoration, as long as it keeps in its power the "obedi-

As a result, we now witness a process of mutual accomodation between the autocracy and the landed gentry. The government consents to withdraw or to postpone the project for a democratic extension of the franchise in local selfgovernment, and is now ready to leave this local franchise in the happy possession of the same ruling classes which now form the majority of the national representation. It is also ready to staft a new agrarian policy, according to the wishes of the landowners. On the other hand, the nobles do not pretend to dispute in principle the autocratic rights and privileges. They are quite ready to admit, in theory, that the "historical power", of the Czar remains what it ever was, and that "the Czar preserves his free-will" jn dealing with the "Fundamental Law" of the Empire, as he dealt with it on June 20, 1907, to their great benefit.

A kind of political equilibrium is certainly attained. The immediate danger that the national representation is to be abolished entirely is now averted. And from feeling ourselves an integral part most venomous form. Of course the this is the consoling feature in the situ- of a great whole, which never can feel ation. But is this equilibrium stable? quite happy while one of its members Is the collision of class interests awakened by the revolution now over, and a "peaceful renovation" of Russia likely to begin with the third Duma? After all we have said, we cannot answer these questions in a positive way.

> If any conclusion may be drawn from our preceding analysis, it must be this: The struggle for a constitution became violent class struggle, with all its embitterment and mutual hatred. Great masses arose to the consciousness of the real cause of their social misery, and have learned to know who are their real friends and enemies. If the "revolution" in Russia has lost something of its external dramatic character, it is not because the movement has been obliterated, but because it now strikes

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much deeper root in the lower social strata. The real and the terrible dramatic sense of the events which may still unroll before your eyes, ladies and gentlemen, does not confine itself to the risa and fall of certain "heroes" and great personages, whose fate you may follow with interest. And it is not exhausted by some appalling statistics of people shot or hanged, houses burnt, servants of the Czar blown up or assassinated, conspiracies discovered and the like, The interest of the struggle lies much deeper. The social composition of the Future Russia is now at stake. The fate of centuries to come is now being determined. And this explains why the masses, silent and mute as they may appear, put all their heart, all their hope, into the issue of the present movement. and why the movement cannot end until, in one way or in another, its main problems are settled. And what are the forms which try to hold it in check? The alliance of the two decaying political powers for their

cwn self-defence cannot obstruct the roy; I, historical road the nation is following. The childish explanation of the movement, as initiated and fostered by a foreign or anti-Russian intrigue, cannot do away with its deeper causes. And the foolish idea that the peasants of our commun's can be changed at once into private proprietors can only couse new ferment in our villages, noneycombed with poverty and famine as they are. In short, wherever we turn or look we -nly meet with new trouble to come, nowhere with any hope for conciliation and social peace. That, I am afraid, is not the message

you expected from me. I would be much happier myself if I could answer your wish for information with words of good hope and with the glad tidings that quiet and security have returned to Russia. But I am here to tell you the

What do I want from you in exchange? As soon as I left for America, official newspapers in Russia began ftelling the lie that I was coming to this country in order to get money for my party. This, as you know, is their way of discrediting everything and everybody connected with the movement for Freedom in Russia. I need not refute them. But perhaps I did really come here for some kind of help. Anybody acquainted with the large liberality which is practised here for everything that is humanely good, would not be shocked or surprised by the supposition, and why not? Every foreigner who comes here to this "Sweet Land of Liberty" is supposed to want from her infinitely more than he can offer to her on his part. Well, then, I agree, ladies and gentlemen, that I really want from you something very precious and of very great moment for my country. I am wooing here for your human sympathy; sympathy with all the enormous pain and suffering of the poor and downtrodden in my country; sympathy with every noble exertion which seeks to put an end to all this pain and suffering, And what can I give you back for it? Nothing, ladies and gentlemen, nothing at all except this very feeling of the heart which ennobles everyone who is capable of being affected by it. If I really succeed in arousing in you once more that sympathy for human suffering, well, then, you and I shall have reached the level where no difference in habits, in way of thinking, no varying shades of expression, can prevent us is suffering anywhere. I appeal to you in the name of that great whole humanity; and in doing so, I am quite sure to give you back as much as I receive. At least, for myself, I do not know of anything so apt to elevate one's sentiment and one's intelligence to higher spheres of existence as that feeling which keeps one in touch with new worlds of humanity. That is why I was happy to cross the ocean in order to address you this evening, an occasion which I shall never forget.

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1908.

"Numbers without union are powerless, And union without knowledge is use-

-ANONYMOUS.

TOTALLY UNNECESSARY.

On Tuesday, January the 20th, the Senate rejected the nomination, submitted by the President, of a pension agent for the State of New Hampshire. Washington dispatches thereupon announced at the President has decided to abolish the office of pension agent in New Hampshire as "totally unnecessary."

Theodore Roosevelt, the enfant terrible of the capitalist class, made the first sible utterance of his life, official and otherwise, when after trying to fill the see of pension agent in New Hampshire and failing, he discovered that the same was "totally unnecessary." The observation is the keynote to a song that in all likelihood Theodore Roosevelt will live to hear re-echoed from one end of the country to the other, only amplified to meet the facts in the case. One day the full-throated cry will rise from the breasts of the working class of the land "All politicians are TOTALLY UN-NECESSARY-cancel their offices! All political appointees are TOTALLY UN-NECESSARY—away with their berths! All capitalists are TOTALLY UNNEC-SARY-put them to work like honest

The fact that the pension agent for New Hampshire was "totally unnecesnot dawn upon Theodore evelt until his wishes (shall one say his material needs?) were crossed by the ate. That instant the scales dropped from the Presidential eyes on the ject of the pension agent for New ire. A vast number of peoplebut not yet either sufficient in numbers, or properly organized—have long sus-pected that it is not the pension agent pected that it is not the pension agent for New Hampshire only who is "totally but the whole corps of officials, together with the idle capitalist class, which requires such officials. sevelt's material needs enlightened him as to the pension agent of New Hampshire; the increasing material interests of the masses in the land will ortionately enlighten them. Rooseit helped the enlightenment along with

It has been said that it is all a myth, that story about dying swans singing beautiful songs. It may be a myth as to swans; it is no myth as to a crossed President with a dying term of office.

MODERN "CANDIDES" AND "IN-

There can be no doubt that a broad grin will suffuse the countenance of a d many people who read the account the proceedings in the Naturalization au when Wenzel Moeth and Michael Laden applied on January 21 for admission to citizenship, and were refused. Nor can there be any doubt that the story is published in the capitalist press as a good joke. But is it a joke?

Moeth and Laden, being asked who make the laws in this country, answer ed: "Roosefelty and Fairybanks."

The answer was a flash of unconscious ijus-that genius that all people who are familiar with the sallies of bright dren have more than once been

The laws of the land are not, directly or indirectly, made by the people. The mittee of the capitalist class. In modera society the capitalist class has just function—the function of despotizing over the working class, and keeping it in subjection. That being the collective work of capitalist government, such work may well be considered typified in some one or two men, who are the innation of capitalism. On the same type-so likewise is it correct to say national

that, to-day, the laws are made by Roosevelt and Fairbanks. When Moeth and Laden said the laws were made by "Roosefelty and Fairybanks" they simply uttered with the lisp of childhood a chunk of unsophisticated wisdom not uncommon with bright children.

There is much more than appears on the surface in the biblical passage "of them (children) is the kingdom of heaven." With that keen penetration of his Voltaire freed the biblical utterance of the theological incrustation that dulls and deadens its deep philosophy. In Voltaire's novels, the heroes he launched forward to criticise society and tear off society's mask of hypocrisy, were not the graduates of Sorbonne, or other "seat" of learning." His heroes were unsophisticated by learning; and deliberately he chose for them names indicative of the fact-"Ingenu" (Ingenuous or Frank), "Candide," etc. Voltaire's Candide and Ingenu, traveling over the country, candidly and ingenu-ously expressed their views of things as things struck them—and every utterance from their unsophisticated minds unerringly hit bull's eye, and tore down some social lie.

Moeth and Laden are the Candide and Ingenu of the occasion. They hit the bull's eye-however unintentionally. It is the "Roosefeltys and Fairybanks" who actually make our laws.

WHAT OF THE CHILDREN?

What of the children? is a question to which various nations, each at its own time, has given its own answer. The worshippers of Moloch used them as food for an idol; the Athenians by the sports of the gymnasium and palaestra, trained them to the maximum of beauty, strength, and intellectuality. The enlightenment of a nation may in great measure be judged by the care it takes of its children.

How, judged by that standard, fares modern capitalist America? A little consideration will show that it ranks below the detested Moloch worshippers. They but killed individual children. Those that were left remained hale and vigorous; those that perished perished quickly and without wanton torture. The modern captalist begins to kill the child before it is born, by the malnutrition and overwork of its parents, and even, perhaps, by forcing the mother to work at a factory sewing machine or a mill loom 12 hours per day. No sooner is the child born than capitalism, in the guise of impoverished food, impure air and cramped quarters, begins the deadly work on it, in its own person. If the child lives to grow up, it may never be allowed to see the inside of a school room. If it escapes this degradation, it goes to school for a short period, usually in such physical condition that it is unable to realize the best results from its study, and is then, before it is ripo for the world, torn loose and thrown into the factory's maw, which it had only temporarily escaped. More children are every year killed by capitalism than the furnaces of Moloch ever claimed; and those that are left are robbed of

which, among the fire-worshippers, the undestroyed infants retained. The New York State Hospital for Deformed and Crippled Children reports for 1907 the paltry number of 68 patients treated. Of these, 22, the greatest number from any one county, come from New York County-Manhattan Island. Thirty-nine of the total 68, or more than the gentleman worthy of specimen dishalf, were suffering from tuberculous tinction. He is entitled to the distincdiseases of the joints. Tuberculous dis- tion on a separate score. eases, scrofula, and kindred ailments are being increasingly recognized as developing from and as being fostered by insufficient food. Is anything being done to remedy this condition?

the heritage of health and robustness

City Superintendent of Schools Maxwel reports that more than half of the children now attending schools are sufder their study. "The conditions of modern city life tend to produce physical Crowding in ill-lighted tenements, insufficient feeding, lack of play room are among the conditions of modern city life which he blames for this state of affairs. Is anything being done to remedy these conditions?

A few State hospitals cannot compensate for the system which leaves thou sands of children disabled and handicap ped in life by unfit food or surroundings A few orphan asylums cannot compen sate for the system which robs tens of thousands of father and mother. A capitalist two-times-two education, caught on the fly between cradle and sweatshop. cannot compensate for the millions who are deprived of any at all. Making every allowance possible, and considering that to-day, for the first time in human history, enough is producible to feed, clothe, and house all in comfort, capitalism still remains the most profligate of its children's lives of all the systems of

What of the children? Capitalism fole that history speaks of the "art says, Anything, so long as my profits Raffael" meaning not merely what flow in. Socialism alone can answer, A fact actualy painted himself, but all | full and joyous life be theirs for they ns of which he was a are the future men and women of the

society ever known.

NOT THREE BUT MANY.

The New York "Evening Post"-organ of the free trade and rifle-diet-tothe-working-class wing of the capitalist class-is of the opinion that the panic killed three superstitions: the superstition that a Republican administration is good for business; the superstition that a high traiff is a bulwark against hard times; and third, the superstition that a large per capita of circulating medium means financial safety. Quite neatly the "Evening Post" proves we have a Republican administration, a high tariff and a large per capita, and still an appalling panic prevails. The "Evening Post" stopped short just when it threatened to become interesting. The series of superstitions which the panic either killed or crippled for life does not stop where the "Evening Post" stopped. The series goes on, to wit:

It used to be a widespread superstition that the capitalist is a "Pillar of Merality"-The panic made havoc of that superstition. It was not misfortune or accident that caused the panic, but downright swindle. The swindle having worn out its legs, it fell down, and capitalists in considerable numbers died of "apoplexy."

It used to be a widespread superstition that the capitalist class is an intelligent class, a class with the special genius required to keep business steady. -The panic staved in the head of that superstition. The capitalist is pitchforked by the panic as a bubble on the wave; an ignoramus who trusts to luck. It used to be a widespread superstition that Socialism simply slandered existing government by styling it "capitalist government."-The panic knocked the bottom from under that superstition by exhibiting the government ready to

place the whole Federal financial re-

sources at the disposal of the capitalist

class, whereas the government has not a

red copper with which to assist the workers in distress. It used to be a widespread superstition that the capitalist is a tub standing on its own individualistic bottom, and thereby the beacon of individualism .-The panic tore the superstition to tatters by exhibiting the capitalist class as a row of bricks in unstable equilibrium, leaning one upon the other, and dropping flat like windrows the moment

any one of the lot was knocked over. It used to be a widespread superstition that the capitalist class was an eagle in foresight.-The panic approved the capitalist as blind as a bat.

The series of superstitions that the panic treated roughly may be prolonged almost indefinitely. And therein lies one of the social missions of panics.

SPECIMEN JOHN R. WALSH.

The president of the Chicago National Bank, John R. Walsh, is to-day a convicted felon. The original indictment contained 182 counts. Demurrers were sustained as to 32 counts. He was convicted on the remaining 150 counts. As president of the Chicago National Bank Walsh loaned the pretty sum of \$16,000,ooo, not upon securities, good, bad or indifferent, but to support a number of struggling enterprises which HE owned Accordingly, bank president Walsh used \$16,000,000 of the people's moneys to promote his own private ventures. Such 'cleverness," "push" and "enterprise" as Walsh displayed is too humdrum to entitle him to the distinction of a specimen. Not on this particular score is

When the mouthpieces of capitalism find themselves confuted and refuted in facts and principle, they frequently resort to the myth of the "self-made" man They set up some "self-made" man, and say here is the proof conclusive that he who is "clever," "pushing," and "enterprising" can become rich. Only the fering from physical ailments which hin- stupid remain poor. John R. Walsh was a "self-made" man. He began life as many a self-made man is said to have defects and disease in children," he says. begun it, "a penniless boy selling newspapers,"-and he rose majestically into a striped penitentiary suit.

John R. Walsh, like his kind, was held up, and he did himself hold up himself as a sample of "what can be done" provided the doer is "clever," "pushing' and "enterprising." He is a specimen of his kind. For one thing, how many men were unmade in order to "make" this one? Walsh's finale throws a light back upon the rungs of the ladder by which he climbed. His track is strewn with others' ruin. For another thing, the moral atmosphere of the self-made man is exemplified by Walsh.

That there is not a single "self-made' man of the several who are held up to public gaze, who did not travel the identical road that Walsh traveled, and who, if he had his deserts would not be just where Walsh is to-day, every intelligent man knows. The capitalist is no better than his social system. Crimes are the rungs by which capitalism rises-so the 'self-made" man.

And such are the specimens that pulpiteers, professors, politicians and capitalist press sing in chorus the praises of and urge the youth of the land to emu-

PROF. PAUL MILYUKOV'S AD-DRESS.

A rare treat is offered in this issue to the readers of The People by the publication in full of the address delivered at Carnegie Hall on the evening of January the 14th, before the Civic Forum, by Paul Milyukov, the leader of the Constitutional Democrats in the present

Milyukov is the first non-Socialist who does not misquote the sociology of Marx. The analysis that he makes of the present revolutionary movement in Russia is masterly. Socialists, will of course, disagree with the workableness of the Constitutional Democratic program presented by Milyukov, and it is not unlikely that Milyukov himself, though now sadder, is also a wiser man. But it is the privilege of the Socialist, just because he is drilled in Marxian philosophy, to pity the fate that compels a Milyukov to "drag his anchor" as he is now unfortunately doing, in the tempest that is raging in Russia.

Milyukov's analysis of the situation in Russia, backed by the facts that he marshals to the front, is about the best vindication yet produced by socio-political development of the Marxian philosophy The circumstance that the vindication is enacted upon so broad and conspicuous stage as Russia adds vividness thereto. The course of social evolution is from

to representative political government; genius, from representative political government to Industrial Administration, or Socialism. To express the same thought in fellows in bondage, Burns' first tilt was other words-and from another viewpoint-human society starts in the mobo eracy of individualism; from the mobocracy of individualism to autocratic individualism; from autocratic individualism to the organized individuality of a ruling class; from the organized individuality of a ruling class to the organ- it by the Roman Catholics and the Proized individuality of the whole people. Russia found herself, on the eve of-the, terian creed to the people. It was only revolution, at the second stage of the process. But that stage was not as bloody contention that Calvinism triclearly marked as it was and is found in other countries. That second stage gion of Scotland. The struggle bred had not yet solved within itself the elements for the third stage. Milyukov any that had gone before. The Westblames the Socialists with "sheer madness" for undertaking "the struggle with the capitalists before their struggle with the Old, as well as the New Testament, the autocracy had come to a satisfactory in their turn became school text-books, ending." The charge is correct - but until in the end the whole public and therefore draws the Constitutional Democrats themselves under the ban. Constitutional Democracy under conditions' such as Milyukov admits-an in- and the ethics of barbarism, significant industrial proletariat overtopped by an overwhelming mass of primitive peasantry-is out of the question. Milyukov's exposition demonstrates the fact-which, strange to say, the Professor does not seem to realize, and at only the consequences of which he sighsthat Russia is not yet ripe to move out of the second into the third social evolutionary stage, and that all that can be expected, by the light of history, confirmed by present experience in Russia, is that the present titanic struggle in Russia-the generous sacrifice of human life, the abnegation, devotedness and lofty morality of the Revolutionary forces - is to frighten and chasten the Autocracy into dropping its extreme barbarous habits and

mitigated despotism. It follows from this estimate-

enter into a career of gentleness, or

First, that the orbit in which Russian society is at present moving is that intermediary orbit which preludes the change from autocracy to representative government-an intermediary orbit that all other capitalist nations have had to travel and that some of them, Germany, for instance, is not yet quite out of.

Second, that, although the aspirations of the Russian Socialists were unjustified, nevertheless their TACTICS, that is, their extremely harsh methods, were the correct ones, while the gentler and seemingly more rational tactics of the Constitutional Democrats rather harmed than did good. Barbaric autocracy is only encouraged to persist in its barbarism if assailed with the weapon of civilization. Physical force, and physical force only, only the dread of death can penetrate the hide of barbaric autocracy, and constrain it to gentler ways.

There is a third conclusion-it concern not Russia; it concerns America-for the very reason that, in Russia, the extreme Socialist tactics were the only ones from which ultimate practical results could flow, in America such tactics are unnecessary; while, for the very reason that the aspiration of the Russian Socialists were unjustified, it is their slogan-"The unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class!"-that alone can meet requirements in America. Prof. Paul Milvukov's address may

for the reasons stated above, be consid ered a revolutionary chart for the people of America. Nor does the curious cir cumstance that a Bishop Potter, a political capitalist pulpiteer, presided at the unrolling of the chart detract from its value. The circumstance rather adds zest to the chart by furnishing an additional illustration of the fact that, such a chart before our people.

BURNS CELEBRATIONS

THEY OBSCURE THE REAL WORK DONE BY THE POET FOR HUMAN AD-VANCEMENT.

men, whose kind the poet in his day Thomas Paine. castigated, extolled the merits of the man whose name lives as poet of the people. Many and varied were the speeches, toasts and tributes paid to the his death. "The Holy Fair," depicting unquestioned genius of Burns by these the sensuous revel that took place at the sycophants of to-day. One can in administration of the sacrament, took imagination hear their glib talk about the country by storm. On these occahis passionate utterances, his tenderness, nature that make the songs of Burns the opportunity to hit the bunch colunexcelled; all of which is true enough, for without doubt Robert Burns stands high in the ranks of lyric poets.

But Burns was more than an "inspired rustic" "flinging his wood notes wild" poems of Burns. "Holy Willie" was a he was a man, with a man's work to dothe work of freeing his countrymen from superstition. And it is just this work that the preachers and other orators in speaking passed by with little or no reference to it, except perhaps the attempts to explain it away as an idioanarchy to despotism; from despotism syncracy to be expected of a man of

In his revolt against the power and conventionalities that held him and his with the Church. Of all the creeds of the Reformation the Calvinism of the Presbyterian Church was the most logical, merciless and blasphemous. That it got a footing in the affection of the people is to be explained only on the theory that the bitter fight made against testant Episcopals endeared the Presbyafter one hundred years of fierce and umphed and became the established relia fanaticism worse, if anything, than minster Catechism became a school-book; the Proverbs of Solomon and the rest of private life of the people became subjected to the authority of the book which sets forth Jewish mythology, folk-lore

The revolt from Roman Catholicism was so extreme that it proved fatal to the fine arts. Because Rome had elaborate musical service, Presbyterians cut out music entirely. In fact, a studied effort was made to frame everything connected with their worship in distinct opposition, in all things, to the methods of the Church of Rome. And worse than the Roman priests whom they supplanted were the long-faced ministers of the Calvin-Knox persuasion. Laugh ter and joy became sins; long faces and groans were evidences of future happiness; belief in the devil was strong; hell, devil and damnation were droned out Sunday after Sunday until the minds of men and women became affected by oppressive fears, by dread that paralyzed mind and limb. Under the damnable superstition and ignorance thus en gendered, the people quietly submitted to the rule of laird and minister. The preacher taught that the heavenly king had delegated to the laird the temporal power and to himself the spiritual power. The people, without much questioning, accepted this and by continual toil and privation provided for the two branches of the Lord's anointed. "'Tis God's Will," said they, echoing the preacher's cant.

Luckily, here and there could be found "agents of the devil" who didn't swallow all of the sermonizings. These were brave spirits, for under Calvinism an "infidel" could get into the fire long before he reached hell. This is no exaggeration, for Calvinism, like most of the other Christian bodies, has burnt its thousands.

In the time of Burns, these superstitions, while not so implicitly believed in, were perhaps all the stronger as institutions, just as at present we see less faith in courts of law and yet a greater exercise of power by them. Great mental darkness prevailed when Burns

WORKERS' MISERY INCREASES.

The mildness of the winter up to now

has minimized somewhat the suffering

due to the panic: it almost seemed as if

the wind had been tempered to the shorn

lamb, but the blizzard of Thursday night,

followed by indications of a further cold

wave has added the sting of cold to the

agony of hunger. The balminess that

is the pulse of the Movement in America.

that our capitalists are Providentially

driven to counter-act their policy of

spreading ingnorance, by themselves pre-

siding at the unrolling of so valuable

On Jan. 25 all over the English speak- | turned the keen searchlight of his satire ing world celebrations were held in honor into the deep recesses of holy gloom, and of the 149th anniversary of the birth so well did he light those caverns of of Robert Burns the poet. Smirking superstition that mask it as they may, preachers, who really hate the poet's the preachers of this day hate the name name, made speeches; and propertied of Burns much as they hate the name of

The poet was in his twenty-sixth year when he had his first tilt with the Church, and the warfare only ended with sions relays of preachers were on hand and of the love-lit fancy and truth ot to stir up the people, and Burns took lectively as well as showing up each one's characteristics separately.

"Holy Willie's Prayer" is another of the sarcastic and "too daring" of the member of the church by which Burns had been censured for "immorality." "Willie" was a "professing Christian who made free with the money of the poor of the parish, and he who had censured the poet was found drunk and died in a ditch. In this poem the praver of the Pharisee in the parable is outdone and in addition Burns makes us laugh at the hypocrite and the Church which he typified.

The celebrated "Tam o' Shanter" is another poem in which the poet launches the shafts of his satire at superstitions that prevailed in his day. "The inimitable tale" Scott calls this poem. In it are grouped all the things in which the orthodox expressed belief: devils, witches, warlocks, and it was the supreme stroke of genius to marshal all these hosts of the nether world in a church—the one place alone responsible for the malignant belief.

That Burns did not have any greater respect for the temporal power of the laird than he had for the spiritual power of the preacher is abundantly shown in his works.

In "Man Was Made to Mourn," we read the lines:

See yonder poor, o'erlabor'd wight, So abject mean and vile. Who begs a brother of the earth To give him leave to toil; And see his lordly fellow-worm The poor petition spurn, Unmindful, though a weeping wife And helpless offspring mourn.

Again, in a "Winter Night," the smothering snow is told that not all its rage and chill is equal to the injustice that man on brother-man bestows and continues:

See stern oppression's iron grip, Or mad ambition's gory hand, Sending, like bloodhounds from the

Woe, want and murder o'er a land,

In "The Jolly Beggars" is the rollicking chorus:

A fig for those by law protected! Liberty's a glorious feast! Courts for cowards were erected, Churches built to please the priest.

In "The Twa Dogs" Burns shows that he was a keen observer of the social conditions of his time. This poem is a and a poor man's collie-the one kept for pleasure, the other has duties to per form. Landlordism crushed the cotter who, as before stated, accepted his condition as God-ordained. The only conmentary on this poem in my copy of the poet's works says the picture of the collie is particularly true to life, but there are other lines in the poem not descriptive of collies, but showing how the factor exacted the last penny from the cotters while they had to stand it "wi' aspect humble." Despite all that preachers and the

class of the lairds may say against Burns, we gladly join in the refrain of his song:

For a' that, and a' that, It's comin' yet for a' that, When man to man, the warld o'er, Shall brithers be for a' that! H. S. K.

has prevailed up to now made endurable the thin clothing and the broken foot covering of the needy, but now the chilling blast and the snow will search in to the marrow of the unprotected. In the tenements the inmates must shiver over their little fires, lucky indeed if able to buy coal bythe pail at the rate of about \$10 a ton, while the out of work fathers tramp the streets vainly hunting for work.

In Boston, Bridgeport, New Britain and other Eastern cities there have been parades of the unemployed, while in

(Continued on page 6.)



UNCLE SAM AND

BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN - The world seems to be going crazy!

UNCLE SAM-What about?

B. J.—You can't open a paper without your eye alights on the word "Socialism." Is is "Socialism" here, "Social-

ism" there, "Socialism" everywhere. U. S .- I should take that for a sign of increasing sanity.

B. J .- "Sanity!" There is something about you Socialists, I mean good fellows like you, that puzzles me.

U. S .- I may be able to unpuzzle you. What is it? B. J .-- You are so kind-hearted, yet so

cruel. You mean to do the best for people, and you go about deliberately to do the worst for them; you mean them to be happy, and you seek to insure their unhappiness. U. S. (looks amused) -In what wav?

B. J .- You think I am fooling. I am not. You want the workingmen to enjoy the beauties of the Socialist Republic. Now, I admit that the Socialist Republic must be the most enjoyable abode for man possible.

U. S .- If that is so, in what way are we Socialists encompassing the unhappiness of the people?

B. J.-I was just about to explain that. Now, it so happens that with all their troubles and miseries, he working class ARE contented. Their life is not a happy one, I admit that ,too. Nevertheless, in order to reach that point where they will be enjoying the happiness of the Socialist Republic, it is, first of all, necessary to render them discontented with their present lot. Without you do that you couldn't get them to

II S .- Granted!

B. J.-So that in order to reach the expected happiness of the Socialist Republic, you must begin by robbing them

of their present happiness. U. S .- "Present happiness"?

B. J .- Yes; that happiness that always attends content. And, then, suppose you Socialists do succeed in establishing the Socialist Republic, and along with it, all the joys that you expect. Will the game be worth the candle to these poor workingmen?

U. S .- I most assuredly think it would. B. J.-Let's see! the higher the plane on which man stands, all the more sensitive is he. A fly has less feeling than a mouse, a mouse less than a monkey, a monkey less than a man. Man stands on the highest plane, but he has to pay dear for that by being subjet to tortures that the lowly fly knows naught of. Raise the lowly workingmen to the giddy elevation of the citizenship of the Socialist Republic or Co-operative Commonwealth, and it will be to him as if you raised a fly from its present lack of sensitiveness, i. e., happiness. Which is why I say you Socialists mean to impart happiness to the masses, and only lay the ground for their greater unhappiness. You must admit this.

U. S .- All is not said by looking at one side of a medal.

B. J .- Is there another side of this medal? U. S .- Very much so. Man in the So-

cialist Republic is more sensitive, consequently, will be subject to sorrow not dreamed of by him to-day; consequently will be unhappier. Therefore, it is wrong to work for the Socialist Republic. That's your argument? B. J.-That is.

U. S.-Consequently, this must also follow: life at the stage of human devel-

opment is infinitely more sensitive, consequently subject to pains not dreamed of by life at the stage of the fly development: therefore, we should wish to be flies and not men. That is your position. Now, how much further back the scale of development would you like man to go, so as to reach YOUR ideal state of happiness. B. J. remains mute.

U. S .- Your silence is more elequent.

than your speech. Yielding to the vanity of wishing to seem philosophic, you have taken a stand which, if it means anything, is an advocacy of Retrogression, of Bestiality. Your silence shows that your betier parts recoil from your pretense to philosophy. Aye, "better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay." The arguments against Socialism are in seeming only. Socialism has all the trump cards.



will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

WHO CAN REPLACE THE THEFT? To the Daily and Weekly People:-Columbia University in the City of New York Jan. 22, 1908. Labor News Company, New York. Gentlemen:

Some time ago you were kind enough to give us several numbers of your Labor Library. These numbers we had bound in one volume, but this has been stolen from our library. We would like to have as complete a file of the numbers at this library as you can get together for us, and if possible, presented to us; but if you cannot do this kindly send them with bill.

Very truly yours, Margaret Van Zandt.

[The Labor Library referred to in the above communication was the leaflets issued some years ago by the Labor News, and of which we are not able to furnish a set as requested by Miss Van Zandt. Perhaps some of our friends have some of the numbers which they would be willing to send us in order that the request may be complied with as far as possible. Anyone having spare copies please send them to the Labor News.]

PROSPERITY IN PROVIDENCE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:-A careful canvass of the leading manufacturing establishments of this city shows beyond a doubt that the industrial situation is not improving.

Brown & Sharp are working two gangs alternating every week, the idea being Party; to keep the high class mechanics in town with just barely enough to keep them

The American-British Co. (old Corliss but very few men working in any of the the columns of The People; great shops that were but lately completed. Colvins Iron Foundry reports very few new orders. The Rhode Island such action; therefore be it Tool Co. are running but the manager stated he had absolutely no new orders.

the depression, and have let many men refuses to recognize Section Toronto of the construction gangs go. The office force may be curtailed at an early date.

The small fellows are feeling the pressure. Many will never get their heads above the water. The jewelry trade is lution be sent to the Daily and Week-Long rows of empty banches greet the visitor where six months age were working men and women, boys and girls.

There is talk of opening the Union Trust Co. The receivers found 14,000 depositors whose savings amounted to \$31 each. The Socialists' contention that the workers deposit but a small amount of the money placed in savings banks is

The weather here has been mild, otherwise we would see great suffering. E. A. Sec. Providence, R. I., Jan. 21.

LYNN'S "PROSPERITY."

To the Daily and Weekly People:-In this city business is paralyzed. The states may be of interest to the readshoe industry is at a standstill and the General Electric Co. is doing nothing. Out of 8,000 or 10,000 employes there are not 2,000 working three days a week. They shut down all last week, and worked only three days this week; and now they are shut down for ten days more.

In my forty years' residence in Lynn,

I never saw so much poverty as I have seen for the last four or five months, and if it were a cold winter I don't know what the poor would have done. The loyed of Boston, led by one Morrison L. Swift, marched to the State House some time ago and presented Governor Guild with a petition to do something for them. They were referred to the Free Employment Bureau, where they got nothing. They were going to hold a meeting on Boston Common yesterday afternoon, but when they got to the Common they were met by twenty mounted police who marched them out of Boston to the town of Brookline and told them not to return.

The local press is having everything "booming" here. They said some time ago that the General Electric Co, was ng to put 6,000 hands to work. The fact is that you can not get within a mile of the office where they do the hiring; they don't open the office at all, nor have they for the last month. Instead they have a sign "No help of any kind

"Friend of labor" Hearst has lost in

strike for the old prices; then they demanded that he recognize the newsboys' union. He told them to go to a warm climate, so he advertised in eight cities for 25 men in each place at \$2 per day. They were told to apply between 9 and 10 o'clock at a local office in this city. but before 9 o'clock next morning there were from 12 to 15 hundred waiting instead of 25.

My advice to anybody is to keep away from Lynn for some time to come.

West Lynn, Mass., Jan. 23.

HASTY ACTION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:-The following resolution was adopted at the regular business meeting of Mixed Local 198, I. W. W., of Toronto, Canada, on Thursday, January 16th.

Whereas, There has recently been organized in this city a section of the Socialist Labor Party, chartered by the National Executive Committee of London, Canada:

Whereas. The organizer of said section, in the person of one Gus. A. Mayes, has seen fit, through the columns of The People, to discredit Local 198, I. W. W., in this city by claiming that said local has repudiated its own preamble insofar as they do not recognize the necessity of political action or a political organization, and insinuates among other things, that members of Local 198 have thrown down The People, and consider the S. L. P. as being dead:

Whereas, Such opinion is erroneous inasmuch as Local 198 fully endorses the preamble in its fullest sense, and its members recognize the usefulness of The People and the Socialist Labor

Whereas. At a meeting of said section of the S. L. P. certain members of Local 198, being present, asked for a retraction of such false statements Engine Works), are practically down, such retraction to be made through

> Whereas, No disposition was manifested at said meeting to take any

Resolved. That until such time as reparation is made in the way men-The electric lighting company have felt tioned Local 198, I. W. W., of Toronto, S. L. P., as truly representing the principles of the Socialist Labor Party; and be it further

Resolved. That copies of this resodead. The shops are practically idle. ly People and the Industrial Union

W. Pickering, Secretary. [An answer, from a member of Lo-

cal 198 of Toronto, to the article referred to was published in The People with Mayes' reply. The matter should have ended there. The readers of The People heard both sides. A continuation of the dispute can only stir up bad blood .- ED. THE PEOPLE.]

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN THE MIDDLE WEST.

To the Daily and Weekly People:-Just a little news of the conditions of ers of The People.

We read in the capitalist newspapers all about the restoration of confidence and how the benevolent employers of labor have put thousands of wage slaves back to work.

I am like the Missourian; they have to show me. Since Jan. 2, I have been through more than half my territory and I have four states to cover within a radius of hundred miles. Wherever I have been the same condition prevails.

To begin with Joliet, which is a great railroad center and, next to South Chicago, the largest steel town There the wire mills of the Steel Trust are located. What did I find there? Misery and starvation; no factories of any size working: business houses falling and those that remain finding it hard to meet their bills.

Next come Elgin and Aurora, both big factory towns with very important industries and many well to do farmers in the immediate vicinity. What did I find there? The same conditions as at the first mentioned place!

Then came Pullman and Kensington, about thirteen miles south of Chicago. In the model home town of Pullman,

originator of the infamous "Nothing to arbitrate" phrase in the strike of 1894 what did I find? In the surrounding factory towns thousands of wage workers out of work, looking for masters he newsboys' strike. He raised the and not able to find one. Thousands rice of his papers to the boys 20 per ent. The boys struck and won the find the same conditions and perhaps

worse over there. At Harvey, Ill., also a suburb of Chicago, where, ordinarily. thousands of wage slaves are employed at different factories, at present out of about 10,000 not over 500 are employed, and these are working at reduced wages (that is a secret told me by one

who knows). On the 12th that is last Monday, I was at Waukegen, Ill., thirty-six miles north of Chicago, and the story I heard in other places was given to me there. At Waukegan is located a very big plant of the United States Steel Co., with wire mills. The Corn Product Refineries, an immense institution employing many hundreds of workingmen are there too; also the National Envelop factory, the largest in the middle west, I believe. At these plants few are

Tuesday I was at Kenosha, Wis. There you will find the largest leather factory in the world, so I am told; also one of the largest brass foundries in the country. There the people have been working very little in the past ten weeks and the last four weeks most of the works have been closed down entirely; and to cap the climax the briss polishers have been on a futile strike. They are tied up with a contract which the labor lieutenant used to rake in dues. At other large factories all have been working two or three days per week since the panic

At Racine, Wis., a very important factory town with a population of about 36,000, out of about fifty different large and small industries, very few are working since last November and not all are working yet. Some run two or three days a week

In Racine is located the Case Implement Factory, and in the machine shop the molders have been on strike for two and a half years and they will keep on striking as long as the labor lieutenants will be able to rake in strike assessments at the rate of 25c. per week on every member of the molders unions

I spoke to the vice-president of the molders about nine months ago and he told me then they had the company beaten flat and that it would have to go into the hands of a receiver, but the poor dupes have been besten and their stomachs are getting flat (not the "leaders'" stomaches). As long as the other crafts scab on their fellow wage slaves the capitalist class is safe.

This morning I arrived in South Bend, Ind., a city of about 70,600, with factories of all descriptions. The principal among those are the Studebaker Carriage and Automobile Works. These employ about 6.000 men in all departments and out of all their force only 300 are employed at present. To-day I was told they are to close down entirely. Several hundred workingmen of different nationalities have gone back to their native lands. Next come the Oliver Farm Machinery and Implements Works. They have been closed some little time and are now working about five days per week, and 8 hours a day with, as you may think, 8 hours pay, (Next in importance is the Singer Sewing Machine Co.'s cabinet works. It is an immense factory. I have often seen thousands of workingmen swarm out of it in the evening. Not so many are employed there now, and for several weeks the works have been closed for repairs. Christmas in the working. men's houses was not overloaded with the good things that go to gladden the earts of those who want to be cheerful at that season. Other large factories are working only part of the time.

In the face of all this the capitalist hirelings go around lecturing the country and tell the working class that had it not hoarded up its savings but had trusted them to the banks, the panic would not have come about. These were the very words I heard a certain wiseacre saying in a lecture in a small town where I stayed over night on the 3rd. inst. Of course, I wouldn't have been allowed to answer him if I had tried

D. Ruduick. South Bend, Ind., Jan. 16.

There is every reason why the militant Socialist should keep up with the events of the times. In the first place that he be posted himself. In the second place that he may post others.

The Daily People will keep you posted. Try it for three months which

costs but One Dollar. Send in your subscription To-day. Jt Jt Jt DAILY PEOPLE

P. O. Bex 1576

New York.

HOW "PUBLIC OPINION" IS MANU-FACTURED IN GOLDFIELD.

P. C. Rawling Wins Addience to His Side-Resolutions Commending Governor Withdrawn-Mine Owners Tool Declares 1 Second Resolution Carried in Spite of Overwhelming Sentiment Against It.

Reno., Nev., January 19. - A mass meeting was held here recently about which the working class of the country needs to be informed more fully of. The meeting was called to order with a statepurpose was for all the citizens to express their views on the Goldfield trophle Legislature called to convene Jan. 14. The first thing done was to read a set of resolutions commending Governor and condemning the miners as lawless anarchists. The motion was about to be put to the

house by the chair, when P. C. Rawlings and in as few words as posible. asked permission to speak. After some hesitation the chair gave him ten minutes' time. The parties to the framed up resolution were allowed to speak as long as they wanted to. However, Rawlings made good uhe of his allotted time, but for a minute's time of interruption there by the mine owners for that pur-

Rawlings asked the cowards who were causing the disturbance in the vestibule to come into the hall and be men, and he would meet them any way that man ever met man. He stated that he was a member of Local No. 220, Goldfield Miners' Union, Western Federation of Miners, and that he was there to de fend the union against any and all comers. union in Racine and perhaps other in spite of all they could do. Rawlings in his eloquent appeal for justice won the crowd, and when the chair refused him more time the crowd cheered him again and again.

The framed up resolution was withdrawn to save it from certain defeat, and a committee was appointed to draft a new set. The committee consisted of ex-sheep herder (now millionaire) and ex-State Senator, P. L. Flanagan and four others, all members of the fine owners' State Rangers.

When the new resolution commending Sparks had been debated for some time by the advocates of corporation rule, President McKinnon of the Goldfield union accidentally got the floor and in a masterly way presented the miners' side of the strike at Goldfield. He challenged the legal lights and toughs of the mine owners present to refute any of his statement, but there was no reply from the self-styled "law and order" brig-

Rawlings asked permission to speak to the new resolution, but was refused by the chair. . Amid cries of "Rawlings! Rawlings!" and "Goldfield Miners' Union!" the chair put the resolution to a vote, and it was voted down by a big majority. In the face of all this the chair declared the resolution carried and immediately left the hall.

These are the men who cry out for the blood of the sturdy miners and are using every weapon which gold can buy to deprive them of their rights as Amercry out for the protection of their property, but are deaf to any appeal to make safe the mines where their twage slaves Wm. Jurgens. toil.

JOHN. F. PYER. Whereas, Comrade John F. Pyer has

been a loyal and active member of Section Bridgeport, Socialist Labor Party, for many years, ruhning on the ticket year after year, and Whereas, He, after a long, lingering

illness, now has been called to a premature end by the grim reaper Death, leaving a family to mourn the loss of their bread-winner; therefore to it Resolved, That we, Section Bridge-

port, S. L. P., in regular meeting assembled, express our heart-felt sympathy to the family in their present grief and bereavement; and be it Resolved. That we will work with

unabated zeal for the final overthrow of the present disease-breeding system: and be it further

Resolved. That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the family, to the Party press, and also be entered on the minutes.

J. C. Custer, Committee.

THE PROPERTY AND ADDRESS.

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

the province of the Editor of The People | wine that has lain in his cellar and to editorialize, at this stage of the pro- grown old, and that, when first put ceedings, on the Unity Proposition. The N. E. C. having issued the call to the Bawerk can not run so fast as not to be S. P., action thereupon must be awaited overtaken by the Socialist and brought

L. D. B., LOS ANGELES, CAL., and G. W. B., RED BLUFFS, CAL., AND the wine." In the first place they were CERN.-It will be impossible to publish ment from the presiding officer that the individual letters on the Unity Proposition. Such letters may not be boiled their publication in full. Under the head "As to Unity," only the utterances of organizations and extracts from Sparks for violating his oath of office, papers can be admitted. If any S. L. P. organization adopts a resolution, and there be a minority against it, the minority should express itself collectively

"READER," NIOBRARA, NEB .- Now to your third question. The S. P. was organized in 1900. It developed from the unity of Eugene V. Deb's original colony movement, and the seceders of the S. L. P. The seceding element difby a gang of hoodlums evidently sent fered from the main body on the ground of the attitude to be adopted towards the A. F. of L. The S. L. P. considered the A. F. of L. a bulwark of capitalism; the secodors held the opposite view. Next question next week.

> W. A. S., SYDNEY, N. S. W .- Now to your sixth question. Australia had a representative of her own at Stuttgart, separate and apart from the British

> W. P., DOVERCOURT, CANADA-Your resolutions were published in the Daily People immediately upon receipt, January 21, and could not yet appear in the Weekly.

> G. A. M., TORONTO, CAN,-The People can allow no more space to the Toronto controversy.

E. M. BRIDGEPORT, CONN.-When Socialists quote from Karl Marx's "Capital" they do so, the same as when they or anybody else quotes from a work that he approves. Marx's "Capital" is a work that explains the economic laws of capitalist society. As such, "Capital" is a work that demolishes capitalism and furnishes the reasons for Socialism

H. H. R., CHAMPAIGN, ILL.-Society does not live on wine fold, new or middling). Even Mallock does not seek to attack Marx on the ground of the H. S., CHAMPAIGN, ILL.; G. L. SAN "value" of such things as "old wines," "old coins," etc. Bochm Bawerk seeks WASH.; R. M., DENVER, COLO.; T. J. to run away from the real and only question , when he asks: "Who are the AL WORKER," PROVIDENCE, R. I .laborers that are exploited when the Matter received.

"READER," NEW YORK-It is not vine grower sells for \$100 a cask of there, could only fetch \$50? But Boehm down. Who are, in that instance, the laborers that are exploited?

Answer-"The laborers who produced

ALL OTHERS WHOM IT MAY CON. plundered of the bulk of their product when the wine was first pressed, and during the process that proceeded that. If the wine's value was, at the time, \$50, down. They must be published in full, they surely did not get that amount in and the extra session of the Nevada or not at all. Space will not permit wages. They were exploited to the extent of the difference between what they did get and what the wine was originally worth. As a consequence of that original exploitation, they were subsequently exploited to the extent of the difference between what they did get and the \$100 that the wine was subsequently worth. If I own a cow, big with calf, and a thief steals my cow, it takes a Boehm Bawerk to theorize that the calf, which my cow subsequently calved, does not belong to me but belongs to the thief of my cow. Logical reasoning, to say nothing of abstract morality, would argue that the appropriation of the calf subsequently born, only aggravates the original theft of my cow, and brings the original theft into all the stronger relievo.

> S. T., ELIZABETH, N. J.-Ist. A lerter quoting the Editor of the Volkseitung as having made the statement you claim can not be published over a fictitious name. Allow your name to appear and the letter will be published

2nd. The financial reports of The People are furnished to Party members by the N. E. C. through their respective State committees, Are you a Party

W. V. B., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL .-There is no such "abridged" edition of Marx's "Capital." Apply to the Labor News Co., 28 City Hall Place, this city, for its publications.

H. K., NEW BRITAIN, CONN .- The elippings were useless. They had neither date nor name of publication.

J. O. J., CINCINNATI, O .- The march of society is: First, mob; second, desnotism; third, representative action.

W. R. P. SPOKANE, WASH.; T. F. PHILADELPHIA, PA.; G. S. P., WOR-CESTER, MASS.: S.S., LOS ANGELES, CAL.; W. E. K., CHICAGO, ILL.; J. C., NEW YORK; E.'S. E. JERSEY CITY, N. J.; G. S. F., CINCINNATI, O.; C. C. C., PLEASANTVILLE, N. Y.; M. FRANCISCO CAL.; G. F., SPORANE, P., OLNEYVILLE, R. I.; "ELECTRIC-

AS TO UNITY

Unity Resolutions, adopted by the National Executive Committee of the S. L. P., at its semi-annual session, January 5-8 of this year, and also extracts, withother papers, on the said resolutions.]

Angeles, January 11.1

Local Biloxi, Miss., S. P .- That members of the Socialist Labor Party, or

York, January 16.]

and only last week the said "statesmen" really make this wonderful discovery only last week or did it happily serve ferred to our party. their purposes last week to make the discovery? In the first case they may label themselves "Idiotic Fanatics"; in the second case we label them "Shameless Hypocrites." . . . First of all, "Bund" congratulates the National Exthe leaders of the S. L. P. do not believe ecutive Committee of the S. L. P. upon that Unity will be realized. They know its call for unity, the ones higher up in the S. P. They know that these will use all their power | desirous of having one powerful Socialfor different results from their rsolu- ist Party, will, as speedily as possible,

In this column, and under the above tions. They probably hope that their tary, 170 Albion ave., Paterson; A. Leshead, will be reproduced the official acts resolutions will bring about a demorali- sig, Financial Secretary, 266 Governor ican citizens. These are the men who taken by the Socialist Labor Party and zation in the ranks of the S. P.; that street, Paterson, N. J. Socialist Party organizations on the this demoralization will later cause a Chicago, Illinois.-The 14th Ward split; and, as a consequence of this Branch, Socialist Labor Party, meets split, the left wing of the younger party every 1st and 3rd Sunday, 2 p. m. sharp, will attach itself to the elder. And then at Friedmann's Hall, S. E. corner Grand will the S. L. P. be the larger and and Western avenues. out comment, from S. L. P., S. P., and stronger party, and will be able to and women are cordially invited. whistle at the other.

P.) New York, January 23.]

"Unity with what, with a corpse?" exclaimed an old comrade when he heard any other party advocating Socialism, of the proposition made by the S. L. P. shall have the right to become members And with these words he described the of the Socialist Party by taking such situation to perfection. . . . The split action as is required of all others who in the Socialist Labor Party came about apply for membership in the Socialist mainly on account of the conflicting views entertained by the splitting wings upon the question of Trades Unionism. [From Jewish "Forward" (S. P.) New These conflicting views exist still. . .

The matter [unity] can be easily set-It is noteworthy that the "statesmen" tled by the rest of the Socialist Labor of the S. L. P. have for years without Party's applying for admission at the let-up shouted that the S. P. is a party respective locals of the Socialist Party, of fakirs, cockroach businessmenn, etc., as has been done by a large number of members of the former party, who apdiscovered that the comrades of both plied to us for admission and were acparties differ only in their opinion of cepted. By such a course the danger certain practical questions. Did they would be obviated of having the sins of the S. L. P. and its spokesmen trans-

> [Resolution of WATERBURY, CONN., Branch of the Bund.

The Waterbury, Conn., branch of the

We wish and hore, that both parties

open a free discussion in the press on the conditions for unity, and will also use all other means in order to bring about such unity.

Long Live the United Socialist Party of America!

With Socialist greetings,-The Waterbury, Conn., Branch of the "Bund."

[Resolution of Branch 54 Arbeiter Ring, N. Y.]

At our regular meeting, Friday, January 17th, the question of unity between the two Socialist parties was discussed. Considering the injury caused us workingmen by the division of the Socialist forces, we have decided to assist with all our might in order to bring about unity between the S. P. and the S. L. P. We also call upon all Socialist and progressive organizations to follow suit, so that our representatives should know our wish and act in accordance with the will of the progressive workingmen. With Socialist greetings, Branch 54,

Arbeiter Ring,-The Committee.

[From "Philadelphia Tageblatt" (S. P.) January 24.1

There is most particularly no unityquestion out of discussion -with the remaining De Leonites, because they are diametrically opposed to the correct mentioned policy [bore from within], to say nothing of other reasons. If they should pledge themselves to recognize the position of the Socialist Party toward trade unions, they will be welcome members. But "Unity" of organization with organization-is not, would be the greatest foolishness that could be committed.

SECTION CALENDAR.

Under this head we 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 883 McAllister 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 1414 Race street. General Committee meets every second and fourth Thursday. German, Jewish and Hungarian educational meetings every Wednesday and Sunday. Open every

night. 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 II 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., Sf Dyer st. room 8. Regular meetings second and

fourth Tuesdays of each month. New Jersey State Executive Contmittee, S. L. P.-I. C. Butterworth, Secre-

Workingmen

Section Seattle, S. L. P., headquarters, free reading room and lecture hall, No. [From "Common Sense" (S. P.) Los [From "Now Yorker Volkzeitung" (S. 2000 Second avenue. P. O. address,

Section Salt Lake, Utah, meets every Wednesday, 8 p. m., Rooms 4 and 5, Galena Block, 69 East 2nd So 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.

Section St. Paul, S. L. P., holds a business meeting every second Sunday in the month at 10 a. m. at Federation Hall, cor 3rd and Wabash streets.

PRACTICAL INSTRUCTION.

The following five pamphlets will give the reader the ground work of the principles and tactics of the Socialist movement:

1. Socialism.

2. What Means This Strike? 3. Reform or Revolution.

4. Burning Question of Trades Union-

5. Socialism Versus Anarchism. The lot with "Course of Reading" catalogus sent for 25 cepts.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO., 28 City Hall Place, New York City.

28 City Hall Place. CANADIAN S. L. P. National Secretary, W. D. Forbes, 412 Wellington Road, London, Ont. 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.

N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE. Regular meeting of the Sub-Commitwas held on January 25, at 28 City Hall Place. Present: Seldel, Lechner, Hammer, Zimmerman, Rosenberg, Malmberg, Orange, Wegener, Branchmann, Schwartz, Hall, Hanlon, Ball. Absent: Katz, Kihn. Chairman, Weg-

cording secretary. For Press Committee the following were elected: Wegener, Hall, Zimmerman, Brauchmann, and Resenberg.

ener. M. Rosenberg was elected re-

A. Orange was elected treasurer. It was decided to meet first and third Wednesdays of each month, at

Correspondence: From Salt Lake City, sending plan for increasing circulation of Party press. Moved by Seidel seconded by Hanlon, "That the communication from Section Salt Lake City be given to the Press Committee, for it to draw up a call on the lines laid down by Section Salt Lake City."

From Section Cincinnati, sending money for International assessment stamps, and Operating fund; also stating election of officers, and having set aside the fourth Thursday in each menth for discussion meetings.-Filed,

From Section Hartford, Conn.; that officers had been elected; that Klowansky had been suspended for one month for financial irregularities with party funds. Filed.

From Fellerman, Hartford, Conn. asking for addresses of former members of Section Bridgeport and giving Information. Attended to.

From Bridgeport, Conn., giving information, and stating election of mber to S. E. C. Filed.

From Cal. S. E. C., stating that Olive M. Johnson had been elected N. E. C. member from California, and sending credential. Filed.

From Newport News, Va., stating that Young and Campbell were there, sold literature, but were unable to hold meetings owing to unfavorable weath-

er. Filed. From Louisville, Ky., giving information. Filed.

From Fin. Sec'y, Salt Lake City, inquiring about money order sent some time ago. Answered and filed.

From Phoenix, Ariz., asking for in-ormation: Answered and filed. From East St. Louis, Ill., giving information. Filed.,

From National Secretary Barnes of the Socialist Party to the effect that he had received the letter containing the plutions of the N. E. C. of the Unity Resolutions of the N. E. C. of the S. L. P. and that copies of same were forwarded to the members of the National Committee, and the N. E. C. of the S. P. Filed.

From McConnell, Pittsburg, stating that State Secretary had refused to give him pledge to sign. Filed. From Lents, State Secretary, Pa.,

Pittsburg, stating reasons for not having sent pledge to McConnell. Filed. From Section Richmond, Va., regarding Young and Campbell, enclosing clippings and giving information.

From Secretary of State Committee of Virginia, giving information regarding Young and Campbell and asking at can be done by the N. E. C. in the matter of furnishing funds. Moved Orange, seconded by Hammer, "That fight for free speech in behalf of Young and Campbell be endorsed and membership be urged to contribute to that fund." Curried.

From C. Sperle, Somerville, N. J. sending \$1.00 for Young & Campbell defense fund,

From Young, Richmond, Va., stating under which he and Campbell were working; that plan has not as yet been published in The People; and calling for the establishment of a fund. Moved by Hammer, seconded by Brauchmann, "That the plan of having volunteer organizers, who are to have their salaries and expenses covered from the proceeds of the sales of literature above cost and from press subscriptions, be endorsed, and continued in operation as long as funds received for that purpose permit; the literature to be supplied from donations to the literature fund created for that purpose, and the secretary be instructed til Lynn delegates be prisent. to issue a call for such fund." Carried.

eedings of the N. E. C. held January From Seldel, resigning from Subsittee owing to being employed . on Dally People. Filed.

tive on committee. Flied.

From Gillhaus, San Francisco, giving | Executive Committeeman will render information regarding Section San a full report. Francisco, and requesting information. Attended to and filed.

From Janke, Indianapolis, giving information regarding local matters, and stating that the S. P. local is in favor of unity. Filed.

From Buffalo, asking for statement of Party plant. Secretary was instructed to reply that N. E. C. has taken action in the matter.

The following letter was received from Eugene V. Debs.

"Terre Haute, Ind., Jan. 9, 1908. "Mr. Frank Bohn,

"Nat. Sec'y. S. L. P., "New York, N. Y. "Dear Comrade:

"I have just received a copy of the Daily People of the 7th inst. containing the resolutions adopted by the Executive Committee of the S. L. P. on the unity question, and I drop you this line to extend congratulations to your board and to say that the resolutions, in spirit and purport, have my hearty concurrence. No matter what differences there may be they are not of sufficient account to prevent joint nominations and political unity all along the line in the National, State, and Local campaigns this fall. I shall do all I can to have the Socialist Party accept the resolutions of the Socialist Labor Party in the spirit in which they are offered. I am writing National Sec'y Barnes and sending an ar-

"Earnestly hoping for the successful outcome of this move and for a united and vigorous campaign against the common enemy, I remain,

ticle to the Appeal to Reason, urging

favorable action.

"Yours Fraternally,

"E. V. Debs." From Cal. S. E. C., sending resolutions on arrest and extradition of Mexican agitators (members of Mexican Liberal Club) and requesting that N. E. C. take matter in hand and issue call for protest meetings and financial aid. Decided to publish resolutions of Cal. S. E. C. in Party press.

From Hartford, Conn.; Paterson, N. J.: Cambridge, Mass.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Newport News, Va.; Boston, Mass.; Detroit, Mich.; Mass. S. E. C.; Plainfield; Somerville, N. J. and Tacoma, Wash., regarding election of officers. Filed.

In view of the early approach of the National Convention, it was moved by Orange, seconded by Hammer, "That a committee of two be elected to act in conjunction with the National Secretary to consider time and place for holding National Convention. Motion carried. Hanlon and Lechner were elected to act on such committee.

The National Secretary then read the financial report for the past four weeks as follows:

Week ending Jan. 4 Receipts \$31.31 Expenses \$52.46 " 11 18.38 60.84 " 18 V 71.75 20.00

55.00 Meeting then adjourned. Max Rosenberg, Sec'y.

MASSACHUSETTS S. E. C.

Meeting of the committee was held Wednesday, January 22nd, at 1165 Tremont street, Boston; Bohmbach in the chair. Present: Mortensen, Houtenbrink, and Sweeney.

Minutes of the previous meeting adopted as read,

sending out financial reports to sections and members-at-large for quarter ending December 1907; also notifieation of the election of John Sweeney as secretary-treasurer for ensuing

Adjournment followed.

Delegates to the 1908 S. E. C. were William Duffy was elected temporar

chairman. Credentials of delegates were accepted from Section Somerville, G. Lidd-

berg and N. P. Starnfelt. Section Boston: W. Duffy. P. Mulligan, F. Houtenbrink, and H. C. Hess.

Duffy was elected chairman. Communications: From Sections Worcester and Holyoke, campaign lists and monles and financial reports.

From Section Somerville, election of officers, financial report, and request for A. E. Relmer to speak at a public

From Section Lynn, stating that C. Sarmarco and J. Mayrello were elected delegates to S. E. C. From T. F. Brennan, of Salem, as

to the N. E. C. delegates report. Bill of N. E. C. delegate to January

session, \$21.65, ordered paid, Election of committees deferred un-A. E. Reimer spoke at length on pro-

5 to 8 in New York city. Voted to request members to attend From Katz, resigning from Sub- Section Boston headquarters, 1165 Tremnittee owing to inability to be ac- most street Sunday afternoon, Februa

ry 2, at two o'clock when the National

John Sweeney, Secretary.

NEW JERSEY S. E. C. Regular meeting of the New Jersey S. E. C., held on January 12th, at 184 Main street, Paterson. Delegates present: Herrschaft, Ball, Landgraff, Lessig, Butterworth. Chairman, Geo. P. Herrschaft.

Credentials from Essex county mem ber, Abe Tinfovitz, seated.

Correspondence:--Vote on N. E. C. member:

S. Hudson, Branch L-For Eck, 4; against, 1. S. Hudson, Branch II.-For Eck, 7; against 0. Passalc-For Eck. 14; against 0. Hoboken-For Eck 8: against 0. J. Johnson, Member at Large-For Eck, 1. Total, 34-1.

Correspondence:-From Eck, regards Section work, From California S. E. C., received. Financial Report from Branch H., S. Hudson. From Frank Bohn, wanting information of work done for S. E. C. by F. Young as State organizer.

Committee reports:-Herrschaft reported on disbanded North Hudson section; report received.

Delegates' reports:-Essex reported hall engaged for State convention, on February 22. Passaic had taken up the Kircher plan of selling the Sue books; reports received.

Financial Secretary reported receipts, \$6; cash on hand, \$39; Stamps, 48. Secretary complained about sections not remitting for International Congress Assessment Stamps; sections requested to settle as soon as possible.

John C Butterworth, Secretary.

TO SECTIONS IN NEW YORK STATE.

In accordance with circular letter sent sections a few days ago, Edmund Moonelis, Secretary Correspondence Bureau, will make a short trip through New York State, visiting sections named below, on days set opposite each, to discuss matters in connection with the coming campaign. His dates are Auburn-Friday, Jan. 31.

Buffalo-Saturday, Feb. 1.

Jamestown-Monday, Feb. 3. Besides this, Boris Reinstein, member of the N. E. C. from New York, will make two stops on his return home to Buffalo from New York City, taking up the same matter with sections he visits as above, besides reporting proceedings of last N. E. C. session held in New York City Jan, 5th to 8th. His dates are:

Albany-Troy-Schenectady (meeting at Troy)-Wednesday, Jan. 29. Rochester-Thursday, Jan. 30.

Sections will therefore please call meetings for this purpose. Fred A. Olpp, Sec'y; N. Y. S. E. C., S. L. P.

MILWAUKEE, ATTENTION! Two large mass meetings will be held in Milwaukee under the auspices of Local 123, Industrial Workers of the

The first meeting will take place on SUNDAY, February 2, 2:30 p. m., at Reik's Hall, 362 Grove street, corner Walker. Speakers, Vincent St. John and Wm. Trautmann.

The second meeting will be held on SUNDAY, February 9, 2:30 p. m., at Bohemian Turner Hall, corner Twelfth and Vine streets. Vincent St. John will speak on "The Industrial Panic and Its Solution."

Admission free. All readers of this paper are requested to attend.

SOMERVILLE, MASS., LECTURE. A public lecture will be given under the auspices of Section Somerville, Socialist Labor Party, on SUNDAY, February 2, at 7:30 p. m., in Independent Hall, Hill's Building, Union Square, Speaker, A. E. Reimer of Boston.

Admission free. CHICAGO S. L. P. SPEAKERS' CLUB

The Speakers' Club of Section Cook County, S. L. P., hold very interesting discussion meetings every Sunday evening, 8 p. m., at Friedman's Hall, south-east corner of Grand avenue and Western avenue. The object of these meetings is mainly to develop men in the ranks who shall be capable of preaching the doctrines of the S. L. P to the working class, besides the educational value they have for all who participate and attend the discussions We invite all readers of The People and sympathizers to attend and bring their friends. Free discussion and free admission. The subjects to be discussed, commencing with January 26, are, "As to Politics"-"Social Effect of Machinery" - "Socialism" - "Structure of the New Society"-"Industrial versus Craft Unionism" - "Materialist Conception of History" - "Reform or Revolution"; one subject for every

Organizer.

ST. LOUIS. MO., NOTICE.

To the members and to readers of the Daily and Weekly People, Section St. Louis, Socialist Labor Party, will give a Dance and Bazaar at Grunz's Hall, 1500 South 3rd street, S.-E. corner 3rd and Barry streets, on SATUR-DAY evening, February 1st.

Those wishing to donate presents for the bazaar, please send them to Albert Kaucher, 1318 So. 7th street, St. Louis,

SECTION BOSTON'S OFFICER.

At the regular meeting of Section Boston, S. L. P., the following officers were elected for 1908:

Organizer, Arthur E. Reimer, 593 9th st., South Boston. Treasurer, George Nelson. Literary Agent, Frank Bohmbach. Recording Secretary, Thomas Ma-

PHILADELPHIA I W. W. LECTURES. Sunday, Feb. 2-J. Whitehead, Subject, The Textile Workers. Sunday, Feb. 3-L. Katz. Subject,

The Means and the End. Sunday, Feb. 16-B. H. Williams. Subject, Unionism.

Sunday, Feb. 23-J. J. McKelvey. Subject, The I. W. W. Meeting place, Lewar's Hall, S.-E.

DETROIT LECTURE.

The first of a series of lectures arranged by Section Detroit, Socialist Labor Party, will take place on SUN-DAY, Feb. 2, 3 p. m. Wm. E. Bohn of the Michigan University will speak on "Evolution and Prophecy."

All members and readers of this paper are invited to attend.

OPERATING FUND.

Our friends working in the Canal Zone came to the rescue of this fund the past week with donations that altogether totaled \$39.00. Other contributions brought the amount up to \$56.25 for the week. Comrades who find it utterly impossible to aid in the work of getting subscriptions should bear this fund in mind and help in that way.

H. Cody, Panama	\$5.00
J. Mahoney, "	3.00
J. Hassett, " "	1.00
L Warjii, " m	1.00
C. Kohler, "	1.00
J. Brennan, " www	-2.00
H. Burger, "	2.00
Van Taylor, "	1.00
A: Dallow, "	1.00
J. Wold, " ******	2.00
H. Lake, "	1.00
J. J. Bartlett, " present	1.00
J. H. Johnson, "	1.00
J. R. Sweeney, "	2.00
R, Smith, " become	.50
L. Manonni, "	1.00
A. H. Sweeney, "	1.00
J. Calizo, " w	1.00
C. Perry, " works	1.00
E. Dupless, " seemed	1.00
J. Heenan, "	1.00
E. Felis, "	1.00
W. Caulkins, "	2.50
"Come Again," "	5.00
J. Kenny, Andover, Mass.	1.00
E. Gardner, Cincinnati, O.	1.00
J. J. Meighan, Coytesville,	
N. J	1.00
J. Eck, Hoboken, N. J	2.00
-"S. M.," ex-member 16th	
A. D., N. Y	3.00
G. Lidberg, Minneapolis	.75
A. C. Witz, Barston, Cal.	2.00
E. Ginther, San Francisco	.50
A. Enos, Eureka, Cal	6.00
Total	\$56.25
Previously acknowledged	
Grand Total\$	1,705.39

SINKING FUND.

Comrade Fred Miller, Boston, Mass. donates a loan of Five Dollars made to Literature Fund.

WORKERS MISERY INCREASES.

(Continued from page 4.)

Chicago those who attempted by parading to call attention to their condition were dispersed by being unmercifully clubbed by the police. This is the condition that confronts

the workers and is due to no fault of theirs. The products of the forests, fields and mines are large, so large that foreign markets must be found for the 'surplus," and yet thousands of those who produced this very "surplus" will thistle which grew by the rondside." perish with hunger and cold. At such a a time the fact becomes most glaring that the modern capitalist system has become the greatest possible curse to the workers when, by producing "too much" of everything, they are in the worst possible condition. The capitalist system, responsible for it all, stands aghast at the work of its own creation and having only for answer to the demand for bread the policeman's club.

CALL TO THE OLD GUARD

TO LEAD THE WAY AND SHOW THE YOUNGER COMRADES HOW TO PUSH THE PROPAGANDA.

For the week ending Friday January I 24th, we received 115 to The Weekly People, and 33 mail subs to The Daily People, a total of 148, which is far from the 500 subscriptions a week which we are after and determined to get. Those sending five or more were: G. J. Sherwood, St. Paul, Minn., 8; H. Cody, Canal Zone, 6; F. Brown, Cleveland, 6; I. White, Waterbury, Conn., 5.

Prepaid cards sold: Salt Lake \$12.00: Tacoma, \$7.50; St. Paul, \$5.00; Yonkers, N. Y., \$4.00; Cleveland, \$3.00.

Some of the Massachusetts comrades are displaying commendable activity in the work of propaganda. Comrade M. I. Ouirk, of Saugus, sends four sixmonths subs and \$1.50 for Labor News He writes that this is his start on The Weekly People sub per month plan. Comrade Richardson, of Lynn, sends one and says: "I am after more." Comrade Enger, of Ashland, sends two subs; the Boston Press Committee 7; Comrade Murphy, of Lynn, sends one, so does comrade Mortenson, of West Somerville.

B. P. Anderson, Minneapolis, in renewing says he finds The Weekly People a most interesting paper which he should like to see many more intelligent workingmen reading; hope he will help The price is \$1 per thousand, fifty cents,

expect to organize a Jewish branch.

tice that some of the old-time sub-getters are inactive and we would call upon them to lead the way and show the young fellows how to go about the work that will bring in 500 subs a week. Last week not even one twentieth of the Party members were active-just think of it that at such an enochal time as this over nineteen twentieths of the S. L. P, men did nothing in the way of propaganda. It is high time that the Old Guard get together and show how to get the subscribers.

Labor News sales were light again last week: San Francisco, \$11.00; Colo. S. E. C., \$8.62; Spokane, \$6.20; Denver, \$4.60; Philadelphia, \$3.00; Montreal, \$2.10; Louisville, Ky., \$1.60; Freeman, Wash., \$1.00; and the same amount to Trenton and Cleveland.

of propaganda leaflets. They are smaller, neater and more convenient than the old style. No. 1 of the series is ready. for 500. Send us on an order for some.

you listen to who's talking? Will you

And he brayed so loud that the travel-

Seeing his fellow man look rather

sheepish, he inquired about the matter.

The laborer told the story and added he

could hardly see the comparison between

"' Well,' said the traveler, who seem

ed to be a rather studious man, 'pardor

me for being personal, but I should like

to know what you had for your lunch

"'Indeed, ' had no lunch since I left

home, for I am looking for a job. I am

what the twentieth century has called "a

tramp," looking for a job no matter

how big or little, so that I may earn

something to send home to my wife and

"'At night I slept in the straw stacks

or sheds and once a day I buy or beg

some food so that I have strength to

travel all day. I am not a tramp. I

am a working man "laid off" for a while.

But my little ones must eat, be shel-

tered and clothed and if their father

has no work where will they get these

necessities? The stomach's longest vaca-

tion is but one day. My little ones, oh,

'And yet you do not understand how

the ass can compare himself to you!

Well, I agree with you there is not much

comparison between the two. He has a

master who owns his careass, his body.

That he must keep whether he has work

or not. He must feed and shelter him

whether there is work for him or not.

Being a beast thistles are not bad food,

in fact, better than the delicacies which

he carried upon his back would be for

him. He always has a master who must

feed him if he wishes to continue to

"But you, my friend, must look for a

new master every time you finish work,

and when you find one he gives you no

more for your day's work than it takes

to feed, clothe and shelter you for that

you and knowing that there are thou-

sands more looking for jobs he does not

"There was a moment's pause,

"'I see by your union button you

are a railroad worker,' continued the

studious traveler. 'It is you who by the

control of transportation bring the

wealth of products from one portion of

the earth to the other-necessities and

luxuries alike. Why do you and your

thousands of brothers want for bread

when there are tons of it, and cake, too,

wasted every day? Why do you, human

beasts of burden, want when there is

plenty all around you? Why do you

who produce all the grand things in life

want for the most meagre portion to

"The student held before the poor man

a glass. It was the Mirror of Imagina-

Ass, burdened with the produce of the

world. It was fastened around his body

er who had fallen asleep under a nearby

tree awoke with a start

him and the heast

this noon?

little ones.

my babies!"

own him.

that time comes.'

keep you alive?'

CHILDREN'S HOUR

Dear little Comrades:-

Do remember last, week's lesson on just listen to him! People who live in Famous Birthdays. Do please, try to do something on that subject. If you can't make a long list, why, select some one name and write a short story about that man or woman. There must be a few. Do remember that the March Festival will soon be here and that on February twelfth the Brooklynites will have a baznar. Do what you can as well as you can and as early as you can.

Do remember to come to the meeting of the Young Socialist Club to-day and bring your friends. Lovingly,

AUNT ANNETTA.

ANOTHER WIDE-AWAKE YOUNG COMRADE.

Dear Comrades:-I am very interested in the Socialist

movement. The present conditions have forced me to do so. I have seen very queer things in Richmond. Two of our comrades have been

arrested for preaching the truth to the working class, and absolutely nothing but the truth. I was the first to bring the news to the home people. My father was standing right by them when they were ar-

rested, and he was very busy trying to

get them out of the station house We hope Comrades Young and Campbell will come out victorious. The capitalist judges are trying hard to convict them. Our comrades are holding on to the Right of Free Speech, so that they may teach Socialism all over the United

States, and I wish them success. About three hundred persons shouted

"Hurrah for the Socialists." I shall close as it is all I can tell this time. Caroline Buttgen.

502 E. Marshall st., Richmond, Va.

Hurrah for the young Socialists of Virginia! That's all we need, every child now, learn the truths about Socialism. and we won't have many years to wait for the Socialist Commonwealth.]

THE ASS AND THE THISTLES.

Little Evelyn was just recovering from the measles. The doctor had forbidden her any reading, as the eyes are usually weakened by the disease.

Evelyn was very fond of fables. She had read her "Aesop's" from cover to cover. "I'm tired of reading the same stories

so won't you please, uncle tell me some of your own make?" Uncle, always willing to please his little niece, took up "Acsop's" and open-

ed to the story of "The Ass Eating Thistles." He read: "An Ass, laden with very choice provisions, which he was carrying in harvest time to the fields for his master, stopped to eat a large and strong

"Oh, I have read that story, uncle. before, so many times, toc," pleaded Evelyn; "can't you make one up, pleas: Uncle pretended to read on:

"A laborer who had stopped to rest, saw the Ass and began making fun of tion. In it he beheld himself beside the the creature. "'You fool,' he said, there you are

loaded down with the finest of food and with straps marked Private Ownership drink and yet you stop to feed on this of the Means of Life." On with the propaganda that must pretles. Why don't you help yourself to the good things upon your back?" cede the overthrow of the damnable sys-

"Haw! Haw! brayed the Ass. 'Will 'Ignorance,' 'Cowardice,' Self-protection,' fore the workers,"

Section San Antonio, Texas, sends subs and reports healthy growth in the Section, and that in the near future they

In looking over the records we no-

We have started work on a new series

DICKSON CITY, glass houses should never throw stones.'

Price of FLASH-LIGHTS

Here is an opportunity for you to do a little propaganda work among Socialists and even those not Socialists may be interested in this proportition:-

JANUARY 16th to FEBRU-ARY 16th, we offer the

AMSTERDAM CONGRESS . . . for . . . 10 CENTS A COPY.

able to send us an order for at least ten copies.

Socialist Movement

167 Pages - - 10 cents.

N. Y. LABOR NEWS CO. 28 City Hall Place

The newly elected membes for the

Environment, 'Ideals,' In his mouth was the bit of 'hunger.'

"A turn of the glass and our friend recognized himself among millions of workingmen and women, packed into solid ranks, with the Red Flag of Socialism in one hand, and the shield with the emblem of the I. W. W. in the other. Across their foreheads, like a crown, were the words 'WE ARE MEN AND WOMEN!"

- Capitalism Is Cannibalism -Socialism our only Salvation.

NEW SUE STORY SOON.

A new Sue story: "The Poinard's

Hilt." is soon to annear in the columns

of The Daily People. The story is one

of intense interest dealing with the be-

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day. If he has no work he does not need Michigan State Executive Committee are: Adolph Ahlers, state secretary; Geo. Hasseler, recording secretary; Peter Frieneed to keep you and feed you during sema, treasurer; and Gus. Tuchelski, intervals, for he will have all the job Wm. Hoag, Logan Cunningham, and Anhunters he wants to choose from when thony Louwett.

"He turned the mirror and the ex-

laborer saw himself pale and exhausted, lying on the ground dying of hunger and thirst, still with the burden of the world's produce on his back. Near him was his old friend the Donkey with a motto clear across him, 'I am an ASS. What are YOU?'

Uncle stopped.

Little Evelyn looked thoughtfully at him a moment and said: "Uncle, wher "On his bead was a halter, each part I grow big, I will make it my business marked 'Superstition,' Contentedness,' to hold the Mirror of Imagination bec